

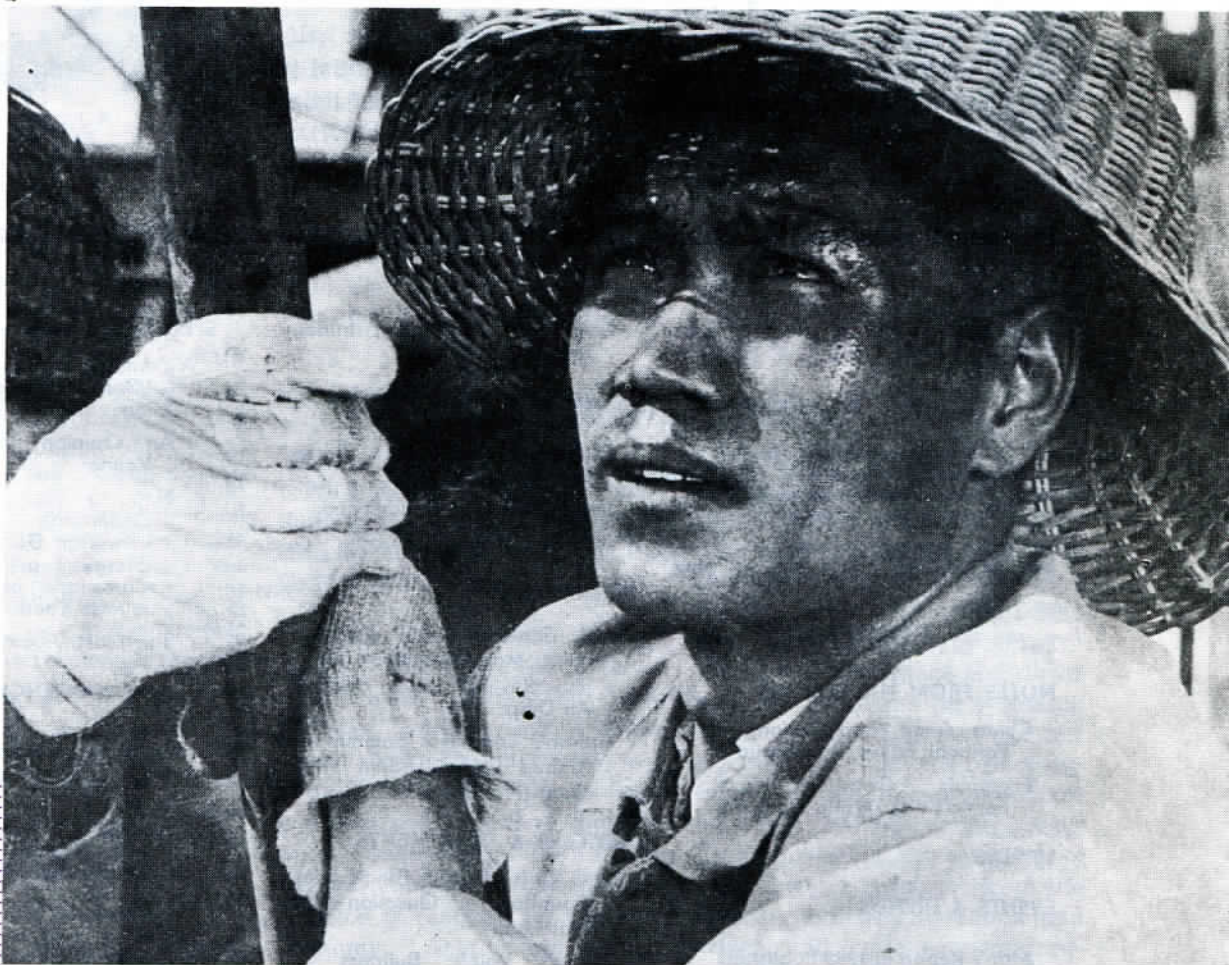
No. 30 July 27, 1981

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- China's Youth — A Promising Generation
- The Sino-Soviet Boundary Question
- Economic Readjustment Results



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

The Sino-Soviet Boundary Question

Although tsarist Russia annexed 1.5 million square kilometres from China in the 19th century through unequal treaties, the present rulers in the Kremlin are not content to take these treaties as the sole basis for settling the boundary question, as has been proposed by China, but rather are intent on grabbing more Chinese territory. First instalment (pp. 12-17).

China's Youth Look to The Future

Interviews with a Communist Youth League leader and other young people from various walks of life, plus an interesting opinion poll, reveal the problems as well as the aspirations

of Chinese youth (pp. 21-29). A recent speech by Deng Liqun to Beijing youth about China's modern history and the role its youth should play in the modernization drive (p. 18).

The Evolution of a Great Document

How the recent resolution on post-liberation Party history was produced: With thousands of people participating in the discussions, it took 15 months to draft, revise and finalize this historic document (pp. 5-6).

Economic Readjustment Yields Results

Statistics for the first half of 1981 point to China's initial success in fulfilling one of its current major tasks (pp. 6-7).

Conference on Kampuchea

A review of the significant results of this conference and an analysis of the differences between the participating countries' (pp. 9-10).

Violence in Britain

The bloody clashes in London and other cities are the subject of a Xinhua correspondent's report, which pinpoints high unemployment as a major factor behind the rioting (pp. 10-11).



A young worker.
Photo by Zhang Congmi

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China After Mao Zedong

Have you called a halt to your "demaioification" campaign? What will China be like in the future?

There has never been a "demaioification" campaign in China.

When we started breaking away from the personality cult, made public some of the late Chairman Mao's mistakes, rectified "Left" mistakes in our work and adopted a correct line, some foreigners commented that China had launched a "demaioification" campaign. Facts have proved that this is groundless. In issue No. 1 this year, our political editor Zheng Bian already pointed out that Chairman Mao's contributions occupy the first place while his mistakes are secondary. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will always remember Chairman Mao as one of the founders of our Party and state.

The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, adopted at the recent Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, made a high appraisal of Mao Zedong's contributions. And it did so in a matter-of-fact manner. The resolution made a scientific explanation of the contents of Mao Zedong Thought and pointed out that Mao Zedong Thought will be the guiding ideology of our action for a long time to come. This conforms to the wishes of the people.

"What will China be like after Mao Zedong?" This is a question of universal concern. In

the resolution readers can find a definite answer: China after Mao Zedong will still be a socialist China of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, held towards the end of 1978, is a turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our Party since the founding of New China. It initiated an all-out campaign to rectify the "Left" mistakes committed before and during the "cultural revolution." In the past two and a half years we have, to put it in a nutshell, carried out what Chairman Mao had proposed but had failed to do, rectified his mistakes and reversed what he had wrongly opposed, and we have done our best to accomplish the tasks he had left behind. These are also what we'll have to do for a considerably long period of time to

come. In the course of doing so, there will naturally be new developments.

Take for example some of the major issues. The strategic decision taken by the Party to shift the focus of work on to socialist modernization, speeding up agricultural development, carrying out economic readjustment to solve the problem of disproportionate development of the national economy, perfecting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, and redressing large numbers of framed-up, false and wrong cases are all a continuation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

We have won great victories in China's revolution and construction under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will continue to rely on their guidance in accomplishing the magnificent goal of the four modernizations.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

Economic Questions

Why weren't economic questions on the agenda of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee?

At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978, the "Left" mistakes were checked and the focus of work was shifted to building China into a modernized socialist country. Soon afterwards, the Party Central Committee adopted a decision to readjust the national economy. At the end of last year, the working conference convened by the Party Central

Committee discussed the economic situation and, in particular, made clear that the major problem in economic work since the founding of New China was the harm caused by "Left" ideas. The conference laid down a correct guideline for economic work and decided that further readjustment of the economy would be made. A new path was thus charted for the steady development of the economy — a path which proceeds from the actual conditions of China and which will raise economic results and improve the people's livelihood.

LETTERS

Struggle of Latin American People

There are some issues that have to be cleared, especially as regards your viewpoint on Latin America. As a person who has studied Latin American history during my degree course, I am of the view that the US is the chief international enemy of the Latin Americans.... This is well adduced by the power of the US dollar which is paramount in that region. With regard to the people's struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador, these struggles should be looked at in terms of the oppression by dictators backed by US Government and monopoly interests. It is the people who are struggling to shove off the exploitative yoke. So I am of the view that China should be very very careful when analysing events in this sensitive area.

Stephen B. Isabirye
Kampala, Uganda

I think you must condemn the US intervention in El Salvador in the same way as you condemned

In the first half of this year, the whole Party devoted the greater part of its energy to economic work. Readjustment of the national economy has made tremendous progress and the scale of capital construction has initially been brought under control. At present the restructuring of China's industry is being carried out to bring about a more balanced development and better co-ordination, and reform of the system of economic management is proceeding in an orderly way. In the countryside, the peasants have become more enthusiastic since the raising of purchasing prices for farm and sideline products, the implementation of various forms of responsibility in work and the development of a diversified economy. The result is

the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Federal Republic of Germany is between the two allies, but many of us see that the danger of war comes from the two superpowers. So the spearhead of the movement for peace should be directed at the two, instead of serving the interests of one of them.

Werner Meyer
Emden, West Germany

Convincing Articles

Huang Kecheng's article and Hu Yaobang's speech are very helpful to activists in the friendship movement. Li Honglin's article "Chinese Communist Party Is Capable of Correcting Its Mistakes" in issue No. 25 is also convincing.

Takeo Ito
Tokyo, Japan

Soong Ching Ling

I greatly enjoyed the article in No. 23 about Soong Ching Ling for she was a very interesting woman. I was saddened by her death. China and the world have lost a great person.

Peter Hunter
Ont., Canada

the emergence of an excellent situation rarely seen since the founding of New China.

A long-term plan for the development of the economy is being worked out, with the emphasis on the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85) and a 10-year plan.

The experiences and lessons gained in economic construction in the 32 years since 1949 have been summed up in the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China adopted last month at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Hence there was no need to include economic work in the session's agenda.

— Economic Editor Wang
Dacheng

Marriage Law

I have noted in the newly promulgated marriage law (*Beijing Review*, March 16), marriage by anyone having leprosy is specifically forbidden.

I have also noted Dr. Ma Hai-de's article on leprosy (*Beijing Review*, March 30) in which he states that leprosy is non-hereditary, that in the majority of cases it is non-infectious and that there are now new drugs for curing and preventing the disease.

In view of the above information, the new law strictly forbidding marriage of such people seems punitive and unnecessarily harsh.

Mary Chandler
Hefei, Anhui Province, China

Tobacco Products

In the article "More Consumer Goods" in the "Events & Trends" section of *Beijing Review*, No. 16, it was mentioned that "more consumer goods were produced last year than in 1979. The increase was ... 15.7 and 31 per cent for cigarettes and beer."

However, since it is now known that tobacco products cause cancer of the mouth, larynx, and lung, bronchitis, coronary artery disease, peripheral vascular disease, emphysema, and as a result at least 6 million deaths each year — how can one justify a pride in an increase in the production of tobacco products?

In the light of these facts it is obvious that an increase in the production of tobacco products will lead directly to a decrease in the standard of living, and in general well-being of the people. Tobacco products should be seen as a murderous and barbaric product to exploit the people, and should be condemned as exactly that.

C. Johnson
Telopea, N.S.W., Australia

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*Your letters are welcome. Because of space limitations, we can only print a selection. Condensations are made for the sake of brevity or clarity.*  
— Ed.

## POLITICAL

## Mao's Report in 1945 Published

A report given by the late Chairman Mao Zedong in 1945, emphasizing that the Chinese Communist Party should look to the future and not the past, is featured in the latest issue of the journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag).

An editor's note in *Renmin Ribao* which reprinted the report said that studying the report today is highly significant in helping us gain a deeper understanding of the spirit of the recently held Sixth Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and its Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China.

The report on the working principles for the Seventh National Congress of the Party was made by Mao at the preparatory meeting for the congress on April 21, 1945. In this 9,000-word report, Mao Zedong dealt with the history of the heroic struggle after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.

The seventh congress was convened at a time when final victory in the anti-Fascist world war and the Chinese people's anti-Japanese war was at hand.

Mao Zedong pointed out, "We need unified ranks to defeat our enemy and achieve victory; our Party plays the most important and leading role in our ranks. Without our Party, it is impossible for the Chinese people to win victory."

History proved that this congress united the whole Party and the people and victory was won in the war against Japan. Four years later, the Party again emerged victorious in the War of Liberation, overthrew the Kuomintang, liberated all of China's territory except Taiwan Province and founded the People's Republic of China.

The day before Mao Zedong delivered this report, the Party Central Committee adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party. Making a criticism and analysis of the "Left" lines which had occurred in the history of the Party three times, the resolution unified the ideology of the whole Party on three problems: "Who are our enemies and who are our friends," "how to organize our ranks" and "how to fight." This united and strengthened the Party to an unprecedented extent.

Mao said: "We must be humble and prudent and not arrogant and rash. . . . We have been very prudent in writing this resolution."

He proposed that in dealing with comrades who had made mistakes, a policy of curing the sickness to save the patient must be followed.

"Speaking of mistakes, it's not a matter that just involves one or two persons. Everybody makes mistakes. I also have made mistakes. . . ."

Comrade Mao said that he had objected to the draft resolution "attributing all good things to me." He added: "To describe me as a representative is all right, but if I were the only one, then this wouldn't be a Party."

He advocated taking a proper attitude towards those comrades who had made mistakes and uniting with those who had shortcomings.

## Birth of a Great Historic Document

People throughout China have been studying the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China since it was published on July 1. (For full text of the resolution see *Beijing Review*, issue No. 27.) In its latest issue, the monthly *Observation Post* published an article written by its editorial board telling how this document of historic significance had been written.

In his speech at the meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic in 1979, Ye Jianying, Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, said that "at an appropriate time a formal summing up should be made of the history of the last 30 years, and especially of the 10 years of the 'cultural revolution,' at a meeting convened for this purpose." Preparatory work started a month later when a number of people were called together by the Party Central Committee to do some research work, look up relevant reference materials and hold a series of discussion meetings.

**Crystallization of Collective Wisdom.** Drafting of the resolution began in March 1980 and it took a year and three months before it was adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on June 27, 1981. In the

## Economic Readjustment: Initial Results

The readjustment of the national economy is proceeding according to plan, and figures released by the State Statistical Bureau show that initial results have been achieved.

**Light Industry.** Following an increase of 9.6 per cent in output value in 1979 and 18.4 per cent in 1980, the first half of this year saw a further increase of 11.6 per cent as compared with the same period of last year. That light industry has, for the first time in over a decade, succeeded in maintaining such a high growth rate for two years running is in a large measure due to the policy of readjusting the national economy set forth by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The proportion of light industry in the nation's total industrial output value has gone up from 42.7\* per cent in 1978 to 50.4 per cent in the January-June period of this year, thereby changing the disproportionate development between heavy industry and light industry.

**Heavy Industry.** The development of heavy industry has been slowed down, as called for by the national economic readjustment programme. Though the total output value of heavy industry in the first six months of 1981 dropped by 8.2 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of last year, the total output value of light and heavy industries showed a slight increase of 0.8 per cent. In heavy

\* In the item "Economic Structure" on p. 3 of issue No. 24, the percentage given was 31.8 per cent, which was wrong.

course of drafting, Party leaders personally took the matter in hand, decided on the contents and structure, attended briefings on its progress, made detailed suggestions and put the finishing touches to the document. Seven discussion meetings were held after the Party Central Committee decided that the document be discussed and revised by different groups of people. Following were the more important ones:

— In October 1980, about 4,000 senior Party cadres from the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and departments of the central authorities gathered together for 20 days to discuss and make the necessary changes to the first draft;

— In March 1981, the draft was discussed by over 50 people including Members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and a number of other veteran Party members;

— In May this year, the Political Bureau held an enlarged 12-day meeting at which 76 veteran comrades put their heads together to make further changes;

— From June 22 to 25, the CPC Central Committee invited more than 130 members of various democratic parties and non-Party democrats to a discussion meeting to solicit their opinions and suggestions;

— While the draft resolution was being examined and discussed at the preparatory meeting of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, opinions were canvassed from about 1,000 leading Party cadres working at the Party, government and army departments at the central level.

**Guidelines.** What are the guidelines and general prin-

ciples of this document? Three basic requirements for the resolution were set forth for the drafting group by leaders of the Party Central Committee:

First, Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position should be confirmed and Mao Zedong Thought should be upheld and developed. This is a question of paramount importance. What the Party has been upholding ideologically, politically and organizationally since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978 is essentially Mao Zedong Thought. In the days to come Mao Zedong Thought will still be upheld. As to his mistakes, an analysis should be made so as to seek the truth from facts.

Second, a fair and appropriate appraisal should be made of the major events over the last 32 post-liberation years, particularly the events before the overthrow of the gang of four in 1976, including the merits and demerits of certain leaders of the Party Central Committee.

Third, the purpose of summing up events of the past is to unify the thinking of the whole Party. It is hoped that after adoption of the resolution, the Party and the people of the whole country will unify their thinking and work with a will for the four modernizations.

The contents of the resolution, especially part seven concerning Comrade Mao Zedong, met these three requirements.

The whole process of drafting the document shows that the Party Central Committee has adopted a conscientious and serious approach in dealing with major issues of the past and that it has carried forward the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line.



New varieties of lamps produced in Tianjin.

industry, emphasis is laid on transport and communications and the output of electricity, crude oil and metal sheets; their half-yearly production targets have all been met. The various branches of heavy industry, formerly orientated to mainly serve capital construction and heavy industry itself, have paid more attention to market research and readjusted their organizations and product mix so as to better serve light and textile industries, commerce and the service trades.

**Agriculture.** The annual growth rate of the total output value of agriculture in the last two years averaged 5.6 per cent, which is higher than the average progressive increase rate of 4.4 per cent for the years since liberation in 1949. The Party's economic policies for the countryside have remarkably boosted farm production and improved the livelihood of the peasants.

**Capital Construction.** Priority in investment has, according to the readjustment plan, been given to the development of energy resources, transport and communications, telecommuni-

cations, science, educational and health undertakings, housing and urban development. In line with the policy of readjustment, total investment in capital construction has been curtailed from last year's 53,900 million yuan to 30,000 million yuan this year. In the January-May period, 9,000 million yuan went into capital construction, and a greater amount will be spent for this purpose in the second half of this year.

**Prices.** Prices are basically stable. Retail sales in the first five months of 1981 registered a 9.1 per cent increase over that of the same period of last year. Supplies to the market have further improved thanks to the continuous, large-scale development of light industry. This quickened the withdrawal of currency from circulation. In the first six months of this year, the total amount withdrawn from circulation was 1,100 million yuan more than in the corresponding period of 1980.

More resources will be available for renovating and transforming the existing industrial enterprises and a quicker rate of growth in production will be possible when capital construction is properly controlled, said a responsible member of the State Economic Commission. If the growth of certain branches of the heavy industry is curtailed as planned, more resources will be shifted over to boosting the development of light industry and farm production. In this way the development of the economy as a whole will, in the long run, be quickened instead of slackened.

There has been a serious disproportionate development between the various sectors of

## EVENTS & TRENDS

the national economy in the years 1949-78 due to the fact that investment was heavily tilted in favour of capital construction and heavy industry. The aftermath was obvious: in this period, heavy industry grew 91-fold while light industry increased only 20-fold and agriculture 3.4-fold. The ongoing readjustment of the national economy will bring about a more reasonable proportion between the various sectors of the national economy and an economic structure that yields better economic results.

### Huge Investment in Water Conservancy

More than 100,000 million yuan were invested in building water conservancy projects in the years from 1949 to 1980.

These included:

— Dams and dykes and embankments totalling 160,000 kilometres in length;

— Spillways for the Haihe flowing through north China and the Huai River that flows through east China;

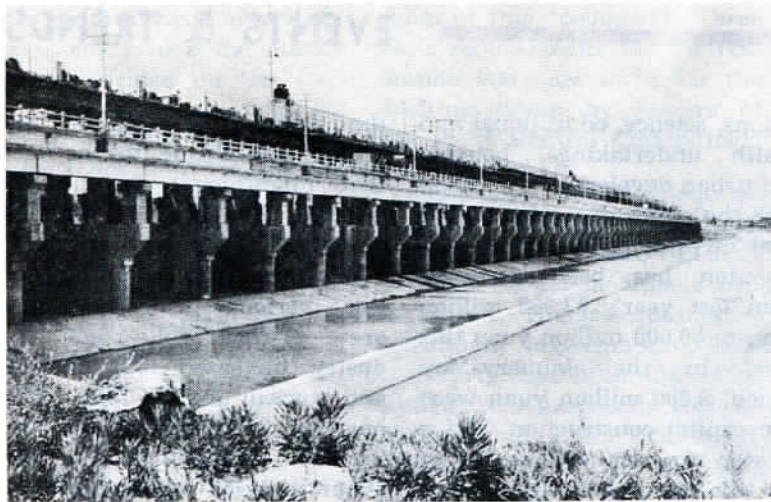
— 80,000 reservoirs and 6.4 million ponds, with a total storage capacity of 400,000 million cubic metres of water;

— 5,000 irrigated zones of 10,000 *mu* each;

— Irrigation and drainage installations totalling 70 million hp as compared to 90,000 hp in the early 50s;

— 2.2 million power-operated wells;

— Hydropower stations with an installed capacity of 9 million kw, of which 6 million kw of electricity are generated by 90,000 small and medium-



A newly built sluice gate across the Huanghe River.

sized stations. Last year, small hydropower stations produced 11,900 million kwh of electricity, equivalent to one-third of the electricity consumed in farm production.

Nearly half of the nation's farmland has been put under irrigation and grain output from these areas accounts for two-thirds of the nation's total.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Chinese Communist Party Delegation in Italy

A delegation of the Chinese Communist Party led by Peng Chong, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the CPC, ended a 10-day (July 3-12) successful visit to Italy. It was a return visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, whose General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer visited China at the head of a Party delegation in April last year.

Peng Chong exchanged views on the international situation and issues of common interest

with General Secretary Berlinguer and Gerardo Chiaromonte, a member of the leading body and of the Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party. Through the exchange of views in a comradely way and on an equal footing, seeking common ground while reserving differences, mutual understanding had been increased and mutual trust deepened, thereby promoting the friendship between the two Parties and the two peoples.

Members of the delegation toured Rome, Milan, Venice, Bologna and Florence. They met with leaders of the local Italian Communist Party organizations and local governments. They had broad contacts with Italian CP militants and other people who gave them a warm welcome.

During the delegation's visit, Italian President Sandro Pertini, President of the Italian Senate Amintore Fanfani and President of the Chamber of Deputies Leonilde Jotti met Peng Chong on separate occasions.

### Israeli Bombing Condemned

China strongly condemns Israel for its crimes in bombing Beirut as well as Palestinian

camp and office buildings of PLO organizations in southern Lebanon.

A statement to this effect was made on July 18 by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhang Canming at a meeting with Tayeb Abdul Rahim Mahmoud, Head of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beijing.

Zhang Canming said that the Chinese Government and people sympathize with the Palestinian and Lebanese people for their sufferings and will, as always, stand by the Palestinian and other Arab people and support their just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion.

### Increase in Foreign Trade

The total value of China's imports and exports in the first half of this year was 30,400 million yuan, 18.8 per cent more than in the same period of last year. Exports were valued at 14,800 million yuan, 14.9 per cent more than in first half of 1980, and imports totalled 15,600 million yuan, an increase of 22.7 per cent.

Following the readjustment of the national economy, there were some changes in the imports and exports in the first six months. About 39.5 per cent more cereals, sugar, wood pulp, cotton, chemical fibres and chemical fertilizer were imported, compared with the corresponding period of last year, while imports of machinery and instruments dropped by more than 50 per cent.

Exports of machinery increased by 45 per cent, while hand-icrafts and garments upped by 21 per cent, and cotton cloth, cotton and polyester cloth, silk, knitwear, bicycles and alarm clocks by 13.5 per cent.



## UN Conference on Kampuchea

## Major Results

THE UN-sponsored International Conference on Kampuchea was held between July 13-17 in New York. The chief Soviet representative to the United Nations predicted that only 40 countries would send representatives. Actually 91 countries and regions sent their representatives, of whom 12 attended as observers. This represents 80 per cent of the world population. The declaration and resolution unanimously adopted at the conference showed the international community's great concern over the grave situation in Kampuchea. It showed the desire of all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries to see foreign troops withdrawn from Kampuchea and their opposition to Vietnamese aggression. They want to see an early solution to the Kampuchean problem. The Vietnamese authorities who have obdurately opposed all UN resolutions concerning Kampuchea and who have refused to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea boycotted the conference. So did their Moscow supporters. But they were duly condemned by the conference. It showed how isolated Viet Nam and its supporter are in the world.

## Call From Conference

In their speeches at the conference 50 representatives pointed out that the Vietnamese forcible occupation of Kampuchea was a gross violation of the UN Charter and international norms of behaviour. Viet Nam must withdraw all its troops

from Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people must be allowed to settle their own problems by themselves, they said. Some of the speakers also condemned the Vietnamese authorities for conducting a fraudulent election and trying to foist their puppet regime in Phnom Penh on the people of Kampuchea.

The declaration adopted by the conference called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest time possible, the holding of genuine, free elections, the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aligned and neutral status, and refraining from all forms of interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It was a positive achievement which contributes to safeguarding the basic principles of the UN Charter and the norms of international relations.

## Differences

During preparations for the final document there were different and conflicting views. The main differences boiled down to two points.

**Who Should Be Disarmed?** After the pullout of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, whose forces should be disarmed? One view wanted to see all the Kampuchean forces disarmed. The other view wanted to see the Heng Samrin puppet regime's forces disarmed, as the regime had been set up by the Vietna-

mese invaders. This is a necessary condition if the Vietnamese aggressor troops are to be driven out of Kampuchea, holders of this view pointed out.

The patriotic armed forces of Kampuchea, by their heroic resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors, have contributed much to the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. It is only natural that they should be supported and defended by the world community. If the patriotic Kampuchean forces are made to disarm by foreign countries or an international organization before the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, this makes no distinction between patriots and traitors and violates basic international moral standards. For two and a half years Viet Nam has tried with a force of 200,000 but has failed to wipe out the patriotic forces of Kampuchea. If the conference voted for disarming these patriots, it would help Viet Nam achieve what it failed to do on the battlefield. It would do nothing positive to solving the Kampuchean question. On the



The fraternal tie.  
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

other hand, it would hurt and grieve the people of other countries fighting against their aggressors.

How the armed forces in Kampuchea are to be handled is entirely the internal affair of Kampuchea. It should be solved only by the various political factions resisting Vietnamese aggression through consultation among themselves.

**"Provisional Administration"?**  
One view wanted a "provisional administration" in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of foreign troops and before free elections. The other view stressed respecting the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people.

Democratic Kampuchea is a member state of the United Nations and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is recognized internationally as the sole legal government of Kampuchea. The proposal to establish a "provisional administration" in Kampuchea is in fact a proposal for abolishing and replacing a legal government recognized by the United Nations in the name of the United Nations. This would be an unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and a violation of the principles of the UN Charter.

### Fruitful Consultations

It is quite normal that for various reasons certain differing views and divergences should occur on concrete approaches to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem among the countries participating in the conference. But it should not be overlooked that they all share the common desire to stop the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea at the earliest date and to safeguard the norms of international relations as well as peace and security in South-

east Asia. The debate was one among friendly countries.

Confronting common enemies, all the participants, bearing the whole situation in mind, exerted their efforts to safeguard peace in Asia and in the world as a whole in a bid to seek common grounds while reserving differences. The conference, through serious and repeated consultations in a manner of neither insisting on one's own opinion, nor imposing one's own views on others, ironed out their differences and arrived at a broad consensus. The debated points were solved and the declaration and resolution were adopted.

Commenting on the conference, Acting Foreign Minister

and Chairman of the Chinese Government Delegation Han Nianlong pointed out that the conference achieved significant and positive results. He said that the Chinese Government will, together with all other justice-upholding countries, continue its efforts to implement the UN resolutions on Kampuchea and the declaration of the recent international conference so as to force the Vietnamese authorities to withdraw all their aggressor troops from Kampuchea as soon as possible, and achieve a just and reasonable solution of the Kampuchean problem.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

## Britain's Long Hot Summer

**T**HE recent violent street rioting which started on July 3 in Southall, London, and spread to Manchester and many other British cities began when a band of skinheads (white Right-wing youths) started a fight with some Asian youths. Police intervened and the fight developed into a bloody clash between the young people and the police. Next day violence on a larger scale broke out in the Toxteth area of Liverpool, northern England. Hundreds of black and white youngsters fought the police with bricks, stones and gasoline bombs for a long time. Although the police resorted to riot tear gas for the first time in England, they could not control the situation. Then the violence spread to Manchester, Britain's second largest city, Birmingham, Nottingham and other cities. In London, mobs of youngsters fought the police in a dozen suburbs. Very few cities in England were left undisturbed. On July 13 the

rioting spread to Scotland. The British authorities had not anticipated violence of this scale.

The disturbances have several common features: Almost all the rioters were teenagers and most of them were non-whites. Their target was the police. Almost invariably the disturbances occurred in industrial centres hard-hit by recession and with high concentrations of non-white immigrants, where the unemployment rate is much higher than the average.

### Causes

High unemployment, particularly among the young people, is considered to be a major factor behind the rioting. Since May 1979, when the Conservative government came into power, Britain has been fighting a long and deep economic recession. Although inflation stood at 11.7 per cent last month, lower than the 21 per cent two years earlier, unemployment



Street violence leaves shops in Manchester burning.

doubled to 2.7 million, or 11 per cent of the work force. Unemployment was higher in some of the traditionally industrial areas. In Liverpool, the unemployment rate is 17 per cent. In Toxteth, Liverpool, the rate stands at 37 per cent in general, 43 per cent among young people and 47 per cent among black youths. Some say it is as high as 60 per cent. Liverpool is ripe for trouble.

On top of high unemployment there was the racial contradiction in cities with a high proportion of non-white immigrants. The antagonism between black youths and the Right-wing white organizations had been growing sharper before the riots. But if the disturbances are seen mainly as "racial," that would be oversimplifying the issue. Except in Southall, London, many white youths also took part in the disturbances elsewhere. It would be much more accurate to see the recent series of street violence as "disturbances by the unemployed."

"This was not a race riot. Their fight was with us," said a senior police official of Liverpool.

The British Government has admitted that unemployment was a "contributing factor," not a major factor. But a few cabinet ministers have denied that unemployment was the root cause, claiming that the troubles were mainly caused by hooligans.

### British Government's Attitude

Home Secretary William Whitelaw on July 11 banned demonstrations and large gatherings in London for a month. He declared that troops may be called in to control the situation. The government has set up special courts to mete out "rapid and strict" punishment to offenders and fines on parents who have children under 17 taking part in the disturbances. At least 2,500 young people have been arrested, a July 15 report said.

Besides force, the British Government is considering appropriating more funds to provide professional training for young people and has called on industrial enterprises to contribute money. But neither the state nor the private enterprises have much money to spare these days. Moreover, even professionally trained young people with jobs are feeling the threat of dismissal.

— Xinhua Correspondent  
Ying Qian

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## CHINA TODAY (1)

### Population and Other Problems

The first of Beijing Review's China Today Series, this booklet contains many informative articles about family planning, housing, employment and juvenile reformatories. Most are selected from the magazine's biweekly Special Features, expanded upon, carefully edited and thoroughly revised.

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# The Crux of the Sino-Soviet Boundary Question

by Li Huichuan

The present Sino-Soviet boundary was defined in unequal treaties imposed by tsarist Russia on China. These treaties mark the seizure of more than 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese territory by tsarist Russia. But the Soviet Government refuses to admit this historical fact.

The Chinese Government, while pointing out the inequality of the Sino-Russian treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary question, expressed its willingness to take them as the basis for settling the boundary question. But the Soviet Government was not satisfied with this major concession. It refuses to admit the unequal nature of the treaties and, at the same time, opposes taking them as the sole basis for a settlement.

The Chinese and Soviet Premiers reached an understanding during their meeting in Beijing on September 11, 1969. This laid a foundation and provided a starting point for reopening boundary negotiations the same year. The Soviet side, however, has refused to proceed according to the understanding, but instead, has created new, big obstacles to the negotiations.

The Soviet military threat and hegemonic policy directed against China constitute the key obstacles to the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question as well as to the normalization of the two countries' state relations.

THE Sino-Soviet boundary remains an important unsettled question between China and the Soviet Union. It is only natural that people who study international problems should be concerned about it.

As soon as China and the Soviet Union started boundary negotiations in 1964, the Chinese side solemnly declared that it would not demand the return of its 1.5-odd million square kilometres of land annexed by tsarist Russia under unequal treaties. It also expressed its willingness to take these treaties as the basis for a settlement of the boundary question. When boundary negotiations were resumed in 1969, the Chinese Government reaffirmed its stand. But the Sino-Soviet boundary question remains unsettled to this day. Why? What more does the Soviet Government want really?

Over the past few years, the Soviet side has appeared very busy outside the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiation hall. It has been churning out books and articles on the Sino-Soviet boundary question, with some articles specially

The author is the head of the Institute of International Studies.

intended for publication abroad, in an effort to convince people that China is to blame for obstructing the boundary settlement. However, fair-minded people simultaneously studying the Soviet statements and those of the Chinese Government on the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations will not find it difficult to understand the crux of the matter.

## (1)

**Sino-Russian Unequal Treaties.** In studying the Sino-Soviet boundary question, one cannot avoid coming in contact with the sprawling, complicated system of the Sino-Russian treaties. The existing Sino-Soviet boundary line was set by a series of treaties signed between tsarist Russia and China, including the Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun (1858), the Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking (1860), the Sino-Russian Treaty of St. Petersburg (1881), and about a score of protocols on a multitude of boundary surveys. These are historical records of tsarist Russia's aggression against China; they are unequal treaties tsarist

Russian imperialism imposed on China. This is a historical fact on which the final verdict was made long ago. But it is on this very point, itself a matter of common knowledge, that the Soviet Government has chosen to provoke a dispute, thereby creating a huge obstacle in the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations.

A comparison of the various Sino-Russian boundary lines stipulated by the treaties reveals the evident fact that tsarist Russia had forcibly occupied one expanse of Chinese territory after another.

As is known, the Treaty of Nipchu, the first ever concluded between China and Russia, was signed in 1689 following negotiations held on the basis of equality when the two feudal empires were by and large equally powerful. It delineated the Sino-Russian boundary at the Outer Khingan Mountains, the Gorbitza River and the Erkhuna River. After the Opium War of 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colony. Tsarist Russia joined the other imperialist powers in a frantic invasion of China, and by forcibly occupying Chinese territories, extensively revised the Sino-Russian boundary in its own favour.

The Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun (1858) pushed the boundary line from the Outer Khingan Mountains down to the Heilong River. Russia thus annexed more than 600,000 square kilometres of land north of the Heilong River from China and placed the Chinese territory east of the Wusuli River under the joint possession of China and Russia.

In the Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking (1860), Russia further incorporated about 400,000 square kilometres of China's territory east of the Wusuli River.

In the west, the Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking (1860) and the Sino-Russian Protocol of Chuguchak (1864) first pushed the boundary line from Lake Balkhash up to the banks of Lake Zaisan and Temurtu Nor (present-day Lake Issyk in the Soviet Union), and then incorporated the whole of Temurtu Nor into Russian territory. This sliced away more than 440,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory east and south of Lake Balkhash in west China.

The Sino-Russian Treaty of St. Petersburg (1881) and the ensuing protocols on boundary survey delineated another 70,000-odd square kilometres of Chinese territory east of Lake Zaisan and west of Ili as part of Russia.

In all, tsarist Russia seized upwards of 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese land in the

short period of a few decades — territory three times the size of France, or twelve times that of Czechoslovakia. Rarely has history recorded such rabid plunder of territory.

Equally striking, as seen from a study of historical materials, is the fact that all the treaties ceding Chinese territory were forced on the Qing government under conditions of military occupation and armed threat by tsarist Russia as it joined in taking advantage of the weakness of semi-colonial China. The Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking (1860) were both concluded under conditions of the second Opium War, in which tsarist Russia played an extremely infamous role. The Treaty of Aigun was signed when the allied British-French imperialist troops had occupied Dagu, were attacking Tianjin and threatening Beijing in their aggression against China, and tsarist Russian aggressor troops from the north were laying siege to Aihui (Aigun). When the Treaty of Peking was concluded, the allied British-French forces had just broken into Beijing and burnt the Yuanmingyuan Palace, while tsarist Russia already had the area east of the Wusuli River under military occupation. In forcing the Qing government to sign the two treaties, the Russian representatives, Muraviev and Ignatieff, unscrupulously made use of the pressure exerted by the allied British-French forces. The former threatened that if the Chinese side refused to sign, "China will have only itself to blame when the British create disturbances or make trouble somewhere later on<sup>1</sup>"; the latter menaced the Chinese side, saying if it refused to accept all of Russia's conditions, he would "call [the allied British-French forces] back to Peking<sup>2</sup>" once more. The 1881 Sino-Russian Treaty of St. Petersburg was concluded when troops dispatched by tsarist Russia had held China's Ili district under forcible occupation for 10 years. On more than one occasion the tsarist Russian representative at the negotiations threatened the use of force to compel China to agree to land cessions, indemnities and other harsh terms. They went so far as to declare that "if there's any further delay, it's better to settle this by war<sup>3</sup>." Clearly, the treaties cutting away large tracts of Chinese territory were concluded under naked military threat and diplomatic blackmail; there can be no doubt about their unequal nature.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that these Sino-Russian treaties bear all the charac-

teristics of the unequal treaties imperialist powers imposed on China after 1840, such as annexing territory, extorting indemnities, forcing China to open up trading ports, exercising consular jurisdiction (extra-territoriality) in China and enjoying unilateral most-favoured-nation treatment. If there is any difference, it is that under the unequal treaties tsarist Russia annexed so large an area of Chinese territory as to make any other imperialist country feel inferior by comparison. If these treaties were not unequal ones, there would be no unequal treaties in the world at all, the history of the imperialist invasion of China would have never happened and modern Chinese history would have to be rewritten.

**Marx, Engels and Lenin on Tsarist Russia's Invasion of China.** Marx, Engels and Lenin long ago gave the final verdict on the historical fact of the invasion of China and the imposition of unequal treaties by tsarist Russia. Marx pointed out in 1857: "It is several years since she (Russia — Tr.) took possession of the banks of the River Amur, the native country of the present ruling race in China." Marx foresaw that though Russia during the Crimean War had received some checks and interruption in her campaigns to expand into Chinese territory, her effort "will doubtless be revived and pushed with energy<sup>4</sup>." In fact a year later Russia forced China to sign the Treaty of Aigun. Marx made this comment: "... by his [John Bull — Tr.] second Opium-War he has helped her (Russia — Tr.) to the invaluable tract lying between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baikal, a region so much coveted by Russia that from Czar Alexei Michaelowitch down to Nicholas, she has always attempted to get it<sup>5</sup>." At the time, Engels also pointed out: Russia had "despoiled China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube." But, "not satisfied with this, she (Russia — Tr.) has obtained the establishment of a Russo-Chinese Commission to fix the boundaries. Now, we all know that such a Commission is in the hands of Russia. We have seen them at work on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, where they kept slicing away piece after piece from that country, for more than twenty years<sup>6</sup>." The subsequent history of the delimitation of the Sino-Russian boundary has testified to the truth of Engels' prediction. Lenin once denounced tsarist Russia as a thief who was the first to carve up Chinese territory. He also vehemently condemned the Russian tsarist government's foreign policy towards China by saying that it is "a criminal policy<sup>7</sup>."

The conclusion of the Chinese Government on tsarist Russia's annexation of Chinese territory through unequal treaties is really the thesis of Marx, Engels and Lenin. But it was attacked by the Soviet Government as "utterly groundless<sup>8</sup>." This can only make one feel angry; but it is not surprising. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the Soviet leaders had already betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

**The Soviet Union Has Changed Its Stand.** The Soviet Union originally admitted the equal nature of the Treaty of Nipchu and the unequal nature of the ensuing treaties by which tsarist Russia annexed Chinese territory. For instance, the *Diplomatic Dictionary* published in 1961 under the editorship of Gromyko pointed out that negotiations for the conclusion of the treaty of Nipchu were "official, equal negotiations" and the treaty had "strengthened and expanded the harmonious relations between the two neighbouring peoples." The *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopaedia* published in 1926 pointed out that the Treaty of Aigun was "the first firm step taken by Russian imperialism to occupy Chinese territory." The *Diplomatic Dictionary* published in 1950 under the editorship of Vyshinsky pointed out in explicit terms that the 1860 Sino-British, Sino-French and Sino-Russian Treaties of Peking were "a series of unequal treaties Britain, France and Russia imposed on China through the 1859-60 British-French war against China." The *Diplomatic Dictionary* published in 1961 under the editorship of Gromyko made similar remarks. However, one of his aides out of "deep respect" for Chinese history rejected as "utterly groundless" the thesis that most of the Sino-Russian treaties are unequal, without fearing being criticized by his superior, as the Foreign Minister himself had already repudiated the dictionary published under his editorship as "sheer fabricated nonsense<sup>9</sup>." The Soviet Union attempted to show in its anti-China articles that the Sino-Soviet boundary question emerged as the result of a change in the Chinese Government's policy. But isn't it glaringly evident from past and present Soviet official statements just exactly which side has changed its policy in the years since the 1960s and provoked the Sino-Soviet border dispute?

The Soviet Union has invented a new way to justify the change from its previous stand. They say that the Treaty of Nipchu is unequal at Russia's expense. Only the Treaty of Aigun is a "document of Russian-Chinese alliance<sup>10</sup>" and the Treaty of Peking is also "a friendly document made between two neighbouring coun-

tries<sup>11</sup>." In negotiating the two treaties, they continue, Russia "had not appealed to arms<sup>12</sup>." The two treaties had not "forfeited any land of the Qing empire<sup>13</sup>." The Sino-Russian Treaty of St. Petersburg "had not infringed on China's sovereignty in the least" and there's no basis for saying the treaty was "unequal at China's expense<sup>14</sup>." A representative of the Soviet Government even declared that the significance of these treaties "lies in the promotion of good-neighbourly relations." Now the Soviet leaders often say that they wish to establish "good neighbourly relations" with China. But when the Soviet Union officially terms the relations of tsarist Russian imperialism with semi-colonial China—as defined in the Treaty of Aigun, the Treaty of Peking and the Treaty of St. Petersburg—"good-neighbourly relations," how can we not maintain sharp vigilance against the "good-neighbourly" policy of the Soviet Government?

The Soviet Union distorts history at will, while China is not supposed to offer any explanations or to discuss Chinese history at all; this applies not only to the history of the Qing Dynasty but also to the history of the Tang Dynasty. Otherwise, China is going in for "Han chauvinism" and "expansionism" and is "inciting anti-Soviet fanaticism<sup>15</sup>." But as the British fortnightly newsletter *Soviet Analyst* pointed out in its commentary on August 30, 1979: "To argue that Peking is revealing expansionist intentions by publishing a map of the ancient Tang empire is as absurd as to claim that Italy intends to reconstitute the Roman Empire because school history books show maps of it at its peak."

**Soviet Union's Motive for Distorting History.** History has been mangled beyond recognition by the Soviet Union. What is behind this deserves looking into. From the map we can see that the greater part of the Sino-Russian boundary determined by the Treaty of Nipchu disappeared long ago under tsarist Russia's expansion; by and large only the section formed by the Erhkuna River remains (though some revisions unfavourable to China have been made). However, the Soviet Union is now raising an objection over this very section of boundary. It is known to all that in negotiating the Treaty of Nipchu, the Qing government made major concessions, ceding large tracts of Chinese territory on the left bank of the Erhkuna River to Russia. Not satisfied, the Soviet Union

now covets wide areas on the right bank of the river. They say that Russia, through the Treaty of Aigun and the Treaty of Peking, "took back only part of the land" the Qing government "had seized from Russia<sup>16</sup>." "The rest of the land, such as the area on the right bank of the Erhkuna River, which the Qing side had occupied under the Treaty of Nipchu, is still in the hands of China<sup>17</sup>." In disregard of history, Soviet "scholars" insist that Chinese land is Russia's lost territory awaiting recovery. What does this mean? Are Russia's "historical rights" to be "restored" from here? We know that the Soviet Government favours the settlement of territorial questions with its neighbours according to the principle of "restoring historical rights." The Soviet Government claims that China's northern frontier was marked by the Great Wall, or at the farthest, by the "willow pale" in the Liaohe River basin, while in the west, Chinese territory "did not extend beyond Gansu and Sichuan Provinces<sup>18</sup>." The boundary line the Soviet Government delimited for China greatly dwarfs the effort of the then tsarist Russian War Minister Kuropatkin who planned to draw a straight line from the Hantengri Peak of the Tianshan Mountains to Haishenwei (Vladivostok) as the boundary line; it is much closer to the more thorough-going proposal of Muravief, a tsarist Russian imperialist who was champing to invade China: In China, "we do whatever we want, and delimit the boundary wherever we like<sup>19</sup>!"

The Soviet's current wish to revive this old dream is anachronistic. This government will, of course, only batter its head against a stone wall.

## (2)

The Chinese Government, while pointing out the unequal nature of the Sino-Russian treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary, expressed its willingness to take these treaties as the basis for the settlement of the boundary question. This major concession was made by the Chinese Government of its own accord at the very beginning of the negotiations; it would be hard to find such a precedent in any boundary negotiations between two countries. However, the Soviet Government was not satisfied, has refused to admit the unequal nature of the treaties and does not agree to take them as the sole basis for the settlement

of the Sino-Russian boundary question. This has created another huge obstacle to the border negotiations.

**Lenin's Proposition.** Lenin and the Soviet Government under his leadership favoured the abrogation of all the treaties signed by tsarist Russia with China.

Before the October Revolution was crowned with victory, Lenin said that to capitalists, "non-observance of treaties *between* capitalists is a disgrace, just as to monarchs non-observance of treaties between monarchs is a disgrace." But "class-conscious workers are for scrapping *all* such treaties<sup>20</sup>."

After the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Government under the leadership of Lenin issued declarations and statements to China on many occasions exposing and condemning in a deep-going way the crimes committed by tsarist Russia in forcibly occupying Chinese territory, and oppressing and plundering the Chinese people. In its Declaration to China on September 27, 1920, the Soviet Government explicitly "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and for ever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the tsar's government and the Russian bourgeoisie." It also announced in its Statement to China issued on September 4, 1923 that the Soviet Government would work out its policy towards the peoples of other countries on the basis of fully respecting the other countries' sovereignty as well as totally renouncing all land and property tsarist Russia had plundered from the peoples of other countries. The Government of the Soviets "will do likewise with regard to China."

Also in the "Agreement on General Principles for the Settlement of the Questions Between China and the Soviet Union," signed in May 1924, a stipulation was made to annul, at meetings decided through consultations, "all conventions, treaties, agreements, protocols, contracts, etc., concluded between the Government of China and the tsarist Government and to replace them with new treaties, agreements, etc., on the basis of equality, reciprocity and justice, as well as the spirit of the Declarations of the Soviet Government of the years of 1919 and 1920." It was also decided

that the two countries were "to redemarcate their national boundaries ... and pending such re-demarcation, to maintain the present boundaries." Acting in accordance with the agreement, the Chinese and Soviet sides held talks in 1926. But because of the then historical conditions, they did not reach agreement with respect to the boundary question, nor did they sign any equal, new treaties. Thus the Sino-Soviet boundary question remains an outstanding issue to this day.

**Stand of the People's Republic of China.** Upon its establishment, the People's Republic of China solemnly declared to the world that all treaties and agreements old China had signed with any foreign countries would, according to their content, be either confirmed, abrogated, revised, or reconcluded.

The Government of the People's Republic of China has made meticulous studies of the Sino-Russian treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary. They are unequal treaties; but the Soviet people bear no responsibility for this, since they are treaties tsarist Russian imperialism forced China to sign when power was not in the hands of either the Chinese or the Russian people. And since the broad masses of the Soviet working people have been living in these areas for a long time, the Chinese Government, out of the desire to maintain friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, is still prepared to take these treaties as the basis for determining the entire alignment of the Sino-Soviet boundary line and settling all boundary questions.

**Soviet Attitude.** It is regrettable that the Soviet Government has not been satisfied with inheriting the 1.5-odd million square kilometres of Chinese territory tsarist Russia annexed under the unequal treaties. It thus deliberately provoked a dispute over whether or not to take the Sino-Russian treaties as the sole basis for the settlement of the boundary question. This found its way into an article. It talks about the "treaty-legal basis" of the boundary line, but it also says that the Sino-Soviet boundary was not only stipulated in the Sino-Russian treaties, but also "historically formed" and "under actual defence" by the Soviet army. This formed what it claims to be the "existing boundary."

The "historically formed" boundary line and the boundary "under actual defence" to which they allude sometimes sound like the same line which was stipulated in the treaties, i.e., like one single boundary line; then again



sometimes its sounds as if they are not the same, but that there are three different lines. In fact, with a little background knowledge, one can recognize these mysterious attributives as nothing but weasel words.

Historically, from experience gained in forcing China to conclude the Treaty of Aigun, tsarist Russia found a basic way for seizing Chinese territory, that is, "supporting Russia's diplomatic demands by actual occupation of land<sup>21</sup>." The policy was one of "completely partitioning China<sup>22</sup>." Accordingly, after the conclusion of a treaty slicing away Chinese territory, tsarist Russia always found some way to break through the boundary line it stipulated, enlarge its "actual occupation" of Chinese land and make new "diplomatic demands" on China so as to force her into a new treaty ceding more land. This tradition has been taken over by the Soviet Government.

Many sections of the boundary line proposed by the present-day Soviet Government go far beyond the line stipulated in the treaties. Some of the sections represent invasions of Chinese territory by tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union in violation of stipulations in the unequal treaties, and since the Soviet Government cannot find a treaty basis for them, it must therefore dredge up such formulations as "actually defended" and "historically formed"; the other sections merely reflect Soviet attempts to gain control over Chinese territory in places where it has been unable up until now to exercise "actual occupation." This sort of boundary, without treaty basis and not qualifying as an "actually defended" line, could perhaps take refuge only under the term "historically formed" boundary, because the line the Soviet Government drew on the map yesterday could be called "historically formed" today. Therefore rhetoric such as "actually defended" and "historically formed," which the Soviet Union resorts to, is in conception not only villainous but dangerous, and reeks of expansionism and gunpowder.

The Soviet side charged that the Chinese Government "expected to abrogate" the "treaty-legal basis" of the Sino-Soviet boundary in order to "create a new kind of legal basis favourable to herself." Yet, who is guilty of these charges? The Chinese Government, which is for taking the Sino-Russian treaties as the sole basis for settling the boundary question, or the Soviet Government, which has created the "historically formed" and

the "actually defended" boundary lines outside the stipulation of the treaties? The Soviet side has accused China time and again of making "territorial claims" on the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, it is not hard to judge who is making territorial claims. The Chinese Government agrees to take the Sino-Russian unequal treaties as the sole basis for the settlement of the boundary question, and holds that the treaties decide who owns the land. From this stand one can see that China has raised no territorial claims at all; on the contrary, one finds that China has made a major concession with regard to the question of territory. The Soviet Government, however, in addition to the boundary stipulated in the Sino-Russian unequal treaties, also insists on taking the so-called "historically formed" and "actually defended" lines as the "basis" for the settlement of the boundary question. This means it wants not only the 1.5-odd million square kilometres of Chinese land tsarist Russia sliced away under the unequal treaties but also the Chinese territory tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties. As for territorial claims, here they are.

(To be continued.)

### Notes

1. Vasilyev, "Transbaikal Cossacks," published in 1918 by the printing house of the logistics department of the army of Transbaikal Cossacks, Vol. 3, p. 126.
2. Buchsgevdn, "The 1860 Treaty of Peking," published in 1902 in Lushun, p. 230.
3. "Notes of the Negotiations on the Treaty of Ili," carried in "The Diary of the Envoy to Russia," p. 121.
4. *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese edition, Vol. 12, p. 168.
5. *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese edition, Vol. 12, pp. 625-626.
6. *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese edition, Vol. 12, pp. 662 and 664.
7. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Chinese edition, Vol. 4, pp. 335-336 and 338.
8. M.S. Kapitsa, "USSR-China: Good Intentions and Bad 'Concepts,'" magazine of Bulgaria *Po sveta*, issue No. 47 of Nov. 21, 1980.
9. Gromyko's report to the Supreme Soviet meeting of the Soviet Union on July 10, 1969.
10. Prokhorov, "On the Question of Soviet-

(Continued on p. 31.)

# China's Youth: Builders of Socialist Modernization

by Deng Liqun

*This article is an abridged translation of a recent speech to the youth of Beijing by Deng Liqun, Director of the Research Office of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Deng recalled the past sufferings of the Chinese people as well as their achievements and setbacks since the founding of New China and then outlined the course he felt young people should advance along. We hope the publication of this speech will be useful to those interested in China's modern history. Title and subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**M**OST of you attending today's meeting are young people. Compared with you I can only be called an old man. But I myself was once a youth. Some people claim that there is a generation gap between the old and the young and no common ground exists between them. But I don't agree with this opinion. I am a

member of the Chinese Communist Party. Among you there are Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members. We are fighting together for the communist ideal. We share the same objectives and are travelling the same road. Why can't our hearts be linked together? In fact most of China's people, both old and young, hope to build our motherland into a powerful modern socialist country. I believe the hearts of the two generations beat as one on this fundamental question.

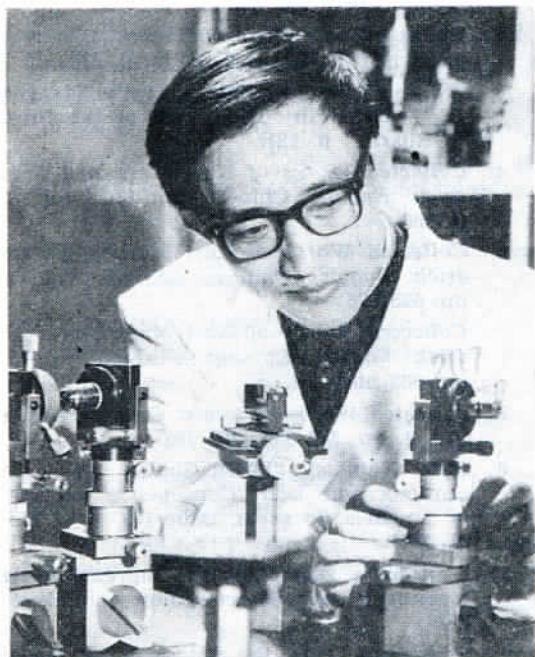
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## ***Distinguishing Between New and Old China***

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The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of a fundamentally new era in modern Chinese history. For the previous century after 1840, imperialist powers had collaborated with China's feudal rulers, causing the country to degenerate into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.

Subsequent to the Opium War, there was no imperialist country that did not invade China or fleece our people. The unequal treaties signed by the reactionary governments of old China following the Sino-British Treaty of Nanking numbered over 1,000. Foreign troops were stationed in China, foreign concessions were set up in some cities, and many areas were carved out by foreign powers as spheres of influence. In terms of indemnities, the 1842 Treaty of Nanking alone forced the Qing Government to pay the equivalent of one-third of its annual revenue. As to territorial cessions, the Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun signed in 1858 yielded over 600,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory to Russia; the 1860 Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking ceded another 400,000 square kilometres of territory; and the 1895 Sino-Japanese Treaty of Shimonoseki surrendered Taiwan and the surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands and the Liaodong Peninsula to



**Hu Guohua, a young engineer of an environmental research institute in Beijing.**

Japan. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, all China's inland and coastal provinces, big and medium-sized cities and vital communication lines were occupied by the Japanese aggressors. In the four years after the war, the publicly announced treaties and agreements signed by the Chiang Kai-shek clique with the United States numbered 40. These accords meant China's giving up its sovereign rights, territorial sovereignty, power over military, financial and foreign affairs and even the prerogative over its internal affairs.

In my childhood, I learnt about national humiliation. This left a strong impression on me. In a textbook China was depicted as a mulberry leaf which the imperialist powers, like hungry and greedy silkworms, were nibbling away at. In those days, foreign soldiers guarding the foreign embassies in Beijing carried loaded guns and glared at passing Chinese. No Chinese were allowed to enter a stadium on the site of Beijing's present-day Dongdan Park. It was open only to foreigners. We had to suffer insults in our own motherland. How could a fairminded Chinese tolerate this kind of life?

You young people attending today's meeting did not experience those times when our land and our people were humiliated. But you should remember we once experienced such things and must never allow them to come back.

After the People's Republic was established, did we sign any unequal treaties with any imperialists or social-imperialists? No. On the contrary, we resolutely abolished many unequal treaties signed by the reactionary governments. Did we ever pay one cent, cede one inch of land or sell out any of our sovereign rights to the imperialists or social-imperialists? Never. Moreover, our troops have, on several occasions, repulsed invaders and defended our motherland.

In New China, the people have become masters of the country and their own destiny, and overseas Chinese have come under the care and protection of the motherland. The country's more than 50 nationalities enjoy equality and unity, and our great motherland is now truly united as never before. We have established the state power of the people's democracy, organized social life in accordance with the interests of the people and carried out economic construction in a planned way. Our international prestige has climbed to an unprecedented height.

The mistake of launching the "cultural revolution" plus the sabotage of the Lin Biao



Zhou Xuejun of Fujian Province has been honoured as a national labour model in the effort to lead other educated young people to study agricultural techniques and enormously boost grain output.

and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques brought havoc to the nation and the people. But even during these particularly difficult times, our Party and people, to defend the interests of our socialist motherland, did a great deal of effective work. Progress was made in some sections of the economy. China's international status as a powerful socialist country was maintained and even enhanced.

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### **Socialist System and Party Leadership**

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Though the socialist system suffered a tremendous setback and there were shortcomings and errors—including serious ones—in the Party's leadership, the socialist system and Party leadership have taken root in China's soil and in the hearts of its 1,000 million people. This, with its firm historical foundation, is unshakable.

The founding of the People's Republic of China signified that we Chinese people have stood up. The time has gone for ever when the imperialists or social-imperialists can ride roughshod over us. No sabotage, whether from outside or within, can ruin us. And the era of subservience and humiliation has come to an end for good. This is an unalterable fact and in it lies China's hope and future.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, while affirming the great achievements won since the founding of New China, the Party

has made a thorough analysis of experiences and lessons and it is trying hard to correct the "Leftist" mistakes in its guiding thought. The fruits of this Party policy have been universally recognized. During this course, ideological confusion has appeared in society. Some people have played down or negated the achievements of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. In fact, they negate in different degrees the four fundamental principles (to keep to the socialist road, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.)

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. The proof of Marxism's veracity is that its fundamental principles have been verified and constantly enriched and developed by 100 years of practice of the socialist movement. Marx and Engels wrote about socialist revolution and socialist society, but they never held that future history would develop exactly the way they had envisaged.

We successfully carried out socialist revolution and construction in this large but backward country with a long history of feudal rule not only because we adhered to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism but also because our Party, under the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries, aptly applied these principles to the Chinese reality. We blazed a successful path for socialist revolution and construction that is imbued with our own national characteristics and at the same time has international significance.

The People's Republic of China has maintained itself as a big socialist country for over 30 years. This is an objective reality no

one can deny or obliterate. The Chiang Kai-shek clique's much-vaunted scheme to counterattack the mainland, the U.S. imperialists' attempt to strangle New China, the treacherous behaviour of the Khrushchov clique in unilaterally tearing up agreements, the provocations of the Brezhnev regime and the 10 years of sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques—all these have been defeated. This has proved that socialist China stands firm and is indestructible. This proves most convincingly that despite all its shortcomings and errors China's revolution and construction are a success. We are now correcting our own mistakes in earnest and are drawing lessons from our experiences. The history of our Party, people and state has proved and will go on proving that our experience in socialist revolution and construction will go down in historical records as an asset for the international communist movement. This is the pride of Chinese Communists, the Chinese working class and also an honour for the Chinese nation.

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### ***Uniting With the People***

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Always be one with the people, believe and rely on the people and fight ceaselessly for the interests of the people—this is the sole aim of every Communist and also a fundamental guarantee for the development of the Party's cause.

In this respect, Comrade Mao Zedong set us a fine example in his lifelong struggle.

During the early days of his revolutionary activities, Comrade Mao Zedong enthusiastically and carefully helped fellow members of the Xinmin Society go abroad to study, work and learn Marxism. But he himself volunteered to stay at home, participating in the movements of students, workers and peasants so as to better understand China's national conditions. In summing up the experience of the 1911 Revolution, he found the major reason for its failure to be the lack of a big change in the rural areas. During the Great Revolution (1924-27) and for quite a long period after its failure, he struggled arduously against Chen Duxiu's and Wang Ming's Right and "Left" opportunist lines which neglected the role of the peasantry. He also led the Party to

*(Continued on p. 29.)*

**Early every morning before opening time, young people line up outside the Shanghai Library.**



# A Promising Young Generation

by Our Correspondent Li Ming

*Are China's 200 million young people a lost generation, victims of the gang of four who will never make a contribution to the development of the country? Or are they full of promise and eager to work for the modernization of China? One of our correspondents decided to answer this question by finding out what a recent survey on China's youth showed, by interviewing Gao Zhanxiang, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and by talking with a number of young people from different backgrounds.*

— Ed.

## An Opinion Poll of the Young

LAST year three teachers of the school under the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League queried about 1,000 young people in factories, communes, schools and city neighbourhoods in Fujian and Anhui Provinces. Questionnaires were distributed and the findings were later published in a *Renmin Ribao* article.

In the report, published here in a condensed form, the three teachers identified the following characteristics among the younger generation:

1) Over half of the group polled believe that the socialist system is superior. Among the nearly 25 per cent of the young people who believe that the socialist system is not clearly su-

perior, many wrote remarks on their questionnaires like: "The real socialist system is superior," "Superior but not perfect," "The socialist system is good in theory, but not in practice" and "The socialist system is advancing amidst hope and hardship." Among the 9.9 per cent who cannot see any superiority or don't know which is better, some wrote comments like, "I don't know what a socialist system is." Such remarks indicate real confusion. One person wrote on this part of the questionnaire: "The

officials are superior," a clear condemnation of the privileged bureaucracy.

2) The responses to "What Is Your Ideal?" and "What Is Your Favourite Proverb or Saying?" show that the majority of youth are concerned about the country's future and want China to develop quickly into a powerful nation. However, these young people hold different philosophies towards life, with some seeming to lack firm convictions.

From their answers to "What Is Your Ideal?" we conclude that 78.4 per cent (713 people) have very high aspirations which extend beyond their own personal concerns,

### WHAT IS YOUR IDEAL?

|                                                       |     | %    |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|------|
| Total number polled                                   | 909 | 100  |
| To build China into a prosperous and powerful country | 212 | 23.2 |
| To work for the welfare of the people                 | 138 | 15.2 |
| To modernize the country                              | 267 | 29.4 |
| To work for communism                                 | 96  | 10.6 |
| To be a worker                                        | 36  | 4    |
| To be a soldier, sailor or airman                     | 21  | 2.3  |
| To be a scientist or technician                       | 44  | 4.9  |
| To be a teacher, journalist or author                 | 25  | 2.7  |
| To be an artist, athlete or literary and art worker   | 4   | 0.4  |
| To enjoy life                                         | 5   | 0.6  |
| To have a happy family life                           | 37  | 4.1  |
| To get rich                                           | 9   | 1    |
| Not interested in anything                            | 4   | 0.4  |
| Disillusioned                                         | 11  | 1.2  |

### HOW DO YOU VIEW THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM?

|                           |     | %    |
|---------------------------|-----|------|
| Number polled             | 987 | 100  |
| Superior                  | 638 | 64.6 |
| Not much better           | 235 | 23.8 |
| Can't see any superiority | 63  | 6.4  |
| Don't know                | 35  | 3.5  |
| Others                    | 16  | 1.6  |

### WHAT IS YOUR FAVOURITE PROVERB OR SAYING?

|                                                                                                                   | Number polled | %    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|
|                                                                                                                   | 810           | 100  |
| Genius comes from hard work and knowledge has to be accumulated                                                   | 307           | 37.9 |
| Everyone has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country                                                | 132           | 16.3 |
| With a fierce brow, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers; head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children | 81            | 10   |
| Birds are beautiful because of their feathers; people are beautiful because of their hard work                    | 75            | 9.3  |
| Lofty aspiration does not necessarily come with age; without any, one may live a hundred empty years              | 70            | 8.6  |
| To get to the front in times of hardship, to stay behind in times of cheer                                        | 66            | 8.1  |
| If you don't enjoy yourself while young, you'll lose the chance of your life                                      | 32            | 4    |
| All things are empty and life is just a dream                                                                     | 15            | 1.9  |
| Life's purpose is to eat and drink                                                                                | 6             | 0.7  |
| Everyone for himself and the devil can take the hindmost                                                          | 20            | 2.5  |
| Others                                                                                                            | 6             | 0.7  |

### WHAT KIND OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS CONCERN YOU MOST?

|                                                             | Number polled | %    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|
|                                                             | 788           | 100  |
| Development of science and technology                       | 255           | 32.4 |
| Increased production                                        | 75            | 9.5  |
| Better living standards                                     | 117           | 14.9 |
| Prevention of emergence of careerists like the gang of four | 83            | 10.5 |
| Combating bureaucracy                                       | 69            | 8.8  |
| Development of education                                    | 51            | 6.5  |
| Rich cultural life                                          | 48            | 6.1  |
| Better social order                                         | 45            | 5.7  |
| Promotion of democracy and a legal system                   | 44            | 5.6  |

3) The characteristic of young people which was revealed in their answers to "What Kind of Social Problems Concern You Most?"

is that they are most concerned about the country's economic development and other practical problems.

In conducting the survey, an attempt was made to select as broad and diverse a group as possible. The three teachers went to 5 factories (Anhui Tractor Plant, the Hefei Cardboard Box Factory, the Fuzhou Silk Print-

ing and Dyeing Mill, the Printing and Dyeing Mill, the Fuzhou Generating Equipment Plant and the Xiamen Bearing Plant), one department store in Fuzhou, 2 universities, (Fuzhou University and Xiamen University), 2 middle schools (one in Hefei and one in Fuzhou) one commune in Anhui and 2 production brigades in Fujian and 2 neighbourhoods (one in Fuzhou and one in Xiamen).

## How to View the Young Generation

— An interview with Gao Zhanxiang, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League

**Question:** There are several ways of viewing today's young generation in China. Some think it is the "lost generation," some see it as a "confused generation," and some deem it a "thinking generation." What is your view?

**Answer:** It's hard to generalize about the young generation in one or two phrases. The best method is to concretely analyse the youth from their different

levels of political consciousness, actual behaviour and state of mind.

Although young people were poisoned by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques in various degrees and were deprived of advanced study in the 10-year tumult of the "cultural revolution," they are now working very hard to make up for the loss. Many have been studying science and raising their educa-



Gao Zhanxiang.

tional level, so as to meet the needs of the new period.

According to statistics from some industrial cities, workers in their 20s and 30s who took jobs after 1966 comprise more

than half the work force. Clearly, young people are the main force in socialist construction. The vast majority support the Party and the socialist system, and are filled with initiative. Although some were confused and became depressed politically and had doubts about social abuses, the formulation of the Party's policies in the new period gave them inspiration and new confidence. Most have become increasingly conscious of the relationship between the future of the state and that of the individual. Therefore they long for the swift modernization of the motherland and are studying and working hard to achieve this goal. They represent the mainstream of the younger generation.

The moral standards of the young generation are rising. Recently, more than 2 million young people and teenagers in Shanghai used their holidays and spare time to maintain traffic order, help the aged and the young, beautify the environment and propagate information on hygiene. One hundred thousand young people have been organized into 6,000 spare-time service teams to take photographs, cut hair, make clothes and repair daily utensils at no or a very low cost. Serving in factories, mines, communes, schools, colleges and government institutions, they are much appreciated by the masses. These activities manifest the spiritual outlook of the current young generation.

The young generation is primarily good and is quite promising. Some people have reached the wrong conclusion about this generation because they view it from a partial or superficial perspective.

**Q:** What are the main characteristics of this generation?

**A:** The characteristics have been determined by their special social environment.

Most young people today grew up in an atmosphere of political tumult. Compared with those youth of the 50s and 60s, they have a much broader experience, are more sensitive to political questions and have a better understanding of the complexities of life. Most of the participants in the Tian An Men incident of April 5, 1976, which was a protest against the gang of four, were young people.

Because they encountered several ideological setbacks, they like to think independently. They will not readily believe in or blindly follow anything or anybody. In order to make up for the studying time they have lost, most of them have a strong urge for learning and are willing to dig deep into all sorts of questions. These are their strong points. Because they have gone through many twists and turns and had comparatively more contacts with the negative aspects of society, it is only to be expected that they would have some confused ideas about some of the questions they have probed into.

The ideological tendency of young people after the downfall of the gang of four is healthy. They hope for a stable society and the improvement of living standards and are concerned about the future of their motherland. In the wake of the Party Central Committee's correct summary on the work of the 32 years since the founding of New China, they have strengthened their faith

in the Party. Many have devoted themselves to China's cause for the four modernizations. In my opinion these are the main characteristics of the young generation.

**Q:** Do the youth who grew up in the "cultural revolution" have any difficulties in adapting to the current situation? How do the Party, the government and the Communist Youth League help them solve these difficulties?



Zhen Yongxiang (left), a former sailor, has been appointed captain of a ship.

**A:** Some among the young people cannot quickly apprehend the situation and policies of the transitional period. Some lack the ability to distinguish right from wrong. They are apt to be influenced by anarchism and feudal sentiments of brotherhood. A correct world outlook did not root itself in quite a number of young people. A few acted wildly in defiance of law or public opinion, with some even becoming criminals. The knowledge or technical level of quite a few is low, and is inadequate for the needs of the country's modernization. We are now paying quite a bit of attention to these problems.

Many young people became more optimistic about the future of their country when a

series of principles and policies were put forth after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee which was convened at the end of 1978. They have expressed support for the shifting of the focus of the nation's work on to economic construction, the expansion of the right to self-management in state-owned enterprises, the establishment of various forms of a responsibility system for production in the rural areas, the enrolment of those who excelled in the entrance examination of institutes of higher education, the gradual increase of the proportion of young and middle-aged in the leading bodies and the policies of giving play to socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system. The young generation has come to know that its longing for a good life is identical with the realization of the aim of modernization.

The government pays great attention to solving the problems of youth which develop around studying, finding employment, marriage, and cultural and recreational activities. In the past four years, over 20 million young people have been given employment. In order to raise the scientific and educational level of young workers, some 3,600 spare-time vocational schools, including colleges, were set up across the country last year. More than 8.73 million workers and staff members are studying in these schools either in the evening or during work time with permission: most of them are young people. In 1980, 15.28 million yuan were spent to build recreational centres for young people and children with a



A computer group at the Youth Palace in Shanghai.

view to enriching their spare-time and extra-curriculum activities.

Of course, because of inadequate financial and material resources, we cannot solve all the difficulties of the young people overnight. Most of the youth can understand this.

**Q:** Can it be said that these young people, who feel the Party has committed mistakes and some cadres are behaving badly and thus wonder whether the Party has the ability to lead the Chinese people in modernization, are experiencing a "crisis in confidence"?

**A:** It is true that our Party has committed mistakes. Shortcomings like bureaucratism and privilege-seeking indeed exist among some cadres. Some young people feel that there are too many problems in the present society and do not have much confidence in the four modernizations. But I would not call this a "confidence crisis." These youngsters are ignorant about the 60-year history of the Party's struggle for the

happiness of the Chinese people. They see only the distorted image of the Party and society during the 10 years of the "cultural revolution." It is completely natural that they would have doubts. These erroneous views will gradually change as long as we give them proper guidance and education and the economy continues to develop and the Party's style of work improves.

**Q:** With the growth of China's economic and cultural exchanges with foreign countries, a tendency of copying Western ways of life and seeking personal material benefits has appeared among some young people. What is being done about this new problem?

**A:** We do not indiscriminately oppose "Western ways of life," but oppose those bourgeois habits which are decadent, moribund and vulgar. We do not oppose legitimate, personal interests and material enjoyment. We should satisfy the people's growing material and cultural requirements on the



basis of expanded production. We oppose individualism which consists of enjoying life, laziness and damaging the state's interests.

The influence of Western bourgeois decadent way of life has already become a focus of attention of our entire society. It is nothing to be surprised about. We believe that most young people, with proper guidance and education, can discriminate the beautiful from the ugly.

The moral education of the "five stresses and four points of beauty"\* sponsored recently by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Women's Federation, the Chinese Communist Youth League

and six other mass organizations is an important measure to strengthen the education of children and young people. It has already resulted in an increase in the number of well-mannered young people and a decrease in the incidences of rudeness. The number of young people who observe discipline, safeguard social morality and are glad to help others is on the rise, while there are increasingly less young people who participate in gang fighting and disrupt public order. In addition, the education in the traditions of self-reliance and hard work and in patriotism will continue.

\* See footnote on p. 29.

## The Most Vigorous Force

**T**HE younger generation which experienced 10 years of political upheaval knows that its future is closely connected with China's. Therefore, young people today are achieving daily progress in their studies and work. They are the most vigorous force in the work units.

### Young Men of Action

"Today, I increasingly feel the weight of my responsibility. But I will do my best to live up to the demands of my job," commented 27-year-old Zu Guodan of the Beijing Silk Flower Factory to this correspondent. In March last year, he nominated himself to be director of the plastic flower workshop—a key post in the production of the whole factory. Since his appointment, the shop's output value has increased fourfold.



Zu Guodan is examining his factory's production output record.

Self-nominations are a new development of the economic reforms. Many talented young people have assumed leading posts through this procedure and have become the backbone in production.

"What did you think when you nominated yourself?" I asked him.

"I was very eager to change the backwardness of my shop," said this tall, rather thin man, smiling. "And I knew what the job entailed as I had already worked in the shop and was familiar with the equipment and workers there."

Since assuming the post, this young man has worked resolutely in a down-to-earth manner. He tries to solve problems the moment they arise. In the past, the shop did not set reasonable work quotas for each worker and bonuses were shared equally. Zu Guodan and the workers set production quotas for every machine and for every kind of product. At the same time, he changed the system of rewards so that no bonus was given to anyone who performed badly. These measures aroused the workers' enthusiasm for production and increased the output of every machine. A month later, the shop's monthly output value rose from 200,000 to 370,000 yuan. In the following months, the output value continued to go up steadily until it reached 600,000 yuan, which is higher than Zu pledged when he nominated himself.

Zu Guodan is not content with his achievements. He told me that he hopes to study economic management at the China People's University so that he can do his job better.

Young people like Zu Guodan, who have done their share for the country at their work place, are too numerous to be listed. They are emerging everywhere and make up the backbone of socialist China.

### First-Rate Scientists in the Making

The fourth-year class of the Department of Applied Mathematics was admitted to Qinghua University in 1977, the

year China restored the system of entrance examinations which had been suspended for 11 years. In the next three years, more than 1.3 million young people were enrolled into universities.

The class has 38 students who come from Jiangsu, Hebei, Shanghai and Beijing. Seven are from peasant and worker families and the rest are from cadre and intellectual families.

As I walked along the corridors of the students' dormitories, which were filled with lines of hanging wet laundry, I noticed that the conditions were not very good. The rooms were a bit crowded, with six students living in each one. Although the yearly state allocations for education are quite large, it will take a fairly long time to create a better study environment.

However, students in this class do not mind these conditions. They know that they are among the fortunate, for only 5 per cent of the 5 to 6 million students who sit for the entrance examinations every year are admitted.

Hua Su, at 34, is the oldest in the class. She has short hair, wears glasses and looks sharp and capable. She told me that she graduated from a senior middle school in 1966 at the

onset of the "cultural revolution." She went to the countryside to work as a middle school teacher and had no access to university, though her father is Hua Luogeng, the famous Chinese mathematician, and she herself is also interested in mathematics. It was not until the entrance examinations were restored that she was enrolled into Qinghua University. She said: "I support the Party's present policies. Though many things need to be improved in China, the Party's style of work of seeking truth from facts has greatly raised the Party's prestige among the masses of the people."

Many students in the class like a motto which comes from a saying by Lenin: An engineer recognizes communism through the practical results obtained in the subject he is studying. Some said proudly that they hoped to be first-rate scientists so as to make more contributions to the country. Ji Chuanshu, who has experiences similar to those of Hua Su, is a hard-working student and chairman of the Students' Association of the Department of Applied Mathematics. He is 32 years old and worked in a coal mine for nine years. Speaking of his academic aims, he said: "I will never forget those coal miners. It is their hard work which provides the wealth for us to study."

These students do not spout the fallacious dictum once advocated by the gang of four that the more knowledge one has, the more reactionary one becomes. Instead, they study diligently, laying a solid foundation for future studies. After being admitted to Qinghua University, which is known in China as "a university of the highest learning in science and engineering," they have done

excellently in their studies. Less than two years after coming to the university, the class was asked by the university authorities to sit for an examination which is usually administered to enrol graduate students. They all took the examination in mathematical analysis, and 21 passed. Of the 28 students who sat for the higher algebra examination, 16 passed.

Do those in the class who have a poor foundation find it difficult to keep up? Gong Linguo, who comes from Chuansha County on the outskirts of Shanghai, answered: "We help each other. The better students never refuse to help us and I ask them when I have difficulties. Therefore, I can keep up with them." Gong is a son of a peasant. No one in his family for the last several generations has received a single day of schooling. When he first started classes, he had trouble doing his homework and understanding his professors because of his poor foundation. He grew anxious and had insomnia for two weeks. With his classmates' help and his own efforts, he was able to bridge the difficulty and is now preparing to take the post-graduate examination.

### A Promising Future

In January 1979, 25-year-old Zhang Zhanying returned to Beijing after working for 10 years on a state farm in northeast China, only to find that she could not get a job. At that time, there were some 340,000 jobless young people in Beijing alone. The state cannot immediately solve this employment problem because of the damage wrought to China's economic and financial sector during the "cultural revolution." What is to be done with these young people?



Hua Su, Gong Linguo and Ji Chuanshu (from left to right) are reviewing their lessons for an examination.



Zhang Zhanying (second from right), manager of the Tea and Pastries Service Centre, with her colleagues.

The sub-district neighbourhood agency in Zhang's area is deeply concerned with the plight of these young people. Its investigation of the problem revealed that while there were many young people waiting for employment, many jobs needed to be done. For instance, there were not enough commercial outlets and service centres to satisfy the public's needs. Encouraged by the neighbourhood agency, Zhang Zhanying and another 12 young people started a tea stand in April 1979 on Qianmen Street, one of Beijing's bustling business sections.

They raised their own funds and borrowed some gas tanks, thermoses and stools from their own homes or from their neighbours. Though they did not fear material difficulties, the old view that tea-selling is demeaning often troubled them. When Shi Yuping, one of the 13, began selling tea, her parents tried to stop her and others ridiculed her. "At that time," she recalled, "I did not pay any attention. I had made up my mind to go my own way."

Their tea stand was an immediate success. In the first 10 days of operation, they earned 639 yuan. They each took a

beginning wage of 1.5 yuan a day, which is about the same as a first-grade worker\* gets in a state-owned enterprises, and invested the remainder to convert their team stand into a refreshment service centre called the Qianmen Tea and Pastries Service Centre, where they sold tea, ice cream, pictures, small daily necessities and pastries.

A few months later, the state-owned enterprises in Beijing began recruiting new workers. Zhang Zhanying and some of the others working at the refreshment centre decided to turn down the state jobs even though they would have got regular wages, enjoyed better labour insurance and received a better welfare package. They have faith that they can run their collectively owned enterprise well. A leader of their district encouraged with the remark: "Your work is significant. If you have any difficulties, the Party will help you overcome them."

The workers at this restaurant service centre are all very conscientious. Xiao Hou, the

\* In Chinese factories, an eight-grade wage scale is practised, with the eighth-grade being the highest.

deputy leader of the dumpling soup group, works particularly hard because he really appreciates the opportunity and the trust. He encountered much difficulty when he was looking for a job as he had once stayed two years in a reformatory. Some factories did not want to employ him, but the centre was willing to take him on. Zhang Zhanying explained her reasoning this way: "He is young. We must take care of him and let him earn a living."

Li Ming, 21, as the leader of the group of textiles and other articles has played a key role in expanding the volume of business. His success stems from his diligent study of management practices of the old masters, the properties of commodities and his customers' tastes.

The deputy manager of the Qianmen Tea and Pastries Service Centre is Shi Yuping, a reliable and capable young woman. When I visited her, she was busy preparing the attendance and pay sheets. From the way she worked, I could see that she is impartial and is not swayed by personal considerations. She criticizes those who have stayed out of work without leave or a good reason and praises those who have made progress, no matter how slight.

In only two years, the centre has developed from a tea stand with 13 people and a monthly turnover of 1,000 yuan into a collective establishment with 236 workers, 9 business outlets, one wholesale department and a monthly turnover of more than 1.4 million yuan.

Now, these young people can earn on the average 60 to 70 yuan every month (about the same wage as a fifth-grade

worker in a state-owned enterprise). From their income, they realize that the collective economy is promising. One commented happily: "Under the socialist system, all young people can have a promising future. Now no one has doubts about how long our centre will stay open or about the prospects for the collective economy."

### A Scientific and Technical Group

Young people run the Shangezhuang Production Brigade, Heping People's Commune, on the eastern outskirts of Beijing. The brigade's Party branch secretary and 70 per cent of its specialized team leaders and group leaders are all relatively young.

In mid-spring when the wheat turns green and the rape yellow, I visited the brigade and talked to Kan Zhentang, the brigade's Party secretary. A tall, slim and taciturn fellow, he is the youngest to hold this post in the brigade's history, having taken



Kan Zhentang, Ma Zhong, Zhang Yong and Lin Guirong (from right to left) during an interview with our correspondent.

the job eight years ago at the age of 28.

He said that he liked mathematics and literature. But when he graduated from a senior middle school in 1965, he was not admitted to university and went home to the countryside to work in agriculture.

Eight years later, Kan took the post of Party secretary. The brigade's grain output was small, and so was its members' income, its public accumulation funds and the size of its contribution to the state. Kan's analysis of the situation led him to conclude that the cost of agricultural production was too high. He became very economy-minded, explaining to the commune members how high costs had affected their incomes. He let everybody know how important business accounting was.

By 1980, agricultural expenditures in Shangezhuang were only 28 per cent of its farm income, considerably lower than the average of 46 per cent for the Beijing area. How did they achieve such good results? Kan explained that the role of the young people's scientific and technical group had been key.

Zhang Yong, the deputy leader of the brigade, is at once leader of the rice-growing team and a member of the scientific and technical group. He is sturdy and talkative.

He said that they calculate carefully at every stage of the growing process. In growing rice, for example, care is given to selecting seed, raising seedlings, watering, weeding and spreading manure. In the past, one *mu* of land (equal to one-fifteenth of a hectare) sown to rice would need 10 kilogrammes of seed. But now it needs only 2.5 to 5 kilogrammes.

The scientific and technical group analyses the soil annually. According to the fertility of each plot and the properties of different fertilizers, it determines what kind and how much fertilizer should be used. Since fertilizer is applied to the roots of the plants, one *jin* of grain (half a kilogramme) only needs 0.014 yuan's worth of fertilizer, less than one-third of the average for Beijing. In 1980, their net income from agriculture was more than 300 yuan per capita, one of the best in the country.

People were quite enthusiastic about Zhang Yong's role in the scientific and technical group.

Lin Guirong, a 32-year-old woman who has been a member of the scientific and technical group for 10 years, is now in charge of an experimental plot for breeding new strains of rice. She said: "Zhang Yong is receptive to new things. Several years ago, he read an article in a newspaper which described the efforts of the Beijing Academy of Agricultural Sciences to breed a new rice strain. He immediately got in contact with the academy and obtained some seeds for our brigade. The overall benefit for our brigade was quite significant."

Using a new rice strain last year resulted in a bumper crop, with each hectare averaging 6.9 tons, but they still did not feel content. Zhang Yong remarked thoughtfully: "I often mull over the question what the maximum output for one *mu* is. In fact, there is a great deal of potential to be tapped in our fields. Because of the drought this year, we plan to experiment with growing rice on 500-*mu* dry land and to use an experimental weed killer. If we suc-

ceed, we need not transplant rice seedlings next year."

In addition to agricultural production, Kan Zhentang also pays attention to developing sideline occupations and diversifying the economy. Under his leadership, 17 teams were formed to work on livestock, fish, vegetables, forestry and industry. In addition, an enamel factory was built in 1973 and its output value reached 510,000 yuan last year.

Thanks to the efforts of these young people, their brigade is

no longer backward. Its newly found prosperity is evidenced by the free medical programme, free primary school education and old-age pensions. Young men no longer have difficulties finding wives; now the women in Shangezhuang do not like to marry into other brigades. Last year, the brigade's savings deposits amounted to more than 110,000 yuan, averaging 100 yuan per capita. We saw rows upon rows of new, tile-roofed, brick houses, which were as well furnished, if not even bet-

ter furnished, than the average urban home. There are TV sets in 40 per cent of the families.

From these young people, we see that a new generation of intellectual and scientifically minded peasants is developing in China. When I was about to leave the brigade, Kan Zhentang gave me a clipping of an article he had published in a national economic journal. I learnt that he was preparing to take the examination for farm management personnel. I wished him success. □

(Continued from p. 20.)

take the road of armed revolution, in which the cities were encircled from the countryside and then captured.

Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes on certain questions in his later years when he was seriously ill. However, he always maintained a sober mind, a staunch determination and high vigilance on any issue of national independence, sovereignty and security. His resistance to Khrushchov's patriarchal behaviour and hegemonic acts is an example.

Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years brought great misfortunes to the country and the people. But in terms of his whole life, his merits are primary and his mistakes secondary. He deserves to be recognized as the greatest proletarian revolutionary and the greatest national hero of the Chinese nation. His greatness lies in his loyalty to the Chinese people, his unswerving faith in their might and his staunch class stand, patriotism and revolutionary will as a Communist. We should draw lessons from Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. But his spirit of fighting tenaciously and unceasingly for the people's cause must not be forgotten and is something we should all emulate.

Always stand with the people and defend and represent their interests — this is what our Party has consistently taught young people. The achievements of great men are always in proportion to their efforts to safeguard and represent the interests of the people. Those who are with the people go forward; those who divorce themselves from or oppose the people

go backward or may even become reactionaries. This is a historical truth.

The youth of modern China have played a tremendous role in the revolutionary movement. During the 1976 revolutionary mass movement at Tian An Men Square, many young people, guided by Marxism, heroically came to the fore and made great contributions to the smashing of the gang of four. In recent years, numerous outstanding youths have appeared in various trades through their hard study and work. At present a movement to learn from Lei Feng\* and a campaign of five stresses and four points of beauty\*\* are being carried out. These are educating a new generation and are conducive to social stability and modernization. It is necessary to carry out these campaigns more thoroughly and persistently. Communist ideals, morality and values should be encouraged and young people should be commended when they display them. I hope that all the young people will exert themselves in study and work, further raise their ideology and morality and strive to rapidly acquire a correct world outlook, a strong physique and professional ability.

Today belongs to both you young people and us old people but the future only belongs to you. Modernized socialist China will belong to our youth. Young people are not only the builders of a modernized China but also its masters. □

\* Lei Feng was a P.L.A. hero who died while on duty in 1962 (see our issue No. 10, 1981, p. 6).

\*\* The five stresses are: stress on decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline and morals. The four points of beauty are: beautification of the mind, language, behaviour and the environment (see our issue No. 15, 1981, p. 5).

## LITERATURE

100 Flowers Now  
Blooming

At the biggest national literary contests in China, 89 writers and poets were awarded for 80 poems, novelettes and reportage. The contests were sponsored by three national publications last May at the request of the Chinese Writers' Association. Bai Hua's *Spring Tide in Sight*, a poem tracing the difficult years of China's revolutionary wars, was one of the 35 prize-winning poems which, chosen from a field of over 4,500, span a wide variety of subjects, styles and perspectives. Satirical pieces on bureaucratic and corrupt officials, patriotic works like Shu Ting's *China, My Beloved Motherland* and a eulogy to Zhang Zhixin, executed during the "cultural revolution" for her opposition to the autocracy of Lin Biao and the gang of four, were all among the top poetic endeavours. Of special interest in this group is Li Famo's *Outcry*, a narrative poem about the ill-fated love between a former landlord's granddaughter and the son of a worker. One of the first literary works to criticize the "class-inheritance" theory, which holds that a person's class outlook and behaviour is determined solely by one's family background, *Outcry* has been acclaimed as one of the outstanding poetic works of recent years.

Top honours in the novelette category went to Sen Rong for her *As She Reaches Middle Age*, the story of a middle-aged woman doctor who, despite the hardships and misfortunes she



Sen Rong (right) receiving the first prize for her novelette "As She Reaches Middle Age."

is forced to endure, maintains a lasting devotion to her work.

Also of note are a number of medium-length novels depicting rural life and some of the tragic experiences of the 10 disastrous years. *Voyage Down an Uncharted River* by Ye Weilin, for example, uses the eyes of a country boy on his way to college by river-raft to reveal the destructive effects of the chaotic "cultural revolution," as well as the way in which kind-hearted peasants bind together in times of stress and hardships.

A judging panel of top writers and critics awarded prizes for the nation's 30 best short nonfiction works of recent years. One of the first-prize winners, an essay entitled *Between Man and Demon*, highlights the damage brought about by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company on the Party's work style, leadership, legislation, democracy and the economy. Writer Liu Binyan, author of several influential essays in the 50s, reportedly revised some inaccuracies in this essay after readers' comments brought them to his attention.

Huang Zongying, former actress and widow of well-known film star Zhao Dan, also

won a top award for her reportage on a botanist sent to work in a remote mountain village. The report calls for an end to the prejudice against intellectuals prevalent in the past.

Other essays and reports cited by the panel include works on economic development, putting a mismanaged factory in order and life after prison for a convicted criminal.

All of the recently honoured literary works reflect the creativity and diversity of flourishing literature in China today. Most of the award-winning authors are in their youth or middle age, including university students, young workers and army men.

## OCEANOGRAPHY

Simulated Diving  
Experiment

Three Chinese aquanauts recently emerged safe and sound from an experimental diving chamber after successfully completing the country's first simulated underwater dive to a depth of 302 metres.

The experiment, completed on May 22, was conducted within a special pressurized chamber filled with helium and oxygen and located on a drilling rig in the South China Sea. The three aquanauts, Guo Chunrong, Yang

Haibin and Peng Jianhua, lived and worked in the chamber under high atmospheric pressure for 43 hours 30 minutes at a time with no abnormal effects on their breathing, heartbeats or brainwaves.

Only a few countries, including Britain, France, Japan and the United States, can presently conduct 300-metre dives. In 1979, China carried out a similar experiment simulating a 120-metre dive.

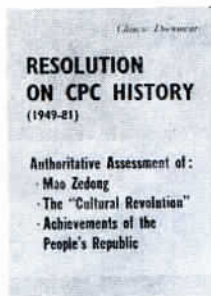
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(This is a translation of an article originally carried in the quarterly "Journal of International Studies," issue No. 1, 1981. Subheads are ours.)

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