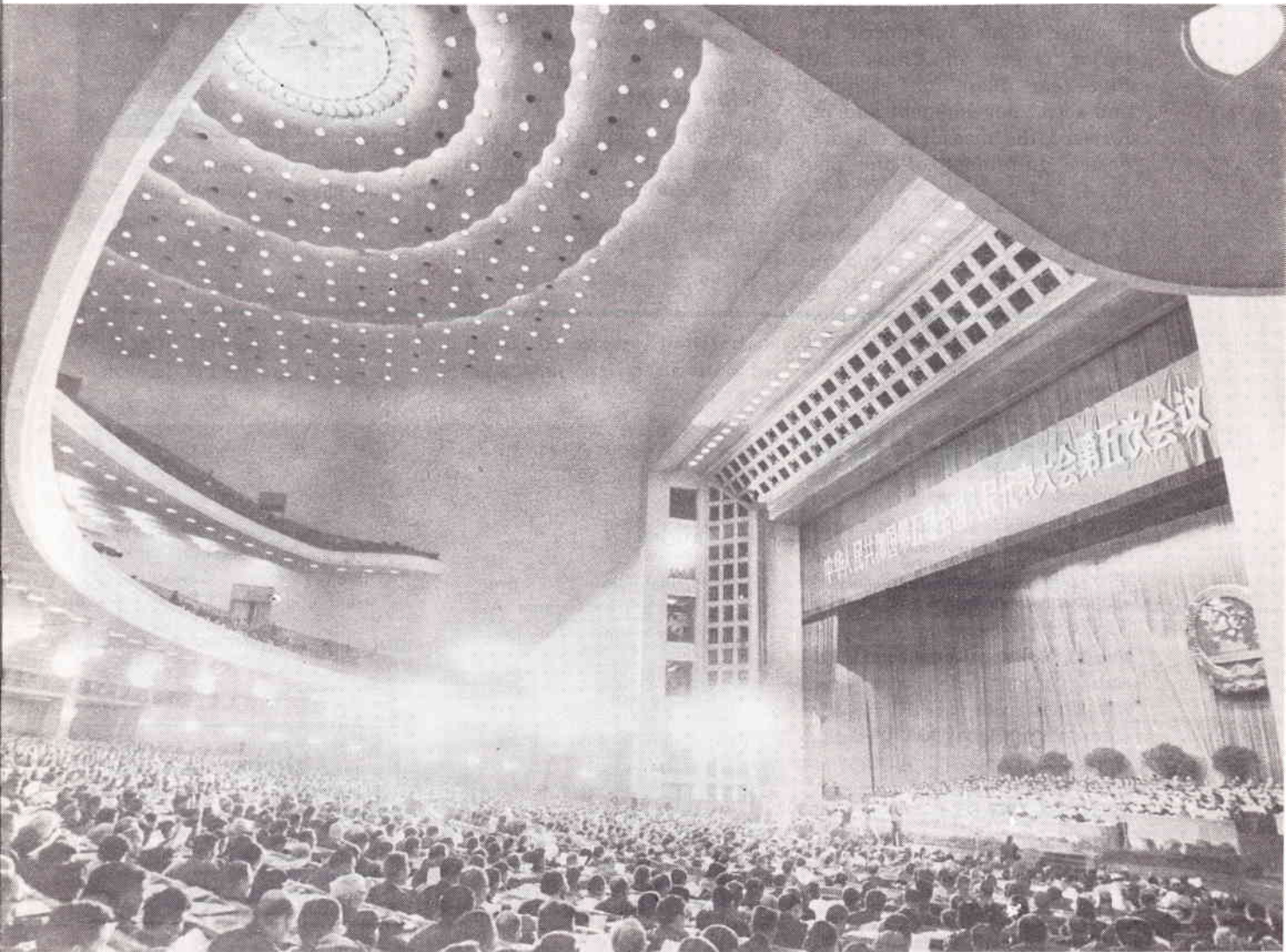


BEIJING REVIEW



A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- **New Constitution Adopted by NPC**
- **China's Success in the 9th Asian Games**



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

NPC Adopts China's New Constitution

After a 6-month nationwide discussion among the people, a new Constitution was adopted at the 5th Session of the 5th National People's Congress (p. 3).

Peng Zhen, Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, gave a detailed explanation of the revised Constitution (pp. 9-23).

Targets of 6th Five-Year Plan

In his report to the NPC, Premier Zhao announced the major targets of China's 6th Five-Year Plan for economic and social development and put forward the measures taken to ensure fulfilment of the plan (p. 4).

Premier Zhao to Visit Africa

Premier Zhao Ziyang will soon visit 10 African countries. This is an important step towards strengthening China's unity and co-operation with other third world countries (p. 5).

In Memory of Dr. Kotnis

An article by Jiang Yizhen, a member of the Central Advisory Commission and former Minister of Public Health, in memory of Dr. D.S. Kotnis, an Indian doctor who came to China to help the Chinese people in their fight against Japanese aggression (p. 24).

Asian Games

The 9th Asian Games ended in New Delhi with the chalking up of a number of new Asian

records. China did remarkably well, topping all other countries in gold medals tally for the first time since it participated in the Games in 1974 (p. 30).

Tibet's Traditional Handicraft

In the 4th of a series of five articles, our correspondent gives a report on carpet making in Gyangze, a city known as Tibet's carpet centre (p. 28).



The NPC meeting hall.
Photo by Guo Jianshe

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POLITICAL

New Constitution Adopted

A new Constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted by secret ballot at the fourth plenary meeting of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on December 4. The new Constitution contains 138 articles in four chapters.

After NPC Vice-Chairman Peng Zhen reported on the revision of the Constitution on November 26, deputies to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC held panel discussions on the draft and raised many suggestions for amending and supplementing it.

Many agreed that the new Constitution is much improved. First, it has summed up the historical experiences since the

founding of the People's Republic, particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. These experiences are now confirmed in legal form, to the satisfaction of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of all walks of life nationwide.

Second, the four cardinal principles of adhering to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought have been incorporated into the Constitution. These provide a guarantee that our socialist construction will advance along the correct road.

Third, it stresses building a socialist spiritual civilization in

the course of building a socialist material civilization thereby completing the contents of socialist construction.

The deputies also stated that people throughout the country took part in the discussions of the draft and that opinions from all quarters were canvassed. Such extensive democracy practically has no precedent, they said.

At the same meeting, a resolution was adopted on the functions and powers of the Standing Committee of the present National People's Congress. It stated: The Constitution of the People's Republic of China becomes effective immediately upon adoption. Prior to the election of the President and Vice-President of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, the functions and powers of the President of the People's Republic of China prescribed in the new Constitution cannot be carried out. These include: promulgating laws, appointing and removing State Council members, appointing and recalling plenipotentiary representatives stationed abroad, ratifying and abrogating treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign states and receiving foreign diplomatic representatives in pursuance of the decisions of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. During this period, the current NPC Standing Committee and its Chairman and Vice-Chairmen continue exercising their functions and powers as prescribed in the Constitution of 1978.

The meeting also passed a resolution to restore the original



Deputies casting ballots on the new Constitution.

words of the national anthem, the *March of the Volunteers* (which were changed at the NPC in March 1978).

On December 1, Finance Minister Wang Bingqian made a report on the implementation of the 1982 state budget and the draft budget for 1983.

He said that 1982 saw a reversal of the trend towards reduced revenue over the past

three years. The 1982 budget will be balanced despite increases in expenditures, he said.

Wang added that the total revenue expected for 1983 will be 123,200 million yuan, which is 11.3 per cent above the estimated revenue for 1982. Total expenditure is budgeted at 126,200 million yuan, with a deficit of 3,000 million yuan. Efforts will be made to reduce this deficit.

between credit receipts and payments, between industry and agriculture and between the light and heavy industries, and will maintain stable prices, he said.

China's total industrial and agricultural output value in 1981, the first year of the 6th Five-Year Plan, went up by 4.5 per cent over 1980 and an increase of 5.7 per cent is expected in 1982. The Premier said that the country has an increasing supply of commodities, considerably easing the shortage of consumer goods. The several-year trend of steady decreases in state revenue has started to change, and the balance of foreign exchange has been favourable for two consecutive years.

Major Targets of 6th Five-Year Plan

In the first half of this decade, China will strive to achieve fundamental improvements both financially and economically, according to Premier Zhao Ziyang.

The Premier's statement was part of his report to the National People's Congress on the 6th Five-Year Plan (1981-85) for economic and social development.

The report outlined a series of targets for economic construction before the end of 1985: A 21.7 per cent increase over the 1980 total industrial and agricultural output value; an average progressive increase rate of 6 per cent a year in per-capita net income for the peasants; an average annual increase of 4.9 per cent in China's total payroll; and a planned increase of 68 per cent over the 5th Five-Year Plan in expenditure on education, science, culture and public health service. China will also work on 890 modernized construction projects, of which 400 large and medium-sized ones will be completed before the end of 1985.

Other major targets for the 6th Five-Year Plan include:

Grain: output is expected to reach 360 million tons, an increase of 12.3 per cent over 1980;

Cotton: 3.6 million tons, up 33 per cent;

Coal: 700 million tons, up 12.9 per cent;

Electricity: 362,000 million kwh, up 20.4 per cent; and

Steel: 39 million tons, up 5.1 per cent.

The Premier recalled that in the 28 years from 1953 to 1980, the gross output value of agriculture grew at an average progressive rate of 3.4 per cent a year. During the 6th Five-Year Plan period, the target is 4 to 5 per cent a year.

The plan envisages a lower industrial growth rate than the average rate of the previous 28 years because the task of industrial readjustment remains very arduous and complicated, Zhao said. But the stress will be on better economic performance.

During the 6th Five-Year Plan, the government will work for a basic balance between state revenue and expenditure.

Zhao pointed out that shifting the focus of all economic work to improving economic results is the key to realizing the overall goal of the 6th Five-Year Plan in the next three years. To achieve this, he said, the following measures must be taken: strict control of the scale of investment in fixed assets; careful readjustment and all-round consolidation of existing enterprises; concentration on technical advances; and acceleration of the process of restructuring the economic system.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

China Supports Bangladesh

Premier Zhao Ziyang, in his talks with Lieutenant General H.M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers of Bangladesh, expressed his appreciation of the efforts made by Bangladesh to promote regional co-



Premier Zhao Ziyang and President H.M. Ershad hold talks.

operation in South Asia. He also expressed the hope that countries in South Asia, big or small, will treat each other as equals, live in friendliness and develop regional co-operation. This is conducive not only to the social development of these countries but also to peace and stability in that region.

President Ershad paid an official visit to China from November 27 to December 3 at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Zhao Ziyang praised Bangladesh for its active and important role in international affairs in recent years. He said that Bangladesh adheres to an independent and non-aligned foreign policy, upholds principles and justice and opposes aggression and expansion. Bangladesh has made efforts to improve its relations with neighbouring countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and to strengthen its unity with other Islamic and third world countries.

Zhao Ziyang said that the friendship and relations of co-

operation between China and Bangladesh conform to the interests of the two peoples and help maintain peace and stability in Asia. He also praised the government and people of Bangladesh for their successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and in developing their national economy.

During the President's stay in Beijing, an agreement on a loan by the Government of China to the Government of Bangladesh was signed on November 29.

Premier Zhao to Visit 10 African Countries

Premier Zhao Ziyang will visit Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Zaire, the Congo, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya in the near future. The Premier told diplomatic envoys to China from these 10 African countries in Beijing on December 4 that his coming trip to Africa is an important diplomatic step taken by the Chinese Government following the 12th

National Congress of the Communist Party of China. It shows that China attaches great importance to developing its friendship and co-operation with African and third world countries.

Premier Zhao said that the 12th National Congress of the CPC reiterated China's foreign policy, the basic point of which is China's unity and co-operation with other third world countries. The objective of his coming visit to Africa is to learn from the African countries and their peoples and to promote understanding, friendship and co-operation. The Premier said that he is looking forward to exchanging views with the leaders of these 10 countries on the further development of friendship and co-operation between China and these countries and on issues of common concern.

The Premier also said that he will exchange views with them on how to conduct economic co-operation with the African countries so as to put the sound political relations on a solid economic basis. He expressed confidence that there are broad prospects for developing economic co-operation between China and other third world countries.



Call for Immediate Withdrawal Of Soviet Troops From Afghanistan

AFTER three days of heated debate, the 37th UN General Assembly on November 29 adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

The resolution, the fourth of its kind since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in 1978, was approved by a vote of 114 to 21 with 13 abstentions. It once again showed the international community's strong demand for an end to the military aggression and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

Common Condemnation

Most of the international community has condemned Moscow for its invasion and cruel suppression of the Afghan

people and has strongly rejected the Soviet pretexts and rationalizations for its aggressive action. Many UN members have also stressed that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the root cause of the tensions in Southwest Asia that have made this region a new focal point of international conflict. The Soviet Government has obstinately refused to implement the UN resolutions demanding Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. It also refuses to abandon its southward thrust strategy. Its invasion not only violates the principles of the UN Charter, but also seriously jeopardizes the peace and security of the world, of Southwest Asia in particular.

The question of Afghanistan is, in essence, one of armed invasion and military occupation

of a third world, non-aligned and Islamic country by a super-power. Representatives of some countries said that aggression by a larger military power against a weak and small neighbouring country can no longer be tolerated.

Correct Political Settlement

One current trend worth noting is the tricks by which the Soviet Union is attempting to extricate itself from its Afghan quagmire. By emphasizing other major world events it tries to draw attention away from the Afghan question, hoping the international community will forget this issue. On the other hand, it glibly proposes a "political settlement" to the Afghan problem as a ruse to disguise its intended permanent occupation of Afghanistan.

The Soviet representative to the UN described the August 24, 1981 proposal of the Karmal regime as a "sound basis" and "opportunity" for political settlement of the Afghan question. However, this proposal calls the foreign invasion an "internal matter of Afghanistan" which cannot be discussed by the UN. The Soviet representative also said that there must be a guarantee against outside aggression before the Soviet Union can withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

This Soviet scheme was immediately exposed and rejected by the representatives of many countries who pointed out that the prerequisite and only correct way to any political settlement is the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Afghan people, they argued, must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination without



Soviet tank captured by Afghan guerrillas.

external interference and pressure and to restore Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status. At the same time, Afghan refugees must be allowed to return home safely.

Afghan People Supported

The growing resistance forces of the Afghan people are seriously hurting the Soviet invaders. It is imperative for all peace-loving and justice-upholding states and peoples of the world to continue to support the Afghan people's struggle against aggression. The Soviet Union must be pressured to implement the UN resolutions on the Afghan issue.

Afghanistan is a neighbour of China. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and deployment of its troops along the Sino-Afghan border constitute a grave threat to China's security. To end the suffering of the Afghan people and restore peace and stability in Southwest Asia, the Chinese people, who firmly support the Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet hegemonists, together with all peace-loving peoples of the world continue to press for an early implementation of the UN resolutions on the Afghan problem.

— Ren Yan

GATT Conference — A Failure

THE ministerial conference of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Geneva, described as a battleground filled with gunsmoke by a British delegate, wound up on November 29 with an empty final declaration.

The six-day conference convened at a time of increasing tension in the worldwide trade war. Facing stacks of international trade problems and conflicting participant viewpoints, the meeting failed to make any substantial progress towards trade liberalization. Some member states of the 88-nation trade organization, especially the European Economic Community (EEC) countries, who share more than 40 per cent of the total world trade volume, said they accepted the final compromise document with certain reservations.

Fierce Quarrel

The most controversial topic on the conference's agenda,

which had taken more than one year to prepare, was the report on subsidies of agricultural products. The clash between the EEC and the United States over this issue was the main cause for the failure of the meeting.

The EEC provides an annual subsidy of 38-40 billion US dollars for its farm exports. The United States, its agriculture in the biggest trouble in 50 years, insisted that the EEC countries phase out such subsidies. The Washington proposal won support from Australia, Canada and some developing countries, but was firmly rejected by the EEC. The final decision on the question was to set up a special GATT committee to examine "all measures affecting trade, market access and competition and supply in agricultural products, including subsidies and other forms of assistance" and to make recommendations within two years.

On the other hand, the United States wanted to see the GATT

regulations extended to include trade in services, such as banking, accounting, insurance, shipping, consulting, medical care and telecommunications. This US demand met with strong opposition from most of the developing countries whose service trades are not yet developed and from Japan which does not open its door to foreign services.

The chief victim of the trade war is the third world. The numerous tariff and other trade barriers put up by the industrialized countries have caused a sharp decrease in the developing countries' exports of primary products and have pushed down the prices. Some third world manufactured goods, such as textiles and shoes, and farm and tropical products, are barred by the developed countries. These trade barriers are largely responsible for the huge trade deficits and debts of many developing countries who came to the GATT conference hoping for North-South dialogue on international trade relations. But their needs were not addressed.

Dim Prospects

This year's GATT ministerial conference was the largest of its kind since the 1973 Tokyo meeting. The failure of the conference, attended by delegates and observers from more than 100 countries and regions, reflected the depth of the worldwide economic crisis and the acuteness of the scramble for markets.

Before the conference, some people warned that its success was crucial to the world trade system. They reminded the world of the protectionism and the Great Depression of the 1930s which they said were causally related.

Some economists called on the GATT members to put aside their differences and work to-

gether to reach an agreement to reduce trade obstacles in the coming years.

However, because the major trading groups got tangled in quarrels over key issues and no

one was willing to make any substantial concessions, the conference did not brighten the dim future of world trade.

— *Zhong Tai*

New Italian Government

THE new Italian cabinet of Christian Democrat Amintore Fanfani was sworn in on December 1, following two weeks of tense negotiation and preparation. Composed of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals, the new government, Italy's 43rd since World War II, temporarily resolves the current cabinet crisis but faces many seemingly intractable problems.

Tough Economic Problems

The government of former Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini collapsed on November 13 over sharp disputes between Christian Democrats and Socialists on economic policy.

Severely affected by the worldwide capitalist economic crisis, the Italian recession is marked by serious inflation and

unemployment, stagnant production, increasing financial deficits and adverse balance of trade payments.

Italy's economy is in worse shape than that of most other big industrial countries. Lacking adequate natural resources, Italy has to import 90 per cent of its energy and many other industrial materials. Of Italy's imports 16 per cent are agricultural products. Dependence on imports and large foreign trade deficits necessarily put the country very much at the mercy of international economic fluctuations and crises, seriously complicating all problems facing the new government.

Conflict and Instability

The frequent reshuffling of cabinets over the past 30 years

has given Italy the reputation of being the weakest government in Europe. New leaders have devised ad hoc measures but have failed to resolve the nation's fundamental problems.

When Spadolini resigned, President Sandro Pertini instructed him to form a new cabinet, but this also failed, leaving Italy with the alternatives of dissolving the parliament and calling premature general elections, or forming a provisional government, or asking the Christian Democrats to form a new government. President Pertini appointed veteran Christian Democrat Fanfani to form a new cabinet, thus outmanoeuvring the Socialists who wanted to place their own prime minister in office before the 1984 elections. After considerable hesitation and negotiation, the Socialists finally withdrew their objections to Fanfani and agreed to join a four-party coalition government. The new cabinet is the result of mutual compromise between the Christian Democrats and Socialists on the "austere" programme initially proposed by Fanfani. Refusing to retreat from Fanfani's original economic programme, the Republicans did not join the coalition.

Except for the brief Spadolini cabinet, the Christian Democrats have controlled the Italian Government since 1945. They must now again confront the endemic contradictions that toppled the Spadolini government. It seems unlikely that this new government will accomplish any fundamental resolution to the nation's long-standing economic problems.

— *Zhang Qihua*



Prime Minister Fanfani (left) takes the oath of office.

Report on the Draft of the Revised Constitution Of the People's Republic of China

by Peng Zhen, Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, on November 26, 1982 at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

Members of the Presidium and Fellow Deputies,

I am entrusted by Chairman Ye Jianying of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution with the task of reporting on the draft of the revised Constitution on behalf of the Committee.

The Constitution currently in force was adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress at its First Session held in March 1978. Since then, our country has passed through a period of important historical change. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convened in December 1978, the Party and the state led the whole people in rectifying the mistakes of the "cultural revolution" in all fields, summed up in a deep-going way the historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic and restored, or in the light of the new situation formulated, a series of correct principles and policies which have enormously changed the country's political, economic and cultural life. The Constitution as it stands in many ways no longer conforms to present realities or meets the needs of the life of the state; thus, all-round revision is necessary. The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China adopted last year by the



11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Sixth Plenary Session and the documents adopted by the 12th National Party Congress this year received support from the people of the whole country and provide a sound basis for revising the Constitution.

We have for two years discussed and revised the present Constitution conscientiously, carefully and meticulously. At the suggestion of the Party Central Committee, the Fifth National People's Congress at its Third Plenary Session on September 10, 1980 decided to set up a Committee for Revision of the Constitution to be responsible for the work. After being set up, the committee and its secretariat solicited opinions widely from all localities, departments and quarters and closely studied them and, in February this year, submitted the Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China for discussion. The committee at its second session spent nine days in discussing and revising the draft. Revisions were also proposed by members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, by some members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, by leaders of democratic parties and people's organizations, and by leading members of departments under

the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, of departments under the State Council, of leading bodies of the People's Liberation Army and of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government. The committee at its third session in April carried on a nine-day discussion on the draft and adopted it, which was made public by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and submitted to the people of all nationalities in the country for discussion.

The extensive scale of the nationwide discussion, the vast number of participants and the wide impact demonstrate the surging political enthusiasm of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other sections of the people in managing state affairs. Through the discussion and the exercise of democracy, the wisdom of the people has been pooled more effectively for revising the Constitution. Such discussion was in fact an experience in national mass education in the legal system, and it has raised the consciousness of the cadres and the masses in abiding by the Constitution and upholding its dignity. **The consensus is that the draft scientifically sums up the historical experience of development of socialism in China, that it reflects the common will and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities, conforms to the situation in China and meets the needs of socialist modernization.** During the nationwide discussion, many opinions and proposals of all kinds were put forward. The secretariat of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution made further revision of the draft in accordance with them. Many important and rational proposals were adopted. While the substance of the original draft remains unchanged, nearly 100 additions and amendments were made in regard to specific provisions, not including changes in wording. Other proposals, though good, were not incorporated because the conditions for giving them effect do not yet exist or the necessary experience is still lacking, or because it is more appropriate to include them in other laws and documents rather than in the fundamental law of the state. After article-by-article discussion for five days by the committee at its fourth session, the draft was approved after further revisions by the committee at its fifth session on November 23. It is now submitted to the National People's Congress for consideration.

What are the guidelines for the revision of the Constitution?

The drafting was done under the overall guidance of the Four Cardinal Principles, namely, adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to leadership by the Communist Party of China, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These Cardinal Principles form the common political basis for the advance of the people of all our nationalities in unity and are the fundamental guarantee for the smooth progress of our socialist modernization.

The Preamble of the draft reviews the history of the Chinese revolution in the past century and more. It points out that great and earth-shaking historical changes have taken place in China in the 20th century. Of these, four historical events are of the utmost importance. Apart from the Revolution of 1911 which was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the three others all resulted from the efforts of the entire Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Zedong as its leader. These three major events are: the overthrow of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the founding of the People's Republic of China; the elimination of the system of exploitation lasting for several thousand years and the establishment of the socialist system; and the forming, in the main, of an independent and fairly comprehensive system of industry and the development of socialist economy, politics and culture. The Revolution of 1911 was of great historical importance, but it fell short of fulfilling the task of China's national-democratic revolution. The three later events have brought about a fundamental change in the destiny of the Chinese people and in our society and state. These great historical changes led the Chinese people to the fundamental conclusion: But for the Chinese Communist Party there would be no New China, and socialism and socialism alone can save China. The Four Cardinal Principles are both a reflection of the law of historical development that is independent of human will and the decisive choice of the hundreds of millions of Chinese people in the course of long years of struggle.

With the establishment of the socialist system, China entered a new period of historical development. **The basic characteristic of this new period is that exploiting classes have been eliminated as such and that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in Chinese society. This basic characteristic requires a**

substantial change in the focus of work of the state and in its guiding principles. To adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles under the new historical conditions, it is imperative to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist construction and to blaze a path for socialist construction with distinctive Chinese features. We have scored great successes and also made many mistakes since we began exploring this correct path in the mid-1950s. Initiation and continuation of the "cultural revolution" constituted a grievous mistake. Of course it was not because we adhered to the Four Cardinal Principles that we made mistakes but because we failed to implement them correctly. As for the sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "cultural revolution," it was carried out under the banner of these principles, but constituted a complete betrayal of them. Overthrow of the two counter-revolutionary cliques and correction of the mistakes of the "cultural revolution" represent a triumph for these principles. Now we have set our guiding ideology to rights and formulated a correct programme for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. All this has enormous and far-reaching significance for the prosperity of our country. Bringing about this historic change has been a process of restoring the true features of the Four Cardinal Principles and of adhering to them and developing them. These principles have been substantiated to a large degree in the new historical period and have acquired new and richer content.

A major strategic policy in setting things right has been the resolute shifting of the focus of the work of the state to socialist modernization of China's economy. This must be the focal point for all other work which should serve it. The consolidation of the state and the prosperity of our country, the stability and growth of Chinese society and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life will, in the final analysis, be determined by the expansion of production and the success of our modernization programme. We must from now on implement this strategic policy unswervingly unless there should be a massive invasion by the enemy. Even in that event, we must still carry on whatever economic development is required by the war and permitted by the actual situation. The recording of this policy in the Constitution is entirely necessary. While stressing economic development as the focus of our work, we must pay full attention to building a social-

ist spiritual civilization and to developing socialist democracy. The draft of the revised Constitution clearly stipulates in its Preamble: "The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization" and "to modernize industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy." The people of all our nationalities must work in concert to fulfil this great task.

The first constitution of the People's Republic of China, namely, the Constitution of 1954, was a very good one. But at that time China had just begun socialist transformation and construction. Enormous changes have taken place in our country and society, so it is quite natural that the 1954 Constitution no longer fully suits the current situation. The present draft maintains and develops the fundamental principles of the 1954 Constitution, while incorporating a careful summary of the rich experience of China's socialist development and draws on international experience; it takes into account both the current situation and the prospects for development. Therefore, **this Session of the National People's Congress assuredly can enact a new Constitution that is distinctively Chinese and meets the needs of our socialist modernization in the new historical period and that will remain valid for a long period of time.**

Now I would like to give some explanations about the basic content of the draft of the revised Constitution in conjunction with opinions and questions raised during the nationwide discussion.

1. Our State System:

The People's Democratic Dictatorship

THE first article of the draft revised Constitution stipulates, "**The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.**" This defines the nature of our state and sets forth our state system.

Our people's democratic dictatorship is in essence a dictatorship of the proletariat. This is made explicit in the Preamble of the draft. The dictatorship of the proletariat takes different forms in different countries, and the people's

democratic dictatorship is a form created by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that suits the conditions and revolutionary traditions of our country. The term the people's democratic dictatorship is used to define our state power in the Common Programme of 1949, in the Constitution of 1954 and in the documents of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1956, and we continue this usage in the present draft. The working class is the leading class in our country. Although it comprises a minority of the entire population, it has the vast numbers of peasants as its steadfast ally, and an extremely broad united front led by the Communist Party has taken shape in the long years of revolution and construction. Our country is in a position to practise democracy among the greatest number of people while the targets of dictatorship are only a small number of persons. **The people's democratic dictatorship is a formulation which accurately states the present condition of the classes in China and the broad basis of our political power, and it clearly shows the democratic nature of our state power.**

The term the people's democratic dictatorship in the current draft is not to be taken as mere restoration of the formulation and its content in the 1954 Constitution. The people's democratic dictatorship of the early years of the People's Republic corresponded to the circumstances and tasks of that transitional period when the chief task of the state power was to carry the new-democratic revolution to completion, proceed to the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, and bring about the transition from new democracy to socialism. With the establishment of the socialist system, however, the task of our state power under the people's democratic dictatorship became primarily to safeguard the socialist system and to guide and organize socialist construction. There has already been a significant change in the class composition of this political power. The working class is much bigger, having grown several fold in size, and carries greater weight in the political life of the state. With the socialist transformation, the vast numbers of peasants have changed from peasants engaged in individual farming to those engaged in collective farming. The number of intellectuals has also grown several fold. Taken as a whole, they have become part of the working class. The ex-

ploiting classes no longer exist as such; the overwhelming majority of their members have remoulded themselves and become working people earning their own living.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute the three basic social forces in our socialist construction. Summarizing the views put forward in the nationwide discussion of the draft, we have added the following sentence to the Preamble: "In building socialism it is imperative to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals and to unite with all the forces that can be united." Here, the intellectuals are placed on a par with the workers and peasants in terms of their mode of work. Then why does the first article of the draft not say "the alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals"? That is because, under the socialist system, the difference between the intellectuals and the workers and peasants is not one between classes; as regards their relationship to ownership of the means of production, or class character, the intellectuals do not constitute a class distinct from the workers and peasants. The first article defines the nature of our state, that is, our state system, from the viewpoint of class relations. The formulation "based on the alliance of workers and peasants" includes the intellectuals.

The nature of our state as a people's democratic dictatorship determines that in China it is the people and the people alone who are the masters of the state and society. The draft explicitly stipulates, "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." This is the kernel of our state system and a fundamental principle governing it. The draft specifically stipulates, "The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress, and the local people's congresses at different levels. The people administer state affairs and manage the economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law." One billion people wielding the state power provides a reliable guarantee for safeguarding the fundamental interests of the people and ensuring that our state will be able to weather any storm.

The provisions on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens are an extension of the stipulated principles concerning the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist social system in the chapter on General Principles. **Our state system and social system**

provide both legal and practical guarantees that our citizens enjoy extensive and genuine freedoms and rights. The draft has reinstated the provision in the 1954 Constitution that all citizens are equal before the law. China's laws are drawn up by the whole nation under the leadership of the working class and are the concentrated expression of the will and interests of the people. All citizens are equal before such laws, which apply to all citizens equally; no citizen is allowed to enjoy the privilege of being above the Constitution and the law. It is imperative to reinstate this provision, for it represents a basic principle that ensures the application of socialist democracy and legality. The right to vote and the right to stand for election are important indicators that the people exercise state power. Since the elimination of the exploiting classes, the number of people enjoying the right to vote and the right to stand for election in proportion to the total population has steadily grown. According to statistics from the 1981 direct elections at the county level throughout the country, 99.97 per cent of the citizens attaining the age of 18 enjoyed these rights. This fully demonstrates the broad scope of our socialist democracy. In the light of historical experience and the lessons of the "cultural revolution," the draft has, in its provisions on the fundamental rights of citizens, not only restored what was relevant in the 1954 Constitution, but made it more specific and explicit and added new content. For example, there is the additional provision on the inviolability of the personal dignity of citizens, and there are more specific provisions than before on citizens' freedom of person and of religious belief, the inviolability of home, the protection of their freedom and privacy of correspondence by law and their right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organ or functionary and to make complaints and charges against, or exposures of, violation of the law or dereliction of duty by any state organ or functionary, and so on. The draft also stipulates relevant basic policies and measures to be adopted by the state to materialize and gradually extend citizens' rights.

Freedoms and rights with absolutely no restrictions have never existed in the world. As ours is a socialist country, the interests of the state and society are in basic accord with the citizens' personal interests. Only when the democratic rights and fundamental interests of the people as a whole are ensured and extended,

will it be possible for the freedoms and rights of individual citizens to be effectively ensured and fully realized. Hence the draft stipulates, "The exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens."

The draft stipulates, "Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law." In accordance with this fundamental principle, the draft specifies the duties of citizens to the state and society. Only when all observe and perform their fundamental duties as citizens, can they be sure of enjoying their civic rights as prescribed by the Constitution.

Democracy among the people is one aspect of the people's democratic dictatorship; the other is dictatorship by the entire people over their enemies. After the elimination of the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes, the targets of this dictatorship are no longer complete reactionary classes, and the number of targets has dwindled. However, owing to certain domestic factors and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions. Our people must still fight against those forces and elements at home and abroad that are hostile to China's socialist system and try to undermine it. Therefore, the function of the state as an instrument of dictatorship cannot be abolished at this time. Suppression of treasonable and other counter-revolutionary activities and striking at dangerous criminals who deliberately attempt to undermine and overthrow the socialist system in the economic and other fields are both functions of the state in exercising dictatorship in accordance with the Constitution and the law. It is imperative to uphold these functions in order to ensure successful implementation of the socialist modernization programme and safeguard and promote socialist democracy.

2. Our Socialist Economic System

THE draft of the revised Constitution truly reflects the fact that a socialist economic system has been established in our country and that it is growing ever stronger. It affirms **socialist public ownership of the means of pro-**

duction as the basis of our socialist economic system.

Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people are the two forms of socialist public ownership in our country. The draft stipulates, **"The state economy is the sector of socialist economy under ownership by the whole people; it is the leading force in the national economy."** This is the decisive factor ensuring that the collective economy of the working people advances along the socialist road, that individual economy serves socialism and that the growth of the entire national economy conforms to the overall and long-term interests of the working people. The draft stipulates that, among the natural resources, all mineral resources and waters are owned by the state; and that all forests, mountains, grassland, unreclaimed land and beaches are owned by the state, except for those owned by collectives in accordance with the law. With the permission of the state, some natural resources owned by the state may within certain limits be allocated to collective economic organizations or even individuals for their use.

Collective ownership by the working people is the principal economic form in our countryside. It is suited to the present stage of development of our agricultural productive forces. Apart from the people's communes, agricultural producers' co-operatives and other forms of co-operative economy such as producers' supply and marketing, credit, and consumers' co-operatives exist and are growing in our rural areas. Even in the cities and towns, the state economy cannot run everything. The development of co-operative economy under collective ownership is suitable for a fairly big portion of handicrafts, industries, the building trade and transport, as well as commerce and service trades. The draft stipulates, **"The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the urban and rural economic collectives and encourages, guides and helps the growth of the collective economy."**

On the question of landownership, the draft makes clear-cut stipulations proceeding from the realities in our country. Land in the cities is owned by the state. Land in the rural and suburban areas is owned by collectives except for those portions which belong to the state in accordance with the law. House sites and private plots of cropland and hilly land are for the long-term use of rural households but

are not their private property. The state may in the public interest take over for its use in accordance with the law land owned by collectives. **"No organization or individual may appropriate, buy, sell or lease land, or unlawfully transfer land in other ways."** These provisions of principle are of great significance in ensuring our socialist economic development, and particularly in ensuring the socialist orientation in the growth of our agricultural economy. It should be explained here that in Article 10 of the draft, land in the towns was originally put on a par with land in the rural and suburban areas. During the nationwide discussion, it was pointed out that conditions differ in various parts of the country and some towns of a fairly large scale will continue to grow and actually become small cities. That is why the provision about land in towns has been deleted. The question of landownership in towns can be dealt with in each case in the light of the actual situation.

It will be necessary for the individual economy of the working people to exist for a considerable period in urban and rural areas and to grow to a certain extent. The draft affirms that this individual economy, within the limits prescribed by law, is a complement to the socialist public economy; the state protects the lawful rights and interests of the individual economy, and guides, helps and supervises it by means of administrative control. The draft also stipulates, **"Working people who are members of rural economic collectives have the right, within the limits prescribed by law, to farm private plots of cropland and hilly land, engage in household sideline production and raise privately owned livestock."**

In short, state economy, collective economy and individual economy all have advantages in different respects and are all indispensable, although they have different status and functions. The presence of individual economy, which occupies only a small part of the national economy, does not prevent socialist public ownership from being the foundation of our economic system or hamper the successful growth of public economy. **Given the premise of upholding the leading position of the state economy, we must develop diverse economic forms so as to promote the prosperity of the whole national economy.**

The establishment of socialist public ownership makes it objectively possible to eliminate

anarchy in social production and to practise economic planning. **The planned economy is the basic system of the socialist economy and an important hallmark of socialism's superiority over capitalism.** Our national economy must be developed in a planned way, while our system of administration through planning must be adapted to the actual situation, that is, to the existence of diverse economic forms in our country and to the real level of our economic development. While specifying that "the state practises economic planning on the basis of the socialist public ownership," the draft stipulates that the state "ensures the proportionate and co-ordinated growth of the national economy through overall balancing by economic planning and the supplementary role of regulation by the market." That is to say, the state should put the production and circulation of essential goods under unified planning, consisting of mandatory and guidance planning. As for the enterprises producing goods which fall outside the unified plans, the state allows them the freedom to adjust production according to variations in market demand and supply. To ensure the proper functioning of the social economy and the authority of the state plan, the draft stipulates, "Disturbance of the orderly functioning of the social economy or disruption of the state economic plan by any organization or individual is prohibited."

The state in the past tended to exercise excessive and rigid control in planning. In view of this drawback, apart from the adoption of diverse forms of planning to suit different conditions, enterprises should be given varying degrees of decision-making power so as to combine unified leadership through state planning with initiative by the production units. The draft stipulates that "state enterprises have decision-making power in operation and management within the limits prescribed by law, on condition that they submit to unified leadership by the state and fulfil all their obligations under the state plan" and that "collective economic organizations have decision-making power in conducting independent economic activities, on condition that they accept the guidance of the state plan and abide by the relevant laws." Furthermore, the draft stipulates that the state must institute "the socialist system of responsibility in various forms." All this will be of great importance in enhancing the enthusiasm and initiative of production units and workers, invigorating the economy and pooling the knowl-

edge and efforts of the people for socialist modernization.

With the establishment of socialist public ownership, the system of exploitation of man by man was abolished, and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" became a basic principle in our socialist economy. This is reaffirmed in the draft. The principle of "to each according to his work" is linked to that of "from each according to his ability." In applying the principle "to each according to his work," we must do ideological work among the workers while providing material benefits so that they will work for society to the best of their ability. Though conditions are still lacking to enable everyone to develop his talent in an all-round way, the nature of work in our socialist society has fundamentally changed compared with that in a society under an exploitative system. The draft stipulates, "All working people in state enterprises and in urban and rural economic collectives should perform their tasks with an attitude consonant with their status as masters of the country." On its part, society, in which work is planned and organized, should see to it that the workers are paid according to the quantity and quality of their work and that all possible conditions are created for them to develop their talent.

Our economy is rather backward. To change this situation and build China into a modern socialist country as quickly as possible, it is imperative to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, fully mobilize the broad masses of the people, rely on our own efforts and work hard. Furthermore, as China has a vast territory, its economic, technological and cultural development is very uneven between different regions, departments and enterprises. **Our socialist economy must be guided by principles and have flexibility, must be both unified and diversified. This will help bring into full play the enthusiasm of the localities, departments, enterprises and workers under the centralized and unified leadership of the central authorities and suit our measures to differing conditions in terms of locality, time, issue and persons involved, so that both human and material resources, including land, are turned to best account and a free flow of goods is achieved. It is in this spirit that the articles on the economy are formulated.** The present restructuring of our economic systems has already brought significant results, and it will be con-

tinued in a comprehensive and deep-going way. The relevant provisions of the draft lay down the principles for this work. Proceeding along these lines, we can assuredly build and develop a socialist economy with distinctive Chinese features so as to turn China into a rich and powerful country step by step.

3. Socialist Spiritual Civilization

THE Chinese people have the fundamental task of striving to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization while working for a high level of material civilization in building socialism. The addition of articles on socialist spiritual civilization marks an important step forward in the revision of the Constitution.

With regard to the cultural aspect of building a socialist spiritual civilization, the chapter on General Principles in the draft, in accordance with opinions expressed in the nationwide discussion, devotes an article each to education, to science, to public health and physical culture and to culture. This carries more weight than the composite article contained in the original draft and also enriches the content.

The expansion of education includes both making it universal and improving its standards so as to raise the educational level of the workers, peasants and cadres, to increase the number of intellectuals and to train specialized personnel in all fields. This is the foundation for the growth of science and culture as a whole and a condition for raising the people's political consciousness; it is also an indispensable prerequisite for developing material civilization. Citizens have the duty as well as the right to receive education, which includes compulsory primary education for school-age children, proper types of political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional education for working adults and pre-employment vocational training. The general cultural level in China is rather low. A more rapid growth of education calls for both regular schooling and spare-time education in various forms. The state will allocate adequate resources for educational purposes and at the same time encourage all social forces, including economic collectives, state enterprises and undertakings, public organizations and individuals who have the approval of the state to run educational facilities in various forms and with mass support. Modernization of science

and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. The development of the natural and social sciences, research in basic and applied sciences, and the dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge are of paramount importance for socialist construction. Obviously public health and physical culture undertakings are important in protecting the people's health, building up their physique and raising their efficiency in work and study. Literature and art, the press, publishing and other cultural undertakings are also essential for enriching and improving the people's cultural life. The development of all these undertakings, however, cannot rely solely on the resources of the state; efforts by all social forces and wide-ranging activities of a mass character will be needed. These principles and requirements are incorporated in the relevant articles of the draft.

The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is not included in the articles on cultural work. This was based on the following considerations: First, the draft already includes among the fundamental rights of citizens freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits, that is, the substance of the policy is embodied in legal terms and, moreover, is given a broader interpretation. Second, apart from this policy, there are other basic policies governing work in science and culture, and it is unnecessary and impossible to write them all into the Constitution. Of course, there is no doubt that "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" remains one of the basic principles guiding our scientific and cultural work and that it must be firmly implemented to make socialist science and culture flourish.

With regard to the ideological aspect of building socialist spiritual civilization, it must be noted, first of all, that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is our fundamental guiding ideology. This is expressed in the Preamble as one of the Four Cardinal Principles.

Article 24 of the draft stipulates, "The state strengthens the building of socialist spiritual civilization through spreading education in high ideals and morality, general education and education in discipline and the legal system, and through promoting the formulation and observance of rules of conduct and common

pledges by different sections of the people in urban and rural areas." This means that **efforts must be made to imbue more and more citizens with high ideals, moral integrity, general education, and a sense of discipline** so that a new standard of social morality is fostered and our nation acquires a revolutionary and vigorous mental outlook.

The same article also stipulates, "The state advocates the civic virtues of love for the motherland, for the people, for labour, for science and for socialism." This has been developed on the basis of the five requirements (love of the motherland, the people, labour and science, and care of public property) defining civic virtues in the Common Programme adopted in the early years of the People's Republic. These five requirements were explicit and plain. They proved to be useful in educating the masses of people and left a deep impression on them. In the conditions prevailing then, it was not yet opportune to put forward "love for socialism" as a requirement in the Common Programme. Today, it has become a matter of course to include it, and so it replaces "care of public property" in the original five requirements. Love for socialism is not an abstract idea. The care of public property is an important part of it.

Article 24 also calls for **ideological education in communism among the people. Communist ideology is the heart of socialist spiritual civilization.** In the period of the new-democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong already pointed out clearly: "So far as the orientation of our national culture is concerned, communist ideology plays the guiding role." Now that we have established the socialist system, we should and can strengthen nationwide education in communism among cadres and the people, with everyone taking part. Only in this way will it be possible to keep the socialist orientation in our modernization drive and to ensure that our social development keeps heading for the correct goal and retains its ethical motivation. Education in communist ideology should take the form of helping a growing number of citizens acquire a dialectical and historical materialist world outlook and the work ethic of serving the people wholeheartedly, and integrate personal with collective and national interests, integrate immediate with long-term interests, and subordinate immediate personal interests to long-term common interests. Such education, of course, does not mean skipping a

stage of historical development and pushing an economic and social system that can be realized only at a higher stage, the stage of communism with its highly developed productive forces. On the contrary, it must be in line with socialist principles such as "to each according to his work" and clear-cut economic responsibility to which we firmly adhere in our economic and social life at the present stage. Only under the guidance of such ideological education can socialist principles and policies be implemented fully and correctly.

Another provision in the same article is that **the state "combats capitalist, feudalist and other decadent ideas," which sets the fighting task on the ideological front.** Historical and practical reasons as well as domestic factors and the international environment make this fighting task protracted, and we should in no way relax our efforts.

Here I would like to make one further point: the requirements for building socialist spiritual civilization are in fact implied in many of the articles in the draft on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. In our socialist country, ideological education, public opinion, standards of social conduct and the law are interrelated. Our Constitution provides for the rights of citizens and at the same time requires that they raise their consciousness as masters of the country and society and safeguard and exercise their rights in a correct manner. Safeguarding one's own rights and respecting those of others are inseparable. This requires that every citizen should safeguard the interests of the state, society and the collective and respect the freedoms and rights of others while safeguarding his own rights. The duties of citizens stipulated in the Constitution are legally obligatory. But it is more important that, as the country's masters, citizens should enhance their sense of responsibility to the state, to society and to other citizens and conscientiously perform their duties, including those of safeguarding the socialist system and the unity of the country and of all our nationalities, safeguarding the security, honour and interests of the motherland, observing the Constitution, the law, discipline and public order, and taking care of public property. In order to build socialist spiritual civilization in the whole society, it is important that all citizens raise such consciousness and sense of responsibility, handle their relations with the state and society and with other citizens on the prin-

ciples of socialism and collectivism, cultivate a recognition of their rights and duties and a sense of organization and discipline consonant with the socialist political system, and acquire awareness as socialist citizens.

4. The Structure of the State

THE draft of the revised Constitution stipulates that "the state organs of the People's Republic of China apply the principle of democratic centralism." In the light of this principle and the experience we have gained over the last thirty and more years in the building of state power, a number of new and important provisions about the state structure have been incorporated into the draft. They mainly deal with the following aspects:

(1) **Strengthening the system of people's congresses.** Some of the functions and powers which originally belonged to the National People's Congress are now delegated to its Standing Committee. The functions and powers of the Standing Committee have been expanded, and the Committee has been strengthened organizationally. Both the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee exercise the legislative power of the state; while the basic statutes are enacted by the former, other statutes are enacted by the latter. Members of the NPC Standing Committee may not hold posts in any of the administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs of the state, which means that a considerable number of them devote their full time to this work. The work of the National People's Congress is strengthened by the establishment of special committees to examine, discuss and draw up relevant bills or draft resolutions under the direction of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

(2) **Restoring the posts of President and Vice-President of the People's Republic.*** Practice since the founding of the People's Republic proves that these posts are necessary for a sound state system and are better suited to the custom and desire of our people of all nationalities.

(3) **Establishing the state Central Military Commission to direct the armed forces of the**

country. The Chairman of the Central Military Commission exercises overall responsibility for the Commission. He is elected by the National People's Congress and is responsible to it and its Standing Committee. The People's Liberation Army, created and led by the Chinese Communist Party, has been the national army since the founding of the People's Republic. On the basis of summing up the historical experience since the founding of the People's Republic and in accordance with the actual conditions and needs of our country, the draft properly defines the position of the armed forces in the state system. The leadership by the Chinese Communist Party over the armed forces will not change with the establishment of the state Central Military Commission. The Party's leading role in the life of the state, which is explicitly affirmed in the Preamble, naturally includes its leadership over the armed forces.

(4) **The Premier exercises overall responsibility for the State Council;** executive meetings of the State Council are composed of the Premier, Vice-Premiers, State Councillors and Secretary-General of the State Council; the Premier convenes and presides over executive and plenary meetings of the State Council. The ministers exercise overall responsibility for the respective ministries or commissions under their charge; the ministers convene and preside over executive meetings or commission meetings of the ministries or commissions under their charge.

In order to strengthen supervision over finances and financial and accounting activities, the State Council newly establishes an auditing body which will independently exercise its power to supervise through auditing in accordance with the law. Local governments at different levels also establish auditing bodies correspondingly.

(5) **Strengthening the building of the local organs of state power under the unified leadership of the central authorities.** The local people's congresses at and above the county level establish their standing committees. The people's congresses of the provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government and their standing committees have the power to adopt and issue local regulations. Local people's governments at different levels practise the system of overall responsibility by governors, mayors, county heads, district heads, township

* Previously translated as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic — *translator's note.*

heads and town heads. These provisions apply to the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas as well.

(6) **Changing the system of the rural people's commune which combines government administration and economic management and establishing organs of state power at the township level.** The people's commune will be solely an organizational form of the rural collective economy. This change will serve to strengthen the organs of state power at the grass-roots level in the rural areas and also to expand the collective economy. As for the concrete step to separate government administration from economic management, this calls for meticulous efforts, and the authorities in different localities should, in the light of the actual local conditions, conduct the work under leadership, step by step and in a planned way, refraining from rashness.

The status and role of self-governing mass organizations such as residents' committees and villagers' committees, which have long proved to be effective, are written into the Constitution.

(7) It is stipulated that **state leaders**, including the President and Vice-President of the People's Republic, the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Premier and Vice-Premiers of the State Council, **shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.** Thus, the *de facto* system of life-long tenure of leading posts is abolished.

Now, I would like to explain in particular the intentions of the above provisions and the requirements embodied in them.

First, to enable the whole people to exercise state power better.

Any reform of our political institutions and establishment of state organs should be aimed at ensuring politically and organizationally that the whole people wield state power and are real masters of the country. According to this principle, the main thing to do at the level of the central authorities is to strengthen the National People's Congress. As China is a big and populous country, the number of deputies to the National People's Congress should not be too small; but too large a number will make its regular work cumbersome. The Standing Committee is the permanent body of the National

People's Congress, and all those on the committee can be described as executive deputies to the congress. Being few in number, they can meet frequently and carry a heavy load of legislation and day-to-day work. Therefore, appropriate extension of the functions and powers of the Standing Committee is an effective way to strengthen the system of the people's congress. At the local levels, the main thing to do is to broaden the democratic basis of organs of state power at different levels (including those at the grass-roots level) and, at the same time, extend their functions and powers appropriately so that, under unified central leadership, the localities may carry out their own development plans in the light of their own conditions. The mass organizations of self-management in grass-roots community life ought to be strengthened so that the people are mobilized to manage their own public affairs and social services. Putting these provisions into practice will develop socialist democracy in China more fully.

During the nationwide discussion, it was suggested that, while extending the functions and powers of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, we should fully ensure the status of the National People's Congress as the highest organ of state power. This opinion is correct. Therefore, the qualifying clause "provided that they do not contravene the basic principles of these statutes" is added to the third item of the functions and powers of the Standing Committee contained in Article 67 of the draft, which originally says that it may introduce, when the National People's Congress is not in session, partial supplements and amendments to the statutes enacted by the National People's Congress. Besides, an item — the 11th — which reads, "to alter or annual inappropriate decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress," is added to Article 62 which stipulates the functions and powers of the National People's Congress.

Second, to enable the state organs to guide and organize the work of socialist construction more effectively.

State organs should be established and their functions and powers defined in the following spirit: Organs of state power, namely, the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses, should fully discuss the formulation of laws and policies on major issues and decide on them through democratic procedures so that they truly concentrate the will and represent

the interests of the people; and there must be a strict system of responsibility in implementing laws and major policy decisions so as to raise efficiency. The system of responsibility is indispensable in developing socialist democracy and ensuring that the people exercise state power. The will of the people can be carried out only when the decisions they have made through the organs of state power are implemented promptly and effectively by the administrative organs.

Third, to enable the different state organs to co-operate with one another better on the basis of a proper division of labour.

Under the socialist system, there is a community of fundamental interests of the whole people. Therefore, the people's congresses can and must exercise state power in a unified way. Given this premise, there should at the same time be a clear division of power among the administrative, judicial and procuratorial authorities and leadership over the armed forces so that the organs of state power and the other state organs, administrative, judicial and procuratorial, may work in concert and harmony. The President of the People's Republic, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate are all elected or created by the National People's Congress, and they are all responsible to it and subject to its supervision. The National People's Congress, the President of the People's Republic and other state organs all work within the scope of their respective functions and powers. The rational division of labour among state organs can avoid over-concentration of power and at the same time serve to enhance the efficiency of work by the state in all fields.

At present, the work of restructuring the state organs is going on in our country. The provisions of the draft on the state structure give expression to the principles and results in this respect and will serve to push the work further ahead.

5. Unity of the Country and Unity of All The Nationalities

THE history of the thirty and more years since the founding of the People's Republic shows that the unity of the country and the

unity of all our nationalities achieved so far are of tremendous importance for the advance of our socialist cause and the well-being of the whole Chinese nation. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong put it: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."

At present, reunification of our great motherland is not yet complete, and we must strive to accomplish it. The Preamble of the draft states: "Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the lofty duty of the entire Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland." The separation of Taiwan from the motherland in the last three decades and more is absolutely contrary to the interests of our nation and the wishes of our people. An early end to this separation will be highly conducive to the prosperity of the Taiwan region and our motherland as a whole, and to the maintenance of peace in the Far East and in the whole world. It is an inevitable trend in accord with the desires of the people, a trend which no party, political force or individual can resist. It is an internal affair of China, which brooks no interference by any foreign country. On the eve of our National Day last year, Comrade Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, pointed out in a statement that, **after peaceful reunification, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region.** This autonomy means, among other things, that the current social and economic systems in Taiwan, its way of life and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged. **Considering the needs of this particular situation, Article 31 of the draft stipulates: "The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of the specific conditions."** We are absolutely unequivocal on the principle of safeguarding China's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. At the same time, we are highly flexible as regards specific policies and measures and will give full consideration to the concrete situation in the Taiwan region and the wishes of the people in Taiwan and those of all personages concerned. This is our basic position in handling problems of a similar kind.

It is a basic principle followed by the Communist Party of China and the state to work for the equality, unity and common prosperity of all our nationalities. We have scored tremendous success in this respect in the thirty and more years since the founding of the People's Republic. But we also committed "Left" mistakes during this period, especially during the "cultural revolution," when the policies of the Party and the state on nationality affairs were distorted and undermined, and many cadres and ordinary folk of minority nationalities were made to suffer. This is a serious lesson. In revising the Constitution this time, we have paid full attention to summing up the historical experience in this respect and drawn on the important results of setting things to rights in our work among the minority nationalities in recent years.

The Preamble of the draft points out, "In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and also necessary to combat local-national chauvinism." This is because both are harmful to the unity of our nationalities. Combating big-nation chauvinism chiefly means combating it among the people of Han nationality. This is determined by the fact that the Han nationality makes up for the overwhelming majority of China's population and exerts the greatest influence on the political, economic and cultural life of the country. Comrades of Han nationality should be highly conscientious and mindful in guarding against and overcoming big-Han chauvinism. Like combating big-nation chauvinism, combating local-national chauvinism is also necessary to guarantee unity among all our nationalities. However, the mistake of grievously broadening the scope of struggle in this regard was committed in the past: First, many comrades not guilty of local-national chauvinism were wrongly accused; secondly, ideological mistakes were wrongly dealt with as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Like big-nation chauvinism, local-national chauvinism is a matter of wrong thinking and understanding which belongs to the category of contradictions among the people, except in cases of those who engage in rebellious and secessionist activities in collaboration with foreign quarters. Big-nation chauvinism and local-national chauvinism should be combated in a correct way, mainly through ideological education and adoption

of necessary political, economic and cultural measures.

The system of autonomy in regions inhabited by minority nationalities is a correct system which proves suited to our country's conditions through the test of practice. China is a unitary multi-national country jointly created by all our nationalities. Suffering in common from imperialist aggression before liberation, the Han people and the people of minority nationalities forged close ties of mutual help in times of dire need. After the founding of the People's Republic, all our nationalities established a close political, economic and cultural relationship of interdependence and mutual assistance while advancing along the common road of socialism. Regional national autonomy within a unified country not only can ensure the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and speed up the economic and cultural development of the areas they inhabit, but also serve to resist aggression and subversion from outside and guarantee the independence and prosperity of the country as a whole. That is why the draft stipulates that "all the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China," and that "it is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the unity of the country and the unity of all its nationalities." This fully accords with the fundamental interests and common will of all our nationalities.

The provisions on regional national autonomy have restored some important principles contained in the 1954 Constitution and, moreover, acquired new content in keeping with the changes which have taken place in our country. It is stipulated in Section VI, "The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas," in the chapter on the structure of the state that the chairmanship and vice-chairmanships of the standing committee of the people's congress of any national autonomous area shall include a citizen or citizens of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned; that the administrative head of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall be a citizen of the nationality, or of one of the nationalities, exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned; and that organs of self-government independently arrange for and administer local economic development under the guidance of state plans and independently administer educational, scientific, cultural,

public health and physical culture affairs in their areas. It is also stipulated that, in exploiting natural resources and building enterprises in the national autonomous areas, the state shall give due consideration to the interests of those areas; that the state shall give financial, material and technical assistance to the minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development and help the national autonomous areas train large numbers of cadres at different levels and specialized personnel and skilled workers of different professions and trades from among the nationality or nationalities in those areas. The provisions in the draft on the right of autonomy of the national autonomous areas show that the state fully respects and ensures the democratic right of the minority nationalities to manage their internal affairs.

6. Independent Foreign Policy

THE Preamble of the draft lays down the basic principles of China's foreign policy. They are: independence; development of diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence; opposing imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, strengthening unity with the people of other countries, supporting the oppressed nations and developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and striving to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress.

Our adherence to these principles of foreign policy is dictated by the nature of our state and our social system. Having suffered for a century before the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people know full well that without national independence, the people of a country have no possibility to enjoy democratic rights and build a prosperous and powerful country.

From their experience in the long years of revolution and construction, the Chinese people are deeply aware that their own future is closely bound up with that of the people of the world. The establishment of the socialist system has rooted out the social causes both of China's submission to any foreign oppression and of any possibility of China committing aggression abroad in any form. The world today is in the throes of intense turbulence, and this turbulent situation will not end so long as imperialism and hegemonism exist in the world. No matter what happens outside China, we will adhere to the policy of independence. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party: "No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit harmful to China's interests." We will also persist in treating all countries, big or small, as equals and consistently stand on the side of all oppressed nations and developing countries as well as all other countries and people working for world peace. China will never seek hegemony and will never allow any hegemonists to ride on its back.

Our country follows the policy of opening to the outside world on the premise of independence and will continue to do so in the days to come. China will continue to expand its economic, technical and cultural exchanges with other countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. The draft stipulates that foreign economic organizations and individual foreigners may invest in China and enter into economic co-operation with Chinese economic organizations. Of course, all foreign economic organizations in China must abide by the law of the People's Republic of China, and their lawful rights and interests will be protected by the law of the People's Republic of China.

In accordance with international practice, China protects the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals residing abroad, and at the same time, calls on them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside and to live in harmony with the people of that country. China protects the lawful rights and interests of foreigners residing in China and, at

the same time, requires that they abide by the law of the People's Republic of China. These are all set forth in the draft.

The Chinese people have waged protracted and arduous struggles to win and safeguard their national independence. Our foreign policy represents the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and accords with those of the people of the world. The draft stipulates that the state shall educate the people both in patriotism and in internationalism. The Chinese people's tradition of patriotism and internationalism must be handed down from generation to generation. This is the basic guarantee for adhering to our independent foreign policy.

Fellow deputies, after its discussion and formal adoption by the current session of the National People's Congress, the draft revised Constitution will go into operation as the fundamental law of the state with supreme authority and legal force. It will be the general statute for China's good administration and stability in the new historical period. We are convinced that the new Constitution will be strictly observed and implemented. Summing up both the positive and negative historical experience in formulating and implementing the constitutions since the founding of the People's Republic, the Preamble of the draft clearly states that, "The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in the country must take the Constitution as the basic norm of conduct, and they have the duty to uphold the dignity of the Constitution and ensure its implementation." Both the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee have the function and power of supervising the enforcement of the Constitution; the local people's congresses at different levels should ensure the observance and implementation of the Constitution in their respective administrative areas. In his report to the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Hu Yaobang solemnly declared: "In particular, Party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the Constitution and laws. The stipulation in the new Party Constitution that 'the Party must

conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and laws of the state' embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any Party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grass roots, to act in contravention of the Constitution and laws." The Chinese people and the Communist Party of China fully recognize that the authority of the Constitution concerns the political stability and the future of our country, and that it is absolutely impermissible to undermine the Constitution in any way. All power in our country belongs to the people. The destiny of our country is in the hands of the awakened people. The Communist Party of China is the political party of the working class that represents the interests of the Chinese people and acts on their will. It has no interests of its own apart from the interests of the people. The Chinese Communist Party has attached great importance to the revision of the Constitution, on which the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of its Central Committee conducted special discussions. Most of the members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat are concurrently members of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, and the opinions of the Party Central Committee have found full expression in the draft. **Having led the people in formulating the new Constitution, the Chinese Communist Party will uphold the dignity of the Constitution and ensure its implementation together with the people of all our nationalities and the democratic parties and people's organizations.** After the Constitution is adopted, it is necessary to give the Constitution wide publicity by various means so that it will be made known to every household. When our one billion people all cultivate the consciousness and habit of observing and upholding the Constitution and fight against all acts violating and undermining the Constitution, this will become a mighty force. **With efforts by all the people and the Chinese Communist Party to ensure its implementation, the new Constitution that embodies the will of the people and the correct propositions of the Chinese Communist Party is bound to play a great role in promoting the success of China's socialist modernization.** □

(Boldface are ours. — Ed.)

In Memory of Internationalist Fighter Dr. Kotnis

by Jiang Yizhen

Dr. Dwarkanath S. Kotnis (1910-42), a member of the Indian China-aid medical team sent to China during the War of Resistance Against Japan, helped the Chinese people under difficult conditions and died from constant overwork. On the 40th anniversary of his death, December 9, we dedicate this article to the memory of his work at the anti-Japanese front. The 25th anniversary of the death of Dr. Menhanlal Atal (1886-1957), another member of the Indian medical team, will also be marked this year. Activities organized by the Chinese people commemorating these two great internationalist fighters will soon be reported in "Beijing Review." — Ed.

MY first meeting with Dwarkanath S. Kotnis took place in mid-June 1940 when I was principal of the Bethune Medical School in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Area. One morning, I received a phone call from the health department of the military area saying that Kotnis and B.K. Basu of the Indian China-aid medical team had arrived at the third military sub-area and asking me to receive them to work at the Bethune Medical School and the affiliated Bethune International Peace Hospital.

I dropped the receiver and summoned other comrades to set out at once to greet them. Going east, we soon met a detachment of men approaching, among them Kotnis and Basu. Both were medium-height and sun-tanned, with honest, modest faces, much like my townsmen of Fujian.

I put them up at a nearby villager's home. Kotnis asked me about their assignments. "Don't worry!" I said, "That'll be settled in a few days." Although I was then principal of the school, I had to devote much of my energy to hospital work. I had to perform major operations myself. Upon Kotnis' arrival, I wanted to make him my assistant. When he heard this, his eyes sparkled with joy. The next

The author is a member of the Central Advisory Commission and former Minister of Public Health.



In March 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong met Dr. Atal (right) and Dr. Kotnis (middle) in Yanan.

day I came to the operating room, to find him waiting, his hands already scrubbed. He had a good university education and solid medical foundation, and had worked in the Eighth Route Army Hospital for a period of time, so he responded quickly to the new tasks. He did the operations exceedingly well.

A month or so later, I noticed that he was a bad tapeworm case. I could not but feel concerned about him.

Seeming to read my mind, he said casually: "It's nothing. I have taken some pomegranate root decoction. Let's see if it works."

Surprised, I asked how he knew the folk prescription which local people used for treating tapeworm cases.

"Oh, I have just learnt it. I also know a dozen or so other folk prescriptions," he said proudly.

When the second-phase of the large-scale battle to cut the enemy communication routes broke out in mid-September, Kotnis and Basu insisted on going to the front. I rejected Kotnis' demand. The reason was quite simple. It was not because he was a foreigner but because he had a bad case of tapeworm. He would not listen to me, and kept pestering me for several days. Instead of being impatient and angry, he spoke slowly and unhurriedly, trying to convince me. Once, he even brought me a glass of water, saying: "So far I haven't taken part in any large battle. How can I be considered an Eighth Route Army doctor if I don't go to the front?" He continued, "What did Dr. Bethune* tell us? Doctors must go to the front and tend the wounded. Haven't we used Dr. Bethune's name for the school? We should work as he did." Unable to stop his pestering, I was compelled to agree.

Kotnis and Basu were assigned to work separately in the third and fourth military sub-areas. Before departure, they challenged each other to see who could treat the wounded better and more quickly and use medical supplies more economically. When they returned in mid-October, I saw that Kotnis' dark brown face had a yellowish tinge, that his eye sockets were more deeply sunken. The comrade accompanying him told me that during the 13 days of work at the front, Kotnis had treated over 800 wounded soldiers and performed 585 operations. He seemed to give no thought to hardship or fatigue or danger. He only thought of how to save the wounded.

Decides to Remain

When Kotnis and Basu were still at the front, I received a cable from Chairman Mao addressed to them and relayed by the military area. The cable read: Ask them to return to India via Yanan immediately. Upon their return, I handed the cable to them. Kotnis was surprised and suspected that there was an error in the decoding of the cable. He asked repeatedly: "Why? While the battle is still going on, we are asked to leave. I simply can't understand it." Basu seemed more sober-minded. He thought about it and concluded that India must have urged their return because they had been abroad for more than two years, exceeding the original

* Norman Bethune (1890-1939) was a Canadian Communist and famous surgeon who died helping China during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

time limit of one year. I suggested that they discuss the matter and set out as soon as possible so that they could leave before the enemy took new actions to cut our ties with Yanan.

In a while they returned with the result of their discussion: Basu was to go to Yanan to clarify the situation while Kotnis would remain to teach in the school or work in the hospital because doctors were needed. I felt uncomfortable. Chairman Mao had asked them both to return. How could I change this decision? Kotnis saw my embarrassment, he said: "Let Basu explain to Chairman Mao that it is my own wish to stay." Basu darted a look at him, saying: "But I'm not going back out of my free will." I said: "If either is to stay, we have to report this to the commander for his decision."

Commander Nie Rongzhen instructed us that it was all right for Kotnis to remain, but that his safety must be guaranteed without fail. When I told them Commander Nie's answer, Kotnis beamed with joy.

Kotnis was then appointed a surgical teacher at the Bethune Medical School. Since he insisted that he could speak Chinese well enough, the interpreter, Comrade Ma Hanbing, accompanied Basu back to Yanan. But Kotnis did have difficulty with the medical terms. With the aid of a dictionary he had to mark the words with phonetic symbols. This added to the amount of work needed to prepare lessons. But difficulties seemed nothing to him. To make his teaching more effective, he stayed up late almost every night. Yet his morale was high.

In November, the enemy started a "mopping up" campaign of unprecedented scale. To con-



Dr. Kotnis working in the surgery of an Eighth Route Army hospital.

solidate the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei anti-Japanese base areas, army units and local governments held a joint army-civilian meeting to pledge to fight the Japanese and puppet troops to the end. At a meeting held in Zhanggezhuang, where the Bethune International Peace Hospital was located, Kotnis mounted the platform and made a solemn vow in Chinese to face all dangers together with the Eighth Route Army and the Chinese Communists. Then he joined the others in singing their favourite song *March of the Volunteers*. This pledge and song, filled with grief, indignation and excitement, fused the anti-Japanese sentiment of this young doctor from another country with that of the Chinese army and people. Moved by the atmosphere permeating the meeting, of a common hatred for the enemy, one comrade shouted: "Long live the unity between the Chinese and Indian peoples!" "Down with the Japanese fascists!" At that moment, Kotnis was so excited that his eyes filled with tears and his hands began to tremble.

After the meeting we sat together face to face. He still could not calm down. I lighted a cigarette and poured a glass of water for him. After a while he regained his composure and told me that the longer he stayed in China, the



Addressing an anti-Japanese rally in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border area.

more he realized the historical similarity between China and India and the deeper he understood why all Indian parties and classes agreed fully on sending aid to China. Thus, whenever he heard someone voice the call for Sino-Indian unity, he could not control his feelings. He said: "When I left home, my father said two things to me. First, he hoped his son would not fail to accomplish something in China. Second, as long as India and China are united, no one can manipulate the fate of the Asian people. Many others also share this last thought. At each send-off meeting, I hear similar remarks representing the voice of the Indian people."

Coming from the bottom of his heart, these words called forth in me a feeling of profound respect for Kotnis, his father and the great Indian nation.

Hospital Director

A few days later, Kotnis was appointed director of the Bethune International Peace Hospital.

The political commissar and I nominated him for this post only after much indecision, because that was a tough job at this most difficult moment of the revolution and we were afraid he might turn down the offer. To our surprise, he made no attempt to refuse, but simply asked: "Am I up to it?"

"Certainly you are," I answered. "It is Commander Nie's hope that you will become a second Norman Bethune." He responded, "Oh," and fell silent.

Clearly, the inspiration came from Commander Nie's words. He collected all the works written by Bethune and repeatedly asked me to tell him about the Canadian doctor. He greatly respected Bethune's scientific attitude.

Though frail of health, in his work he was a tower of courage and resolution. In his first days as hospital director, he instituted many effective measures such as grouping the patients into squads and platoons, organizing leading cadres to go the rounds of the sickrooms and holding weekly report meetings of doctors and nurses. He always lived up to his word, achieved prompt and effective results. Once, a comrade suggested that emergency battlefield rescue teams be organized and kept on alert even when there was no fighting near by. He immediately called a meeting to act on this suggestion. He himself volunteered to head one of the rescue teams. The work of the hospital improved rapidly under his leadership.

His task was more than just medical. As hospital director, Kotnis personally took up miscellaneous tasks, including collecting firewood and shipping grain from faraway villages. Once, we received an order to ship grain over a rugged mountain trail cut midway by the enemy blockade line, a round-trip trek of 40 kilometres. I told him not to participate. But as we were about to set off, I was surprised to spot him among the team members, ready to go. I asked him to step out, but he would not listen. I reminded him that he should follow orders. He retorted, jokingly. "I'm following the order to get the grain." He was, indeed, impossible. I had to let him go along.

Though I admired his tenacity, when we got back I gave him a good talking-to about risking his already weak health. "I like the collective life and I don't want any privileges," he answered. "Otherwise, I couldn't possibly be worthy of the name of hospital director."

In those eventful, but harsh days, he fell in love with Guo Qinglan*, a nursing teacher. After their wedding, the couple still lived apart, coming together only on Saturdays. It was not until the summer of 1942 that they began living together, at which point he was suffering recurring, increasingly long fits of epilepsy caused by tapeworm. Deeply concerned about his declining condition, Commander Nie instructed that he leave the border area for medical treatment elsewhere. But Kotnis refused to respond.

A few days later, he asked me: "Can a foreigner join the Chinese Communist Party?" Even today, I can still recall his look of embarrassment as he asked this question, a look I seldom saw in him during our two years together. This question did not surprise me, because I had known for some time that he wanted to join the Party and that he was fully qualified for Party membership. Besides, knowing this, I had already asked the higher leadership for their advice. Thus, I replied: "You can." Overjoyed, he asked if I would recommend him to

* Now a member of the standing committee of Liaoning Province's Dalian municipal committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.



Chinese medical workers at the Kotnis Memorial Hall in Shijiazhuang

the Party. He shook my hand long and hard when I assured him that I would be honoured to do so.

On July 7, 1942, Kotnis became a member of the Chinese Communist Party.

An Indelible Memory

Kotnis plunged himself into study and work with renewed fervour after he was admitted into the Party. His physical condition seemed to be improving, too. In autumn 1942, he finished compiling a textbook on general surgery and started on another which was a detailed study of surgery. He told me that he was sure he could finish the second book by the end of the year. At the time I never anticipated that this was to become his unfinished posthumous work. On December 9, 1942, failing to respond to all attempts to rescue him from a violent fit of epilepsy, this great internationalist fighter breathed his last.

On December 18, a gloomy, windy day, I, together with my colleagues, bore the coffin of Kotnis to his grave, right next to that of Norman Bethune. Local people hurried over from miles around to join the funeral.

In spring 1943, amidst the rumble of enemy artillery, I joined the local people in erecting a tombstone in front of the Indian doctor's grave. Looking at this monument towering side by side with that of Bethune, I recalled that on June 21, 1940, Kotnis had pledged before the tomb of the Canadian doctor: "I'll live the way you did." Now it was our turn to vow: "Dr. Kotnis, we will live as you did." □

Tibet: An Inside View (IV)

—Developing traditional handicrafts

by Our Correspondent Jing Wei

This is the fourth instalment of a five-part series on Tibet. The preceding three articles appeared in our issues No. 47 through 49.—Ed.

BEFORE its peaceful liberation in 1951, Tibet's only industries were handicrafts. Craftsmen produced the highly prized Tibetan carpets, leather boots, wooden Tibetan cabinets, gold- and silver-embroidered hats, wooden churns and jewelery.

In late July, I visited Gyangze, a town known as the Tibetan carpet-centre with a 600-year history of making Tibetan carpets.

Output Quadrupled

The carpet factory in the northern suburb of Gyangze comprises six new workshops made of brick and tile. Its 310 workers and staff members are Tibetans.

Carpets, Tibet's most famous handicraft item, were made by individual artisans in the past. In 1971, these artisans were organized into groups by some communes but, because of insufficient funds and a scarcity of raw materials, production was low. In early 1973, the state merged these groups into the Gyangze

carpet production co-operative. A loan of several hundred thousand yuan was provided to build workshops and help promote production.

Since 1974, carpets produced in Gyangze have been sold abroad. Because funds, raw materials and technical skills of the co-operative could not meet the expanding demand, the co-operative was made a state-run factory in 1979.

Under state support, the Gyangze Carpet Factory has quadrupled output in the last nine years. The Ministry of Light Industry certifies Gyangze Carpet Factory products as top quality carpets.

As I toured the factory accompanied by its 55-year-old director, craftsman Sangmodian, he told me that the factory uses a piecework wage system. "You can't really compare it with the earlier fixed wage system of the co-operative," he said, "but I can say the take-home wages the workers receive now are higher than before."

Workers' Income Raised

In 1981, the workers' average monthly income was 63 yuan compared with 29.5 yuan in 1973. Sangmodian disclosed that, as a skilled worker he used to earn 35 yuan a month. Now a worker with equivalent skills receives 115 yuan. The director gets a fixed salary of 103 yuan a month.

"Life is quite different from before the democratic reform of 1959," said Sangmodian. Then he wove carpets for his lord. His monthly wages equalled 15 kilogrammes of grain and he was given very scanty meals. Now 103 yuan can buy 250 to 300 kilogrammes of grain.

After visiting the factory, I was invited to the director's home. He introduced me to his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. This is a family of carpet-makers — seven of the three-generation family work in the carpet factory.

In their spacious sitting room, his wife treated me to highland barley wine and other Tibet-



Buying boots at a Lhasa fair.

an delicacies. The room was furnished with a colourfully decorated table and a row of Tibetan-style cabinets. The stools were covered with woven woollen cushions made by the family members; a radio cassette-recorder was playing a popular Tibetan song.

Serf Becomes Director

Miserable Past. Sangmodian was born into a serf family. His parents earned their living by weaving carpets. His father died when he was very young and when he was 10, his mother began to teach him how to make carpets.

Though they were allowed to produce and sell their own carpets in winter, they had to borrow money for raw materials. A loan of 100 yuan had to be repaid in two months with a carpet worth 200 yuan. Thus, the debts accumulated and finally, the creditors descended, taking their belongings and pressing for payment. Many could do nothing but flee.

Sangmodian had fled to Xigaze to escape his former lord. There he worked for a big landowner. Not long afterwards, this man told him, "One of my female serfs has run off to Gyangze. I want to send you there in exchange for her." This might have been only a threat, but in those days the exchange of runaway serfs between feudal lords was common in Tibet.

"The Democratic Reform Saved Me." The People's Liberation Army quelled the rebellion staged by some members of the upper social strata in 1959, and democratic reform was instituted in Tibet. The reactionary rule of the

Trimming a carpet.



Sangmodian, the factory director.

three big landowners—the old Tibetan local government, the aristocracy and the monasteries—were removed and he, a runaway serf, was saved.

He returned to Gyangze in 1960 and was given land and a house by the government. By cultivating land and weaving carpets, his family improved its lot gradually. However, in 1966, under the "Left" policies of the "cultural revolution," the individual production and sale of carpets were labelled "capitalist" and were thus forbidden. Sangmodian began to suffer again.

Becoming Factory Director. As Sangmodian became worried about his livelihood, a carpet-making group was set up in the commune. Taking up his old profession, he worked hard. Several times, he was selected as an advanced worker and, as representative from his factory, he took part in the national meeting of advanced handicraft enterprises held in Beijing. He was elected director of the factory this year.

To pass down traditional handicraft skills to the younger generation is a major government policy. Since 1980, the autonomous region government has exempted collectively and individually owned handicraft enterprises from taxes. It has also allocated funds to encourage the development of national minority handicrafts. According to the regional administrative department of handicrafts, the total value of the region's handicraft products has increased by 120 per cent since 1979. The shortage of some products desired by China's minority peoples has been relieved to some extent.



नवम एशियाई खेल-दिल्ली
IX ASIAN GAMES
DELHI 1982

ASIAN GAMES

Notable Success for China

After 16 days of competition, China for the first time was supreme in gold medals at the Ninth Asian Games. China with 61 golds superseded Japan, which had dominated the Asian Games in the past.

The advanced world levels of the competitions in badminton, diving, gymnastics, hockey, table tennis, volleyball and, to a lesser degree, shooting, weightlifting and archery were a credit to all Asia.

In track and field and swimming events Asian athletes have not moved much nearer world standards. However, the performance of China's high jumper Zhu Jianhua, who cleared 2.33 metres for the best world result this year, was exceptional.

Asian Games records in 28 track and field events were improved and over 60 records were equalled or bettered in swim-

the 29 swimming events, China had not won a single gold medal at the previous two games but at the Ninth Games it captured three.

Through hard training, a number of up-and-coming Chinese athletes have mastered

Medals: China and Japan

		gold	silver	bronze	total	order
7th Asian Games (1974, Teheran, Iran)	China	32	44	22	98	3
	Japan	67	40	49	156	1
8th Asian Games (1978, Bangkok, Thailand)	China	51	54	46	151	2
	Japan	70	59	49	178	1
9th Asian Games (1982, New Delhi, India)	China	61	51	41	153	1
	Japan	57	52	44	153	2

At the Seventh Asian Games, the number of weightlifting events was 30. In this table only the medals for the 10 classes of weightlifting incorporated in the Eighth and Ninth Asian Games are included.

ming, weightlifting, shooting and archery.

China made advances in some of its weak areas while maintaining its competitive edge in traditionally strong ones. In



Zhu Jianhua clearing 2.33 metres.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi giving medals to China's women gymnasts.

the skills and developed distinctive styles and they performed well at the Ninth Asian Games. The Chinese diving team which was composed mostly of teenagers, with only two veterans

Li Kongzheng and Li Yihua, pocketed all the gold and silver medals.

Chinese athletes have developed many skilful, novel and difficult movements. Wu Jiani, China's 16-year-old woman gymnast, was awarded 10 points in the balance beam for her graceful and complicated

moves. Li Yihua, a woman springboard diver, captivated the audience with her breathtaking backward 2½ somersaults tucked, while Li Kongzheng won the title in springboard diving with 3½ forward somersaults tucked.

China's success at the Ninth Asian Games marks the ascen-

dancy of its youthful athletes. However, China is still weak in many events, swimming and track and field in particular.

The success of the Ninth Asian Games and the achievements of all the athletes are a credit to all of Asia and welcomed by sportsmen worldwide.

China Won Gold Medals in the Following:

Gymnastics:

Men			
Team event		290.65 pt	
Individual combined event	Li Ning	117.25 pt	
Floor exercise	Tong Fei	19.80 pt	
Pommel horse	Li Xiaoping,	19.80 pt	
	Li Ning	19.80 pt	
Rings	Li Ning	19.80 pt	
Vaulting horse	Lou Yun	19.55 pt	
Women			
Team event		193.30 pt	
Individual combined event	Chen Yongyan	78.20 pt	
Vaulting horse	Li Cuiling	19.525 pt	
Uneven bars	Wu Jiani	19.800 pt	
Balance beam	Wu Jiani	19.800 pt	

Diving:

Men			
Platform	Tong Hui	645.45 pt	
Springboard	Li Kongzheng	695.73 pt	
Women			
Platform	Lu Wei	511.17 pt	
Springboard	Li Yihua	592.8 pt	

Rowing:

Men			
Single sculls	Liu Qun		
Pairs without coxswain	Ye Binglai,		
	Wang Deping		
Pairs with coxswain	Xu Guoliang,		
	Yan Jun,		
	Li Jianxin		
Fours with coxswain	Liu Weiping,		
	Li Zhibin,		
	Wang Hongbing,		
	Zhang Jinyu,		
	Pan Hansheng		

Swimming:

Men			
100m breaststroke	Ye Runcheng	1 min 5.93 sec	
200m individual medley	Li Zhongyi	2 min 10.93 sec	
4×100m freestyle relay	Huang Guangliang,	3 min 33.74 sec	
	Huang Guohua,		
	Wan Qiang, Li		
	Zhongyi		

Weightlifting:

56kg category	Wu Shude	267.5 kg
60kg category	Chen Weiqiang	282.5 kg
67.5kg category	Yao Jingyuan	307.5 kg
90kg category	Ma Wenguang	337.5 kg

Track & Field:

High jump			
Decathlon			
10,000m run			
50km walk			
Triple jump			
4×100m relay			
Discus			
Heptathlon			
Long jump			
Shot-put			
Discus			
High jump			

Shooting:

Trap team		532 pt
Free small-bore rifle 3x40 team		4,539 pt
Standard rifle 3x20 team		2,261 pt
Air rifle team		2,289 pt
Air rifle individual	Wu Xiaoxuan	584 pt
Pistol rapid-fire team		2,338 pt
Skeet shooting team		568 pt
Skeet shooting individual	Zhu Changfu	19 3 pt

Table Tennis:

Men			
Team event			
Singles	Xie Saike		
Women			
Team event			
Singles	Cao Yanhua		
Doubles	Cao Yanhua,		
	Dai Lili		
Mixed			
Doubles	Xie Saike,		
	Cao Yanhua		

Badminton:

Men			
Team event			
Singles	Han Jian		
Women			
Team event			
Singles	Zhang Ailing		

Women's Basketball
Women's Volleyball
Water Polo
Men's Handball



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