CANKAO XIAOXI: FOREIGN NEWS IN THE PROPAGANDA SYSTEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Editors Note: Question marks appearing in translations throughout this study denote the unavailability of resources to offer the most accurate translations of names and journal titles. Efforts were made to eschew obscurity.
PREFACE

For the last 20 years or so, the Chinese language daily newspaper Cankao Xiaoxi (hereafter referred to as Reference News) has been the cause of amazement and curiosity among Western correspondents in Peking as well as Western scholars studying the political system of the People's Republic of China. While the journalists are mainly interested in finding out whether one of their reports or commentaries was translated and reprinted in Reference News, the main obstacle for scholarly research on the function and purpose of this newspaper has been the lack of sufficient first-hand material.

The present study is based on more than 200 consecutive issues of the Reference News, starting with August 1, 1981 and ending with March 11, 1982. The available material is not only fairly comprehensive, but also is relatively recent so as to allow some basic conclusions on the paper's present purpose and function. The analysis will also shed some light on the methods by which the Reference News editors seek to achieve their objectives.

In view of the immense variety of topics covered in the copies available—ranging from national and international politics to social and scientific affairs, culture, sports as well as news of a more entertaining character, the study is limited to certain outstanding events dealt with in the Reference News. But which topics are best suited to lay bare the paper's purpose and function?

Which topic of the paper's coverage would be the most promising? No doubt, it would be interesting to analyze its coverage of the acute crisis of legitimacy in Poland which reached a dangerous climax in the period under survey. Just as interesting would be an analysis of what the Reference News readership learned about other countries, for instance the Soviet Union or the United States. However, an analysis of these topics would leave us with a problem that we are not yet in a position to solve, namely what the PRC readership thinks of these questions. One can be sure that they certainly know literally nothing about the structure and mechanisms of Western political systems. What idea do PRC citizens have of a parliament? Of a political opposition? Do they think of the latter as of some sort of counter-revolutionary faction? Do PRC citizens realize the difference between Western trade-unions and their own institutions with the same name?

When I finally decided to limit the scope of the present study to an analysis of the Reference News coverage on the People's Republic of China, it was partly to avoid these and related uncertainties. Nevertheless, the problem that remains is one of principle which has to
be kept in mind when reading this study. We do not know what idea Reference News readers have of Western democracies and their institutions, and consequently we do not know how reports from Western sources are reflected in the minds of PRC citizens. Would they assume, for example, that news agencies such as UPI, AP, Reuters, etc., are—like the Xinhua News Agency—state-owned propaganda tools? What idea do readers of the Reference News have of the significance of news on the PRC in the Western press?

The main reason for the decision to focus on the PRC coverage of the Reference News was that this topic makes up the majority of the paper's reprints on politics. No other single nation is so frequently referred to as Communist China. One may assume, therefore, that this part of the paper might even be the raison-d'être of its publication. Apart from this, there is still the amazingly great interest that PRC cadres, Communist or not, have in the outside world's opinion of their country. Everybody who is concerned with so-called classified (neibu—internal) PRC materials, will sooner or later face the peculiarity that a considerable part of their space is devoted to translations of foreign reports on Communist China. The Reference News readership, no doubt, shares this narcissist tendency, and related reprints are indeed read with far more interest than many others. Finally, the PRC coverage is, of course, the politically most sensitive part of the paper. The less CPC interests are affected, the more objectivity can be expected from the related coverage. Therefore, the final clue as to the role of the Reference News in the Communist propaganda system is mainly to be found in its PRC coverage.

The stability of CPC rule in mainland China is largely a function of how efficient the propaganda is. In this connection, further research on the Reference News will prove to be highly promising. Its function in stabilizing the Communist regime should be studied by analyzing its development in relation to the history of PRC domestic politics. It would be unrenouncable, however, to get an idea of what the several millions of the paper's readership think of its content.

I thank Professor Hungdah Chiu and Professor Ying-Mao Kau for their support of this study as well as for their critical suggestions.

Berlin, February 1984

Jörg-Meinhard Rudolph
1. Foreign News in Communist Society—The Point of Departure

On December 7, 1981, the Chinese language daily newspaper *Cankao Xiaoxi* (*Reference News*), published an advertisement for subscriptions in 1982. In the text, the paper was introduced as follows:

Subscriptions to the Reference News Welcome.
The *Reference News* is a comprehensive internal publication that is read by domestic cadres and intellectuals on all fronts.

Every day and fairly fast, the *Reference News* carries a selection of news and commentaries from the press and news agencies of all countries; it reports all-round and current news on politics, military affairs, economics, education, science and technology, hygiene, sports, etc. from all countries and regions of the world, as well as news from Hong Kong and Taiwan. It broadens the outlook of the readers and their understanding and knowledge of the world.

The *Reference News* will further expand its coverage and will report more comprehensively and currently on the situation in all regions of the world. It will introduce readers to more material that is worth to be referred to and is connected with our country's realization of the Four Modernizations. It will further increase reports on sports and culture of various countries.

The *Reference News* is published fast and timely. It has 25 printing stations in provinces and cities of the whole nation; microwave transmitting of facsimiles and air mailing of paper matrices guarantee timely print and publications and delivery into the hands of the vast number of readers.

Presently, the post offices in all regions are busy renewing and entering *Reference News* subscriptions for 1982. Subscription is open to all office workers, scientific and technological research personnel, students and teachers of universities and colleges, teachers at schools of all levels, party and government leaders of workshops in industrial enterprises, agricultural brigades, PLA companies as well as in the field of culture and education, hygiene, finance and other grassroot level units and retired cadres. Sub-
scription is not differentiated between party and non-party members.

Subscription procedure: Old subscribers can immediately renew their subscription; new subscribers can subscribe at the post-office on the basis of a letter of recommendation from the leading local institution at the level of People's Commune and higher, army units on the basis of a letter of recommendation by the political institutions at the regimental level and higher. Subscription charge is 5 Jiao per month. Postal code Number 1-38.

This advertisement not only supplies a general authoritative introduction to the Reference News, but it also describes the target group for whom the paper is published: Communist China's intelligentsia and grassroot-level officials. Also noteworthy is the emphasis on technical details of the publication such as printing houses, transmitting devices, and the rather mysterious subscription procedure. According to the PRC foreign propaganda weekly Beijing Review, the CPC party paper Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) was, in 1981, printed in 20 cities of the PRC, i.e., five less than the Reference News. The same source revealed that in 1981 the latter had a daily circulation of 8.47 million copies, thus surpassing the People's Daily by three million.

In fact, there can be no doubt that today the Reference News is read by practically all relevant basic strata of society in Communist China. In Peking, at least, intellectuals, teachers, government officials and those who have contact with foreigners have access to it. If we realistically assume three to four readers to a copy, the total readership can be estimated at about thirty million Chinese citizens. That means that the Reference News is the most widely read daily newspaper in the PRC. Even more important is the fact that those 8.47 million copies are not the result of office or forced subscriptions as is the case, for example, with the party's mouthpiece, the Renmin Ribao (People's Daily). A subscription to the Reference News is the free decision of the individual subscriber. The newspaper, therefore, is being read fairly intensively and is not only being flipped through like People's Daily.

From this it can be assumed that the Reference News is more important than the central media organ of the ruling party. What role, then, does the Reference News play in the political system of the

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People's Republic of China? The answer of this question will be a major objective of the present study.

Another problem that arises from the above advertisement is: Does the *Reference News* really report "all-round and current news" to "broaden the outlook of the readers and their understanding and knowledge of the world?" Or is this statement only made to boost circulation of the paper? If we assume that the *Reference News* is described correctly, it is strange that subscriptions to such a useful source of information require the consent of a leading political body, the Communist Party of China.

"The *Reference News* carries a selection of news and commentaries from the press and news agencies of all countries," the advertisement further promises. And, indeed, the paper carries nearly exclusively non-PRC news reports translated into Chinese. However, what interest can the Communist authorities of the People's Republic have to keep their citizens abreast with "current news" on political and military affairs extracted from foreign sources? Are PRC citizens usually not deprived of the right of political participation? Why, then, should they be informed?

All these questions have had their impact on the perception of the *Reference News* in the West. This applies to press reports as much as to academic studies that have been published on this extraordinary newspaper in the last 20 years. It seems that up to the present Western journalists and scientists have not solved the dilemma constituted by the fact that on the one hand Communist China is a totalitarian state, while, on the other hand, it publishes a widely circulating information bulletin containing foreign, i.e., non-propagandistic news reports.

Up to the late seventies, it was not possible for Westerners to get regular access to the *Reference News*. The few studies nevertheless published were based on a very limited number of copies. Bewilderment was the prevailing sensation. In 1975, for instance, David Bonavia, the Peking correspondent of *The Times* and the Hong Kong *Far Eastern Economic Review* expressed his puzzlement in an article published in *The Times* on July 8 under the characteristic headline "Chinese Can Read Foreign Reports." There, he said:

[The *Reference News*] carries accurate though often abridged translations of reports from the main world news agencies, newspapers, and magazines. . . . The purpose is evidently to keep the readers informed of trends in foreign public opinion rather than to propagate the views of the Chinese leadership, although obviously there is a slant.
This is in remarkable contrast to the Soviet equivalent, a weekly publication which presents only foreign materials likely to support Moscow's propaganda line, and which regularly distorts, or misrepresents the contents of the originals for political purposes.

Bonavia not only introduced the paper as "evidently" being a source of information for the PRC public. He also assumed on the grounds that the Chinese public is being "informed" that there is a difference between the political system of mainland China and the Soviet Union.

One year later he wrote another article on the same topic. This time, it was published in the Far Eastern Economic Review (July 16, 1976). The article reviewed the contents of four Reference News issues, one from 1971, two from 1974, and one from 1975. However, Bonavia still took the paper as an information bulletin and wrote under the headline "China's Window to the World":

[The Reference News] . . . . gives literate Chinese a fairly close insight into what foreign news media are saying about China or about the world at large . . . .

And, when stating that "there is no equivalent publication in the Soviet Union," he again contrasts the PRC against the Soviet Union. In both articles, Bonavia presented the Reference News as a valuable, even accurate source of information for several million PRC citizens. As he did not undertake a detailed analysis of the paper's contents, he was not able to answer the question why this bulk of information conveyed by the paper did not show a "significant effect" in the attitude of the PRC public. His answer in 1975 left a great deal to be desired. "The psychological influence," he said, "of the People's Daily is still immeasurably greater than that of the Reference News, . . . ." In other words, mainland Chinese were so addicted to Communist propaganda that they were immune against information from the West.

In 1981, five years later, another Western journalist wrote an article about the Reference News. It ran as follows:

**China's Reference News**

—Reuters journalist Michael [Lanker?]

(Reuters, Peking, Sept 25, cable) Journalist: Michael [Lanke—Lanker?] China's largest newspaper, the Reference News, publishes only extracts taken from foreign news reports. Yet, the majority of foreigners living in China is not allowed to read it.
The *Reference News* is a small newspaper of only four pages, its circulation is about the same as that of the world's most solid newspaper, the Japanese *Yomiuri Shimbun*. The *Reference News* does not carry propagandistic articles, it carries only foreign news agency and newspaper dispatches and reports. Its news sources range from the *New York Times* to the official Soviet news agency TASS, and it has everything that one expects to find. Although many foreign diplomats and journalists are not allowed to subscribe to it, it is nevertheless known to all that there is such a paper in China. Foreign teachers working in China can read it but they are not allowed to pass it to foreign journalists. The *Reference News* is published by the official Xinhua News Agency, the monthly subscription fee is only 5 Jiao (35 US Cents).

Imprinted on the paper is: "Internally published, deposit carefully," but people often do not care and frequently use it to wrap up groceries.

Many Chinese are especially interested in the news on China that is carried by the *Reference News* because the news on domestic politics that it carries is not to be found in the newspapers here.

Only recently, the *Reference News* carried a report of the Japanese Kyodo news agency that dealt with a press conference of the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Zhong Xidong who would not allow foreign correspondents in Peking to report on the activities of Chinese dissidents. The Chinese newspapers did not report on this press conference, but the *Reference News* quoted Mr. Zhong's words: "You must not report the contents of underground publications, you have to adopt a cautious behaviour." Like the other Chinese newspapers, the *Reference News* is strongly anti-Soviet in its news selection. It often carries articles on Soviet expansionism as well as on domestic economic and social problems of the Soviet Union. At times, the *Reference News* also published public reports from the Soviet Press, but they are mainly nonpolitical. It sometimes carries Soviet reports that attack China, too.

The *Reference News* also publishes articles from the Taiwanese press, including literature, society, science and technology.

The full text above was published in the *Reference News* on Oc-
October 23, 1981, and retranslated from Chinese. Why, now, did the editors publish this report? Is the readership not well enough acquainted with the paper to seek information on it from a foreign source? Or did the editors try a joke on their own publication?

In this context, it is worth noting that the Chinese translation of the Reuters dispatch followed the English original so closely that even an obvious mistake of the correspondent remained uncorrected. When explaining the non-public character of the Reference News, the English original quoted what is imprinted on each copy: “Internally published, deposit carefully,” which was translated in the Chinese report as Neibu faxing zhuyi baocun. (See Appendix 2) However, that is not what can be found on every Reference News issue since it first came out more than 20 years ago. The actual imprint reads: Neibu kanwu zhuyi baocun, i.e., “Internal reading material, deposit carefully.”

In any case, in 1981, the Reuters correspondent still assumed that the publication in question is an information source, simply because “it carries only foreign news agency and newspaper dispatches and reports.” These are, after all, he assumes, not propaganda!

The first comprehensive analysis of the Reference News was published in March 1966 in the China Quarterly. The author, Henry G. Schwarz, based his conclusions on altogether six issues of the paper. According to Schwarz, the Reference News was a source of information “restricted to various levels of political leadership.” Hence, the headline he chose for his study: “The Ts’an-k’ao Hsiao-hsi: How Well Informed are Chinese Officials about the Outside World?” Without indicating his source, Schwarz classified the paper as being available only “to Communist Party officials, higher cadres of the Communist Youth League, and politically reliable persons in other organizations.” Thus, he considered the readership of the Reference News to be exclusively members of Communist China’s ruling elite. Consequently, in his conclusions he mainly focused on this aspect:

Compared to the Chinese people, officials received substantial information on the outside world based on a vastly greater number of sources.²

If however, in the early sixties until the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution the Reference News indeed was an information bulletin for so-called higher cadres, as Schwarz suggests, it is hard to explain

why reprints published in that paper during that time were distorted, namely by omission of parts that sharply contradicted Peking's official propaganda. Schwarz himself was well aware of this practice, when, at the end of his study, he called this a "severe distortion of reality." But Schwarz did not further analyze his important discovery. Therefore, his study does not answer the question what interest the Reference News editors might have had in 1960 to deceive China's ruling elite. Would it not have been illogical to supply "Communist Party officials, higher cadres of the Communist Youth League, and politically reliable persons in other organizations" with "severe distortions of reality"? Might that not even have caused dangerous results?

In view of this point it is more likely that from the start, the Reference News was accessible to grossly the strata of China's society that is mentioned in the advertisement above. A possible explanation for Schwarz's classification of the paper may be found in the fact that in the beginning its circulation was restricted in Peking to higher cadres. In other places, however, it was no problem for government officials and the intelligentsia of lower levels to get at least a collective subscription. The reason for this puzzling state of affairs was rather simple and unideological: the great number of high party and government officials in the PRC capital exceeded the available amount of Reference News copies there. Hence, other interested and entitled readers in Peking had no chance to subscribe.

The most up-to-date and detailed study on the Reference News and other internal newspapers in the People's Republic of China was published in 1981 in West Germany: "Die Informationspolitik der Volksrepublik China" (Information policy of the People's Republic of China.) by the Austrian sinologist Helmut Opletal. This doctoral dissertation contains a long chapter analyzing the Reference News on the basis of 113 issues, not all in a consecutive order from 1973 and 1974. In the main, however, Opletal focused on Peking's information policy, and his presentation of the Reference News did not go beyond the policy itself. He reviewed, for instance, all the topics that the paper covered in the course of one week, but he neither compared the Reference News reprints with the originals nor did he connect the coverage of specific topics with contemporary PRC policies. In his analysis he did not, however, like Schwarz 15 years earlier, regard the paper as an information source for Communist cadres and politically reliable persons. He regarded the paper as the PRC's

3. Ibid., p. 79.
largest mass medium. This assumption finally resulted in the conclusion that the *Reference News* is an information bulletin for the PRC public which again leaves us with the problem stated above: Why does a Communist state publish impartial, non-propagandistic information?
2. CANKAO XIAOXI—REFERENCE NEWS

A. Introduction

If it is true that the Reference News editors merely reprint news items from the foreign press, then the first question is why the Reference News is kept so strictly from the eyes of foreigners? It would be difficult to find an answer if we regarded this newspaper as a mere reprint of foreign sources. For, what kind of additional information would foreign readers get beyond what they are already able to read in their own press? Hence, the whole thing seems to be illogical, or simply caused by the notorious inflexibility of Communist bureaucracy.

But there is a satisfactory explanation: The clue to the question is that foreigners do have access to the original sources of the reprints and are thus able to compare the translated versions with the originals. The Chinese Reference News subscribers, the people for whom this newspaper is being published, however, will hardly ever have the opportunity to compare the Chinese reprints with the Japanese, English, French, German, Spanish, Hindi, etc. originals. They will hardly ever be able to find out that reprints are censored, and purposely mistranslated or edited to make them fit into Peking's propaganda pattern.

If one compares the oldest Reference News copies that are kept in Western libraries (2 from 1959 and 6 from 1960) with the ones available for this study, it seems at first sight that the paper has not changed. Layout, size, number of pages, date of original publication and source, sometimes even the correspondent's name, all in brackets on top of each reprint, have not changed in the last 25 years.

However, in the appendix to his study “The Ts'an-K'ao Hsiao-hsi: How Well Informed are Chinese Officials about the Outside World?”, Henry G. Schwarz gives a translation of the headlines of the February 4, 1960 Reference News issue. If it was at least largely representative for the paper at that time, it seems to have changed in the meantime in two aspects.

First, compared with the above old issue, the Reference News of the eighties is of remarkably less political character. As Schwarz notes in his analysis,4 only one of the six issues he had at hand carried a “science and technology” section, and it seems that it was not a regular topic like it is today — among many other non-political items. As can be seen from the subscription advertisement quoted

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above, one of the promised improvements in 1982 would be a "fur­
ther increase" of "reports on sports and culture of various coun­
tries." Thus, the tendency of having less political news was
continued in 1982. Second, the headlines that Schwarz lists in trans­
lation are strikingly apologetic. The editors at that time obviously
tried to fit the foreign news items into Peking's propaganda and ide­
ology pattern by attaching suitable headlines to the reprints (not nec­
essarily conforming with the tendency of the respective news items).
For example, AP was quoted as having reported "Nyerere Seeks
'Aid' from America" instead of the original title "Nyerere Seeks Aid
from America;" AP and even Reuters had allegedly reported that
"England will retain tyrannical military bases" instead of just "mili­
tary bases", and the French authorities did not only "suppress 'Lib­
eration'" but did so "unreasonably".

It seems, however, that the above approach had some advan­
tages for the readership, who were, unlike today, apparently better
informed about severe foreign criticism of the People’s Republic and
its policies. Schwarz quotes two reprints,\textsuperscript{5} one, a *Newsweek*
excerpt, "slandered by saying" that the so-called Great Leap Forward "ruth­
lessly mobilized entire labour power." The other reprint stated that
the Great Leap Forward "retarded man" (French economist via the
Taiwanese news agency). In 1960 the *Reference News* even reprinted
items by the Taiwanese Central News Agency, by AP and Reuters
which described "peace and prosperity" in Taiwan.\textsuperscript{6} Nothing of that
kind has been published in the period under survey in the present
study. Critical statements from impartial sources with respect to es­
tential items of PRC propaganda like the "Four Modernizations" or
the CPC Taiwan policy could be found.

Before analyzing the *Reference News* PRC coverage in detail, it
seems appropriate to give a more general contents analysis so as to
show what kind of newspaper it is. What sort of reprints could be
found in an average issue of the *Reference News* in 1981/82? In the
following translation of the March 11, 1982 issue's\textsuperscript{7} headlines, the
headlines are written in capital letters, and the editor’s summary is
marked "•". The number of items and the sources are stated in
parentheses. (The items are listed from left to right and from top to
bottom of the respective pages).

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 76.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p. 77.
\textsuperscript{7} I selected this issue for two reasons. First, no special event had taken place at
that time, neither in the PRC nor internationally. The March 11 issue is, therefore, fairly
representative. Second, it is the latest issue available for this study.
Frontpage:

GENSCHER'S TALKS WITH US LEADERS ENDED

- Haig says that Reagan expects to visit West-Berlin when attending NATO summit. Genscher and Haig say, areas where both countries agree are larger than the political controversies.
  (3, Reuters from Washington, DPA from Bonn, AP from Washington, all of March 9, 1982)

US NEWSPAPER EXCLUSIVE REPORT, "VIETNAMESE-SOVIET ALLIANCE; CLOSE BUT NOT STABLE"

- It says that both the Soviets and the Vietnamese know that they cannot leave the partner, but they obviously hope that they will be able to make it after the partner has left.
  (1, Christian Science Monitor, March 3, 1982)

ISLAMIC ADJUSTMENT COMMITTEE COULD NOT SOLVE IRAN-IRAQ DIFFERENCES

- Decision to establish a standing committee to continue the adjustment work.
  (2, AP from Dschida, TANJUG from Teheran, both March 9, 1982)

British newspaper article

KGB LEADER ATTACKS BREZHNEV-GANG

(1, Observer, March 7, 1982)

Japanese Table Tennis Association announces TAIWAN WILL ATTEND TOKYO TABLE-TENNIS COMPETITION

(1, KYODO from Tokyo, March 9, 1982)

REAGAN'S SPECIAL ADVISER ELLENWOOD (?) CALLS TAIWAN A GREAT COUNTRY

(1, Central News Agency, Taiwan, from Los Angeles, March 8, 1982)

British Daily Telegraph article

WHY BREZHNEV STILL OCCUPIES RULING POSITION

(1, March 8, 1982)

Japanese newspaper article

JAPAN SUPPLIES EUROPE WITH GREAT QUANTITY OF ELECTRONIC CALCULATORS
(1, Kaizai Shim bun, no date given)
OPEC COUNTRIES TURNED INTO PURE LOANER COUNTRIES IN THIRD QUARTER OF LAST YEAR
(1, AFP from Basel, February 15, 1982)
(Argentinian newspaper)
GUATEMALA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS—OUTFLOW OF CAPITAL AND UNEMPLOYMENT
(1, The Horn (?Hao jiao Bao), March 3, 1982)
Responsible of French gas company discusses QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE GAS PIPELINE PROJECT FROM SIBERIA TO WESTERN EUROPE
(1, AFP from Paris, March 3, 1982)
JAPANESE TOYOTA CAR COMPANY PLANS TO ESTABLISH PLANT IN USA
(1, Le Monde, February 16, 1982)
Hong Kong Xin Wan Bao reports TEN THOUSAND JOBLESS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR OF THE DOG/ONE FACTORY CLOSING EVERY DAY
(1, Xin Wan Bao, February 20, 1982)
HONG KONG POLICE ANNOUNCES, NEARLY 80,000 CRIMES COMMITTED IN HONG KONG LAST YEAR
• Hong Kong Ming Pao discusses psychological situation of today's Hong Kong youth.
(2, Ta Kong Pao, Ming Pao, Hong Kong, March 4 and February 25, 1982)
HONG KONG STREETS FLOODED WITH BOOKS ON VIOLENCE AND PORNOGRAPHY
(1, Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao, US Overseas-Chinese Daily, February 12, 1982)
HONG KONG'S POPULATION AT 5.2 MILLION BY THE END OF LAST YEAR
(1, Ming Pao, Hong Kong, February 5, 1982)
Page 3
ASIA'S GENERATION GAP
• American magazine says, the tradition of respecting the old gradually disappears in many Asian countries and regions.
(1, Newsweek, February 22, 1983)
INDONESIAN ATHLETES WILL ACCEPT CHALLENGE IN ALL-ENGLISH BADMINTON CHAMPIONSHIPS

- Indonesian newspaper says, China will send its most outstanding athletes to attend; if the Indonesian team does not make all-out preparations it will not even win one championship
  (1, Struggle, ? Zhandou Bao. March 1, 1982)

18 ASIAN ATHLETES ENTER LIST OF THE WORLD’S 30 BEST LAST YEAR
(1, AFP from Ipoh, Malaysia, February 28, 1982)

YEARS OF UPEAVAL
- Memoirs of Henry Kissinger (series, part 2)

Mitterrand’s View of the Alliance

- Mitterand says, conditions for French-American cooperation are: in political and economical respects he hopes that the USA cuts down interest rates; respects France’s special role outside NATO; does not irritate the USSR.
  (1, Washington Post, March 4, 1982)

Far Eastern Economic Review carries article

Yuan Ke Yuan (name of a Vietnamese in Pinyin)
BITTERLY ATTACKS HANOI LEADERS’ INCOMPETENCE
(1, Far Eastern Economic Review, February 26 to March 4, 1982)

US Heritage Foundation Suggests Government to Reform Strategy of Defense
(1, UPI, from Washington, March 3, 1982)

Thai-Kampuchean Fake Agreement on the Principal of Repatriation of Kampuchean Refugees, Still Differences in Practical Preparations
(1, AFP, from Bangkok, March 4, 1982)

Sihanouk says
FOUNDATION OF KAMPUCHEAN THREE-PARTY-COALITION GOVERNMENT NOT READY YET
(1, Reuters, from Peking, March 9, 1982)

Marcos indicates that he does not con-
SIDER LEGALIZATION OF PHILIPPINE COMMUNISTS
(1, AFP, from Manila, March 6, 1982)

EFE REPORTS "ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY: PARTY OF THE AGED"
(1, EFE, Spanish news agency, from Milano, March 2, 1982)

DUTCH SOLDIERS DO NOT WANT TO LEAVE THE ARMY FOR FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT
(1, UPI, from 's Gravenhage, March 3, 1982)

NORTH-IRELAND PROTESTANT PARTY WINS IN BY-ELECTION FOR BRITISH PARLIAMENT
(1, AP, from Belfast, March 5, 1982)

A closer look at the different items reveals that the front page focused on current affairs, with an average time-lag of about 2.5 days. Page 2 was reserved for features (often on the PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong), Page 3 for news of a more entertaining character. Page 4 often also carries rather current events. Opletal's statement that Reference News reprints appear with "an average delay of two to three days" is only correct for the coverage of current events, mainly front page reprints. By and large the Reference News coverage cannot be called up-to-date as the average time-lag (number of days between original publication and reprint of an item) for the 33 news-items of the March 11 edition (except only for the Kaizai Shim bun and the Kissinger memoirs reprints for which no date was given) was nearly ten days. An average delay of more than a week before a news item is transmitted to the Chinese Reference News reader is a rather long time-span—too long a period to legitimate an assessment of this newspaper as being the result of the PRC government's efforts to keep the Chinese public abreast with what is going on in the world.

There is reason for the assumption that Reference News reprints are selected parts of translations that have been done for internal information bulletins like the Reference Material (see Chapter V). The work process then would be as follows. To keep PRC decision-makers informed about world developments of national and interna-

tional significance, Xinhua journalists in Peking and elsewhere in the world translate a vast amount of foreign news items, articles, features, and commentaries every day. This—and not reports for People’s Daily—is their main task. As translators do not rank higher in the administration than grade 20, they are not authorized to select the reprints that will finally be published in Reference News for the masses. This work requires a “high degree of political consciousness”: for the appropriate articles first have to be selected and second, some Reference News reprints have to be abridged and edited for political reasons. This job is, therefore, done by so-called higher cadres, probably party officials who usually do not speak a foreign language and base their censuring work on material that has already been translated into Chinese. Sometimes, these overseers make mistakes and thus enable us to see how they work.

In its January 3, 1982 issue, the Reference News reprinted a New York Times Magazine report, “China’s Leap to American Campuses”. This reprint contained a mistake of this sort. Large passages dealing with children of high-ranking Communist cadres such as Deng Zhifang, son of Deng Xiaoping, and their performance in the United States were deleted. In the following text, however, the editors forgot to delete a personal pronoun that referred to Deng’s son. While the original sentence read:

The majority of the Chinese students are as studious as Deng Zhifang, but not all reach his level of achievement.

the Reference News reprint said:

The majority of the Chinese students are studious, but not all reach his level of achievement.

After the name of Deng’s son had been deleted, the pronoun “his” was left without reference to the missing noun. Thus, the above described working process became visible. However, only keen observation will detect this type of manipulation. Moreover, PRC readers do not have the original article at hand and will never know whose “level of achievement” had not been reached by “the majority of the Chinese students.”

Manipulative Hong Kong Coverage (1980-1982)

In an earlier study I compared the Taiwan coverage of the Reference News with that of the internal information bulletin Reference Material focusing on the news on Taiwan that was not published in
The present study will concentrate on the opposite, on the news that was published in the Reference News. If we take, for example, the news on Hong Kong, we find in the above table of contents of the March 11, 1982 issue a number of reprints on the topic. The original articles—all from Chinese-language newspapers—had appeared between February 5 and March 4, 1982, a delay that cannot be explained by the time necessary for doing the translation. Except for the last news item, the reprints conveyed a gloomy picture of a decaying city: unemployment, bankruptcies, crime, violence, and pornography.

Eight months later, in December 1982, when all of Hong Kong was alarmed and in a state of high tension because of Peking's announcement that it would "take back the sovereignty over Hong Kong" by 1997 at the latest, the Hong Kong Chinese monthly The Seventies (Qishiniandai) carried an article about "The Internal Hong Kong Image of China." Mainly by summarizing the Reference News Hong Kong coverage since the mid-seventies this article revealed how Peking's propaganda department created a negative image of Hong Kong.

In the years between 1977 and 1979 when Deng Xiaoping had come back to power, the Reference News depicted a "modern and flourishing" Hong Kong. At that time, the overall coverage of capitalist countries in the PRC was liberal compared with the time before, a tendency that was highlighted by Deng's visit to the United States in early 1979, when amazing pictures from America were televised in the PRC. The results of this ideological relaxation were, however, disastrous for the PRC government. In 1979 nearly 200,000 young people entered Hong Kong illegally. Hence, all Hong Kong related news turned the other direction again. In early 1980 the Reference News took the lead in modelling the image of a different Hong Kong.

In the spring of 1979 the newspaper published the story of a young girl from mainland China who went to Hong Kong—only to be sold by a Secret Society. This reprint was followed by a number of other articles describing the town as being decadent and cruel, torn to pieces by class contradictions, and a free-harbour for all kinds of Secret Societies. The latter's main purpose was to sell mainland girls into prostitution. The article published in The Seventies

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then listed another eleven items giving further insight into the "real Hong Kong." All of the articles were taken from Hong Kong newspapers and reprinted by the *Reference News* during the first half of 1980, all corresponded with the negative picture given in the above cited March 11 issue of the paper. (A list of further illustrative examples for the *Reference News* Hong Kong coverage during the period under survey can be found in Appendix 3).

This propaganda campaign against capitalist Hong Kong and in favor of socialist China was soon followed by similar article series in the official PRC press like the *People's Daily* and the *Zhejiang Daily*. When in May 1980, the *Reference News* published a "statistical survey"\(^\text{12}\) comparing the expenses of a four-person household in Shanghai with one in Hong Kong, this wave of negative reports went high. The survey "proved"—at least for everyone who had never gone beyond the PRC borders—that daily life for the people on the mainland was far better than for their "Compatriots living in Hong Kong".

In autumn 1981 there were rumors in Hong Kong that Lee Yee, Editor-in-Chief of *Qishiniandai* (The Seventies), wanted to shift his magazine to a more critical or even hostile attitude towards the PRC. On January 20 and again on January 21, 1982, the *Reference News* reprinted three articles from the Hong Kong monthly *Jing Bao* (The Mirror) criticizing the new trend of *The Seventies* (cf. Appendix 3). In response, in March 1982, Lee Yee wrote a "Letter to the Editors of the Reference News",\(^\text{13}\) which was published in the March 1982 issue of *The Seventies*. In this letter Lee accused Xinhua of having rudely distorted his views and intentions by reprinting the a.m. articles from *The Mirror*. However, the *Reference News* editors never published Lee's letter, and thus did not open a public controversy over *The Seventies*. Instead, it tried to create the impression that the Hong Kong magazine had become an enemy of present-day China.\(^\text{14}\)

Thus again propagandistic rather than informational purposes are to be found as the basis for the respective *Reference News* coverage.

In my analysis of the *Reference News* along its Taiwan coverage, I found that it published mainly unfavorable news on Taiwan. If

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14. According to Opletal, "Informationspolitik," *supra* note 9, p. 167, *Qishiniandai* (The Seventies) was a source for reprints in the *Reference News* as early as 1973/74. Opletal is right to call the magazine "pro-Peking" during those years. No reprint taken from *Qishiniandai* could be found in the *Reference News* issues under survey for this study.
necessary, reports were abridged, passages that did not fit the editors’ intentions were left out or purposely mistranslated. Without going into further detail here it can be said that at least the general trend of the items selected to reflect the situation in Hong Kong was manipulated to conform with the CPC propaganda line in 1981/82. Taiwan and Hong Kong are topics of major interest to the readership of the Reference News. The same is true of domestic news on the People’s Republic of China.

B. PRC Coverage

It would be interesting to find out what the Chinese readers think of the Reference News, yet it is hard to obtain a clear picture of Chinese opinions. For the time being we have to be content with two sources of opinions. One is taken from the novel The Coldest Winter in Peking, written by a former PRC official, the other is an interview with the author of the autobiography Son of the Revolution, Liang Heng, who in 1980 left the PRC where he was born and had grown up.

If we concentrate on the former source first we find that towards the end, the novel The Coldest Winter in Peking, which was written in 1975—76 or so, describes an interesting episode. In a scene anti-Maoist young rebels run into three Japanese correspondents in Wangfujing Street, the main shopping area of Peking around the corner from the Peking Hotel. When learning that the Japanese were foreign correspondents in China the young people start accusing them demanding answers to their questions. Finally while furiously condemning the Japanese journalists one of the youngsters refers to the Reference News:

Your reports have been, for the most part, reprinted in our Reference Bulletin. When the Chinese people read your stuff, they feel like throwing up. Don’t you have eyes and ears? Your kind of reporting only deceives the Japanese readers and the rest of the world.

This fictitious judgment is confirmed by the second source. In 1983, the Taiwanese Shibao Zazhi (Sunday Times Chinese Weekly) published an interview with Liang Heng. When talking about the reasons for writing his memoirs, Liang said:

... later I discovered that some of her (his wife’s) American friends basically did not understand ‘China’, did not

understand the historical tragedy that China was facing at that time. Moreover, I found later that articles written by some foreigners and reprinted in the CPC-internal *Reference News* . . . were in my eyes a humiliation of the Chinese. They said how happy the Chinese were! How beautiful the factories were! How happily the peasants were smiling! But there was nothing like that.16

Both statements focus on the same part of the *Reference News*, its PRC coverage. Moreover they neither express doubts in the reliability of the reprints nor do they insinuate that they might be manipulated. Instead, the youngsters in the novel criticize the foreign correspondents for painting a false, i.e., too positive picture of the PRC. Liang Heng, too, assumes that reports in foreign news media humiliate the Chinese and even partly wrote his autobiography because he believed—from reading the *Reference News*—that foreign journalists wrote nonsense about the PRC.

*Statistical Assessment of PRC coverage*

Each edition of the *Reference News* carries an average of about thirty news-items, not necessarily all on different topics; sometimes two to four sources refer to the same subject. With an average of 30 news-items a day the *Reference News* carries about 900 items a month. In the following table the approximately monthly percentages of the news items on the PRC are listed:

Table I
MONTHLY PERCENTAGE OF NEWS ITEMS COVERING PRC IN REFERENCE NEWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Number of PRC news items</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>15,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>14,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>13,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>18,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>17,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>9,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>11,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(March*)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>15,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* March 1 to 11 only

The Reference News hence dedicated about fifteen percent of its space to news on the PRC, and if we had furthermore included the items on Taiwan and Hong Kong this news-bloc would have clearly made up more than 20 percent of the paper. That means that a considerable part of it aims either at satisfying the wish of its subscribers to read foreign comments about the PRC or at satisfying the wish of its editors to publish foreign comments etc. on the PRC or both. In any case the paper creates a certain image of the PRC position in the world because all reprints are obtained exclusively from foreign sources. For a better assessment of this eccentric kind of narcism one could for instance imagine that the New York Times dedicated one seventh of its daily space to reprints of foreign media focusing on the United States. Those reprints would, furthermore, lag about one week behind the current political coverage. How would the American public respond? How long would such a newspaper exist? The Reference News not only exists. It sells so well that it is the largest daily in the world. It is therefore, a unique phenomenon not only in the PRC, but also internationally.

This is true for still another reason. At least theoretically there
should be nobody better acquainted with and informed about the PRC than the Xinhua News Agency. Hence, it should be assumed that a daily newspaper carrying such a great number of translated foreign news-items on one's own nation would concentrate on its foreign affairs. This is, however, not the case with the Reference News. When, for example, the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress convened in Peking in early 1981, the Reference News editions of December 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, and 11 carried big front page headlines on this event; and all items were exclusively from foreign news agencies and newspapers. By this, the average Reference News reader who usually never gets to see a foreign newspaper is induced to think that for several days in a row this purely national event had appeared as frontpage-leader of the major newspapers in the Western world: a simple measure for propping up events of otherwise hardly any interest to the PRC public.

**Table II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Number of news items</th>
<th>Current events</th>
<th>Non-current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1 to 11</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>960</strong></td>
<td><strong>800</strong></td>
<td><strong>160</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This survey reveals another interesting fact about the PRC-coverage of the Reference News. Although one might possibly move one or the other item from the column “Current Events” to the “Non-Current” column, the difference between the total number of 800 items covering current events against 160 not connected with special events is significant enough to draw a definite conclusion. In the seven months under survey about 80 percent of the PRC-news were
connected with special current events, whereas 20 percent or 160 news items were not. The first impression is therefore that the Reference News is a fairly dynamic newspaper very much like Western press media and clearly differing from the timeless propaganda carried by the official press. If a current event is covered by the latter (like a Session of the National People's Congress) it indulges in innumerable merely apologetic statements. The Reference News seems, however, to combine current coverage with concentration on the essentials, plus Western style of reporting. This characteristic surely adds to the paper's popularity in the PRC.

The following table shows how much Reference News editors stress coverage of PRC affairs:

**TABLE III**

**TIME-LAG OF PRC-NEWS IN THE REFERENCE NEWS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of delay</th>
<th>Percentage of PRC-news items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 and more</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No date of original publication given: 1.3%
** More than 22 days of delay

In the table all news-items concerning the PRC are divided into groups of three days delay. With 40.7 percent of the items published within the first three days after they had appeared outside the People's Republic, the Reference News could be regarded as quite up-to-
date. If this group which includes 391 news items is split into three
groups of 1, 2, or 3 days of delay we see, however, that only 38 items
or 4.0 percent, were published with a delay of one day; those items
with a delay of two days totaled 277 or 28.8 percent, those with a
delay of three days were 76 items or 7.9 percent. That means only
about one third of all the PRC-reports carried by the Reference News
in the period under survey were published within two days after the
event they covered. Basically, only these reprints were current, the
remaining two thirds must be called outdated. A Western daily
newspaper would have to close down within days if its news-cover-
age dragged behind like that. In the People's Republic, however,
obviously different standards have to be applied. Its political system
does not require a steady and public flow of information.

The Foreign Sources

Where did the Reference News editors get the raw material for
their reprints? 460, that is, nearly one half of all reprints listed in
Table 1 were from news agencies, the same amount from foreign
press media, and 26 reports were supplied by “Our OwnCorrespon-
dent.” 14 sources were not revealed by the editors. A list of the
exploited foreign news agencies reads as follows:
### Table IV
FOREIGN NEWS AGENCIES IN THE *REFERENCE NEWS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Number of news in <em>Reference News</em></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Press (AP)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agence France Press (AFP)</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Press International</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyodo</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA)</td>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjug</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiji</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANSA</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFE</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deutscher Presse Dienst</td>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADN</td>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Trust of India</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Maghrib Arab News Agency</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central News Agency</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two interesting aspects can be seen from this. The first is that only 3 out of 16 cited foreign news agencies were Communist ones and their percentage of the total news makes up only five percent. Capitalist news agencies supply the vast majority, more than 90 percent of the PRC-reports. This would not be so striking if we were to analyze the international reports of the *Reference News*. It is, however, remarkable as we focus on the PRC coverage of the paper. In
its reporting on mainland Chinese internal affairs, Peking obviously prefers to rely on Western news agencies, those of the class enemy. The second aspect concerns the fact that the *Reference News* does not pay anything for reprinting foreign news agency reports. These agencies will now be able to figure out their approximate losses in view of the fact that about 50 percent of a total of about 900 news items that the *Reference News* publishes during one month is supplied by them. On this basis I would assume that, for instance, about 1,100 Reuters reports a year are published by this daily with a circulation of 8.47 million copies a day. This large-scale pirate reprinting is probably one of the reasons for declaring the *Reference News* an "internal" paper.

In the period under survey 460 *Reference News* items on the People's Republic of China were based on foreign daily newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines and other prints. The following table lists all of them, including country of origin and number of items that were taken from them.
Table V
FOREIGN PRINTED MEDIA
IN THE REFERENCE NEWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the publication</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Number of reprints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainichi Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhong Bao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming Pao (Daily)</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Kaizai Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokio Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao*</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta Kong Pao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>USA/Hong Kong</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen Hui Pao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin Wanbao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin Bao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankai Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaizai Shimbun</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanyang Shangbao</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiantian Ribao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intern. Communic. Agency</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles Times</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handelsblatt</td>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yin Bao</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Science Monitor</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallstreet Journal</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caijing Ribao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East Economic Digest</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borba</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanhua Zaobao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World**</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trade**</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the publication</td>
<td>Country of origin</td>
<td>Number of reprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Report**</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo Newspaper**</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Bulletin**</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanyang Shangbao</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Newspaper**</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Post**</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Daily</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Economic News**</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Trade**</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming Pao (Monthly)</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Daily**</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Exchange</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economist**</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xingdao Ribao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Industrial News**</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Herald**</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Times**</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xingbin Ribao</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Telegraph</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Spiegel</td>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bei Mei Ribao***</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Bao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs**</td>
<td>Libanon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia Week</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuai Bao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South**</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ONE ITEM EACH WAS TAKEN FROM THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS:


Italy: Unita, Messagero, Il Tempo

Brazil: Brazilia, Trade News**.

USSR: Pravda
Japan: Eye of Modern Times**, Japan Gyoma, Military Research**
Bangladesh: Holiday**
India: Believer**, Economic Express**, Indian Express**
FRG: Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Der Tagesspiegel
Yugoslavia: Politica, Courier**
CSSR: Red Power**
France: Libération, Quotidien de Paris, Express
Canada: Global Post**
Philippines: Daily Times**
Australia: Times
Camerun: Camerun Tribune**
Turkey: Freedom**, Echo**, one not identified
Hong Kong: Bafang, Jing Bao, Far Eastern Economic Review, Huaqiao Ribao
Zambia: Zambia Daily Post**
Peru: Observer**
Macao: Macao Daily**
Sri Lanka: Observer**
Singapore: Xinzhou Ribao
Kenya: Kenya National Daily**
Ireland: Ireland Independent
Malaysia: Xinzhou Ribao
Dominica: El Caribe

* American Overseas Chinese Daily, in Chinese
** Translation into English according to Chinese name as given in the Reference News
***North American Daily, in Chinese (New York)
Though involuntarily, far more than one hundred different foreign newspapers supplied the Chinese public with news on mainland China in the seven months under survey. An impressive figure which probably makes the regular Reference News reader believe that he is supplied with highly diversified and thus reliable information on the PRC. This intended effect can be further substantiated by the fact, not unknown to the editors, that especially urban Chinese intellectuals generally foster a great admiration for the Western world and believe more in the reliability of Western news than in that of Communist origin. The following Table VI has to be interpreted accordingly; it lists the countries of origin of the main sources used by the Reference News.
### Table VI

**REFERENCE NEWS SOURCES—COUNTRIES / REGIONS OF ORIGIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Region</th>
<th>Number of items taken from press/publication</th>
<th>Number of items taken from news agencies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libanon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camerun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domenica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDR (East Germany)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>460</strong></td>
<td><strong>460</strong></td>
<td>*<em>920</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
690 or 75 percent of the above 920 news items were taken from news agencies or newspapers and magazines of the major capitalist countries: USA, Japan, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada, and Australia, only 3.2 percent were supplied by the controlled media of Communist countries like Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. A great part of the Hong Kong sources has to be added to this last group of Communist media like reports from the Peking-controlled Ta Kung Pao, Wen Hui Pao, and some others.

The fact that for the supply of its information about the PRC the Reference News relied for at least three quarters of its news items on capitalist news corporations is strange at first sight. Peking itself terms newspapers like The Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung or the Japanese daily Mainichi Shimbun as “capitalist newspapers”. The Wall Street Journal is even characterized as a “big nation-wide newspaper of the US monopoly capitalist class.”

Detestable as the official propaganda may describe these sources, the responsibles in Peking know quite well that the reading Chinese public, especially the urban intelligentsia, believes in the Western capitalist press more than in the People’s Daily or similar products. The Reference News supplies them day by day with news exclusively taken from these sources. What aspects of the People’s Republic do the reprints stress?

Table VII
CLASSIFICATION OF REFERENCE NEWS PRC-COVERAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classified as</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar*</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRC internal</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC external</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*March 1 to 11

Although the basis for the above table is rough, it reveals one valua-

ble aspect: In the period under survey the *Reference News*, when covering the PRC focused on "PRC external news" which is better called "the PRC's position in the world" and includes coverage of political, economic, cultural, sports or whatever relations of the PRC with foreign countries. Reports on favorable foreign relations stand for a high international reputation of the PRC and its political leaders. By transmitting them to the PRC public via capitalist media the *Reference News* is a means of enhancing the authority of the Communist leadership inside the county more than all proclaimed successes in socialist construction which for decades have been published on the *People's Daily* front page. 53 percent of the coverage on the PRC was devoted to China's position in the world, only 38 percent dealt with internal affairs. The following table compares the time lags of both rubrics.

### Table VIII

**TIME-LAGS IN RELATION TO CLASSIFICATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classified as</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRC internal</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>9.7*</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC external</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6**</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In that month two special events clearly brought down the average time-lag: National Day of the PRC (Oct, 1), and, for the first time, Double Tenth, National Day of Republican China, Commemoration in Peking

** Not included in this figure is a serial of three reports from an Indian publication that was published with the extreme delay of half a year. If included the average would go up to 12.7

On the average, *Reference News* editors needed more than four days more for reprinting news items related to PRC internal events than for those on external affairs. That is further evidence for the assumption that within the scope of PRC coverage more stress is laid on the section dealing with Peking's foreign relations and the related performance of the CPC leaders in this respect.

### C. Coverage of PRC Domestic Affairs

As indicated by the above quoted novel *The Coldest Winter in Peking*, and the former PRC citizen Liang Heng, *Reference News* coverage of PRC domestic affairs can be contrasted with the readers' everyday reality. Therefore, the reaction of the youngsters in the
novel surely would have been the same if they had had the chance to meet Mr. Ken Livingstone, Labour-leader of the Greater London Council, who in August 1981 returned home after a two-week holiday in Asia which had included a one-day (!) tour to mainland China. On August 18, 1981, the British Daily Telegraph for some reason reported this event. According to it Mr. Livingstone had drawn the following far-reaching and definite conclusions from his trip to the People’s Republic:

It’s the only country I’ve been to where everybody is happy and smiling. I learned a tremendous amount . . . I didn’t expect it to be like that at all. There is all this propaganda about a regimented and drab society, but everybody was relaxed and happy. You come away thinking there must be something wrong here, everybody’s happy and smiling and adults aren’t supposed to be happy and smiling.

Up to here one may judge Mr. Livingstone’s statement as a striking example of the famous British humour—or just as some sort of naivety. However, he went on comparing mainland China with the “haslling and chissling, appalingly commercialised” Hong Kong and Bangkok where he felt surrounded by slums and brothels. This image fits perfectly into Peking’s present propaganda on the colony, and may have been a reason for the reprint. The editors of the Reference News were impressed by Livingstone’s description and published Chinese translation of the greater part of the above Daily Telegraph article on September 2, 1981. What will have gone on in the minds of the about 30 million Chinese Reference News readers when they read Livingstone’s interview? When they read that they were so happy, smiling from morning to night and were so much better off than the people in Hong Kong or Bangkok? Not once did the party paper People’s Daily in 1981 publish such a crude comparison between socialist China and capitalist countries. The Reference News, however, dared to do it by citing a foreign source the contents of which did not lie within its responsibility.

Undoubtedly, Ken Livingstone’s comments on the PRC in 1981 must have sounded cynical to the Chinese readership. If the Reference News was indeed to fill its PRC news section exclusively by this kind of report it would hardly sell 8.5 million copies a day.

However, the editors also reprinted opinions of foreign journalists dealing with China’s problems. On November 1, 1981, for instance, they published a Chinese translation of a Daily Telegraph article published on October 10. In Chinese, the article headline read: “China’s Economy Turning for the Better,” whereas the origi-
nal headline had been “Peking Takes a Leaf from Thatcher.” The translation of the original heading is, however, given in parentheses at the beginning of the reprint. To a Chinese reader who is used to the self-praising of Communist propaganda the statement that Peking copies Thatcher surely sounded unconventional and interesting.

The article focused on the economic problems of the PRC. The greater part of it did not go beyond what Peking had already admitted publicly by that time (inflation, budget deficit), nor did it doubt the successes that the government claimed to have encountered by then.

Some interesting passages were, however, left out, apparently because they connected certain catastrophes and mistakes that had occurred in the last decades of PRC history with Mao Zedong or Maoist policy. As this policy (Great Leap Forward, emphasis on heavy industry and “Maoist mismanagement”) had been criticized publicly by the Communist Party some months earlier, the reason for deleting these passages might have been the Party leadership’s determination to end the discussion over Mao with the adoption of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in Our Party History Since 1949” on June 27, 1981.

Furthermore deleted were passages in which either Earnshaw or other foreigners doubted the lasting effectiveness of the PRC government’s economic policies. Also cut was the last paragraph of the original article, which had heavily criticized the “readjustment” policy that at that time was given so much prominence by the CPC.

The purpose of the Reference News version becomes clear when taking a look at the reprint of the following paragraph from the report. The editors had censored it by putting a period where in the original had been a comma (deleted parts are underlined):

The measures have apparently relieved the Chinese economy of its immediate trouble, but the old problems of unemployment, inefficiency, waste, energy, shortages, poor industrial management, antiquated technology and methods continue to dog the government.

Another example of the editors’ wish not to publish information that went beyond the limits of the official propaganda was supplied by the Reference News of January 13, 1981. It was again a Daily Telegraph article by G. Earnshaw, dated January 4. This time the British correspondent wrote about the CPC’s plan to slim the Chinese bureaucracy—a main topic of Peking’s propaganda at that time. The newly-elected Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang had even pro-
claimed to take personal care of it. According to the Reference News version of Earnshaw’s article one of the objectives of the campaign was to “further strive to maintain the Communist Party’s prestige,” whereas Earnshaw had written, “... further efforts to bolster the Communist party’s flagging prestige.” The passage was not altered for reasons of space, but in consideration for the image of the ruling party in the PRC.

Sometimes the Reference News reprinted foreign news items in order to give the Chinese public a hint at inner-party discussions and impending changes of the political line. The reprint of Earnshaw’s January 4 article, however, provides an example for the opposite: “On the Economic Front,” we read, “1982 is likely to be another year of big changes for agriculture,” closing “with the expected abolition of the commune system, one of Chairman Mao’s proudest achievements.” The Reference News editors deleted the latter part, in spite of the fact that Earnshaw was right. As we know today, the commune system was indeed abolished and the process had already started in January 1982. Why, then, had the Reference News not reprinted this information? This is because the abolition of the commune system was a very delicate item on the agenda of the CPC leaders at that time and none of the PRC leaders had yet publicly advocated “abolition of the commune system.” If published in the Reference News it would have become the official CPC policy. As too many party cadres in the countryside lived on sinecures from this system, the official prospect of an abolition of the communes would have stirred up resistance.

A New York Times article of December 2, 1981, published only two days later, again focused on the improvement of the government’s efficiency. The greater part of this article summarized official Chinese government statements and was completely reprinted. Two other passages were, however, left out: one, a rather critical statement about the Chinese bureaucracy being uncooperative in the reform was cut out. Malicious expressions like the “ranks of about 20 million administrative officials are full of aging incompetents” were not translated. The other passage that was deleted described the new

18. The Hong Kong monthly magazine Cheng Ming (Zheng Ming in Hanyu Pinyin) published an example of this sort of reprints in its No. 50 (December 1981) issue, pp. 48-50. It is the reprint of a report by the Romanian President Ceausescu. Ceausescu advocated in it the abolition of the term “dictatorship of the proletariat” for his country, a step that the PRC government, too, was about to take at that time. Meanwhile the “dictatorship of the proletariat” has indeed been replaced by a so-called “democratic dictatorship of the people.” Cf. the new PRC Constitution adopted December 4, 1982, Preamble.
Chinese leadership, namely Deng Xiaoping and party chief Hu Yaobang, as being powerless in some respect: "Threats by other top officials, including [. . .] Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [. . .] have failed so far to produce significant improvement."

Another topic connected with the problem of pushing the bureaucrats to more efficiency was and still is in the headlines of the PRC's official propaganda media: corrupt officials and black market activities. In so far it was nothing sensational when on December 31, 1981, the Reference News published its version of a Sunday Times article of December 6, 1981. The original headline "Red China's Black Market" was rendered as "Serious Unhealthy Tendencies in Some Parts of China". The term "Black Market" was not translated. Here again we find that passages where the correspondent hinted at a possible failure of the Chinese government in one of its basic campaigns were deleted. The Reference News reprinted the phrase: "[. . .] the government has waged a propaganda campaign against the use of 'connections'", which, after all, was nothing new for the readership. But they left out the second part of the report, which went: "[. . .] but it is losing ground." Here again hints to ineffective government measures were censured. Deleted were also passages of the article where Peking's Diplomatic Service Bureau which takes care of the leftovers of leaving foreign diplomats, was said to have done private business with cars of diplomats and even the Communist police was described as being corrupt. Finally, the passage: "Three parliamentary deputies [of the then convened annual session of the National People's Congress] had been dismissed for misconduct before the session opened" was deleted.

No doubt, the Reference News readership would be more than interested in getting the complete versions especially of these foreign news-reports. It is, however, as the cited examples show, not the task of the Reference News to supply its readers with information on their country that goes beyond the limits set by the official propaganda media. Nothing is allowed in the public that would hamper legitimation or reputation of the party, the government, and other official organs.

On December 30, 1981, the Daily Telegraph published an article on the situation in Tianjin, China's third biggest city. The Daily Telegraph correspondent described the reconstruction, or better non-reconstruction of this city which in the summer of 1976 along with large areas in north China was hit by a disastrous earthquake. When the Reference News issue of January 15, 1982 reprinted the article, one passage was abridged. In the original it said:
Things have not been helped by the callous corruption of some Communist party officials who have assigned flats to their friends and relatives rather than to the shack dwellers out in the streets.

The *Reference News* version, however, only talked about the "corruption of some officials," again the "Communist party" had simply disappeared when connected with a social scandal. Although the greater part of the article that went rather far in its criticism against Tianjin's administrative malpractices was reprinted, it is a good example for how the editors of the *Reference News* make use of foreign sources to boost the legitimation of Peking's post-Mao rulers. For the latter's sake the editors had changed the original title from "1976 Quake Plight of 100,000" to nothing less than its contrary: "Sanitation and Hygiene Progress in Tianjin," which in no way represented the essence of the article. The editors did not even give the original headline in parentheses along with the source. Instead, we read what the editors' had passed as the original headline: "Title: A big Earthquake Happened in North China and Tangshan in 1976." Their new and more favorable heading on the "Progress in Tianjin" was only based on one sentence at the end of the reprint which read:

... after the intervention of the Central government in Peking and the prosecution of several officials for corrupt dealings, some real progress is being made to clean up the city, once China's prettiest and now one of its dirtiest.

What was the background of this affair? A purge had been carried out in Tianjin—undoubtedly against some Maoists. And why? Certainly not because they had failed to keep Tianjin clean, as the *Reference News* or the *Daily Telegraph* respectively indicated. Otherwise hundreds of thousands or more officials would have had to be sacked immediately. With good reason we can therefore assume that those under prosecution in Tianjin were opposed to the Deng Xiaoping faction. The bad shape the city was indeed in supplied only the pretext for the act. The reprint was the propagandistic part of a power-play that had for the first time been performed by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 when he made public the case of Wang Dongxing's luxurious villa, behind Zhongnanhai's thick walls, thus preparing the downfall of the Maoist powerholder.19 Tianjin, too, was not the first city where Maoists were brought down under the

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19. Deng performed this trick also at the end of July 1980 when the *People's Daily* carried on its front page the sensational report about an oil rig accident in which 72 persons had been killed. However, this accident had already happened eight months
pretext that their city was so dirty. The model for this had been Peking where the mayor Lin Huijia had to step down in January 1981, i.e., when the Daily Telegraph article was reprinted in the PRC.

The 1981 Annual Session of the National People's Congress

From November 30 to December 13, 1981 the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress (NPC) was held in Peking. The event ranked number 3 in the PRC list of the "Ten Great National Events 1981."20

On the evening of November 20 the Xinhua News Agency announced that on November 30 the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress was to convene in Peking. Two days later, on November 22, the Reference News came out with the frontpage headline "Foreign Agencies' Peking Correspondents Comment on Our Convening of the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress." Reprinted were dispatches from Reuters, UPI, Kyodo, and AFP which were, however, exclusively based on the Xinhua announcement published two days before in Peking.

Eight days later Reference News started its current coverage of the 1981 annual NPC session. On November 30, the first day it convened, a Kyodo dispatch of the day before was published, according to which the session was to focus on economic policies. Foreign countries were "especially interested in the income tax for foreign enterprises" in the PRC on which the NPC was to decide. The statement that the NPC "is equal to our country's parliament", i.e., Japan's democratic body, was, of course, reprinted by the Reference News. Furthermore, its readers learned that the revision of the PRC Constitution had been postponed and that there were only minor changes to be expected as far as the composition of government was concerned. All this was nothing new for those who had read the Reference News of November 22 or the Xinhua dispatch of November 20, or the People's Daily, respectively. The Kyodo reprint then stressed the achievements accomplished during Zhao Ziyang's first year in office. The budget deficit had been reduced, the price index had gone down, the so-called self-responsibility system in the countryside worked well, grain production had been raised to a new historical high, second only to 1979, the record year. According to the

earlier in November 1979! The retarded publication aimed at stripping the then mighty so-called Oil faction in the CPC of some of its power.

Japanese news-agency reprint, Zhao Ziyang was expected to talk about the forthcoming sixth five-year-plan (1981-85) and the long-term concept for the next ten years.

The Reference News issue of the following day, December 1, was headlined: “Fourth Session of China’s Fifth People’s Congress Opened.” Then, four news agency dispatches were cited:

**UPI** (Nov 30): In his report to the NPC plenum, Zhao said, China’s budget deficits would decrease further, great progress was made in agriculture and light industry. Zhao “is a close friend of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and an important expert on economics in China.”

**Reuters** (Nov 30): Budget deficits will decrease as well as production figures of heavy industry. Consumer goods have greatly increased last year. (The Reuters dispatch, too, only reproduced statements of Zhao Ziyang).

**AP** (Nov 30): After repeating Xinhua reports, AP closed: “Although the Congress has been through heated debates during the last two years, it nevertheless adheres to the policy of China’s highest authority—the Communist party.”

**Reuters** (Nov 29): Originally published before the opening of the Congress, this dispatch focused on the expected adoption of an income tax law for foreign enterprises in the PRC and paid special attention to the prospects of US oil companies.

On December 3, foreign news items on the NPC session again dominated the Reference News front page with the headline: “Peking Correspondent of Kyodo Commented Zhao Ziyang’s Report Indicates Greater Confidence in the Success of Economic Readjustment.” Two Kyodo reprints followed reproducing only official Chinese press releases. The first report closed: “Zhao Ziyang’s speech, it may be said, indicated the intention to reform the whole economic system. The stipulations of this report . . . face China’s national conditions in a very solid and reliable manner. This is in remarkable contrast to the gigantic construction plans that had been put forward in the report to the second NPC session in 1978,” i.e., in Hua Guofeng’s report.

In the second Kyodo dispatch, Zhao was cited as having said that the policy of readjustment would continue until at least 1985. It closed by stating that the NPC session had the character of an “economic parliament” and that the so-called Ten Point Policy had been repeatedly underlined in the years past. This showed “that the lead-
ers want to further implement this policy nation-wide through the NPC.”

Another front page reprint of this *Reference News* issue was taken from *Zhong Bao* (Hong Kong) under its original headline: “Production and Construction for the People”. *Zhong Bao* endorsed the then acute CPC line of stressing economic results and criticized the formerly applied Maoist concept: “... grasping revolution does not promote production.” Furthermore, the report considered the last of Zhao’s Ten Points, “to start from the idea of everything for the people,” as the most important. The crucial question was that of modernization. All other problems, including that of Taiwan, the opposition against hegemonism, and the preservation of world peace could be solved in the wake of this.

Then there was a *Ming Pao* (Hong Kong) reprint of December 1 commenting: “The Ten Point policy stipulated in Zhao Ziyang’s report is totally reasonable.”

A TASS reprint (November 30) merely revealed that the NPC was convening, that it was to be presided “today” by Ye Jianying, and that Zhao Ziyang had delivered his report.

Finally, an AP report of November 30 commented that foreign “analysts” thought that China’s grain output estimates were “relatively conservative”, the 1981 output “is likely to surpass the record mark of 1979.” The same prediction, though not directly connected with the NPC session, had been published the day before on the *Reference News* frontpage (UPI dispatch from Peking of November 27).

The front page topic of the December 3 issue, was again the NPC session and especially Zhao Ziyang. Under the headline: “Peking Correspondents of Western Agencies Note Zhao Ziyang Demands Streamlining of Administrative Structure and Opposition to Bourgeois Liberalization,” four reprints were published, namely dispatches from Reuters (December 1), AFP (December 1), UPI (December 1), and the Japanese news agency Jiji (December 1).

Another front page reprint of this issue was taken from the Japanese daily *Mainichi Shimbun* (December 2) and discussed the PRC’s economic perspectives in the course of the so-called readjustment program. *Mainichi Shimbun* was quite optimistic though admitting many obstacles. “It is just as Prime Minister Zhao pointed out, what is necessary for the modernization is the heightening of the people’s enthusiasm, and for this objective bureaucracy, privileges, corruption, and other bad habits must be eliminated.”

Finally, there was an extract from the French daily *Le Monde* of December 1, headlined: “Zhao Ziyang Says, Policy of Economic
Readjustment Will Be Continued and Carried Out Totally,” The reprint concluded that the PRC Premier was a “more and more energetic administrator.”

On December 4, the Reference News front page again highlighted the NPC session: “Japanese Tokio Shim bun Carried Commentary The Ten Point Policy Proposed by Zhao Ziyang Demonstrates China’s Orientation Hereafter.” This article, too, was very optimistic about the economic programs introduced at the NPC session and in the main repeated official PRC releases. In the same issue, under the headline “China’s Economy Just Advancing Steadily,” a Zhong Bao extract (of Dec 2) was reprinted.

Another front page reprint was taken from the Hong Kong Xingdao Ribao (Dec 2), headlined “The New Direction of Mainland Economy.” The passages (probably only excerpts of the original) concluded rather sceptically: “Whether the set objectives can be reached is not known at present, but at least they are more realistic than the earlier ones.” The Xingdao Ribao reprint was the only one which did not limit itself to the reproduction of official releases from Peking. In this sense, it was the most negative commentary on the NPC session published in the Reference News.

Finally, on December 4, excerpts of a New York Times feature, entitled: “Premier Zhao Assures That Measures Will Be Taken To Upgrade Efficiency of Government Work,” appeared in the Reference News. No critical comments were included.

On December 5, for the fifth day in a row, one person, Zhao Ziyang, and one topic, the NPC session dominated the front page. An excerpt from the Japanese Mainichi Shim bun (Dec 2) praised the “line of stable development” that the PRC was to take. Another yet longer reprint from the same source (Dec 1) was subtitled: “China Greatly Reduces Financial Deficit Rarely Seen Internationally.” In conclusion, this article took Zhao Ziyang’s words for facts saying: “This shows that reduction of capital investment, control over the creation of currency, and other measures have been effective. It can be assumed that the leading body” of the PRC “enjoys very great confidence.”

Under its original headline, “Chinese Leaders Plan To Eliminate Bureaucracy,” a Financial Times article was reprinted. From the “intonation” of Zhao’s report, the commentator concluded that “China’s leaders have decided to counter the obstacles inside the official body.” A fact that made “many Chinese bureaucrats feel uneasy.” Another excerpt taken from the Hong Kong Ming Pao (Dec 2) said that Zhao’s report did not consist of “empty words.” A sum-
mary of an article originally carried by the Thai Zhonghua Ribao on December 2 appeared under the heading “Obvious Development in Many Sectors of Chinese Economy.” The Thai newspaper repeated Peking’s propaganda and defended the fact that the originally scheduled but later cancelled discussion and adoption of a new constitution by the NPC had been postponed.

The Reference News issue of the following day, December 6, did not mention the congress in a single word. This silence prevailed until December 10, when the paper published excerpts from the Hong Kong Hu Bao of December 2. Hu Bao mainly endorsed Zhao Ziyang’s report.

On December 11, a “Report by our own correspondent” dominated the Reference News front page. It was on international reactions to the NPC session with the headline announcing an all-out review: “The Public Opinion of All Sides on the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC of China—Review of Commentaries.” No date was given for the original publication of the underlying foreign sources which is important as the review was based nearly exclusively on the same sources that the Reference News editors had already exploited for their NPC session coverage a couple of days before. Little wonder, therefore, that the “public opinions” reviewed were as positive as those published earlier.

On December 12, 13, and 14, the Reference News carried no news on the NPC session. Only on December 15, the paper published several news items on the session which had closed two days before on December 13, 1981. Under the headline, “Foreign Agencies Comment on the Closing of the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC,” two items are to be found. First, a Reuters dispatch (Dec 13) from Peking which abstained from an assessment of the session—merely stating the facts. The second, an AP report, consisted of a few lines only and simply announced that the closing session had lasted fifty minutes during which the 3,200 delegates had adopted eleven laws and draft resolutions.

Eight days after the NPC session had closed, and five days after its original publication, the bulletin reprinted a South China Morning Post (Hong Kong) report. The original, highly optimistic headline read: “A People’s Congress Session Rich in Results.” The session was described as having been “the most fact-stressing and most resultful for years.”

From the above NPC coverage review, certain conclusions on function and role assigned to the Reference News can be drawn. The NPC session in question lasted two weeks, from November 30 to
December 13, 1981. On November 30, December 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, the Reference News front page was highlighted by this event. Then, up to December 9, not a single line related to the NPC session was to be found. On December 10, only one news item on the event appeared, and the day after the front page was headlined by the announcement of the “Report by our own correspondent” mentioned above.

This last special report presents the key to the propagandistic scheme of the Reference News current coverage on the event. The report summarized foreign reactions in four major statements. According to the first (in bold print), the foreign news media think that China’s economic readjustment has already been successful, the financial deficit has been reduced, the total output value of industry and agriculture will increase compared with last year, the national economy walks on the tracks of stable development, the people of the whole country have great faith in the success of economic construction, but the economic work still faces many difficulties.

To prove that this statement was representative for foreign opinions, the report cited releases from the Kyodo news agency, Mainichi Shimbun, an Italian paper called Evening Post, the Thai Zhonghua Ribao, the Hong Kong Ming Pao, Kyodo again, and the French Le Monde. Except for the Italian source, however, all reports had already been reprinted in earlier issues of the Reference News and are mentioned above.

The second of the four bold print summaries read:

They think the Ten Points for the economic construction are a solid and reliable policy that corresponds with national conditions.

This statement was underlined by citations from Reuters, Kyodo, Mainichi Shimbun, Tokyo Shimbun, and Ming Pao. Except for the Reuters dispatch describing Zhao’s report as “calm and without any ideological phrases,” again all cited sources had already appeared in the Reference News a few days before.

According to the third summary, foreign public media paid attention to China’s advancement in slimming the administrative structure, overcoming bureaucracy, and resisting and overcoming all kinds of exploiting class and non-proletarian thinking.
Here, too, all sources designated to prove this statement had already been exploited in earlier *Reference News* issues.

Only the last statement hinted at a critical "foreign public opinion" with respect to the NPC session. However, not much informational substance was conveyed in this context. The summary in question read:

The public opinion tools of the Soviet Union and also of Taiwan reported and commented on the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in China.

The following text read:

The Soviet TASS news-agency broadcasted two news in brief and one anti-Chinese commentary that sang the old slandering tune. The Taiwan *Central Daily News* published a commentary saying that we "are very likely to make use of this to expand and push our negotiation united front," and declaring that Taiwan sticks to not negotiating with us.

What can the readers learn from this? Not much at best. The TASS "slander" is unintelligible and the Taiwanese reprint seems to be so garbled and censured that no connection with the NPC session is perceptible.

What was the propagandistic scheme behind the *Reference News* coverage of the NPC session? All together, 35 foreign news-items related to the current event were cited. Except for one, at most, the *Xingdao Ribao*, all reprints, simply reproduced Peking's official releases or were positive and affirmative to say the least, some even enthusiastic about the event. The editors had clearly not intended to supply their readership with different opinions from foreign, or better capitalistic countries, but to bolster legitimation for the new CPC policies and leaders represented by Zhao Ziyang. Between December 1 and 5, his name appeared 11 times in *Reference News* headlines alone.

However, there was a problem. Western press reactions to the NPC session were not as affirmative as was desired in Peking. Hence, something had to be done to create a more positive impression in China. From November 30 until December 5, for six days in a row, *Reference News* editors highlighted the front page of their paper with foreign reports. Their mainland readership was made to believe that for days the world's press focussed on the PRC fifth National People's Congress and Zhao Ziyang's report.
From the above table on average time-lags in the period in question, one can see that the reprinted foreign reports actually were all published immediately after the NPC session had started, i.e., on December 1 and 2. Only on December 13, when the session closed, the next report that was later reprinted in the Reference News appeared. In order to fill the gap, the editors published the reports of December 1 and 2 in several successive issues, hence, the increasing time lag in the table. After that, something had to be done to impress the readers again with endless world-wide positive responses to the NPC session. On December 11, the “Report by our own correspondent” appeared, perhaps an abridged version of an all-out commentary originally written for some internal information bulletins. For this special report, then, all the previous reprints were simply summarized. The result of this repetition was the front page heading: “The Public Opinion of All Sides on the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC of China—Review of Commentaries,” which made the reader believe that the session still found a tremendous echo in all parts of the world.

A reprint from the British Financial Times of December 18, 1981, however, did not appear until January 2, 1982. Published ten days earlier, it would have been a part of the current coverage of the NPC session, but would also have disturbed the beautiful picture that the bulletin had painted of the session and Zhao Ziyang’s fine performance. The reprint moderately touched on some sore spots. It stated, for instance, that the discussion of the NPC delegates was not to be compared with a parliamentary debate in the West.
Military Affairs

In the month of August 1981, we find extensive news-coverage on the annual reception for Army Day on August 1. On August 2, the Reference News reprinted four reports commenting on the “unity between army and politicians” that had been “clearly” demonstrated. Then, on August 3, reports on the troop parades in some big cities appeared. According to a UPI report, these parades “clearly” showed the determination of the army to become a “modernized military machine.” UPI then reproduced parts of the official PRC government releases. Reuters stressed the fact that these troop parades had been the first in ten years and judged the show as being a resumption of the tradition of the fifties and sixties. Both agency reports also underlined the fact that the parade of Fuzhou, Fujian Province, i.e., on the Taiwan front, had been the biggest of all. On August 7, the bulletin carried a comment of the Soviet Agency TASS on this topic entitled “What is the Objective of the Parades?” According to TASS they were meant as a provocation against Vietnam.

The Reference News coverage of the event did not go beyond the People’s Daily. It would not have remained a secret for very long that Chinese military officials were wearing medals again, if it was still one in those August days. And it was nothing new that the Soviet Union then criticized many actions of the PRC government. By and large, only two pieces of information were conveyed by the Reference News beyond what the public press had already released: the fact that ambassadors of the Soviet bloc had not been invited to the Army Day reception though journalists of those countries had been admitted, and that the troop parade in Fuzhou had been the biggest and therefore the most important one. This rather meager output was stretched over seven reports, supplied by five foreign news agencies (UPI, AP, AFP, Reuters, TASS) and wrapped in a bulk of citations from official PRC news media. The editors were thus able to report on August 2: “UPI says, the reception clearly demonstrates the unity of army and government.” The only difference between the official media and the Reference News lay in the way the information was presented. The editors of the latter thrilled their readership by giving them the illusion of having had the privilege to look behind the scene.

The ways in which the Reference News readership’s curiosity is exploited can be demonstrated in the bulletin’s coverage of the Chinese army maneuvers in mid-September 1981. The more or less current coverage of this important event in the Reference News started in September 28 with Reuters, EFE (Spanish news agency), AFP
and UPI reports supplemented by a press-review of six Japanese newspapers. The coverage on the event took up more than half of that day's front page. Again on September 29, AFP, Press Trust of India, UPI and AP and the *Washington Post* reports on the maneuvers covered most of the front page. This *Reference News* issue carried a total of 11 current reports on the event from 10 different sources. The headline for the reprints in the September 28 issue read: “Foreign Agencies Review our Large-Scale Maneuvers and Troop Parade”. The summary said: “Reuters says, this was one of the largest demonstrations of force of the People’s Liberation Army; UPI says, China’s mammoth military maneuvers were a rare demonstration of combat ability and roused a sense of nationalistic pride in the people.” The summary of the review of Japanese newspapers was entitled: “Some Japanese Peking-based Correspondents Comment That These Maneuvers Were of National Significance for the Development of State Authority.”

On the following day, September 29, the bulletin presented five reports for which it chose the headline: “Foreign Agencies and Newspapers Continue To Comment on Our Military Maneuvers”. The summary read, “AFP says, the purpose of these maneuvers is to demonstrate unity and heighten the army’s morale and prestige; the *Washington Post* says, China held largest reported peace time military maneuvers.”

In the following table the related contents of the September 28 and 29 of the *Reference News* issues are listed.

21. With a delay of only two days which means that the translation had been done by Xinhua or the PRC embassy in the United States and telexed to Peking or that Mr. Weisskopf’s telex in Peking was tapped. The latter seems to be likely as the *Reference Material* from time to time published off the record dispatches by foreign correspondents in Peking.
Table IX
(Summarized are only the contents that went beyond the official propaganda media)

September 28

REUTERS: -Foreigners believe the maneuvers to have been the largest held in peacetime.
- Foreigners say, the maneuvers were held at the same time that the Soviet Union put pressure on Poland by holding large maneuvers near the Polish border. “China is accusing the Soviet maneuvers as being ‘preparation for war.’”
-Xinhua only says the maneuvers were held recently.
-Deng Xiaoping is characterized as the “strong vice chairman”
-Xinhua does not state clearly the purpose of the maneuvers but some foreigners say they were the largest power demonstration of the army in peacetime.

AFP: -Largest maneuvers in 32 years.
-No official explanation was given concerning time and reason of these maneuvers.
-One reason may have been to demonstrate to the Western world the great importance China attaches to the modernization of its military.
-“It seems that these maneuvers were held at the same time as the Soviet Union was holding its military maneuvers near the Polish border. This causes the world to think that the Chinese as a contending power in the contest of world powers are fully aware of their responsibility.”

UPI -A rare demonstration of China’s combat ability
-The maneuvers confirmed rumors about the preparation of combined ground and air force maneuvers circulating in Peking since summer.
-When the maneuvers were over, "China's highest leader, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping reviewed the troops." [Note the remarkable contradiction that a "Vice Chairman" is called "highest leader"].
-Perhaps the largest peacetime maneuvers for more than twenty years.
-Were held "obviously" for the reason of heightening the army's morale and rouse national pride in the people.
-"China's highest leader [!] Deng Xiaoping reviewed the troops. . . . As chairman of the military commission of the Central Committee Deng Xiaoping is the highest commander [!] of the four million men of the People's Liberation Army."
-The official news release revealed neither the place of the maneuvers nor the number of soldiers participating.
-Largest maneuvers since the Korean War
-"The announcement came shortly before National Day, October 1. What is more important is that this move is to be regarded as part of the stick and carrot policy to seduce Taiwan's reunification with the mainland."

EFE
-PRC's largest maneuvers in "the last years."

From the review of Japanese newspapers:

*Mainichi Shim bun*
-First maneuvers in a long time
-Strengthening of defense against the Soviet Union was an important objective

*Yomiuri Shim bun*
-Unprecedented large-scale maneuvers
-Held shortly before National Day to boost morale of army and people.
-Might be a large step towards modernization of the army.
Japan Kaizai Shimbun
- Use of surface and surface-to-air missiles was of special interest. "The PLA is studying 'modern warfare.'"
- First time at least since the Cultural Revolution that all party and government leaders attended military maneuvers.
- Main feature of the maneuvers was modernization

Tokio Shimbun
- First time since the Cultural Revolution that such maneuvers were held on a national scale.
- The rousing of national prowess (guowei) was an important objective shortly before National Day.

Sankei Shimbun
- "It seems, the objective of the maneuvers was to show at home and abroad that the army under the leadership of the Chairman of the Military Commission, Deng Xiaoping [!], is united now and at the same time to develop national prowess before National Day on October 1."
- Political leaders from all the different areas were present thus reflecting the national purpose of the maneuvers.

September 29, 1981
AFP - "Analysts here say" the maneuvers were an opportunity for government and military leaders of China to "demonstrate their unity." This assumption is based on the wide coverage of the event in the Chinese public media.
- Maneuvers were "very likely" the biggest since the "CCP seized power in 1949."
- The Chinese leadership thought of using the event to enhance the morale of the army and its authority inside the PRC. This started in spring (1981) when PRC resumed holding of troop parades which had been suspended since 1971.

Press Trust of India - The maneuvers were "the largest in the last months," the objective was to enhance the morale of the army.
Maneuvers were the “most recent step to strengthen war preparedness and enhance the morale.”

“A foreigner who did not want to disclose his name said, these maneuvers clearly furnished the armed forces with an opportunity to demonstrate their war preparedness annd show their equipment.”

“Analysts said today, the largest peacetime military maneuvers of Communist China demonstrate that the PLA is thinking of a way to remedy its weakness of lacking experience in modern warfare. These maneuvers are seen as serving the heightening of the morale and a means to imbue the people with nationalistic dignity. Furthermore, to demonstrate to the world - of course including Taiwan - that China possesses military power.”

The most outstanding piece of information that appeared in almost every respect [The EFE reprint mentioned only this fact!] was that these maneuvers were the largest ever held in Communist China. Peking’s official releases never referred to this expressis verbis, although nobody should know more about this than the CPC leaders. It was left to the foreign, capitalist media to put emphasis on this point via the Reference News. The same observation can be made when looking at the background information given on the maneuvers. The reprints stated that the purpose of the maneuvers had been to enhance the morale of army and people. This aspect, too, was never explicitly expressed in the public media of the PRC. The same applies to the opinion that the maneuvers twice in connection with the maneuvers’ objectives or targets, while a few days later, on Sept. 30, Ye Jianying issued his verbal peace overture to Taiwan. A third point which the official Chinese propaganda did not mention was Deng Xiaoping’s role. He was—as usual in the Western press—depicted as China’s leader; UPI called him twice “China’s highest leader.” Although readers of the Reference News would certainly not question this statement, it was never officially declared in Peking. Yet, the fact that Deng was twice called China’s strong man and leader and thus given more prominence than Hu Yaobang, who is after all the CPC’s Secretary General, was first of all aimed against the Maoist faction in the PRC army.

There was also another interpretation of the maneuvers that the paper conveyed: two foreign news agencies and one newspaper (Reuters, AFP, Mainichi Shimbun) regarded the maneuvers as part of the then still widely believed anti-Soviet stand of the PRC.
Reuters and AFP even depicted the event as a Chinese measure of relief for bullied Poland. Yet, the maneuvers could not possibly have been directed against the Soviet’s Poland policy, simply because Peking’s preparatory work must have started much earlier than Moscow had exerted military pressure on Poland, perhaps even before “Solidarity” had come into being one year before. It will probably remain a secret of the editors why they chose to confront their readership with speculations of Western journalists about Sino-Soviet relations. All the more so as in Autumn 1981 a rapprochement of the two countries was already underway.

The maneuver coverage was resumed on October 4, 1981, when half of page 2 was filled with five reports on the topic; two were from Zhong Bao, one from Ming Pao, and one from Kuai Bao, all in Hong Kong. The fifth reprint was a Peking dispatch of the Spanish EFE news agency. It is interesting to see that the four Hong Kong reprints which had been published in Chinese papers and magazines all lavishly praised the maneuvers as being a demonstration of Chinese strength, an army that was being modernized, a warning to the Soviet Union and a cause for relief of Western Europe and the United States. The last paragraph of the Ming Pao reprint recurred to Taiwan and underlined: “the demonstration of the armoured troops’ and parachuters’ strength is military pressure against Taiwan, hoping that peace talks can be promoted.” The Spanish EFE report was the shortest reprint and lacked the nationalistic sentiments of the Hong Kong Chinese papers. It stated that “many observers” said that “China’s equipment is backwards,” but that during the past two years “remarkable progress” had been made. EFE also mentioned that since June 1981 Deng Xiaoping held the post of Chairman of the CPC Military Committee.

One month later, on November 4, the Reference News continued its coverage of the maneuvers. Again on page two the paper reprinted an AP report, dispatched from Peking on October 30, which also highly praised the performance of the PRC army. It furthermore underlined that the PRC leadership had given up the Maoist concept of “people’s war” in favor of building a regular army. On November 27, a Japanese Sankei Shimbun reprint of November 20 appeared with a similar interpretation which concluded that “compared with the strategic thinking of the past this is a great change,” although the paper also pointed out, “China has, of course, not completely abandoned the concept of ‘People’s War’.”

On February 25, 1982, that is, about half a year after the maneuvers had taken place, the Reference News still reprinted news
items on the event, this time an article from the pro-Peking *Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao* (American Overseas Chinese Daily). The headline read: "Chinese Military Maneuvers of Great Significance," while the essence was resumed in the subtitle: "These maneuvers have already reached the advanced world level and exert a great influence on the international situation."

Taking into consideration all the above cited information on the maneuvers published by the *Reference News*—the following conclusions can be drawn:

—The reprints of foreign reports served as multipliers of the many-fold propagandistic purposes of the maneuvers (namely, and explicitly mentioned in many reprints were, unity of the army, rousing nationalist feelings, satisfying the military's need of prestige);

—they served as a means of consolidation for Deng Xiaoping's position in the inner-party power struggle that was still going on between himself and Maoist army leaders. In this respect the presumed abandoning of the "People's War" concept is of some interest. This point was stressed by the AP reprint, while the *Sankei Shimbun* excerpt three weeks later modified it again.

A few aspects, however, will have to remain unclear: Why did the bulletin reprint, for instance, speculations by Western media concerning Sino-Soviet relations? Why did it—through foreign sources—lay open a propagandistic scheme behind the maneuvers held so shortly before National Day? And, finally, why was Taiwan depicted as a possible target of the military performance only some days before the Nine Point Proposal? We would have to enter the field of speculation if we tried to answer these questions. Without a clear idea of how the mainland Chinese read their newspapers and why they are interested in or even aroused by certain topics, the *Reference News* line of propaganda cannot be interpreted definitely.

Finally, the intention of the editors was not to give more information than for instance the *People's Daily*. Ample proof can be obtained if the bulletin's version of the *Washington Post* article "China Reveals Military Maneuvers, Believed Largest in 30 Years" is compared with the original article published on September 27, 1981.

As shown above, many reprints remarked that Peking had disclosed neither time nor place of the maneuvers nor the number of soldiers participating. The Chinese public was, therefore, interested
in getting to know more on this. Yet, alas, in its reprint of the Washington Post article the Reference News deleted exactly this piece of information. In the first paragraph the passage “at least 100,000 troops” had disappeared while a few lines further down where the location of the maneuvers was given, only the words “northwest of Peking” were left, where it originally had read “about 100 miles northwest of Peking.” The same applies to the question of the date of the maneuvers. The part where the Washington Post report disclosed speculations that the maneuvers were aimed against the Soviet Union was completely reprinted, but the passage where it said that the maneuvers were “believed to have ended September 10,” was deleted.

In the next paragraph of the Washington Post article a disclosure was deleted that clearly went beyond the limits of the official propaganda (left out passage underlined):

Foreign analysts also believe that the maneuvers may be part of Peking's campaign to raise the prestige of the military which has suffered a series of recent setbacks, including sizable budget cuts, loss of perquisites for officers and criticism of the founder of the People's Liberation Army, the late party chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Thus the reader will never know why the Washington Post believed that the “prestige of the military” had to be raised. How had it dropped? No information on this aspect is offered.

Finally, the bulletin did, of course, not reprint the statement of the article that the Communist army had encountered “communications and coordination problems” during the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese war. That military endeavor had the official seal of having been a great success, heretic facts or comments from neutral sources were not reprinted.

D. Coverage of PRC External Affairs

As has been shown in Table VII, Communist China's position in the world or the foreign relations of the PRC occupied about 53 percent of the bulletin’s PRC coverage while the internal affairs made up only 38 percent in the period under survey. Furthermore, Table VIII reveals that with an average delay of about 13 days reports on internal matters were much less up-to-date than those on external affairs.

The fact that the reports on external affairs outnumbered the internal ones in both respects was mainly due to three major events
that took up a large portion of the bulletin's space during the period under survey. Those three events, therefore, deserve special attention. First, in August 1981, Zhao Ziyang (Premier of the PRC) visited the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore with a stop-over in Bangkok, Thailand, before returning to Peking. This event was covered by 38 news-items (7.5 percent of all news on PRC foreign affairs) with the remarkably short delay of only 2.1 days. Next, on October 22, 1981, there was the North-South summit meeting in Cancun, Mexico, which Premier Zhao Ziyang attended. This event was covered by 14 items (2.8 percent) also with an average delay of only 2.1 days. The third event, the start of Chinese-Indian talks on normalization took place in December 1981, but months ahead of the actual event the Reference News editors published a lot of background news. Starting in November 1981 and ending in January 1982, the bulletin covered the talks by dozens more or less up-to-date news reports and an article series on the border question as background material. A total of 45 news-items related to the talks made up 8.8 percent of the entire foreign affairs coverage. The start of the Sino-Indian talks on normalization then was the most widely covered special event between August 1, 1981, and March 11, 1982.

With regard to PRC foreign relations in general, however, there is one nation that clearly held an unchallenged lead: the United States. The following table gives a detailed picture of the bulletin’s news coverage on Sino-American relations.
Table XI
SOURCES OF NEWS ON SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
PUBLISHED IN THE REFERENCE NEWS
(August 1981 - March 11, 1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th></th>
<th>Number of items*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Along headlines
** PRC, "Report by our own correspondent"

These 134 news items made up more than one quarter of the Reference News foreign relations coverage. This underlines the importance of the United States both for Peking's foreign and its internal policy in the period under survey. It is furthermore interesting to note that nearly all news items on this subject had been taken from Western sources, mainly American ones. In this respect it was first-hand material.

Zhao Ziyang's Southeast Asian tour in August 1981

In August 1981, the tour of the Chinese Prime Minister was a central PRC news item. The Premier's visit to Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Bangkok was his third and up to then most im-

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22. This proportion would be still much greater if the mainly Taiwan-related reprints had been included into the present study. The 134 items do, however, focus on US-PRC relations first of all, though the Taiwan issue is, of course, often included.
important tour outside China. Zhao Ziyang was the first Prime Minister of the PRC to pay an official visit to these Southeast Asian countries, which for decades had not been on friendly terms with Peking. This breakthrough and the fact that in August 1981 Zhao had been in office for only one year made the journey an ideal object of the internal propaganda from the start.

The tour began on August 6, 1981, with a visit to the Philippines. On August 7, the Reference News opened its reporting on the event by publishing an article from Nanyang Shangbao (a Malaysian newspaper) of August 5, i.e., one day before Zhao had left Peking, and one report, of the Japanese news agency Kyodo of August 5. Both articles reviewed Peking's objectives: good or better relations with the Southeast Asian countries, winning their support for Peking's stand on the Cambodian issue, presumably support for Peking's action against the Soviet Union. Furthermore, both reports supplied a great deal of public relation material for propping up Zhao's image at home. Kyodo even said that "in the last year, China has changed its former 'invitation diplomacy,' Zhao Ziyang took the lead in the opening of an active 'visiting diplomacy.'" Both articles were the pace setters for the coverage that followed the next day, headed by "Premier's Zhao's East Asia Tour Is of Great Significance."

On August 8, two days after Zhao had arrived in Manila, the coverage of the event was elaborate; nearly the entire frontpage was reserved for it. The front page leader read: "Warm Welcome for Premier Zhao Arriving in Manila", while the subtitle declared: "Regardless of rain and storm hundreds of thousands of Philippinos welcomed Premier Zhao, many people were completely soaked. Reuters says, this welcome plus the wide coverage by television reports emphasize the attention the Philippine side pays to (the visit)."
The Reference News also published an AP report saying that Zhao had been welcomed by chanting pupils lined up along the streets, a ceremony that Imielda Marcos had seen on her three visits to Peking. Furthermore, from UPI and AP the readers learned that Zhao's toast had been dedicated to the Cambodian question while Marcos had avoided the issue "completely."

Under the headline "Foreign Agencies Comment on Premier Zhao's Visit to the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore" ("They deem the objective of Premier Zhao's visit to be the consolidation of relations with the countries of Southeast Asia") two substantial pieces of news were published: The talks were to focus on the Cambodian question and Zhao was to have a short meeting with the
Thai Prime Minister at Bangkok. By reprinting a Reuters news flash on this Reference News editors indicated that it was to be regarded as a further accentuation of the Cambodian problem.

However, the difficulties Zhao would meet were underlined by another report, “AP says this tour aims at winning friends and expansion of trade.” The Philippines had not explicitly condemned Hanoi and Moscow and Manila did not want closer ties with China. There was also a “very old question” between China and the countries of the Southeast Asia, Peking’s support for the banned Communist parties in the region. “Some observers said,” the report closed, “there might be an improvement in the “diplomatic posture, but there would not be great changes in policy.”

These unfavorable prospects were cleared away, however, the following day. On August 9, the bulletin revealed in a subtitle (substantiated by AFP, Reuters and AP reports) that Zhao’s talks with Marcos had been “successful.” Another subtitle for two AFP reports quoted the Malaysian foreign minister as having said “Premier Zhao’s visit to Malaysia demonstrates China’s active efforts to improve bilateral relations.” The second AFP report, consisting of five lines only, quoted the Malaysian foreign minister as having said that he “feels very uncomfortable because the CPC maintained ‘friendly relations with the illegal Communist Party of Malaysia.’”

Apart from Western agencies, the bulletin reprinted a TASS report of August 6, which criticized Zhao Ziyang’s visit. The attacks of TASS focused on the Cambodian issue and warned the countries of Southeast Asia that Peking wanted to reinstate “the Pol Pot clique which was overthrown by the Cambodian people.” Finally, TASS analyzed Zhao’s visit as aiming at “aggravating further the tensions in Southeast Asia.”

The Reference News issue of August 10 seems to have been designed especially to counter these TASS attacks. Again the front page was dominated by news on Zhao’s visit, the subtitle summarizing three Western news agency reports as follows: “The Philippine announcement on the second round of talks of the leaders of the two countries highlighted on Zhao’s statement that China has no intention of seeking hegemony in Southeast Asia. Marcos says, Premier Zhao’s words are helpful for eliminating misunderstanding with respect to China’s role in the region of South East Asia.”

In Malaysia, too, Zhao did not meet with obstacles, at least according to the Reference News reports. On August 12, the bulletin explained that the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahatir, said “Malaysia appreciates China’s Cambodian policy.” An AFP report also
mentioned the crucial question of Peking's support for the CP of Malaysia and quoted Zhao as having said "these relations are only of 'moral' character."

On August 14, Zhao arrived in Singapore, and his talks were going "well" according to reprints from UPI, AFP and Reuters. The bulletin devoted considerable space to an extract from a Philippine paper (Today's Communique): "To talk again about China's interference does not correspond with the actual situation." The article dealt with Peking's support of Southeast Asian Communist parties, which, the Philippine paper said, were "not subversive." Therefore, it continued, it would be "surprising" if the question of a Chinese interference "would actually be brought up," and ended optimistically "Presently the Chinese pragmatists are loosening restrictions on the forms of production, the wages and the consumer goods supply. China cannot alter the friendly path it is going together with the anti-Communist or non-Communist neighboring countries. It admits that a government's ideology or structure is no obstacle for political and economic cooperation. This is the best and most practical and realistic policy, laid down and based on the actual situation because only by cooperation can China's power be strengthened."

On August 15, the bulletin focused on Zhao's stopover in Bangkok where he had a meeting with Thai Prime Minister Tinsulanonda. The meeting was covered by a "Report by our own correspondent," according to which the two Premiers had discussed the Cambodian question and the question of Peking's support for the Communist Party of Thailand. This rather unemotional, objective report was accompanied by another extract from the Philippine Today's Communique of August 11: "The Philippines feel very honoured to receive Premier Zhao."

Finally, the readership learned from three agency reports (AFP, UPI, Reuters) about the Indonesian visit of Malaysian Premier Mahatir who informed Suharto on his talks with Zhao.

On August 16, the coverage of Zhao's visit was concluded with another "Report by our own correspondent," summarizing the positive response of the Thai press to Zhao's visit. The report quoted long passages from two newspapers, one focusing on the Cambodian question, the other commenting in its editorial ("China has no intention to establish a sphere of influence and hegemonism") on Peking's support for the Communist Parties in Southeast Asia. This support, the paper said, still existed, but "had changed significantly since the Gang of Four era." "China is still under Communist control, but it is opposed to hegemonism and wants to safeguard world peace."
the opinion of the quoted newspaper, China had even become a "strong and friendly army" which fought together with the ASEAN countries against Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonism. Peking's own propaganda could not have better described the PRC government's intentions with regard to the region of Southeast Asia.

Coverage of the Sino-Indian talks in December 1981

For the first time, after more than twenty years and a border war between the PRC and India in 1962, delegations of the two countries met in Peking from December 10 to 14, 1981 to discuss the border question and other bilateral issues. Foreign observers generally expected these talks not to yield any substantial results with respect to the border dispute which for two decades had blocked normalization of Sino-Indian relations. Nevertheless, the fact that these talks were held at all, was considered noteworthy. Hence, the event attracted the attention of the international press, since Sino-Indian relations not only involve the two most populated countries in the world, but also the interests of the whole South Asian region and last but not least of the superpowers.

During the month of December 1981, when the talks were held, the Reference News published 36 reprints on the event out of a total of about 85 for the entire PRC external affairs coverage. That means reports on the Sino-Indian talks represented nearly one half of the foreign affairs coverage in December.

Still, that is not the whole story, because prior to December, the Reference News had already published 24 items in preparation of the event. During the period under survey, August to December 1981, the Reference News published a total of 60 reprints or reviews from international sources on the Sino-Indian talks. The sheer number of 60 items suggests that the editors might have intended more than just presenting news on the proceedings of the talks. All the more so, as both delegations kept strict silence on the contents.

Coverage on the event can be divided into three different phases. First, the preparatory phase, up to December 10, when the talks started. Second, the phase when the negotiations actually took place, and third, the phase after the closing of the talks until about December 30. In January 1982, Reference News seemed to have returned to its usual coverage of India.

As to the preparatory phase, besides giving date and expected topics of the talks, the paper reprinted five items of major interest. The first was published on August 20, then again referred to on August 25 and October 5. According to this reprint, a group of Indian
pilgrims had for the first time in twenty years been allowed to visit "holy places" in Tibet and was expected to start out soon. Secondly, a Tanjug-dispatch, published on October 5 by the Reference News described the pilgrimage as a sign of the PRC's "good intentions" with respect to an improvement of Sino-Indian relations.

The third item, reprinted on September 13, had been held back by the editors for more than three months, and was finally released in the run-up of the Sino-Indian talks. The reprint, taken from an Indian source, the Economic Express, compared the economic development of India and the PRC. The excerpts published in the Reference News left the PRC in a much more favorable position than India. On December 7, five days before the talks started, this comparison between the two countries was supplemented by a reprint from the Venezuelan Daily News. It said that on a visit to the PRC and India unnamed persons in the company of the Venezuelan Premier had felt the difference between the two countries to be "very wide." While the PRC had left them with a "deep-going impression," India had "disappointed" them.

Both reprints, directly and explicitly, compared the PRC with India and were linked by a "Report by our own correspondent" published on September 30. It passed a horrifying picture of everyday life in Indian cities: "25 Million People in India Live in Slums," the Reference News headline ran, and the number of these poorest of the poor is steadily going up as the "Report" proved by quoting the figures for some Indian cities.

Finally, the fifth item had been held back by the Reference News editors for nearly half a year (or taken out of the archives, an indication that this phase was indeed well planned). It was reprinted in serialized form on December 2, 3, and 4 under its original headline "A Note on Source Material on the Sino-Indian Border Dispute—Western Sector." The article had first been published in the May-June 1981 issue of the Indian bi-monthly China Report.

In search for "references to the North and Northeastern frontier of Kashmir during the days of the British Raj," the author of the "Note," Karunakar Gupta, had been to the "India Office Records and Library" in London. The Indian author presented his findings in a matter-of-fact way, without referring to either Chinese or Indian arguments on the border dispute. However, the documentary material he presented strongly supported the PRC position toward the actual border line in the western sector. As is often the case with long reprints, Reference News editors headed the first sequel with a summary which read as follows:
The author says that he discovered some important documents and maps in the “India Office Records and Library” in Britain which show that China always had the jurisdictions over the Aksai Chin area and that there is no reason for Indian territorial claims to that region.

Although the material presented by K. Gupta in the China Report supported Peking’s position with respect to the western sector (i.e., the Aksai Chin Area), the author had actually not commented on it as the above summary suggested. There is no trace of Gupta having written that the documents and maps he had found were “important.” He had only stated that he had found “the following references.” Nor did he say that China had “always had the jurisdiction over the Aksai Chin area.” Finally, nowhere in his documentation Gupta did say anything like there was “no reason for Indian territorial claims.” As there are no conclusions by the Indian author to be found in the article, the Reference News editors drew their own conclusions in the summary and presented them as findings of Gupta’s research.

It is interesting to look at the propagandistic means employed here: the summary of a reprint contained a statement that was neither found in the original nor in the translated version. In fact, the Reference News version of the “Source Material” was complete (with one exception to be discussed below). Even the file references (e.g., “I.O.R. No. P/173,” or “I.O.R. L/P/S/12/2387”) were transcribed correctly and cited at their proper place. However, what will the average Reference News readers have thought when looking at these Latin hieroglyphs? Moreover, Gupta’s documentation had been intended for a professional readership. Would the Chinese non-professional Reference News subscriber read all of it? With those sinisized names of unknown foreigners, the file references, etc? Or would he prefer to continue with other topics after having read the summary? On the other hand, the study supported Peking’s posi-

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23. It is likely that the translations of Gupta’s “Notes” into Chinese was first of all intended to serve professional usage too. It seems that the documents were not known in Peking prior to their publication in the China Report. At least the translators had not been able to find out the characters for a Chinese official’s name who in 1941, according to the documents, had been “in charge of Foreign Affairs” in the “Kashgar District” and in this capacity had issued a strong protest to the British Consul-General against the violation of the Chinese border. The Reference News reprint, therefore, put a yin in brackets behind the characters of this official’s name. That means, it was translated phonetically. Did nobody find out about this official during the 6 months that went by after the publication of the original and its reprint in the Reference News!
tion in the border dispute. Hence, it was valuable propaganda material. The editors of the *Reference News* solved this dilemma by embedding their own conclusions into the summary which, after all, stood better chances of being read and kept in mind.

Although Peking's position in the border dispute with India was supported by many documents and maps, and (perhaps even more important) by the majority of PRC citizens, the “Source Material” was used as further valuable evidence that the PRC claims are justified because:

—Gupta's documentation favored exclusively the PRC position in the dispute over the western sector of the Sino-Indian border.

—the presented documents were (a) historical, (b) authentical, and (c) from an impartial source—a British library;

—these favorable documents had been found by an Indian author, and published by a recognized Indian journal,

—Gupta's “Source Material” came out just in time to prepare the PRC public opinion for the opening of Sino-Indian talks on normalization.

In view of these favorable circumstances, it is not surprising that the editors of the *Reference News* chose to reprint the “Source Material” nearly unabridged.

One distortion, however, is noteworthy. In point 3 of his documentation, K. Gupta referred to “a telegram from Viceroy, foreign and political department dated 8 February 1923 . . . to the Secretary of State for India” which “said *inter alia*: ‘. . . this area lies on the Chinese side of the line.’” The expression in question here is “*inter alia.*” The proper Chinese translation would be *qizhong, ciwai,* or *shangyou.* The *Reference News* reprint, however, translated it with *tebie* which, according to *A Chinese English Dictionary,* Peking, 1978, means “especially,” or “particularly,” rather the opposite of “*inter alia.*” Considering the extremely painstaking working-style of Chinese translators (where time has nothing to do with money) and the rigid system of checking, checking, and re-checking of official translations, it is hard to believe in an accidental mistake. After all, “especially” fit much better into the propaganda pattern designed for the border question. Through a slight shift in degree, further support for the PRC position on the western sector of the border was supplied. *Reference News* readers who still had their doubts in the legitimacy of the CPC position might have been convinced when the
British Viceroy of India was cited as having “said especially: ‘... this area lies on the Chinese side of the line.’”

When preparing the PRC public for the Sino-Indian talks on the border issue, the Reference News editors intended to achieve one main objective: arousing nationalistic, if not chauvinistic, sentiments among its readership. From the selection of reprints, the reader was first led to believe that it had been a generous concession by Peking to let Indian pilgrims visit “holy places” in Tibet; second, that Communist China was doing far better than India economically (recognized by an Indian economic newspaper and high-ranking Venezuelan officials), or that, at least, India was in very bad shape as proved by the reports on the slums published on September 30; third, that the PRC position on the border question (western sector) was legitimate (also recognized by a professional Indian journal).

How had the New Delhi government, on the other hand, reacted according to the Reference News? The Indian government returned evil for good. It accused the PRC for being obstructive towards a quick solution of the border question (see Appendix 4, Aug. 20); it did not support the anti-Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (ibid., Sep. 27); it maintained that China had “invaded India” (Ibid.); it had sent a congratulatory telegram to Taiwan on the occasion of the “so-called 70th anniversary of the Republic of China” (ibid., Oct. 15); it had tried to deceive the PRC by smuggling someone from one of the disputed areas into the Indian delegation for the talks in Peking (ibid., Oct. 27); and finally, India had tried to provoke Peking with the Soviet card (ibid., Dec. 2).

The legitimacy of China’s border claims is beyond the discussion here. It is, however, worthwhile to note that the Reference News propaganda did not rely solely on juridicial, historical, or other rational arguments and evidence. It also stirred up nationalistic or even chauvinistic sentiments in support of the CPC policy in this respect. Reference News coverage attained this objective in the main by contrasting China’s alleged righteousness, superiority, and generosity on the one hand, with India’s unreasonable, arrogant, and even ungrateful behavior on the other. This was the task of the preparatory phase in the Reference News coverage of the forthcoming event.

When, finally, the talks took place, Reference News covered the event on December 12, 13, 14, and 17 by reprinting 18 items from ten different foreign sources. However, this impressive expenditure of space and energy rendered hardly any substantial information except that the atmosphere of the talks had been friendly. An important exception was an excerpt from the British Guardian of
December 10, published in the Reference News on December 13. It introduced the PRC public to a possible Sino-Indian compromise on the border question. The Guardian excerpt hinted at the possibility of a PRC recognition of the McMahon Line (eastern border section) in exchange for India’s recognition of PRC sovereignty over the Aksai Chin area (western border sector). On December 25, an AP reprint mentioned this possible compromise again. From among the 24 reprints that were published during the talks and in their immediate aftermath, only those taken from the Guardian and AP contained real background material.

On the basis of these two reprints, the above Reference News version of the China Reports “source material” can be interpreted further. In Gupta’s documentation, Peking’s claims to the western border section, the Askai Chin area, were verified. As the Guardian and AP reprints stressed, no compromise was to be expected here from the Chinese government. Not so in the eastern sector where Peking seemed to be flexible. This interpretation is further substantiated by the only passage from Gupta’s documentation which the Reference News editors thought necessary to leave out: in its point 13, there had been a bracketed reference to the eastern section of the border, i.e., the McMahon Line, which read as follows (deleted passage underlined):

(This map, however, shows the north-eastern border of India along with the high ridge of the Himalayas, i.e., the McMahon Line, though the writ of the British Raj had not yet reached beyond Dirangdjong-Walong line.)

The map referred to was described as a “very important official map,” produced in 1946 by the General Staff of the British Indian Government. As far as the Aksai Chin area in the western sector is concerned, this map did not “include Aksai Chin within India,” i.e., supports the PRC claims. In the case of the eastern sector, the McMahon line, however, the map is not so advantageous for Peking’s claims. What did Reference News editors achieve by cutting out Gupta’s explanatory supplement “i.e., the McMahon Line” in the citation above? The editors’ manipulation did not change the original substance of the document because the “ridge of the Himalayas” here is identical with the McMahon Line. It is, however, the latter that plays a prominent role in the Sino-Indian border dispute and therefore the quoted passage became indistinct after the Reference News editors had left out the key term “McMahon Line.” Only attentive readers would have been able to understand the true meaning of the passage.
Peking does not recognize the McMahon Line and once went to war with India because of the dispute. As it was still possible to see that Peking’s claims with regard to the eastern section were not so well substantiated by Gupta’s documentation, the reprint marked a retreat from what the PRC government formerly had fought for. The envisaged compromise had to be legitimated. This last objective, especially, could never have been attained so subtly by the People’s Daily or any other official Chinese medium. A compromise outline as introduced by the Gupta-reprints and finally revealed by the Guardian and AP reprints could, of course, never have been published in the People’s Daily at that time. In that case it would have become the official position of the PRC government and had tied Peking’s hands in the further negotiations with India.

Reference News Coverage of Sino-American Relations

As can be seen from Table VII, Reference News coverage of PRC external affairs comprised about 510 items. About 134 of them, i.e., one quarter (cf., Table XI) focused on Sino-American relations. Appendix 5 lists headlines, subtitles, related Reference News summaries, and sources in translation for the period from August 1981 to March 1982.

Without going into detail here, it should be noted that during those eight months, an alienation between China and the US became visible. The PRC government no longer advocated the anti-hegemonist, i.e., anti-Soviet, alliance with the United States. The turn for the worse in Sino-American relations took place at the turn of the year 1981/82. It was at that time that a People’s Daily feature on the United States aroused unusual attention among the Chinese because, after a long time, the United States was again depicted in rather gloomy colors. It was taken as a signal that the Peking government had decided to cool off relations.

The stimulus for this development can be summarized by the term “US arms sales to Taiwan.” US government officials had announced earlier that this question would be decided upon in the first weeks of 1982. As the Reference News had reported this as early as August 1981, it was no secret for the PRC public that the crucial phase was to begin the turn of the year.

In the following table, Reference News items on Sino-American relations are arranged along special topics as given in Appendix 5.
Table XII
“REFERENCE NEWS” COVERAGE OF
SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
-Classification along topics-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Serial No. as given in Appendix</th>
<th>Number of reprints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commentaries and</td>
<td>1, 28, 31, 41, 52, 60, 65, 87.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviews on</td>
<td>94, 97, 98, 102, 105, 106, 107, 109.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino-American Relations</td>
<td>110, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>22, 25, 42, 53, 61, 62.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visiting the PRC</td>
<td>70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 79, 81.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan-Zhao Meeting in Cancun</td>
<td>46, 47, 49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang Hua visit to US</td>
<td>56, 57, 58, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino-US Relations and third parties</td>
<td>3, 4, 9, 89, 91, 116, 118</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Relations</td>
<td>2, 7, 21, 30, 34, 35, 43, 48,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations between PRC and US</td>
<td>51, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 74, 80,</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Relations</td>
<td>5, 6, 11, 29, 39, 44, 54</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scientific and Cultural Relations</td>
<td>8, 12, 15, 20, 24, 26, 27, 36,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscell.</td>
<td>32, 33, 75, 90, 99, 100</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Underlined Serial No. means that item refers directly to the Taiwan question (in headline or summary of the respective reprint)

In this table, the serial numbers of those items which in their headline, subtitle or summary explicitly touched the Taiwan question are underlined. 23 times, this topic was put in such a prominent position. The table also reveals that the Taiwan issue was dealt with
preferably under the topic "Sino-American Relations/Commentaries and Reviews," the most convenient of all for influencing public opinion.

In this context it is interesting to see how often reprints in this category appear in sequel. Table XII shows that they follow one another more closely starting with serial no. 102, a reprint from the Hong Kong Zhong Bao and published in the Reference News on January 10, 1982. Not only was the Taiwan issue raised more frequently, but starting with serial number 94 (reprinted on December 31, 1981) the frequency of all reprints increased visibly. During the five months from August to December 31, 1981, only about eight items that covered Sino-American relations more generally were reprinted. But in only a little more than two months (January to March 11, 1982) we find 23 items. It is highly probable that a current propaganda need connected with the course of Sino-American relations caused this staccato. The Reference News editors sought to influence the related public opinion in the PRC by expanding its generally commenting coverage of Sino-American relations. In this connection, serial No. 94 deserves some special consideration. Not only because it was the last item on Sino-American relations in 1981, published on December 31, and thus fitting well into the time-table of the cooling-off between the two nations. More remarkable was the fact that it consisted of a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times. The writer who according to his own words "recently came back from a visit to four Chinese cities," had not "the least doubt that in the coming thirty years an economic miracle will happen in China and that it will catch up with or perhaps surpass the Japanese economic miracle of the last thirty years." Therefore, the writer concluded, "China has been important to America in the past, is in the present, and will be in the future."

Letters to the editor play an important role in the political system of the People's Republic and are by no means comparable to what they are in the Los Angeles Times. In the PRC, letters to the editor are often used for initiating a new political line or for undermining political adversaries. It is, moreover, certain that among the Reference News readership few know the difference. Hence, the above cited letter to the Los Angeles Times was certainly taken by many readers as a serious warning to the US government and at least as representing for the public opinion in the United States, the vox populi.

The following list of key phrases extracted from Reference News headlines and summaries shows how the editors prepared several
million mainland Chinese for deteriorating Sino-American relations. Such a sequence reads as follows:

—Sino-American relations closely connected with *US Taiwan policy* (Aug 1)
—More *American postures* than action in Sino-American relations (Sep 14)
—China, naturally, held a *different position* than the US in Cancun (Oct 25)
—US always follows *two-China policy* (Sep 30)
—Kissinger: *Territorial integrity* of China conforms with US interests (Nov 2)
—Dean Rusk: US should not *meddle in* solution of Taiwan question (Nov 8)
—Mondale: Sale of fighter planes to Taiwan would produce *grave difficulties* (Nov 24)
—Brzezinski: *very big low* in Sino-American relations next spring (Dec 7)
—China defeated America and Soviet Union (at UN) (Dec 19)
—Letter to the editor: *China always important* for US (Dec 31)
—*Chilly breeze* in Sino-American relations (Jan 5)
—Chinese enthusiasm for America *cooling off* (Jan 5)
—China *indignant* (Jan 14)
—*No common Sino-American basis* (Jan 14)
—America and China on the way to *confrontation* (Jan 14)
—*Shadows* on Chinese containment of USSR in Asia (Jan 29)
—*Soviet* experts on Sino-American relations (Feb 27)
—State department: *differences* between US and China (Mar 1)
—Sino-American relations *tense* (Mar 2)
—Nixon: *losing China* utterly foolish (Mar 2)
—State Department: *no official commemoration* on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Shanghai Communique (Mar 2)
—Sino-American relations being *damaged* (Mar 10)

The italicized key expressions used in the headlines and summaries made clear to the readership that Sino-American relations were on the decline. During the last months of 1981, the *Reference News* selection of related items set the stage for the action that followed in the first half of January 1982, when the US government
decided on the arms sales. The alarming escalation started on January 5 with a "chilly breeze", and reached its peak on January 14 with "no common Sino-American basis" and both nations being "on the way to confrontation."

On January 11, the US government finally announced that it would sell arms to Taiwan, but that the most modern jet fighters were not included. The Reference News promptly passed this piece of information to the PRC public on January 12. On January 13, nearly the entire front page was dedicated to reprints that referred to this US government decision. AFP and Reuters dispatches from Washington (Jan 11) were subtitled: "Foreign agencies say, US officials are awaiting the Chinese reaction in an extraordinarily interested state of mind." Peking's reaction was covered the following day and marked the peak in the propagandistic escalation referred to above. But after that day, January 14, Peking smoothed the waves presumably because of the US decision not to sell the modern F5F jet fighters to Taiwan. As can be seen from the list of key phrases, the Reference News returned to a cool, but not really threatening description, the Soviets came into play on February 27.

Apart from this, however, the editors conveyed a piece of real information on the subject. On January 15, one day after the Sino-US relations seemed to have reached the brink of collapse, the paper reprinted on its front page, though somewhat hidden in the lower right corner, an internal UPI circular, at least the editors named it as one. The translation of the entire reprint reads as follows:

UPI internal circular

**US-CHINA RELATIONS NOT ON THE VERGE OF CRISIS**

(UPI, January 12, internal circular) Peking (Huo-er-si-tan, name of the correspondent): According to the information we were able to get, the US-Peking relations are not on the verge of crisis. Although Reagan published all sorts of views during the election campaign and although during the first year of his term in office unpredictable elements existed, he nevertheless did not supply Taiwan with what it hoped to obtain and Peking is most worried about—advanced fighter planes. Now the status quo is being preserved. When Carter was in office China received that status quo. Peking, of course, thinks Carter to be a friend as compared to Reagan. In their reaction the Chinese said, the problem of arms sales will be solved by discussion (and
not by lowering the status of the diplomatic representation), at the same time Holdridge is holding talks in Peking.

No indication for a crisis emerged here.

Washington, (Meyers)

The reprint of this UPI circular in the Reference News was almost the same as if at the peak of the Sino-American crisis, the People's Daily had published a commentary which flatly stated: There is no crisis at all. The two main reasons for this assumption are: First, the Reference News usually does not reprint rumors or speculations on the PRC and second, the key term “internal circular” (neibu tongbao) usually is the official seal for PRC citizens that an information is true, although they do of course not know, what “internal” means if used by UPI correspondents.

From the front page reprint of the “UPI internal circular” must be further concluded that the Reference News editors wanted to make sure that the PRC public learned that Sino-American diplomatic relations would not be broken off or lowered by the PRC government. The propagandistic stage for such an action had been set before January 15, 1982, but the show was not performed as scheduled.

Another question to be answered is, how the paper prepared the PRC public for a possible deterioration of Sino-American relations? If we are to believe Peking's propaganda since 1950, the Taiwan issue is the crucial point: On the very day the CPC Central Committee is able to solve that problem according to its own interests and without any interference from the US government, PRC-US relations would be bright as can be.

Reading the list of Reference News reprints covering Sino-American relations (see Appendix 5) it becomes obvious that the editors wanted to pass to the PRC public the impression that the international opinion grew more and more critical towards President Reagan's Taiwan policy. Among the critics were internationally renowned agencies and newspapers as well as formerly high-ranking US officials, Security Advisors and Secretaries of State like Kissinger, Rusk, and Brzezinski, and even two former Presidents, Nixon and Carter.

On September 19, 1981, for example, former President Carter was reprinted as having said that “China cherishes friendship with America” and that Reagan should “not harm these relations by Taiwan contacts.” Then Brzezinski stressed Peking’s “enormous contribution to peace in the Far East” (reprint of October 5). On October 21, ex-US Secretary of Defense, Brown, is reprinted as having con-
sidered Peking’s Nine-Point-Proposal to Taiwan as “extraordinarily generous.” Henry A. Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, deemed “China’s territorial integrity” to “conform with US interests” (Nov 2). Only a few days later another former US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, advocated, “America should not meddle in” as “the Chinese can solve the Taiwan question themselves.” On November 24, former Vice President Mondale is reprinted as having said upon a visit to Peking that he was “opposed to the sale of fighter planes” to Taiwan. The Reference News coverage, thus, divided friends and enemies, united the many prominents against the few die-hards of the Reagan administration. Indeed, one could not but gain the impression that as far as its Taiwan policy was concerned, the US government found itself in utter isolation, even speechless. On November 19, at least, Reference News reported that when meeting Deng Xiaoping in Peking, Secretary of Finance, Regan, had tried to avoid discussing the Taiwan issue.

This coverage was supplemented by the resumption of an anti-capitalist propaganda on the United States. On January 8, for example, an article of the Hongkong Xin Wanbao (New Evening Paper) was reprinted saying that the Chinese compatriots living in New York ranged number one on the suicide scale of this city. One of the reasons that, according to the reprint, drove New Yorkers of Chinese origin to suicide was “racial discrimination against us which can be felt everywhere.” Heavy criticism of the social system in the United States appeared in a reprint from the New York Times of February 28, published in the Reference News on March 10, 1982. Under the heading, “The problem of arms sales to Taiwan is damaging US-China relations” an unnamed Western diplomat in Peking is quoted as having said, “The world situation has already changed, the Chinese do not take America as a model. They say that they deem America decadent.”

The Reference News editors did not solely rely on publishing increasing numbers of negative or critical items on the United States, however. At the same time, they stopped, at least temporarily until March 10, 1982, reprinting news items on good if not friendly relations between the PRC and the United States. This can be demonstrated by the course that the coverage of scientific and cultural exchange took between August 1981 and March 1982.

During the first months of the period under survey, the coverage was promising, positive and regular (see Table XII). Toward the end of 1981, however, it became scarce and was finally, on January 3, 1982, stopped until the end of the period under survey. Up to
January 3, 1982, news items in this category had appeared relatively regularly; 3 items in August, 8 items in September, 2 in October, 4 in November, 1 in December, and finally, the last 2 in the second issue of 1982.

As it is highly unlikely that for two months after January 3, news in the field of science and culture had vanished, indeed, it can be assumed that the editors had stopped coverage intentionally. Thereafter, the above mentioned critical opinions on US policy dominated, not counterbalanced, by reports on US musicians performing in Peking. As the CPC government has always used cultural and scientific exchange as an important means for attaining political objectives, Reference News readers certainly noticed the lack of coverage in this field.

In this context, it should furthermore be noted that for the last time on November 21 and 27, 1982, definitely positive comments on cultural and scientific exchange between the two countries had appeared. One news item reported on the coproduction of the film "Meeting in Peking," the other on the publication of a pro-Peking American Chinese-language newspaper. Thereafter, five more items were reprinted but two of these covered an event that can hardly be regarded as a manifestation of Sino-American friendship: The US State Department demanded curbing and monitoring research activities of some of the several thousand PRC exchange students and scholars at US universities and colleges.

As this report had a propagandistic precursor in a Christian Science Monitor reprint published in the Reference News on October 24 (page 2) the latter will be discussed first. The reprint was published under the original headline (retranslated): "China Cuts Activities of American Researcher." It was the story of the US anthropologist Steven W. Mosher who accordingly did field research in a village of Guangdong province from 1978 to 1979, a unique undertaking after 1949. According to the reprint, this scientist "obtained a great amount of local intelligence, including internal documents and other material that newspapers and foreigners yearn for, but usually do not obtain." The anthropologist, the reprint continued, had "bought a foreign motor truck which he handed to a responsible of the commune where he was doing his research. In this way, he obtained unusually detailed and sometimes secret intelligence." Moreover, he even had made use of his Hong Kong wife's relatives in the PRC to "help him collect material." The final sentence of the reprint, then read: "At the time this article is written Mosher is doing field research in Taiwan."
The propagandistic pattern is as follows: An American scientist collected secret intelligence in the People's Republic of China, hence he was a secret agent and as he went to Taiwan afterwards, he was a Kuomintang secret agent. Peking's reaction: Limiting the time US scientists are allowed to do field research to three weeks. Rather moderate in view of the crime committed by the American scientist.24

One month later, on November 29 and again on December 5, according to excerpts from US sources the State Department had asked US colleges “to curb research by Chinese.” Unlike the reprint summarized above, however, this news item was printed on the front page. The impression was created that the State Department acted unreasonably if not unfriendly or even anti-Chinese. The reprint of November 29 was extracted from a *New York Times* “Special Report”, but barely half of the original appeared in the *Reference News*. What is more, the second part of the report which dealt with the background of the State Department measure was cut. The *Reference News* reprint focussed on US government ambitions in restricting and monitoring the research work of PRC exchange students and scholars. The impression that this was a discriminatory act was further increased by a minor manipulation. In the *New York Times* report, the exchange officer for Chinese affairs in the State Department had been indirectly quoted as having mentioned the “need to monitor the activities of students.” In the reprint, the same passage read: “. . . need to monitor the activities of the Chinese exchange students.” By this manipulation the Chinese readers were made to believe that all of the PRC exchange students were to be supervised by US government officials.

The second reprint, published on December 5, was from an International Communication Bureau dispatch which in turn referred to the *New York Times* report discussed above. The original was not at hand, but the Chinese version seems to be comprehensive. Here, the State Department Speaker was quoted as having said: “The State Department does not plan to restrict research work of Chinese students in the United States.” By this he obviously responded to the *New York Times* report which had alarmed some US colleges.

24. Later Mosher published an article on the PRC population policy in the Taiwanese *Shibao Zazhi* (Sunday Times Chinese Weekly) No. 75. The same magazine published an account of Mosher's on his activities during his stay in the PRC. Attached to this article is the reproduction of a letter written by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to Prof. Jane Collier of Stanford University accusing Mosher, cf. *Shibao Zazhi* No. 139 (August 1, 1982), p. 60.
and universities. However, by headlining the reprint of December 5 as follows:

Speaker confirms that he wrote letter to two universities demanding them to respect some restrictions with regard to research plans of Chinese students,

*Reference News* editors went in the same direction they had started with the manipulation of the *New York Times* report. The reprint, on the other hand, was more precise in the following passage:

The official said, in its letter to the Minnesota University, the State Department put forward that with regard to some Chinese students restrictions of certain study programs have to be observed . . .

What in the above text passage had been translated as *tichu*, which means “to put forward”, had in the headline been changed into a *yaoqiu*, meaning “to demand;” and, the text expression “some Chinese students” was changed into “Chinese students.” The result of this headline manipulation was that *Reference News* readers had already a certain idea of the problem before actually having read the text itself.

The majority of *Reference News* readers has no chance of comparing the reprints with the originals. Furthermore, in view of the highly nationalistic attitude of PRC citizens, there is reason to assume that they considered the topic in question a humiliation for China. Their nationalistic indignation was aroused, and not many readers might have become aware of the difference between headline and text as analyzed above. Thus the impression was evoked that another anti-China stand of the US State Department had been revealed.

As shown in Table XII, the topic of “Economic Relations” was covered by the greatest number of reprints—about 27 from August 1981 to March 10, 1982—though they were usually short. Hence, news on Sino-American trade had not been curbed. Business as usual, or even better, was reported. All the more so, as the items published towards the end of the period under survey spread much optimism, especially when reporting on the successful US light industry exhibition in Peking in spring 1982. The prospects seemed bright with more opportunities for the PRC to buy technically advanced US products, increased PRC purchases of agricultural goods in the United States, and a predicted good perspective of bilateral trade for 1982. It is worthwhile to note, however, that a number of “Economic Relations” reprints might also have been published in
order to arouse nationalistic indignation in the PRC as they dealt with US restrictions on the export of certain technically advanced products. This applies to the rubric of Military Relations, as well (see, e.g., Appendix 5, nos. 2, 5, 6, 39, 44, 55, 80, 83, 84, 101, 131).

Some time in 1981, Peking decided to abandon the formerly advocated anti-hegemonist strategic alliance with the United States against the Soviet Union. On December 19, 1981, if not earlier, the Reference News made this obvious to its readership. On that day, it reprinted excerpts from a New York Times article which originally had been published two weeks earlier, on December 3, 1981. It dealt with the election of the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar, and, inter alia, Peking's performance in this affair.

The reprint was heavily edited. Already in the Chinese headline, differences as compared with the original can be found. What in the New York Times had been announced as "UN Vote Propels Uganda and China to Center Stage," became an exclusive PRC victory: "China Defeated America and Soviet Union." This heading was based on a passage in the original text which read: "China succeeded in defeating the United States and the Soviet Union who wanted to keep Kurt Waldheim in the top United Nations post."

Moreover, the New York Times report did not "propel" the PRC alone to the "center." In fact, about one half of the original article had focussed on the role which a Ugandan UN diplomat had played during the elections, only one fourth was about Peking's policy (the final fourth introduced the newly elected Secretary General). In view of that the reprint turned things upside down. Two-thirds of it dealt with the PRC, one-third with the Ugandan diplomat, and nothing was mentioned about Perez de Cuellar except his name.

Finally, the reprint was manipulated with regard to Sino-American relations. The underlined passages in the following excerpt of the New York Times report were left out:

**China's Higher Profile**

Diplomats here believe that China is now showing a new and higher profile at the United Nations. In its early years there, Peking quietly watched and waited, avoiding the lead role that its potential power justified. But last summer, there was a change. At a conference on Cambodia, China was almost isolated. It fought against resolutions that would inhibit the return of the ousted Pol Pot forces. It battled against any specific promise of foreign aid for Vietnam, whose troops had driven Pol Pot from Phnom
Penh. China got its way on both points, although, as Asian diplomats observed, the United States was covertly helping Peking, largely to promote stronger ties between the two nations. Since then Washington had offended Peking with its proposal to sell jet fighters to Taiwan. China was in no mood to return the Cambodian favor by softening its rounds of balloting, vetoing Mr. Waldheim despite, or perhaps because of, his powerful support.

In the end the Council's other members took seriously China's determination to elect a third world figure. So Mr. Perez de Cuellar of Peru won the race.

The reason for cutting out the key phrase: "United States . . . helping Peking to promote stronger ties between the two nations" is easily found. In December 1981, such a statement no longer complied with the course of Sino-American relations which the editors rather wished to summarize in the headline they chose: "China Defeated America." Further evidence for this assumption can be found in the manipulation of another reprint from a US newspaper.

As early as August 10, 1981, The Washington Post had reported that the Peking visit of Secretary of State, A. Haig, "advanced Sino-American relations by producing Washington's offer to sell arms to Peking." However, when this report was reprinted in the Reference News of August 23, this passage, too was left out. Not deleted was the following paragraph:

An African envoy (. . .) who has frequently warned the Chinese about their loss of standing in the Third World because of their American ties said, "China is now trying to tell us that there's a difference between Washington and Peking."

Basically, coverage of Sino-American relations also pursued the objective of legitimating related CPC policies through foreign sources. This was, however, not so easy to achieve as in the case of India, a nation the standard of which not only many Westerners believe to be far below the PRC. PRC intellectuals, who are the main target group of the Reference News, in their majority admire the United States, while—to put it very mildly—they feel indifferent towards India. Every step their government took at the end of the Seventies to bring about good Sino-American relations, was supported by this social group, because the normalization process was accompanied by a lessening of political pressure on the intelligentsia inside the PRC. Many Chinese intellectuals began to enjoy remark-
able intellectual and material advantages because of the presence of US teachers at their universities. Students and others were able to see some American movies and read some American books that were brought along by the foreign teachers, an opportunity they had probably been dreaming of for a long time. It is therefore hardly an exaggeration to say that in a long time, in no other respect the Communist government's policy had been so well legitimated among the urban intelligentsia. The Communist ruling elite, on the other hand, had, of course, no reason to admire the United States, though its members had always appreciated the joys and thrills of internal US movie shows. Hence, when turning away from the so-called strategic alliance, the rules in Peking had to propagate this new foreign (and internal) policy against the hopes and desires of urban intellectuals.

The best legitimation for turning away from the West, was provided by the Taiwan issue. The main reason is that the takeover of the island by Peking, the so-called “Reunification of the motherland,” is a major political issue where the CPC government indeed can count on support from the mainland population. Not because PRC citizens are fanatics who wish to see a socialist system established in Taiwan, but for purely nationalistic reasons. Taiwan is an overwhelming issue that does not permit even those mainland Chinese who feel the greatest affection for the United States, American books, movies, television programs, and jeans, or simply for what they think to be the American way of life, to argue in favor of the US side.

With regard to the island, and, especially, the question of US arms sales, opposition is nearly unthinkable in the PRC. Even those who, if only to themselves, would prefer good Sino-American relations to a Communist solution of the Taiwan question would be left without arguments after having read the above analyzed Reference News coverage. All related reprints from Western sources proved that the Western news media and former high-ranking US officials were worried by President Reagan's Taiwan policy and even criticized the American President. How can, under these conditions, any citizen of the PRC be expected to still sympathize with the US Taiwan policy?

The reprints that the Reference News editors selected from the Western press for publication in the PRC aimed at overwhelming every possible ideological opposition. Opponents lacked arguments even before themselves, they had to give in totally to the arguments of the Communist Party of China. Not because of excellent and
rousing Communist propaganda and not because of convincing *People's Daily* editorials. Opposition had become literally unthinkable, simply by extracting suitable passages from the vast Western coverage. Peking's US and Taiwan policies are, therefore, fully legitimated in the PRC.
3. THE IMPACT OF THE REFERENCE NEWS

The foregoing analysis demonstrated that in the period under survey the PRC coverage of the Reference News can be called neither informative nor objective. As was shown above, the news on the PRC taken from foreign press-media and reprinted in the Reference News was edited, at times garbled and the entire coverage intentionally selected to fit Peking's current propagandistic line. The best example for this was provided by the coverage on the annual session of the National People's Congress in December 1981 as well as the reporting on Zhao Ziyang's South East Asian tour in August of the same year. The Reference News coverage on the events was used to promote the newly appointed PRC Premier Zhao. In the selection of the reprints on Zhao's South East Asian tour the main Chinese objective of resolving political differences over the Cambodian issue between the PRC and the ASEAN states was completely covered up.

In its coverage on the military maneuvers in the PRC held in August and September 1981 the Reference News did not reveal anything substantial beyond what could be found in other public media. What remained was propaganda for Deng Xiaoping, some speculations on Sino-Soviet relations—all of which might only have been published to keep the readers interested. In order to get to know these speculations Reference News readers had to trace down lengthy passages of foreign press reprints which repeated official PRC releases. Thus many readers who would not even have glanced over the related People's Daily propaganda read what they were supposed to read—substantiated by foreign news agency reports from which the Reference News editors had carefully cut out informative passages.

The coverage on PRC domestic affairs also showed to be directed by propagandistic purposes. A comparison between reprints and their originals in the foregoing study has lain bare numerous illustrative examples for distortions in the reprints—while the coverage as such was shown to be purposely pre-selected anyway. Under the pens of the Reference News editors, foreign press-items were stripped of all information that went beyond the limits set by official CPC doctrines and current propaganda.

Thus, it was, in the period under survey, no longer a sacrilege to point out certain shortcomings of the People's Republic. The Reference News also followed the zeitgeist and reprinted foreign reports on the inflexible, incompetent PRC bureaucracy which dreaded making
decisions. But the editors generally chose to reprint rather moderate reports that more or less resembled those in the official PRC press. In cases, however, when official government decisions or even Deng Xiaoping's personal directives were reported to be ignored or ineffective, the Rubicon was crossed and the respective passages were deleted. The same was shown to be true for foreign reports on the dark side of life in mainland China. For the early eighties, it was not unusual that the Reference News reprinted a Sunday Times report on black market activities in the PRC. As long as it only mentioned individuals or small groups (or gangs), the report was reprinted unabridged. However, as soon as the police or a state organ like the "Diplomatic Services Bureau" came under fire for taking part in illegal transactions, the related passages of the report were deleted. Even the term "black market" was censured in the reprint where it appeared in connection with state or government organs and was used ironically. Hence, the Sunday Times headline "Red China's Black Market" was changed into "Serious Unhealthy Tendencies".

The fact that in the period under survey Reference News editors not only left out informative passages but also disinfomed could be illustrated by the paper's Hong Kong coverage. In 1981/82, the PRC government had not yet disclosed plans to "take back the sovereignty over Hong Kong" by 1997 at the latest. (Before the visit of the British Premier Margaret Thatcher to Peking in September 1982, the PRC probably did not have elaborated plans.) Hence, the British colony was still fair game for Communist propaganda. Whereas Taiwan had to be treated diligently on the grounds of the so-called re-unification of the motherland, the social system of Hong Kong could be exposed at pleasure. It became, moreover, a necessary task after in 1979 about 200,000 young people chose to leave the PRC and entered the colony illegally. By means of carefully selected reprints from Hong Kong newspapers, the Reference News confronted their readership with a horrifying picture of Hong Kong's social conditions. Thus, the paper set the stage for a related follow-up coverage in the other PRC media.25

The manipulative repertoire of the Reference News editors is manifold. Sometimes they resorted to the means of incorrect translations to fit the reprints into the official line of propaganda.

Another manipulative device for fitting foreign news items into

25. At least in nearby Guangzhou (Canton) the efficiency of this kind of propaganda seemed to have left much to be desired, cf. interviews with PRC citizens in Canton on the Hong Kong issue, Qishinianlai (The Seventies) No. 12 (December 1982), pp. 24-27.
Peking's propaganda scheme was shown above to consist in the editors' making up of headlines or summaries which are at variance with the contents of the reprints they are designed for. The editors probably take into account the fact that the reading PRC public is generally not interested in politics. However, for selecting his reading material the reader has to go over the headlines (or the summary) at least. Therefore, manipulations of the latter can be as effective as a censured or otherwise suitable reprint. The Reference News summary of the Gupta-documentation on the Sino-Indian border issue, for example, reiterated an explicit legitimation for Peking's claims provided by the Indian author. But such a statement did not appear in the report. Thus, those who do not read the whole of a reprint were manipulated. Similar means of manipulation have been found in the analysis of the coverage of Sino-American relations.

Up to this point, the main result of the present study can be summarized as follows: In the period under survey, the Reference News PRC coverage was neither objective nor substantially more informative than the respective releases in the other public media in the PRC. On the contrary, under the tacit pretext of reprinting reports from impartial and objective foreign sources, the readership is manipulated more subtly.

It should be noted here, however, that without the opportunity of being able to interview a substantial number of Reference News subscribers we will not obtain a clear picture of the impact the Reference News has on its readers. It is plausible, of course, that the readers will be able to discern the propagandistic pattern behind the coverage of topics that are closely connected with their personal experiences. Reprints claiming that PRC citizens are always happy and smiling will hardly appear serious. This has to be kept in mind when reviewing the paper's domestic affairs. It is also plausible that the circulation of the Reference News would drop considerably if the editors chose mostly apologetic reprints like the one about Ken Livingstone's experiences in China. However, we do not know where to draw the dividing line between a coverage that the reader is able to compare with his actual circumstances and one that he cannot evaluate.

With his decreasing ability to compare a certain coverage with reality, the reader is in the manipulative hands of the editors. The Reference News coverage of the annual NPC session, for example, will already have confused many readers. On the one hand, the readership will have known very well that this state organ is basi-
cally meaningless as an institution for the people. On the other hand, however, the Reference News made the event its front page headline for five days in a row. Will many readers be able to dismiss the impression created? Or will they not believe that the event was covered for days in such a prominent position in the world’s leading newspapers? The latter would, of course, be in total contrast to their personal experiences. But will they assume then that the Western journalists are sycophants of the CPC propaganda department or will they dismiss this coverage as simply being fake? Anyway, they will not be so sure as in the case of Livingstone’s article on their ever smiling faces.

Further Considerations

A study of the Reference News would hardly be of any major use if it contented itself with the factual statement that the paper is a propaganda tool. For this finding cannot answer the crucial question why almost 9 million PRC citizens, mostly politically disillusioned intellectuals and lower officials, subscribe to that paper. As has been pointed out, they do so on their own initiative, neither the Communist Party nor any of their superiors urge them to spend six yuan (one tenth of an average monthly salary) per year for a subscription. Although, for the time being, no representative material is available in the West on the impact of the Reference News on mainland China’s public opinion, simply from its tremendous circulation it can be concluded that the paper is very likely to be the most influential daily in the PRC. This has, no doubt, a great deal to do with its unique character as compared with the other media.

Generally, Communist rulers do not allow their subjects to have access to Western news media. The pretext and legitimation for this is that by these tools the capitalist class enemy seeks to destroy the achievements of socialism. However, fairly regularly, the Communist propaganda nevertheless resorts to Western reports and commentaries for its own purposes. This is usually the case when Communist governments find themselves internationally in a difficult situation. For example, after the Soviets shot down the Korean airliner in September 1983, their allies, too, had to seek legitimation for this internationally despised act. Thus, the East German newsmedia, e.g., chose to cite Western press comments on the event, extracted from various, mostly non-Communist sources, in which commentators speculated whether the Korean civil airliner was used by the American CIA for collecting intelligence on Soviet military in-
installations in the East Asia—an explanation spread by the Eastern propaganda.

For years, the German Democratic Republic TV station has been broadcasting a regular program Der Schwarze Kanal (The Black Channel) in which solely extracts from West German TV programs are shown on mostly political and social issues. Underlain by an agitating commentary, these excerpts are taken as self-exposure and proof for the decaying and aggressive nature of capitalism/imperialism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all of these cases, it is to be shown to the public in Communist countries that, contrary to popular belief, Communist propaganda does say the truth—the Western media is used as impartial witnesses. The rulers in the Soviet bloc, it seems, resort to this kind of propaganda if confronted with an unusual crisis of legitimation.

The principle outline of the Reference News is not much different from this sort of Soviet bloc propaganda. If the Reference News is, however, nothing but a routinization of an occasional practice in other Communist countries, does that mean the CPC rule has been facing an all-out awkward situation, a crisis of legitimation for the last 25 years? How did the Reference News come into being? When was it first published—and under which political and social circumstances?

In his study on the Reference News Henry G. Schwarz answers this question as follows:

The date of its first publication is uncertain. In early 1960, it was not published on Mondays nor, apparently, on most official holidays. On the basis of the difference in serial numbers between August 1959 and February 1960, I estimate the date of first publication to be about November 7, 1956.26

Within the scope of the present study this approach is too pragmatic as Schwarz did not attempt to explain why the Xinhua News Agency should have started the Reference News just on November 7, 1956. Considering the time necessary to prepare the launching of a newspaper like the one under survey, the decision in favor of it must have been taken some months before it actually came out. If November 1956 were the correct date of its first publication, the Reference News would have had to be planned in summer 1956, i.e., at a time when the Communist Party of China still enjoyed much support from the

population and its legitimation was fairly unquestioned. Why then was this unique paper started?

In fact, however, the publication of the Reference News did not start as early as November 1956. According to the recently published “Peking Library Catalogue of Stored Newspapers” (Beijing Tushuguan Guan Cang Baozhi Mulu) its earliest Reference News issues are dated March 1957. The Catalogue which does not list internal, neibu, material and is sold publicly in the PRC specifies the available stock as follows:

1957: March-December  
1959: April-December  
1960: January-(today)²⁷

For most of the other newspapers in the Catalogue the date of first publication is given along with interruption and resumption of publications as well as discontinuation. As no such information is given in the case of the Reference News, it is to be assumed that the paper actually started in March 1957. Taking into account the political circumstances, this date makes sense and is of the greatest interest for determining purpose and function of the paper.

If the Reference News had first been published in March 1957, the necessary preparatory work would probably have begun in late 1956. In October of that year the rebellion in Hungary had shook the Soviet bloc, then still including the People’s Republic of China. As we know today, in December 1956, the CPC Politbureau discussed the impact of the Hungarian events on the situation in China as well as related national problems concerning the PRC intelligentsia. In January 1957, Mao Zedong delivered his speech on “The Correct Handling of Contradictions within the People”, and only a few months later, the Chinese Communists implemented concrete measures to appease or even win over the country’s hesitating intellectuals. If publication started in March of that year, the Reference News can be regarded as a direct response to the Hungarian events and as an integral part of the so-called “Hundred Flowers” campaign.²⁸


²⁸ An article on the Reference News published in the Hong Kong Chinese monthly Ming Pao No. 77 (May 1972), pp. 76-83, also estimated this campaign to be the birthday of the paper. From the serial number of two Reference News issues (of Aug. 19 and 20, 1959) the author calculated May 13, 1957 to be the first day of publication. However, estimations based on Reference News serial numbers leave us with a problem: the Cata-
Started as a means to overcome or solve a latent crisis of legitimation, the campaign ended disastrous for the social strata in question. Only a few months after the first publication of the Reference News created the impression that a more liberal policy of information was employed by the ruling CPC, thousands of intellectuals were suddenly criticized as bourgeois rightists and subsequently banned to remote peasant villages to remould their Weltanschauung. For two decades, the PRC intelligentsia was then put under immense political pressure becoming politically conspicuous as a group.

As the first publication of the Reference News was thus obviously connected with the opening of the “Hundred Flowers” campaign, it is possible that its first issues indeed served as information bulletin. Perhaps, the new publication was designed to give the country’s intellectuals the impression they were granted a special privilege. (The forthcoming new course of political suppression of the paper’s target group would then explain the temporary interruption of publication from January 1958 until March 1959.) When analyzing the propaganda and internal information system of Soviet bloc countries, the former Hungarian journalist Paul Lendvai remarked in his study The Bureaucracy of Truth:

Hardly anybody in the West knows that the greatest privilege in every single Communist country is not a car or a dacha, but the regular access to information.29

In view of the official position of the PRC intellectuals as the “Stinking old number 9” that they acquired after 1957, it might actually have seemed to them an even more substantial privilege to be allowed to read capitalist news. In this respect, the paper’s classification as “internal reading material” would also make sense: as a means of enhancing further its reputation within the target group.

In 1960, as the foregoing study assumes on the basis of the material as presented by Henry G. Schwarz’ analysis, the Reference

News coverage on Chinese politics was bolder than in 1981/82. But, in 1960, possible danger for the ideological stability of the regime by the publication of heretical material could still be compensated by attaching headlines to the reprints which made them useless as counterevidence against the official propaganda. These headlines simply denounced certain reprints as capitalist deception (e.g., by putting the word “aid” into quotation marks when reprinting “Nyerere Seeks Aid from America”), wishful thinking of the imperialists (e.g., “slandered by saying”) or simply anti-Communist/anti-Chinese. This method might well have been successful until the mid-sixties when Marxism-Leninism still counted as a progressive ideology among the Chinese intelligentsia. In 1966/67 still, the Red Guards fought for true socialism and against revisionism.

Times have changed. What in 1957 had started as a crisis of legitimation for CPC rule has meanwhile, in the early Eighties, become an all-round “crisis of confidence” (Xinxin weiji). The Communist ideology itself has lost its attractiveness for the Reference News target group. There was, in the period under survey, even a shift among Chinese intellectuals away from regarding capitalism as the synonym for evil. By 1981/82, capitalism stood for almost everything they longed for, but were only seldom allowed to enjoy. In a situation where the Communist ideology was no longer regarded as progressive and sacrosanct, substantial news on the PRC from Western sources could easily be turned against the official propaganda claims. If such news were published in the Reference News, it would render the People’s Daily as ridiculous. Therefore, the above analyzed Washington Post report was censured where it mentioned grave communication problems within the PRC army during its invasion of Vietnam in early 1979. This information could have served as counterevidence against the official claim that the invasion had been a success.

Two facts, at least, led to the change in the characteristic of the Reference News PRC coverage since it started publication. The all-out crisis of legitimation which the CPC faces today requires probably heavier censuring of all unfavorable news. Every bit of objective information on the PRC or the real situation in Hong Kong and

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30. It seems that the Washington Post reprint was censured just because it counts as an impartial third party in the conflict referred to. It may be assumed, however, that Vietnamese sources touching on the very same problem had been reprinted in the Reference News. Vietnam as an involved party is not neutral and, therefore, not credible. The same applies to some reprints taken from Taiwanese sources. Direct adversaries are often allowed a jester’s license by Peking’s propaganda.
Taiwan, would, in 1981/82, only have added to the crisis. The second fact can be found in the various changes in Peking’s foreign policy since the late fifties. This might have pushed the paper’s coverage of the situation in capitalist countries into a somewhat unbiased direction.

What impact can the Reference News coverage have on the “crisis of confidence”? There is, for example, its appeal to Chinese nationalism transmitted to many million PRC readers. In this category we find many reprints which lavishly praise Communist China’s economic and other progress as well as military strength. Reprints on, for instance, international sports events with the PRC taking part might prove even more important in this respect. They often sound like coverage from a war front. A climax in this respect was reached in November/December 1981 when the PRC women volleyball team won the world championship in Tokyo. Here, the propagandistic function of the Reference News is to stabilize CPC rule ideologically by stirring up Chinese nationalism/chauvinism.

Another and surely significant answer, however, can be found in the chapter on “Sino-American Relations”. It was demonstrated in the foregoing study how the readership of the paper was overwhelmed ideologically by the manipulated selection of Western news. In Winter 1981/82, a PRC citizen would hardly have been able to raise objections to Peking’s US policy without committing high treason. On the other hand, nobody would have been able to raise arguments in favor of President Reagan’s Taiwan policy, even if he would have liked to. Where should he have had the arguments from? Of course, there is one imperative prerequisite for attaining this ideal state of affairs: the paper’s credibility. The Reference News derives it from the fact that it reprints from (class) enemy sources. As this is the key to success, the readership is constantly reminded of that peculiarity. This is the reason why the editors quote sources and dates of the original publication on top of every single reprint even if the reprint was shorter than the reference. Would this, otherwise, not be the peak of fastidiousness, as hardly any Reference News reader will ever be able to check a reprint against the respective original? And not only that. When analyzing the coverage of Zhao Ziyang’s ASEAN tour, or that of the NPC session in particular, we were confronted with the phenomenon that the editors often took their manipulated items from many different foreign sources and published them under one single headline. A few lines from an American one, a couple more from a French, citations from a renowned Japanese newspaper and finally a British news
agency dispatch. However, judged by the information conveyed, Xinhua or just People's Daily would have sufficed. Why quote four, five international sources, then? The only satisfying interpretation could be that the editors wish to demonstrate the greatest objectivity of their selection. As the paper definitely lacks objectivity, only one thing remains: the desire to silence possible opposition. It is the same method that is more casually used by the East German or Soviet authorities in cases of extraordinary legitimatory difficulties. One should not entertain too many doubts in the efficiency of this propagandistic pattern. There is reason to believe that it worked well inside the Soviet Union after the KAL civil airliner had been shot down.

The tremendous circulation of the Reference News is strong evidence for its deep-rooted influence in the People's Republic of China. The editors, at least, do not miss a single chance for enhancing their paper's authoritativeness. It was neither by accident nor was it meant as a joke on their own publication when they reprinted the Reuters dispatch introducing the Reference News which is quoted at the beginning of this study. A key phrase ran:

The Reference News does not carry propagandistic articles, it carries only foreign news agency and newspaper reports.

The Reuters correspondent was as wrong as David Bonavia who once assumed that the “Chinese can read foreign reports.” But who of the many million Reference News readers would ever know?
4. COMMUNIST CHINA'S REFERENCE SYSTEM—A LOOK BEHIND THE NEIBU CURTAIN

In the People's Republic of China, which ranks number one in the world in terms of population and number three in terms of territory, there is not a single publication that could be called free in the sense of being a forum for government-opposed political thought, or just free from government or Communist Party control. The CPC controlled publication system consists of two sectors, a public and an internal one. Both sectors are linked by so-called guonei faxing periodicals. *Guonei* means "inside the country" or "domestic" while *faxing* stands for "distribute," "publish." This kind of publication usually is not accessible for foreigners who do not live in the People's Republic.

In the past, provincial daily newspapers like the *Fujian Daily, Peking Daily*, etc. were typical "domestic" publications. Since the late seventies, however, some of them can be subscribed to by foreigners, though still not all. In the 1983 *Chinese Papers and Magazines Catalogue*, distributed by the "International Bookstore" (Guoji Shudian) in Peking, the *Qinghai Daily, Sichuan Daily, Tibet Daily*, and some other provincial newspapers were not listed and, therefore, not available abroad.

A new *guonei* periodical was started on July 1, 1981. It is called *Jingji Cankao*, (Economic Reference), and published by the Xinhua News Agency in Peking. At least until March 1982, the *Economic Reference* came out three times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and carried economic news from China as well as from abroad. The items are, it seems, extracted from several internal bulletins and mostly marked "dispatch of this newspaper" (*ben bao xun*), or, if covering Taiwan, "Hong Kong special dispatch of this newspaper". But it is doubtful that the *Economic Reference* has its own network of correspondents all over the world. Although it presents more detailed information on economic topics than, e.g., *People's Daily*, this newspaper does not publish anything that might be classified as "sensitive" material. At least a subscription notice published in the *Reference News* of September 19, 1981 stated explicitly, that the *Economic Reference* "can be subscribed to at the local post office, letter of recommendation not necessary". The paper is a four page tabloid focusing on practical information and it will probably remain a secret why its circulation is limited at all.

Next to this lowest category of classified publications there are periodicals and books that are classified *neibu* which simply means "internal". Like the term *guonei faxing* the term *neibu* is printed be-
low the title of the respective newspaper or along with the impres­
sum. While at this level books usually state the phrase *neibu faxing*
(internal distribution), newspapers and magazines prefer the more
precise instruction *neibu kanwu, zhuyi baocun or neibu kanwu, qing
wu waichuan*, the former saying “internal publication, take care to
keep safe” and the latter, more moderate, meaning “internal publi­
cation, please do not pass to the outside”.

Internal publications in the People’s Republic of China have to
be counted by the hundreds. They are written, compiled, edited and
printed by many institutions and work units, namely the Xinhua
News Agency, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and all kinds
of university institutes. The contents are usually connected with the
work that is done in the publishing unit.

The Amoy (Xiamen) University, for instance, houses the “Tai­
wan Research Institute” (*Taiwan Yanjiusuo*). On December 28, 1981
the *Fujian Daily* published an article on this institution saying that it
had been established in July 1980 and was doing research on Tai­
wan’s history and economy. In spring 1981, the *Fujian Daily* con­
tinued, the Institute had organized an academic discussion forum
focusing on Taiwan’s economic development, its present economic
problems and the prospects of its economy. A total of 20 panel pa­
pers had been submitted. Finally the article stated that the “Taiwan
Research Institute, while developing its scientific research work ea­
erly strives to get contact with experts and scholars at home and
abroad doing research on Taiwan problems”. Encouraged by this
article I visited the Institute on March 18, 1982. When I presented
the *Fujian Daily* article, I was told that those papers had not been
published. I was furthermore shown three periodicals published by
the Institute and focusing on Taiwan’s economy. All three were
classified *neibu*, and I was not allowed to take them with me. It is
very likely that the majority if not all of the PRC universities and
research institutes have their own professional internal publications.

*Bianyi Cankao—An Internal Monthly*

A good example for this kind of internal periodical which is,
however, not so specialized is the monthly magazine *Bianyi Cankao*
(Editing and Translating Reference). The magazine started publi­
cation in the politically rather relaxed atmosphere of January 1978 and
is edited by the Peking based Foreign Languages Press, a state-run
institution. This unit is responsible for producing propaganda publi­
cations for foreign countries and consists of several book sections for
the various languages (English, French, Spanish, German, Swahili,
Urdu, Russian, and others) which translate books and booklets on topics ranging from politics to literature into the foreign languages. The central editing boards of magazines like the *Beijing Review, China Reconstructs, Chinese Literature,* and *China Pictorial,* with their language departments are also part of the Foreign Languages Press. This institution thus houses a large staff of translators, who somehow have to keep track of what is going on abroad. The different departments, therefore, subscribe to foreign newspapers, magazines, etc. of their respective languages. By and large, the Foreign Languages Press seems to rank not far below the Xinhua News Agency as far as translating capacity and direct and current access to foreign periodicals is concerned. Here, the internal publication *Editing and Translating Reference* comes into play. It serves the staff and other translators as a tool for improving their knowledge of foreign affairs (politics, culture, technical development, etc.), for continuing language and translating training, and as a welcome opportunity to earn some extra money.

The *Editing and Translating Reference* is published in the standard size for magazines in the PRC (18.5×26 cm) with an average of 90 to 100 pages. In 1981, it cost 0.50 Yuan per copy, which is rather expensive for translators or intellectuals with an income of about 60-70 Yuan, especially if they already subscribe to the *Reference News.* The magazine contains mainly reprints from foreign publications translated by the staff in the language departments of the Foreign Languages Press. The editorial board has, of course, a schedule for each issue and asks the language departments to contribute. However, many translations are done and submitted to the editors on the initiative of individual translators who want to earn some extra money in their spare time.

The *Editing and Translating Reference* does not report on current events, but supplies background material on countries, regions, developments (political as well as cultural and technical). In 1981, e.g., this internal monthly published a total of 341 articles. Categorized along the rubrics of the magazine they can be listed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reports on our Own Country</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information on China</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Problems</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Background Stories</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Economy</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Communist Movement</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Information</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Situation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third World</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East Asia</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Exchange</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Literature</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Science and Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trends in Tourism</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of Personages</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda Work</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews/Book Excerpts</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research on Translation Techniques</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge in Brief</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected Foreign Photographs</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the articles related to "Taiwan" and "Hong Kong" were listed in the "Our Country" rubric (which would be in line with the claims of the Peking government) a total of 101 articles or almost one third would be about China. At quite a distance "USA" follows with 27 entries and the "Soviet Union" with 18.

For a more detailed picture of the Editing and Translating Reference contents and an assessment of its function, see the following table of contents of the December 1981 issue.

31. Those for whom this kind of classification material is published seem to be highly interested especially in what the rest of the world thinks of them and their state. An interesting story about an overseas Chinese who came back to the PRC in the fifties and made a living by telling members of the Communist ruling elite what the outside world thinks of them can be found in Fox Butterfield, *Alive in the Bitter Sea*, London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982, p. 48.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Topic</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China - Full of Confidence</td>
<td>Japan-China Monthly</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentaries on China’s energy resources [three</td>
<td>Far Eastern Economic Review (2); Asian Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>Hong Kong, USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>items]</td>
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<tr>
<td>The reliability of China’s statistics</td>
<td>Asian Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>The grave problems of China’s Tourism</td>
<td>Zhong Bao</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four days in Taipei</td>
<td>Exclusive report</td>
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**RUBRIC: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Topic</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does the Japanese form of management deserve to be</td>
<td>Economist</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praised?</td>
<td>Exclusive report</td>
<td>PRC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Initial analysis of the differences between Polish</td>
<td></td>
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<td>and Hungarian politics</td>
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<td>The role of foreign capital in the development of</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Brazil’s economy</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Exclusive report</td>
<td>PRC</td>
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**RUBRIC: US - SOVIET INTERNAL SITUATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Topic</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Soviet Sports / Inside story of a sinister plot</td>
<td>Der Spiegel</td>
<td>FRG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title / Topic</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Country of Origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soviet tourism</td>
<td>Readers Digest</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA: Severe water problems</td>
<td>US News &amp; World Report</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>How to solve the American water problems (Interview)</td>
<td>US News &amp; World Report</td>
<td>USA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**RUBRIC: PEOPLE IN THE NEWS**

- Haig - A power contention crackjack: Newsweek, USA
- Gromyko - World record in tenure of office: Times, Britain

**RUBRIC: AFRICA (Photographs attached)**

- Egyptian chronicle [2 items written by a member of the PRC embassy to Egypt; Topics: Suez Channel, short account of the murder of Sadat]: Exclusive reports, PRC
- Kaddafis plans: Black and White (?), Spain
- Angola - Devastation everywhere: Readers Digest (Chinese), USA
- The "heroes" in difficulties (The Cubans in Angola): Kaleidoscope, Columbia
- On the King of Swaziland, Sobhuza II: -not identified-, Chile
- The Transkai - A country not to be found on the map: US News & World Report, USA
- The increase of power of South Africa's Blacks: Newsweek, USA
- Where there is suppression, there is struggle [Supplementary interview to the article before]: Newsweek, USA
- The Soviet Union and South Africa: Russian Thinking, Paris
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Topic</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUBRIC: LITERATURE AND ART</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“Asian Novels” fever [On the successful novels written by James Clavell and R. Elegant]</td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>King of bestseller authors [On James Clavell and his novels]</td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUBRIC: ANECDOTES OF GREAT WRITERS</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tolstoy's re-marriage</td>
<td>Times</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUBRIC: TRANSLATION RESEARCH</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Two letters to the editors, discussing translating problems in connection with an article published earlier by the magazine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RUBRIC: FILLER</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Life span records of animals (Readers Digest); Ivory and Rhinoceros horn (ibid); The most frequently studied foreign languages (Teach Yourself Russian, USSR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table of contents of the December 1981 issue of the *Editing and Translating Reference* is representative, and shows that the magazine is informative and interesting. All the more so if compared with the misinforming and boring public press media.

Nothing is known by the present author about the number of copies sold every month. The same applies to the readership although it should be assumed that the magazine is read by those whom the editors themselves consider to be prospective subscribers:

People having to do with foreign affairs, news, publishing of propaganda, culture and education, tourism and other units, as well as cadres in scientific research units, academic organizations, universities and colleges, research fellows, teachers and intellectuals.32

The editorial board of the magazine is located in the Foreign Languages Press building in Peking, thus entertaining connections with many of the low paid translators who work there. It may well be that these two factors (decentralized editing board with good access to interested translators) result in the publication of an interesting internal magazine which seems to be read fairly widely not only by high ranking officials.

The book series published by the same staff of editors seems to be as attractive as the *Editing and Translating Reference*. The December 1981 issue of the magazine advertised some of these books as follows.

*“Only One Year”* (still available)  
This book describes the feelings of Stalin’s daughter after having lived in America for one year following her defection from the Soviet Union. In the book she remembers her defection, her life in the Soviet Union, and her contacts with important party and government people of the Soviet Union. She gives an evaluation of Stalin and other leaders in line with the Western view. Since its publication this book has always been banned in the Soviet Union, but in the West it was translated into many languages. It is extremely in vogue and is used to attack the Soviet Union and to defend capitalism. Its influence is very bad. But the book deserves to be read as reference material for research on the Soviet Union and the people of the international

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Communist movement. By approval of higher authorities it is distributed internally to serve the departments and research fellows concerned as reference material. More than 400 pages, 300,000 characters, fixed price 1.40 Yuan.

Selected Papers of Soviet Dissidents (still available)
Includes 11 writings, complete or in selected passages in translation, of six representative figures of modern Soviet dissidents.
416 pages, 300,000 characters, 1.40 Yuan.

The Memoirs of Shostakovich (new publication)
Shostakovich (1901-1975) was a famous Soviet composer, who enjoyed great prestige at home and abroad. These memoirs are an account of the frustrated course of several dozen years of Shostakovich's life, giving profound explanations on the background of his works in different periods, describes the struggle of the Soviet musicians and literary and art circles, and reveals Shostakovich's ideological contradictions and embarrassments which are hard to put in words.
This book includes a great deal of inside information on modern Soviet history, and anecdotes about many famous people from political and especially cultural circles. It may serve as important reference reading material for musicians, workers in the cultural field, and readers who are concerned with modern Soviet history.
370 pages, 270,000 characters, 1.20 Yuan.

Brave New World (sold out)
The above mentioned books are internal, they have to be ordered the same way as this publication.33

Foreign Languages Press Bureau
“Editing and Translating Reference”
Distribution Department

In an earlier issue of the magazine the novel that is probably regarded as the most dangerous and thus most detested piece of fiction in Communist countries, 1984 by George Orwell was offered.
The book was sold in an abridged version, and had of course to be bought according to the regulations for buying internal publications. I think, however, the fact that it was on sale at all, is noteworthy.

Some of these publications can be bought in internal book-

33. That means, a “letter of recommendation” has to be presented.
stores. They as well as their offers are laid out hierarchically. At the
lowest level pirate reprints of foreign language dictionaries and simi­
lar teaching materials are available. Foreigners are of course not
allowed in, Chinese have to present a letter of recommendation or
another form of legitimation. It can be assumed that there are inter­
nal bookstores at higher levels, too. Although nothing precise is
known on the range of their stocks.

Thematic Scope of Classified Publications

How does the interested reader find out what kind of publica­
tions are available if there is nothing like a regularly published and
circulating book-catalogue? They have to rely on advertisements in
internal publications like the above mentioned, or the Reference
News which also carries advertisements on internal material.

Due to its tremendous circulation this paper is the most impor­
tant multiplier for such advertisements. Its readership includes
lower and middle-class cadres who need all kinds of professional in­
formation but are not entitled to receive regular internal bulletins
through classified organizational channels.

The available copies of the Reference News cover the last
months of the year, when subscriptions for periodicals have to be
entered or renewed. Thus, a fairly representative list of internal pe­
riodicals and non-regular publications could be collected. Below the
titles along with some description based on the details given by these
advertisements are listed. (Classification by the author, for the Chi­
nese titles see Appendix 6)

Special Publications
1. Selected Edition of Documents on Wages and Welfare,
   Vol. I: Wages and Rewards; Vol. II: Labor Insurance
   and Welfare; Vol. III: Wages and Standards
   Collected and edited by the Ministry for Metallurgical
   Industry
   Classified: Internal

2. Encyclopedia of Business Management
   Two volumes of more than 2,000 pages. To be used
   by research organizations, institutions of higher learn­
ing, state organs, and economic business organization.
   Edited by the Compiling Committee of the Taiwan
   Harvard Business Management Book Series.
   Classified: Internal
Periodicals on Natural Sciences and Technology

3. *Monthly Bulletin on Results of Scientific and Technological Research*

 Publishes scientific and technological achievements registered by the “National Committee for Science” (Guojia Kewei). “Every scientific and technological achievement accomplished since 1978 and registered according to the requirements will be published in the ‘Bulletin’.”

Published by the Science and Technology Documents Publishing House, Peking,
Classified: Internal

4. *Electronic Market*, irregular for the time being

Started publication on August 20, 1981, 4 pages per issue only

Published by the Fourth Machinery Industry Ministry
Classified: Domestic (guonei)

5. *Machinery and Technology*, monthly

Sponsored by the First Ministry for Mechanical Engineering, published by the Machinery and Technology Publishing House in Peking
Classified: Domestic (guonei)

Periodicals dealing with Economics

6. *Industrial Business Management Series*, monthly

Publishes articles on industrial economy and management, business management experiences, internal investigation and research material on industrial economy, related material on foreign industrial business management, and statistical material on domestic and foreign industry. The contents consist partly of material that has been published in internal publications of economic units and of internal research and reference material supplied by industrial business research institutes and units. “This publication is important reference reading material for managers in industrial units, industry, and mining, economic research personnel, teachers and students in institutions of higher learning, finance, economics and management”.

Edited by the Information Bureau of the Research Institute for Industrial Economy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
7. *Agriculture Series*, bimonthly
   Material for agricultural units and rural area cadres, economic research units personnel, teachers and students in the specialized field of agricultural economy
   Edited by the Research Institute for Agricultural Economy of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
   Classified: Internal

   Focuses on domestic and foreign economic theories
   Classified: Domestic (guonei)

9. *Foreign Trade Survey*
   “Since our country practices its policy of opening to foreign countries and foreign trade has developed fast there is great need for understanding the situation abroad.” *Foreign Trade Survey* has been published for “many years” and covers the present situation and trends of world economy, international trade, money and markets of international products. Analyzes presently important theoretical and practical problems of the world economy. Published regularly, 70 to 80 issues a year.
   Published by the Research Institute for International Trade, Ministry of Foreign Trade
   Classified: Internal

10. *News on International Trade*, published twice a week
    Classified: Internal, but will become domestic (guonei)
    Starts publication January 1, 1982

11. *Economic Reference*, published Monday, Wednesday, and Friday
    Starts publication July 1, 1981
    Classified: Domestic (guonei)

12. *Finance Research*
    Published by the Finance Research Institute of the Ministry of Finance
    Classified: Domestic (guonei)

13. *Accounting Research*
    Published by the Finance Research Institute of the Ministry of Finance
    Classified: Domestic (guonei)
14. *Agricultural Machinery Market*, weekly  
Classified: Domestic *(guonei)*

15. *Furniture*  
Edited by the National Furniture Industry Science and Technology Information Center, published in Shanghai  
Classified: Domestic *(guonei)*

16. *Hong Kong-Macao Economy*, bimonthly  
Starting in 1982 the magazine will contain the following new special columns: 1) “Lecture course on Hong Kong's economy,” series written by Hong Kong theorists and economists; 2) “China's export goods in Hong Kong,” written by a staff specialized on foreign trade; 3) Sketches and notes from domestic writers from all walks of life and people from Hong Kong and Macao; 4) “Comments on China's economy,” selected from the Hong Kong-Macao press; 5) “Basic statistics on the Hong Kong and Macao economies;” 6) “Special Zone construction trends,” to reflect on the economy of the PRC Special Economic Zones  
Published by the Research Center for Hong Kong and Macao Economy of the Economic Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences published in Guangzhou (Canton)  
Classified: Internal

Publications dealing with Politics, Social Sciences, Communist Party, Philosophy, and Literature

17. *Communist*, monthly  
“This internal edition is published at the same time as the public edition. Much space is devoted to examples which show the correction of the Party's working style and the enforcing of Party discipline; it carries selected directives of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committee” as well as investigation reports. “Main subscribers are cadres of grassroot Party organizations, Party group leaders may also subscribe.”  
Published by the CPC Party Committee of Liaoning Province  
Classified: Internal

18. *Trends in Foreign Social Sciences*, monthly  
“Selects suitable material particularly stressing for-
19. *Selected Translated Material on the Communist Movement*, monthly

"Contains translated material on personages, organizations, schools of thought, theories, history, events and trends in the world Communist movement that have been published in the press of many countries, as well as quotations, explanations of terms and statistical tables. It serves institutions, mass organizations, army, political, and party institutions from county and regimental levels upwards; cadres from battalion and county department levels upwards; personnel in related fields of press, publishing, propaganda, and scientific research; teachers and students in related faculties of universities and colleges. Those whose work requires reading reference can subscribe to it with the approval of units and institutions on county and regiment level." "Subscriptions of individuals are handled according to the prescribed regulations of the local units. We do not accept subscriptions from individual readers." "... to satisfy the present urgent needs starting November of this year, publication will be internal." "Main contents of No. 1: The political economy of the Polish events; The Polish working class and the intellectuals; The line of consultation is a line of fight; Power and its consolidation of the Nicaraguan revolution; Memories of the 6th Congress of the Communist International; Excerpts from the memories of the Hungarian events (part one)

Classified: Internal


Contains articles on CPC history, research on special topics, discussion of problems, reminiscences, interviews, documentary material, trends in Party history research

Edited by the CPC Central Party School

Classified: Formerly internal, since 1982 domestic (guonet)
21. *Material on Translating and Editing the Works of Marx and Lenin*
Published by People’s Publishing House and Sanlian Bookstore
Classified: Domestic (guonei)

22. *Material on the History of the International Communist Movement*
Published by People’s Publishing House and Sanlian Bookstore
Classified: Domestic (guonei)

23. *Translation Series on Soviet Problems*
Published by People’s Publishing House and Sanlian Bookstore
Classified: Domestic (guonei)

24. *Foreign Reports Reference*, semi monthly
Can be subscribed to by national propaganda and foreign affairs departments, journalistic training institutions, institutions of higher learning and their departments, books and reference material units and research institutions, newspaper and magazine offices, units engaged in foreign trade, tourism and foreign affairs as well as persons at county or regiment levels.
From an advertisement of October 21, 1981: “... mainly introducing foreign and Hong Kong, Macao press coverage of and comments on our country’s policy, economy, social affairs, culture, and education, etc. ... supplies the foreign propaganda work with necessary special international knowledge.
Edited by the staff of Reference News, Foreign News Editing Department of Xinhua News Agency
Classified: Internal

25. *Foreign Languages Press Materials*
Published since 1980 “to meet the needs of the four modernizations, to satisfy the demand of all professions for a timely understanding of new trends in foreign countries.” “It is an internal publication in offset-print ... presently appears only in English.”
The editors take the material from the English languages press and news agencies all over the world. Coverage is prompt and includes politics, military affairs, economy, science and economy, technology, literature and art, sports and education. The material
can serve as research and reference material and supplementary study material for those who have reached a certain level in English. Starting January 1, 1982, the following periodicals will be published:
—Military and Politics (semi monthly)
—Sports (semi monthly)
—Social Service (tourism, clothing, food, furniture, goods for daily life, service trades) (semi monthly)
—Economy (weekly)
—Science and Technology (engineering) (weekly)
—Science and Technology (medicine and agriculture) (weekly)
—Culture and Education (weekly)
Published by the Xinhua News Agency
Classified: Internal

26. Soviet Literature and Art
Publishes translations of contemporary Soviet literature
Classified: Public since 1982

27. Domestic Philosophical Trends, monthly

28. Internal Reference of World Economy and Politics, monthly

29. Economic Research Reference Material, irregular

30. Foreign Literature Trends, monthly

31. Soviet and Eastern Europe Problems, bi-monthly
   All published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
   Classified: Internal

32. News Business, monthly
   “A professional publication with a history of more than 30 years. Main contents are: transmitting the gist of the latest Party propaganda reports, exchange of experiences on collecting and compiling work, comments on, research work for and writing of manuscripts, discussion of press theories, spreading of press knowledge, introduction of historical data on the press, reflection of trends in domestic and foreign press circles.”
   Published by Xinhua News Agency
   Classified: Internal
Reprints

On March 5, 1982, the Reference News carried an advertisement of the “People’s Publishing House” (Renmin Chuban She) which offered reprints of old Chinese newspapers and magazines at a high price. For 1982, reprints of 12 historical publications were announced. Some of these papers and magazines were classified internal. Here is the list:

In 1982, 11 historical publications plus part of Dagong Bao will be published: Dagong Bao (June 1906-August 1916) (Tianjin); Pingmin Ribao; Jiefang Ribao (Xian); Funü Ribao; Zhongguo Junren (irregular); Hong Xing (weekly); Liening [Lenin] Qinqnian (semi monthly); Hongqi Ribao (internal); Hongqi Zhoubao (internal); Douzheng (internal); Hongse Zhonghua (internal); Xin Zhonghua Bao (internal).

The reprints were advertised for “libraries from regional level upwards, reference rooms, social science research units, and institutions of higher learning.”

Translations of Foreign Books

On March 5, 1982, along with the above reprints, the Chinese translations of the following “modern foreign political and academic works” were advertised.

—Edvard Kardelj (Yug.): Democracy and Socialism (public);
—P. Anderson (?) (GB): Probe into Western Marxism (domestic);
—Wolfgang Leonhardt (FRG): Eurocommunism (domestic);

In Print:
—? (Yug.): Marxism and Socialism (domestic)
—? (Japan): Research in Scientific Socialism (domestic);
—Ernest Mandel [well-known Trotskyist, Belgium]: On the Theory of Transitional Society (domestic);
—? (USA): Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution (domestic);
—? (GB): The Bukharin Case (domestic);
—Roy Medwedew [formerly USSR, dissident of socialist orientation]: Let History Judge (internal);
—? (USA): The Stalinist Terror of the Thirties (internal);
On November 23, 1981 a *Reference News* advertisement offered the following two books in Chinese translation:

—Stalin, Historical Personality

—The Inside Story of Tito, along with the following remark:

"Recently our publishing house (the Xinhua Publishing House) has been receiving repeated telephone calls and letters from various regions asking about the publication and purchasing regulations of the two books or ordering them. Investigation showed that the *Reference News* of October 22 carried a canvass for buying between pages 2 and 3. A detailed introduction to the contents of the both books, their dates of publication, subscription procedures and prices were given there. Those who want to buy them, please check *Reference News* of October 22."

This survey demonstrates the wide range of Communist China’s secret world of classified periodicals. Not only the great number of publications, but also the thematic range is amazing. Actually it should be assumed that mainly political works are classified, especially all those dealing with heretic facts and theories contrary to the propaganda and ideology of the PRC rulers. The survey above establishes, however, that most of the internal and domestic reading material is concerned with economic problems. In the PRC even publications on natural sciences and technology are internal. Assumed that these publications contain the more interesting results of China’s economic, scientific and technological research activities, this mystery mongering is sure to be destructive for all bilateral exchange programs with the PRC. Passing classified material to foreigners is, of course, regarded as treason.

As far as internal political publications are concerned, the survey indicates that probably everything of at least some importance abroad is available in the PRC, too. From the book offers, advertised in the *Reference News* of March 5, 1982, it can be concluded that nonconformist descriptions of the history of the Communist movement are classified internal. Thus publications on Eurocommunism and even a book written by a Trotskyist author were “domestic”, while Medwedew’s book and other works focusing on the Stalinist regime in the USSR were classified internal. The same is true for reprints of old Chinese periodicals. Those closely connected
with CPC history are classified internal, too. This assumption can be further substantiated. In July 1980 the Hong Kong monthly *Cheng Ming* announced that Svetlana A. Stalin’s autobiography *Twenty Letters to a Friend* was to appear starting with its August issue. According to the announcement, the book had been published as internal reading material in the PRC by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. It further explained that another Chinese version of the book had been published even earlier in a periodical called “Translation Edition of Foreign Works” (*Waiguo Zuopin Yibian*) which *Cheng Ming* described as “only available for high cadres”.

In the advertisement offering the *Selected Translated Material on the Communist Movement*, for instance, we read that this publication “will be internal” starting November 1981. That means it had been either public before, or, more likely, something more than internal. The latter is probably distribution through organizational channels.

Finally it should be noted that the advertisements did not offer a single foreign book that dealt with the PRC.

Recently a new internal periodical came out. As *Cheng Ming* told its readers in its December 1983 issue, it is called *Internal Correspondence* (*Neibu Tongxun*) and only available to a limited circle of cadres. Publication started together with the Sino-British negotiations about the future of Hong Kong. *The Internal Correspondence* carries speeches of CPC Central Committee members on the Hong Kong question, as well as articles on the current situation of the colony’s economy. Thus it might be a supplement to the older *Hong Kong Macao Economy* quoted in the survey above.

### The Reference Material

Apart from internal party material which is distributed via organizational channels there is another important periodical that cannot be bought or subscribed to by work-units or individuals: the *Reference Material* (in Chinese *Cankao Ziliao*, not to be mixed up with *Cankao Xiaoxi*, Reference News).

*The Reference Material* bulletin appears twice a day (morning and afternoon edition) and is distributed down to cadres of grade 13 or so.³⁴ Cadres of grade 20 or 21 definitely had not been allowed to read the *Reference Material* up to the end of the Seventies. The situation has changed, probably since 1978/79, and after 1980 so that

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³⁴. The PRC cadre hierarchy ranks from grade 24, the lowest, up to grade 1. Deputy ministers rank about grade 11.
now at least cadres of that grade (e.g., translators) working in foreign propaganda units can read it. Each unit which is entitled usually seems to get only one copy. Having circulated for some days, outdated issues are stored away and after some time sold to a recycling company—a welcome source of extra-money for the unit.

As the political interest of the average PRC citizen is low, even intellectuals who professionally have to do with foreign countries are in their majority not interested in reading the *Reference Material*, and those who more or less regularly take a look at the bulletin are mainly interested in news on the PRC. The remarkably relaxed attitude of Chinese who do not have regular access to these internal publications contrasts highly to the excitement that befalls many foreigners when they come across even the most trivial neibu material.

A *Reference Material* issue (19×26 cm) comprises an average of about 80 pages. Printed in large print (owing most probably to China’s ruling elite’s bad eyesight), the contents of this publication is made up nearly exclusively of translated news dispatches of foreign news agencies, translated articles from foreign newspapers and influential magazines from all over the world. Sometimes these translations are supplemented by so-called “Reports by Our Own Correspondent”, usually covering non-routine topics and signed by the respective reporter.

Taking two *Reference Material* issues (September 6, afternoon edition, and September 7, morning edition, 1981), numbered 18.836 and 18.837 as a basis we may assume that this newspaper first came out 26 years ago, in 1955. As it is not very likely that the *Reference Material* was published twice a day right from the beginning, we may further assume that its history reaches back to 1949 when the People’s Republic was founded.

Who is responsible for collecting, translating, selecting and sometimes abridging (always indicated) the material that is published in the information bulletin? There is no indication as to the editor in the bulletin itself, no impressum is given. Nevertheless it is certain that Peking’s official “New China News Agency” (Xinhua) does the work, because no other institution in China has the necessary direct and current access to foreign press items translated into Chinese. Furthermore, the institution responsible for its publication has to be of a tremendous size. Some hundreds of experienced translators are necessary, and many items must be translated abroad. The Chinese version of a *Washington Post* article, for instance, that was published only two days after it had appeared in the USA must have been done in the United States and sent to Peking via the telecom-
communication devices of the PRC news agency Xinhua. It was certainly not sent by airmail that fast. The most important task of the Xinhua journalists stationed abroad would then be to supply the central Xinhua office in Peking with translated material from the media of their host country. The Xinhua journalists abroad thus mainly work for internal information bulletins, and first of all for the Reference Material which may even be the raison d'être of the whole Xinhua News Agency. The bulletin supplies its readers, decision makers of all levels, social scientists, propagandists, etc. with general information on current international events, but also with foreign news on the PRC. Its coverage is fairly exhaustive in these respects. It seems that only news about mainland Chinese defectors to Taiwan is not published in this bulletin.

The first two pages of every Reference Material issue carry a categorized table of contents in which all news items are listed along their respective topics. On top of this table of contents can be found in bold print the headlines of the current events, followed by the other categories which do not necessarily appear all and regularly every day or in every issue.

Below, the titles/topics and sources of all articles of the Reference Material morning edition of October 11, 1981, are listed.
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<td>[RUBRIC: CURRENT EVENTS]</td>
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<td>* TAIWAN’S ‘DOUBLE TENTH’ CELEBRATIONS AND MILITARY PARADE</td>
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<td>- Descending the reviewing stand after the military parade Chiang Ching-kuo</td>
<td>2, CNA1</td>
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<td>Ching-kuo suddenly stumbled and seems to have fallen down</td>
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<tr>
<td>- UPI reports on Taiwan’s ‘Double Tenth’ and military parade</td>
<td>2, UPI and AP</td>
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<td>- CNA reports ‘Double Tenth’ celebration activities of all circles in Taipei city</td>
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<td>* CHIANG CHING-KUO DOES NOT MENTION OUR INVITATION TO HIM WHEN ADDRESSING THE</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘DOUBLE TENTH’ MILITARY PARADE (Text of speech held by Chiang Ching-kuo)</td>
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<td>* SANKAI SHIMBUN REPORTS CHIANG CHING-KUO’S TALK TO ITS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: “PRESIDENT</td>
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<td>CHIANG CHING-KUO ON HISTORY AND PRESENT, THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE</td>
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<td>1, NCNA2 from Tokyo</td>
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<td>* SUN YUN-HSUAN STATES, TALKS WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS WILL HANG TAIWAN ON THE</td>
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<td>HOOK AND TURN IT INTO A REGIONAL GOVERNMENT</td>
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1 Taiwanese news agency; 2 PRC news agency;
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<td>OF SOLIDARITY IS A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT</td>
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<td>- Program adopted by “Solidarity” a “counterrevolutionary document”</td>
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<td>the Polish situation</td>
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<td>- AFP: Soviet reaction on program of Poland’s Solidarity in general</td>
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<td>moderate</td>
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<td>* WESTERN DIPLOMATS SAY, THE SOVIETS HOPE THAT</td>
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<td>KANIA WILL BE DRIVEN OUT OF OFFICE WHEN THE POLISH</td>
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<td>PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS NEXT WEEK</td>
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<td>- Soviet propaganda tools say, Poland’s Solidarity is a big</td>
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<td>counterrevolutionary get-together</td>
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<td>** RUBRIC: INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT</td>
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<td>* AFP REPORTS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF FRENCH</td>
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<td>CP HELD (Important meeting for the 24th Party Congress next year)</td>
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<td>- Central Committee of French CP expells initiator of “Informal</td>
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<td>Meeting of Communist Party Members”</td>
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¹ International Communication Agency (USA);
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<td>* BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SNEERS AT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTY OF</td>
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<td>** RUBRIC: TAIWAN, HONG KONG, MACAO</td>
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<td>* RESPONSE OF TAIWAN AUTHORITIES AND PUBLIC OPINION TO THE SPECIFIC CONTENTS OF</td>
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<td>- Some academics, staying in America, and well-known Taiwanese have doubts about</td>
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<td>our Nine-Point-Proposal to Taiwan</td>
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<td>* THE AMERICAN LOS ANGELES TIMES, “TAIWAN FACES UNSTABLE PERSPECTIVE TO A CERTAIN</td>
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<td>EXTEND”</td>
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<td>* SIXTH SESSION OF JAPAN - TAIWAN CONFERENCE ON TRADE TERMINATED (Japanese say</td>
<td>1, Report from our correspondent, based on</td>
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<td>they will carefully solve the problem of Taiwan’s trade deficit / Both sides</td>
<td>Taiwanese press reports</td>
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<td>reached a number of agreements)</td>
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<td>- Sun Yun-hsuan says, Japan-Taiwan trade deficit continues to grow and already</td>
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| urges Japan to resolve it                                                         | 1, ibid
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<td>* BY CALLIGRAPHING A SCROLL CHIANG CHING-KUO CONGRATULATES THE PHOTOGRAPHER</td>
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<td>LIANG JINGSHAN AT HIS 90th BIRTHDAY</td>
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<td>* CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY REPORTS ON 14th ANNUAL MEETING OF &quot;WORLD CONFERENCE OF</td>
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<td>* TAIWAN'S FOREIGN ECONOMY / NEWS IN BRIEF</td>
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<td>- Gu Liansong talked to Director of Indian General Association of Industry</td>
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<td>and Trade when visiting India</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Trade between Taiwan and Western Europe at five billions US Dollars last year</td>
<td>1, CNA</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Taiwan's trade with four North European countries increased over last three</td>
<td>1, CNA</td>
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<td>years</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Agreement on technical cooperation signed between Taiwan and Fiji</td>
<td>1, CNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUBRIC: ASIA, OCEANIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ONLY WAY TO RESOLVE THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM IS COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET</td>
<td>2, AP, AFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARMY, SAYS MRS. THATCHER IN PAKISTAN</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Huq tells Indian newspaper editor-in-chief that he will do what he can to</td>
<td>1, AFP</td>
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<tr>
<td>make foreign troops leave Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* AP REPORTS, MRS. THATCHER VISITS AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMP IN PAKISTAN</td>
<td>1, AFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headlines / Topics</td>
<td>Number of Items, Source</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>* PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND SAYS, UNITED STATES ARE CLOSELY COOPERATING WITH ASEAN TO REACH A SOLUTION OF CAMBODIA QUESTION</td>
<td>1, Reuters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prime Minister of Thailand gives television talk before his US-visit</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Bangkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* THAI ARMY ATTACKED BY 700 ARMED PEOPLE WHEN TRACKING DOWN AND ARRESTING SMUGGLERS IN THAI-BURMA FRONTIER REGION</td>
<td>1, NCNA, ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Newly appointed commander of Thai 4th Army proclaims four policies with respect to southern Thailand</td>
<td>1, NCNA, ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 'NEW HANOI' REPORTS, (XXX, ?, Vietnamese name in Chinese) AND FOUR OTHER PEOPLE ARRESTED (The paper says, they had entered Chinese territory, underwent training and returned to Vietnam)</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Hanoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER TALKS TO SOVIET VICE FOREIGN MINISTER, URGES RESTORATION OF JAPANESE-SOVIET ROUTINE CONSULTATIONS</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS OF FRASER AND MULDOON BECAUSE OF DIFFERENT OPINION ON COMMONWEALTH MANIFESTO</td>
<td>1, UPI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* GROUP OF US SCIENTISTS SAY, THEY CAN PROVE THE USE OF TOXICANTS BY SOVIETS IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS</td>
<td>1, DPA</td>
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1 West German news agency;
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<tr>
<th>Headlines / Topics</th>
<th>Number of Items, Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>* YOMIURI SHIMBUN REPORTS, “RETURNNEES FROM CHINA LEAD HARD LIFE”</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* SOUTH KOREA HOLDS EXHIBITION OF HOME-MADE ARMS</td>
<td>1, Reuters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* AP REPORTS, ANTI-BRITAIN SENTIMENTS IN MALAYSIA RAISE DAY BY DAY</td>
<td>1, AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ASIA / NEWS IN BRIEF</td>
<td>1, AFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bangladesh spokesman says, Bangladesh happy to see Indian army withdraw from South (? Te Er Pai Dai, in Pinyin) islands</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- After lifting martial law in Philippines strikes increase</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Hong Kong</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Singapore cabinet expanded by three members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUBRIC: SOVIET UNION / EAST EUROPE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* CEAUSESCU VISITS EGYPTIAN EMBASSY IN RUMANIA TO CONDOLE FOR SADAT’S DEATH</td>
<td>2, NCNA from Bucarest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Rumanis declares September 8 and 9 days of national mourning because of Sadat’s death</td>
<td>2, NCNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* COMMENTARY OF RED POWER, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ATTACKS SADAT</td>
<td>1, NCNA</td>
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<tr>
<td>* WALESA MEETS FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER CHEYSSON</td>
<td>1, AFP</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Cheysson says, France will give further aid to Poland, but does not want to change the balance of power in Eastern Europe</td>
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<td>Headlines / Topics</td>
<td>Number of Items, Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>* FRENCH NEWSPAPER FIGARO COMMENTS ON CHEYSSON’S VISIT TO POLAND AS “CONTINUING FRENCH-POLISH FRIENDSHIP”</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* POLISH VICE MINISTER FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS ACCUSES WESTERN COUNTRIES OF STEPPING UP SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Archbishop Glemp attends opening ceremony of universities (academic year)</td>
<td>1, AFP from Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* SPEECH OF HONECKER AT EAST GERMAN NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION (Stresses that the foundation of East Germany was a turning point in the history of Europe and the German people) (Extracts)</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Berlin¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Smooth development of East Germany for 32 years, says Honecker when conferring medals to people having performed meritorious services</td>
<td>1, ADN²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* LEADER OF COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAVIA SAYS, YUGOSLAVIA HAS FIRM CONTROL OF SITUATION IN KOSOVO</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* TASS ARTICLE ATTACKS CHINESE-AMERICAN TRADE RELATIONS AS “BODY SELLING INDENTURE”</td>
<td>1, TASS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 East Berlin  
2 Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst, East German news agency
Headlines / Topics

- MONGOLIAN PARTY ORGAN PUBLISHES ANTI-CHINESE ARTICLE ON OUR NATIONAL DAY, “WE MUST NOT DISAPPOINT THE HOPES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE”
- FIGARO ARTICLE, “CHERNENKOV - THE MAN, BREZHNEV THINKS HIGHLY OF”

RUBRIC: WESTERN EUROPE

- BRITISH NEWSPAPERS CONTINUE TO COMMENT ON MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AFTER SADAT’S DEATH (Daily Express believes, whoever will succeed Sadat as Egyptian President, there will hardly be any developments in Egyptian-Israeli talks)
  - Cyprus newspaper: After Sadat’s death, Egyptian and Middle East situation hard to be calculated
  - Secretary General of Spanish Communist Party, Carillo, says, Sadat “destroyed the cause of the whole Arab world”
- SCHMIDT WANTS ISRAEL TO SPEED UP TALKS WITH EGYPT AFTER SADAT’S ASSASINATION
  - Leader of Israel’s opposition party, Peres, says, Sadat began early to build up Mubarak as his successor
  - The magazine Asie-Afrique says, America has for a long time been in favour of Mubarak succeeding Sadat
- WESTERN GOVERNMENTS HOPE, NATO WILL IN DECEMBER INVITE SPAIN TO JOIN NATO (Western heads of government
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<th>Headlines / Topics</th>
<th>Number of Items, Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>believe, the Spanish parliament will give a positive reply to Spain joining the NATO)</td>
<td>2, NCNA, EFE,* both from Madrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR ADVOCATES THE FOUNDATION OF A EUROPEAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION AND SUPPORTS SPAIN JOINING NATO (Expressing his opposition to unilateral arms reduction of Western countries)</td>
<td>3, DPA (2); TANJUG (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- West German ecologist meeting demands abolition of West German army</td>
<td>1, AFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- West Germany and Poland sign agreement for postponement of Polish debts repay</td>
<td>1, DPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(For the following items no headline was given in the table of contents. Probably last minute news.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* JAPANESE NEWS AGENCY AND NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON HU YAOBANG'S SPEECH OF OCTOBER 9</td>
<td>1, NCNA from Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* OUR SIDE PROTESTS DISTORTED KYODO REPORT OF ZHONG XIDONG'S ANSWERS²</td>
<td>Report by our own correspondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* SADAT FUNERAL HELD IN CAIRO³</td>
<td>1, AP</td>
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* Spanish news agency
1 Commemorating 70th anniversary of Xinhai Revolution 1911
2 Zhong is PRC vice foreign minister. His interview with the Japanese news agency Kyodo had been about the Taiwan question, so-called reunification of China
3 First report on that event, translated from an AP report, dispatched in Cairo one day earlier
The above table of contents establishes that the Reference Material indeed is a valuable source of information. The surveyed morning edition of October 11, 1981, covered 47 different news items by 77 reports. The afternoon edition then again provided about the same amount of information. It may be assumed, therefore, that the Reference Material supplies its readers with an average of about 150 news items a day, covering about 100 different topics, on current economic and political problems.

Such a great number of translated reprints from sources all over the world cannot be read thoroughly from page to page. Hence, New China News Agency editors systematize the information along the following rubrics:

- "Current World Politics"
- "Reflections on China/Dealing with Foreign Nationals" *(Duihua fanying/Waishi Wanglai)*
- "Asia/Oceania"
- "West Asia/Africa"
- "North America"
- "Soviet Union/Eastern Europe"
- "Latin America"
- "Taiwan/Hong Kong/Macao"
- "International Organizations/International Conferences"
- "Western Europe"
- "World Situation/World Economy"
- "International Communist Movement"
- "Science and Technology".

From the available issues of the bulletin no fixed order of the rubrics can be found except that coverage of current world politics (which includes current topics from other rubrics) always ranks first while the rubric "Reflections on China/Dealing with Foreign Nationals" if published usually follows the Current Affairs rubric. Thus it seems again that monitoring the international PRC coverage is of special importance for the ruling elite of the People's Republic; a conclusion that complies with the prominent position of the PRC coverage in the *Editing and Translating Reference*, as shown above.

This can be further underlined. The Reference Material bases its information exclusively on foreign, non-PRC sources.35 While

35. Even if Xinhua correspondents write a "Report by Our Own Correspondent", they strictly refrain from commenting the news. They usually present pure background information based on foreign sources. An illustrative example for this kind of reports
there is nothing unusual about this as far as international news is concerned it becomes an important feature in connection with news on the PRC. The question is what kind of information on the PRC is being published. What is the bulletin's intention?

At hand are six issues of the bulletin three of which include the rubric “Reflections on China/Foreign Affairs”. In the following a translation of the respective headlines (insertions in brackets are the author's).

**June 23, 1981**
- “British *Guardian* reports, China preparing ‘last evaluation’ of Mao Tse-tung”;
- “West-German newspaper (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) publishes an article entitled ‘Haig’s China Card’”;
- “Canadian paper (*Global Post!*?) comments on the sudden rise of the total savings in our cities and countryside”;
- “British *Economist* article ‘Consolation of the Poor’” (on poverty in the PRC);
- “Belgian press on Bouduin’s Visit to China” (The Belgian king visited the PRC in May 1981);
- (On the PRC-Vatican controversy over the appointment of Deng Yiming as Archbishop of Canton.)

**September 6, 1981**
- “Hong Kong *Zhong Bao* comments, ‘leading cadres (of PRC) take part in coastal smuggling’”;
- “Yugoslavian journalist reports, restoration of criticism and self-criticism in China is not inner-party clean-up”;
- “Japanese *World Weekly* reports ‘China controls personality cult’”;
- “Greek newspaper article ‘China fights crime through severe punishment’”;

Published by the *Reference Material* was a report by the Hong Kong branch of Xinhua in the morning edition of November 25, 1981. It covered the result of the Taiwanese regional elections which had taken place a couple of days before: “Taiwan authorities fear the gradual expansion of influence of non-Kuomintang members.” On one-and-a-half pages the report summarized the result of the election and the reaction of Taiwan’s as well as Hong Kong’s public media. It focused on the role of the so-called *dang wai* movement, i.e., non-Kuomintang members who attained remarkable success in the election. This report was informative and not one-sided. It is strange, however, that it had been written on November 20 already while the *Reference Material* published it only on November 25, five days later.
—"Peking correspondent of Yugoslavian Politika reports 'Why Deng upholds Mao'";
—"Asia Week article, 'Estimation on the Chinese in the eighties'";
—"TASS attacks comrade Deng Xiaoping's interview with the Hong Kong Ming Pao magazine'";
—"TASS distorts situation in our countryside by using a woman who returned to China to visit relatives'.
October 9, 1981
—"AP comments on article by Qu Wu" (Qu is vice chairman of the Revolutionary Kuomintang Committee and wrote an article on the Taiwan question in People's Daily);
—"West-German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung reports 'Nobody cares for the aspirations of the Taiwanese'";
—"Hungarian party paper holds that we set off a 'Taiwan fever' and is for strengthening the line of our leading 'moderates'";
—"ADN (News Agency of East Germany) accuses Genscher of wantonly vilifying the Soviet Union in Peking";
—"British The World Today carries article by (Ke-la-te), 'China's Economy in the Year of the Cock'";
—"Head of Venezuelan Senate Delegation on his Impressions when Visiting China'.

By just going over the headlines one can see that the PRC rubric of the Reference Material aims at informing about what the outside world reports on the People's Republic. This includes speculations and rumors. In February 1982, for instance, when Deng Xiaoping had disappeared for about four weeks and the foreign correspondents in the Chinese capital began to guess what might have happened to him the bulletin reprinted many of those rumor stories that went around. The same happened in October 1981 when CPC cadres disclosed to foreign correspondents in Peking that some important piece of news in connection with the October 10 National Day of Republican China would be announced soon. We know now that it was Hu Yaobang's invitation to Chiang Ching-kuo to pay a visit to the mainland. Before Hu's commemorating speech on the seventieth anniversary of the 1911 Revolution (Xinhai Revolution), however, Peking based correspondents wired many speculative stories to their home agencies which were partly reprinted by the Reference Material. There were, for example, rumors that a great military parade would be held on October 10 on Chang An Boulevard in Peking.
It is also noteworthy that the bulletin not only reproduced foreign speculations that sooner or later proved groundless. It so happened that sometimes foreign correspondents were the first to inform the Chinese readers about PRC developments in store—via the Reference Material. In these cases it seems highly plausible that the editors were well aware of the kind of information they conveyed, i.e., they published it purposely, on page one.

By and large, the Reference Material can be described as being a source of information for its readership on world developments as well as on relevant world opinions on the PRC and its home and foreign politics. The bulletin is by no means a propaganda tool, but a reliable source in the above given frame.

When in December 1981 martial law was declared in Poland, the bulletin immediately and at least until March 1982 inserted a completely new rubric right behind the Current News, entitled “Situation in Poland”. It focused mainly on background material and satisfied the needs, not only of the interested readers but especially those of the professionals, e.g., a People’s Daily commentator who had to make an official evaluation of the Polish situation. There can be no doubt that the reprints carried by the Reference Material serve as raw material and first-hand information for all those in the People’s Republic who have to comment on international developments.

A vivid example of how the bulletin’s reprints serve current propagandistic needs can be found in the afternoon edition of October 9, 1981, and again in the morning edition of October 11 of the same year. In these issues, Reference Material carried a “Report by our own correspondent” (Oct. 9) as well as two Xinhua dispatches from Hong Kong (Oct. 11) which dealt with the reaction of Taiwanese and Overseas Chinese to Peking’s “Nine-Point-Proposal” for the so-called peaceful reunification of the motherland. These three items covered altogether more than five pages of the bulletin. The headlines were “Our Nine-Point-Proposal Causes Heavy Attacks on the Taiwan Authorities,” “Taiwan Authorities and Public Opinion on Our Nine-Point-Proposal—Specific Contents of Reactions,” and “Doubts of Some Scholars Staying in America and Public Figures in Taiwan in Our Nine-Point-Proposal for Taiwan.” While the first item was written more in the form of a commentary

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37. A translation of this “Report by Our Own Correspondent” can be found in ibid., p. 65-68.
containing some interpretations of facts the other two supplied only factual information.

When one year later, in October 1982, the *China Yearbook* 1982 (Zhongguo Baike Nianjian 1982) came off the press it provided a concrete example for answering the question of what use Peking’s propagandists make of the Reference Material PRC coverage. One section of the Yearbook’s Taiwan chapter (‘Ye Jianying’s Nine-Point-Proposal Shook Taiwan”38) is clearly based on the information supplied by the above mentioned Reference Material reports. But as the publicly available Yearbook serves propagandistic purposes first, citations of Taiwanese public figures, press media, etc. were selected to underscore the last two words of the section headline: “... Shook Taiwan.” The Yearbook entry aimed at creating the impression that all of Taiwan’s leading personages, especially the academics, had been thrown into confusion, simply because of Ye Jianying’s announcement. While this was depicted as extremely forthright, tolerant, and flexible, the reaction of the official Kuomintang was shown as having been the opposite and panicking. Chiang Ching-kuo, for instance, is cited as merely having answered to Peking’s offer: “Absolutely no talks.” According to the Yearbook the head of the Information Office of the Executive Yuan, Soong Chu-yu, rejected the Communist proposal “hastily” (jiji mangmang), while the Reference Material had only stated that he “gave an interview” (fabiao tanhua).

Statements which did not fit into this propagandistic frame, were not quoted in the Yearbook’s Taiwan chapter. Kang Ning-hsiang, for instance, was introduced by the Reference Material issue of October 11 as a member of the “Taiwanese opposition faction” and quoted as saying that after the re-unificaton the people must “enjoy the political right to organize an opposition party.” The Yearbook, however, only quoted him as advocating the reunification on a “democratic basis” (which according to Peking was clearly stipulated in the Nine-Point-Proposal).

The Yearbook’s intention was to glorify Peking’s reunification strategy by depicting Taiwan as thrown into a helpless state of confusion. Therefore, especially one Taiwanese reaction, referring to point 6 of Peking’s proposal (which offered financial aid to Taipei) was not mentioned in the Yearbook. Though meant by Peking as a

humiliation for Taiwan, it was taken as a joke on the island. While the Reference Material edition of October 11, 1981, published respective ironic and sharp Taiwanese statements the Yearbook remained silent at this point.

Internal Reference

It is self-evident that apart from professional information, e.g., on economics, the PRC governmental bodies also need reliable information on the country's internal political situation and the effects of its policies. This field is not covered by the PRC section of the Reference Material as it deals only with the question how the outside world comments and reports on China. The purpose of the PRC rubric is to transmit a comprehensive picture only in this respect. The bulletin therefore ignores all foreign academic studies analyzing PRC developments, as they appear for instance in magazines like Problems of Communism, the Taiwanese Studies on Chinese Communism (Zhonggong Yanjiu), Asian Survey, China Quarterly, etc. It focuses only on foreign news media and thus reflects the image of the PRC in the world, success or failure of Peking's foreign propaganda. Hence, other sources of information have to be made available.

One bulletin that covers the highly sensitive field of internal PRC politics and is, therefore, kept strictly secret to the outside world is called Internal Reference (Neibu Cankao). This bulletin is similar to the Reference Material except for the fact that it covers only PRC news supplied by PRC sources, i.e., Xinhua correspondents from all over the country and it seems that part of this publication focuses on the same topics as Western boulevard newspapers making the Internal Reference an object of the greatest curiosity not only for foreigners but for Chinese, too.

Apart from this the Internal Reference carries speeches and talks of party and state leaders that are very rarely printed by the public media in their original form, but serve as raw-material for People's Daily editorials. According to the recently published book Neibu (Internal) written by the ex-Peking based correspondent of the Japanese newspaper Asahi Shim bun, the Internal Reference is indeed compiled by the New China News Agency and distributed to cadres

39. Cf. the Hong Kong Chinese monthly Cheng Ming No. 60 (October 1982), pp. 12-13. The magazine reprinted extracts from speeches of CPC Secretary General Hu Yaobang and CPC ideologist Hu Qiaomu on the Hong Kong issue. According to Cheng Ming the quotations had been copied from a CPC classified publication called Neibu Cailiao (Internal Material).
ranking higher than levels 12 or 13, which are close to the position of vice minister.  

Although the circulation of this bulletin is, theoretically, limited to these people it seems that a considerable part of them allows the whole family to read the bulletin before burning it as required. These family members are, of course, not all interested in for instance a new speech of Hu Yaobang. What they like to read is comparable to Western “sex and crime” stories and related items. In its October 1983 issue, the Hong Kong monthly *Cheng Ming* mentioned the *Neibu Cankao* as being a reliable source for the “CPC Central Committee authorities to know clearly that the public security is in such a bad state.” In September and October of that year tens of thousands of people were arrested in the PRC and accused of being rapers, robbers, smugglers, etc. Thus, the *Internal Reference* is one of the main sources for many of mainland China’s hearsay stories, the so-called “news from the street” (*Xiaodao xiaoxi*). Certain Hong Kong newspapers and magazines seem to obtain part of their most sensitive PRC news directly or indirectly from this source and thus make a living of the Chinese Communists’ mystery-mongering.

Appendix 2


许多中国人对《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}的有关中国的消息特别感兴趣，因为它立竿见影的国内政治新闻是当地报纸上所没有的。《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}最近登载了日本共同社关于中国外交部长赵紫阳访问日本不不让外国驻京记者报道中国不同政见者活动而举行的一次记者招待会的一篇报道。

对于这次记者招待会的情况中国的报纸没有进行报道，而《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}转引了东京的话题。

"不要报道地下刊物的内容，你应采取慎重的态度。"

《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}象其它中国报纸一样，在消息的来源上也是强烈反对苏联的，它时常刊登一些说明苏联扩张主义以及苏联国内经济、社会方面问题的文章。

《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}也发表苏联报刊的一些公开的报道，然而这些报道主要都是非政治性的、个别时候也登一些攻击中国的苏联报道。

《参考消息\textsuperscript{2}}也刊登台湾报刊的文，其中包括文学、社会和科学技术。
Appendix 3
Reference News Coverage of
Situation in Hong Kong

1981

Oct 26  Flood of pornographic movies, young girls prostitution has become common practice, gangsters and Teddy boys run wild, grave juvenile delinquency / AFP journalist says / Hong Kong: On the surface flourishing, but behind the back in abnormal state (AFP from Hong Kong, Oct 19)

Reuters reports from Hong Kong / Rate of mentally ill increasing because of pressure on living conditions (Reuters from Hong Kong, Oct 19)

Dec 20  AP reports / Qualified [PRC] doctor who went to Hong Kong reduced to hawker and odd-job man (AP from Hong Kong, Nov 22)

Hong Kong Kuai Bao (Express) reports / Tragedy of young girl: stolen in (Canton) and brought to Hong Kong, imprisoned and repeatedly raped (Kuai Bao, Nov 2)

Dec 30  Nothing to eat, nowhere to live, no job / suffering grievance and bitterness / Inland girl who went to Hong Kong writes to Hong Kong newspaper accusing amidst tears the tragedy she suffered (Ming Pao, Hong Kong, Dec 14)

Endless regret of young girl from Suzhou after going to Hong Kong (Ming Pao, Hong Kong, Dec 16)

1982

Jan 20  Vice-chairman of the board of New York China Trade General Association (? Hua Shang Zong Hui) criticises Hong Kong monthly Qishiniandai (The Seventies)
Article by Wang Huan, “What I Felt When Reading the November Issue of *Qishiniandal*” / Says, since the CPC Central Committee's third plenum in Beijing is constantly eliminating the ultra-leftist influence and the situation is continuously turning for the better. The life of the people has already improved remarkably. Lee Yee's [Editor-in-chief of *Qishiniandal*] views run more and more counter to the aspirations of the Chinese people and the heartfelt wishes of the Overseas Chinese; (*Jing Bao*, Hong Kong, November 1981)

Jan 21 Hong Kong *Jing Bao* article / “Commenting on the new Line of *Qishiniandal*” / The article says, after taking in new shareholders the magazine [*Qishiniandal*] has “new editorial objectives” which are grossly at variance with its style of work. The views of Lee Yee, the Editor-in-chief, harm the Chinese people's national pride and the old reader's sentiments (*Jing Bao*, Hong Kong, November 1981)

*Xianggang Shibao* (Hong Kong Times) editorial / “Talking About Hong Kong's Social Problems in the Year of the Dog” / Says, the last year was not a happy one, wide gap between rich and poor, problems of the youth and public order could not be solved. No optimistic prospects for a solution this year (*Xianggang Shibao*, Jan 27, 1982)

Feb 3 When newly arrived in Hong Kong, human dignity is respected, when looking for a job, one is subjected to all kinds of discrimination / Someone who came to Hong Kong from the inland decided to go back [To the PRC] (*Wenhui Bao*, Hong Kong, Dec 26, 1981)

*South China Morning Post*, Hong Kong, reports / Prices in Hong Kong generally went up last year / Highly possible that rise will continue this year (Hong Kong's English *South China Morning Post*, Jan 16)

Three sisters who had crossed the border to Hong Kong secretly repatriated after one year of imprisonment (*Kuai Bao*, Express, Hong Kong, Nov 28)

(All 4 Feb 3 reprints were part of the rubric *Hong Kong Today* (*Jinri Xianggang*).
Feb 17  Article in *Wenhui Bao*, Hong Kong / “Worries of a paintress” / A paintress who went to Hong Kong from the inland did not find a job and could only rely on the meagre income of her husband who worked with a construction company. She worries about what she can do in some years when her husband becomes old and infirm. She plans to return to the motherland (*Wenhui Bao*, Hong Kong, Dec 28, 1981)

Hong Kong’s social security worsening everyday / Last year cases of murder reached record high since five years, situation this year even more frightful (*Takong Pao*, Hong Kong, Jan 23; US *American Overseas Chinese Daily* (*Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao*), Jan 22)

Hong Kong paper reports “Girl who secretly crossed the border suffered rape” (*Wenhui Bao*, Hong Kong, Feb 4)

Hepatitis B germs cause for liver cancer as number 2 killer in Hong Kong (*Kuai Bao*, Express, Hong Kong, Feb 9)

(All 4 reprints part of the rubric *Hong Kong Today*)

Mar 11  Hong Kong *Xin Wanbao* (New Evening) reports / Ten thousand jobless at the beginning of the year of the dog / Average of one factory closing every two days (*Xin Wanbao*, New Evening, Hong Kong, Feb 20)

Hong Kong police announces, nearly 80,000 crimes committed in Hong Kong last year / *Ming Pao* discusses psychological situation of today’s Hong Kong youth (*Ta Kong Pao*, Hong Kong, Mar 4; *Ming Pao*, Hong Kong, Feb 25)

Hong Kong streets flooded with books on violence and pornography (*Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao*, American Overseas Chinese Daily, Feb 12)

Hong Kong’s population at 5.2 million by the end of last year (*Ming Pao*, Hong Kong, Feb 5)

(All 4 reprints part of the rubric *Hong Kong Today*)
Appendix 4

Reference News Coverage of Sino-Indian relations and India

1981
Aug 8 Sino-Indian border talks postponed until after the Cancun (Mexico) summit meeting (Hindu, India, Aug 6)
Aug 9 Gromyko: Soviet-Indian treaty “binds” “great power ambitions of Peking hegemonists” (TASS / Pravda, Aug 7)
Aug 20 I. Gandhi and Zhao Ziyang will meet in Cancun / Indian pilgrims to visit the “holy” places in Tibet (Tanjug, Aug 12)
China hopes for normalization. PRC conducting a survey in the “disputed Ladaka region”; Peking is obstructing a quick solution of the border question, “China has to take initial action” (Hindu, India, Aug 11)
Aug 22 Indian Foreign Minister announces that an Indian delegation will visit Peking “in the months to come” to negotiate the border issue; without solving the border question, development of bilateral relations cannot be “thoroughgoing” (Reuters, Aug 20)
“India improves export goods quality to compete with us” (AP, Aug 18)
Aug 25 For the first time in 20 years, Indian pilgrims to visit Tibet; the pilgrimage had been agreed upon when PRC Foreign Minister Huang Hua visited India last June (DPA, Aug 22)
Sep 13 “Comparison of India’s and China’s economic development”; according to the reprinted data (on agriculture, industry, scientific research, social equality etc.) the PRC does far better than India (Economic Express, India, June 6)
Sep 27 Peking Radio criticizes I. Gandhi’s stand on Cambodia issue (Reuters, AP, Sep 25); PRC criticized an Indian newspaper some weeks ago for saying that the PRC army had “invaded India”; foreign observers do not believe this to influence Sino-Indian talks (AP, Sep 25)
Sep 30 Reference News headline: "I. Gandhi says, cold war revived in India's immediate neighbourhood"; subtitle: "Indian President calls on army to be prepared"; "India will take every preventive measures to strengthen its national defense" and at the same time do everything to ease the situation, promote contacts and dialogue with her neighbours (India News(?), Sep 28)

President of India, Reddy, feels uneasy because of recent military reinforcements at India's border; "We must be prepared well," he said in a speech delivered to members of the air force, ground forces and frontier troops (Press Trust of India, Sep 26)

Tense atmosphere at Indian-Bangladesh frontier; many Bengali fled to India; Indian Express reported outbreak of border clashes imminent in Tipura State (AP, Sep 28)

Authorities of Tipura State express their "grave concern" because of the Bengali refugees; since the outbreak of the conflict in Bangladesh 15,000 refugees have fled to India (DPA, Sep 28)

Reference News headline: "25 million people in India live in slums"; information is based on the Indian Economic Times. While before World War 2 in Bombay, for instance, had been 15 slum areas, there are now 1,580; in Bangalore the number of slums went up from 159 in 1971/72 to 350 in 1981, the number of people living there from 132,000 to more than 900,000 in the same period; it is expected that one out of five city inhabitants in 1985 will have to live in a slum area (Report by our own correspondent, no date given)

Oct 5 Indian pilgrims arrive in Tibet; Indian officials take pilgrimage as a sign of "good intentions" of PRC; pilgrimage is of political significance (Tanjug, Sep 21)

Oct 15 PRC criticizes Indian members of Parliament for congratulating Taiwan on "the so-called 70th anniversary of the Republic of China" (Tanjug, Oct 13)
Reuters flash connects PRC criticism with Sino-Indian bilateral relations [Note: none of the two dispatches mentioned the number of involved Indian MPs, 205 signed the congratulating telegram. When reprinting a related AFP report of Oct 10, Reference Material stated this number and, moreover, reprinted the full text of the congratulatory message.]

Oct 19 I. Gandhi to meet Zhao Ziyang in Cancun (AP, Oct 17) dito, meeting to be held on Oct 21; Gandhi also to meet Reagan (Reuters, Oct 17)

Oct 20 Bangladesh to obtain arms from PRC; Bangladesh delegation probably soon to visit Peking (Press Trust of India Oct 10)

Oct 25 “Report by our own correspondent” from New Delhi summarizes Indian Express and Times of India commentaries on Gandhi-Zhao meeting in Cancun; Gandhi accepted Zhao's invitation to visit PRC; both Indian papers optimistic (Oct 23)

Oct 27 Times of India reports on prominent position / Meeting of Chinese and Indian Premiers pushes progress of normalization of relations” (AFP summarizes respective Times of India coverage of Oct 24)

Despite the dispute over the visa for one of the Indian Members of Parliament to visit the PRC, the Indian government assures that talks would be held as scheduled (AFP, Oct 20)

Nov 1 PRC and India probably to resume their border trade which had been stopped in 1962, PRC official told Indian journalist; AFP connects this with the Tibet pilgrimage; both sides expect the resumption of border trade to start in early 1982 (AFP, Oct 23)

Nov 5 Indian delegation to visit Peking at the end of the month, said Indian opposition leader (AFP, Nov 3)

Nov 22 Official talks on the border issue to start on Dec 10 in Peking and end Dec 14; agenda to include cultural and economic issues (Press Trust of India, Nov 20)

Talks are not expected to result in a solution of the border question, said Indian officials (AFP, Nov 20)

Talks are “very important”, may result in a “new step” toward normalization (Tanjug, Nov 20)
Nov 29  “Report by our own correspondent” / Speaking to high ranking militaries, I. Gandhi said, *inter alia*, it is necessary to create an atmosphere of friendship before “relatively close relations can be founded” (from New Delhi, Nov 25)

Indian House of Commons informed about talks in Peking; Indian Foreign Minister said, without solution of the border problem, a thorough normalization not possible (Press Trust of India, Nov 26)


Sino-Indian talks to start on Dec 10 (*New York Times*, Nov 21)

Summary of Sino-Indian conflict; USA and USSR involved, also Afghanistan and Pakistan; Indian official said, “improvement of relations with China not at the expense of the Soviet Union” (EFE, Spain, Nov 24)

Dec 3  “Source Material . . . ,” part 2

Dec 4  “Source Material . . . ,” finished

Dec 7  Indian Foreign Minister affirms that I. Gandhi will visit PRC (AP, Dec 4)

Comparison between India and PRC; company of Venezuelan Premier who visited PRC and India compares both nations; the differences “very wide,” PRC left them with a “deep-going impression,” while India left them “disappointed” (*Daily News (?)*, Venezuela, Nov 11)

Dec 8  Optimistic preview on the forthcoming talks; though the PRC position “on the border question has become tough some months ago (Press Trust of India, Dec 6)

Dec 9  Talks in Peking will only be the start to a solution of the border issue; Huang Hua to be present at the opening ceremony (*Hindu*, India, Dec 6)

Secretary of Indian Foreign Minister arrived in Peking (Reuters, Dec 7)

No breakthrough expected; PRC hopes to improve relations with India to weaken Soviet influence in India (AP, Dec 6)
In 1979, the Indian Foreign Minister had terminated his PRC visit ahead of schedule [Note: reason not given here (PRC invasion in Vietnam)] (AP, Dec 7)

Dec 12 Both sides agree on development of trade and cultural exchange; first talks satisfactory, said diplomats; talks had been held in three groups (border, trade and cultural exchange); both sides adhered to their claims of sovereignty over the disputed areas; details of the talks unknown (AP, Dec 10)

No journalists admitted to the conference room (AP, Dec 10)

Western diplomats said, greatest obstacle for an improvement of relations are “close connections” of PRC and India “with the Soviet Union’s international policy” (UPI, Dec 10)

Diplomats said, atmosphere of talks “very good”, “very friendly” (Reuters, Dec 10)

Both sides advocated Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan (DPA, Dec 10)

“Officials in New Delhi paid special attention to Indian-Chinese talks that were opened in Peking, today” (Tanjug from New Delhi, Dec 10)

Sino-Indian communique published today; both sides wish to solve the border dispute; Indian side said, they want to improve mutual relations, atmosphere of the first talks “very friendly” (AFP, Dec 10)

“Report by our own correspondent” / Summarizes the commentaries of three big Japanese newspapers (Yomiuri, Mainichi and Tokyo Shimbun); all were content with the talks as such, stressing their high significance for the stability of the Asian region (Dec 10)

Communist Party of India (Marxist) no longer independent; became “thoroughly” pro-Moscow and anti-Peking (AFP from New Delhi, Dec 2)

Dec 13 No new reports as talks are secret (AP, Dec 1)

The two superpowers “carefully watch” the talks; Moscow hopes its position on the subcontinent will not be “damaged by China”; USA hopes for better Sino-Indian relations to reduce influence of USSR in Asia (UPI, Dec 11)
Reference News summary of British Guardian commentary reads as follows: “It says that it is a great event that China and India are improving their relations; this may shake the diplomatic stage of all Asia; Guardian deems Indian claims on Western section of the border very weak”; not so in the case of the eastern sector, the McMahon Line. It had been agreed upon in 1914 by Britain and Tibet, though was not accepted by the Chinese government (Guardian, Dec 10)

PRC film “Miao Miao” won 1st prize in international children’s film festival in Madras, India (AP, Nov 24)

Dec 14 PRC and India announce intensification of mutual consultations on international issues; Huang Hua and Indian delegation leader optimistic (DPA, Dec 12) Third day of Sino-Indian talks (AP, Dec 12)

An understanding has been reached, India will not make the solution of the border problem a prerequisite for progress on other fields (Reuters, Dec 12)

Dec 17 Indian delegate: “some progress” achieved, “but not very much and not very quickly”; date of next round of talks not yet fixed; both sides avoided quarrel; Indian spokesman is quoted at length on many points (Reuters, Dec 15)

Greatest success had been the talks as such; no important achievements, but a start (AFP, Dec 17)

Dec 19 Indian Foreign Minister optimistic about normalization process after hearing the delegation’s report (AFP from New Delhi, Dec 17)

Dec 23 India must withstand Soviet luring and improve relations with PRC; Sino-Indian relations are important for South Asia; USSR tries to control the subcontinent (Holiday (?), Bangladesh, Dec 13)

Dec 25 Good start made in Peking for the next round in Delhi in early 1982; hoping for a breakthrough on the border problem; in spite of its close relations with the USSR the I. Gandhi government safeguards its independent position; PRC has to consider India’s sentiments if proposing a solution for the border problem (National Herald, India, Dec 16)
PRC policy is "pragmatic" and thus a positive factor for reaching an early agreement; there is hope for the long-awaited breakthrough if Mrs. Gandhi remains active; good Sino-Indian relations important for South Asia (India Express, Dec 16)

No big progress achieved; China's task very great, because USSR does not want to see positive results; PRC proposed concrete measures for a solution of the border problem; PRC proposed recognition of the McMahon Line if India recognized PRC sovereignty over Aksai Chin; diplomat's comment: "no real change with regard to the relations has taken place; an Indian source is quoted as having said, the announcement of I. Gandhi's PRC visit at the time of the talks was only a "coincidence" and no sign that India was to improve relations with the PRC (AP, Dec 20)

Dec 30 Members of the Indian parliament (Congress Party, Indira faction) to found an Indian-Sino Friendship Association at the end of January 1982 (National Herald, India, Dec 27)

Chairman of Indian Federation of Export Organizations hopes for Sino-Indian cooperation with respect to international trade (India Express, Dec 27)

1982

Jan 10 "DPA journalist report from his visit to India's north east"; "underground organizations declare unilateral independence"; some of the mountain tribes in that region "founded separatist governments in the jungle of Burma" [Note: this part of the editor's summary was a citation from the DPA report which had, however, put the term "government" in quotation marks]; Indian army killed many people, a "member of government circles in the Nagaland State said, 'if opposition deepens and more people are killed, one will probably call it genocide' " [Note: reprint took one third of page 4] (DPA, Dec 4)

Jan 12 "Indian Premier I. Gandhi said, India hopes to establish friendly relations with China"; India does not support Soviet troops in Afghanistan; India neither close to the US nor to the USSR (Tanjug, Jan 10)

Press Trust of India reports, next Indian-Chinese talks on border problem probably in May (AFP, Jan 10)
Jan 20 “Soviets feel uneasy in the face of Indian-Chinese rapprochement”; reasons are, I. Gandhi’s planned PRC visit, her calling back to Delhi the Indian ambassador to the USSR just at Soviet National Day, and her refusal to accept a Soviet invitation to attend the 10th anniversary of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Treaty in Moscow; alienation may have been caused by Moscow’s support for the two Indian Communist parties that are in opposition to I. Gandhi (Affairs (?), Lebanese weekly, Jan 1)

Jan 31 Talking to the editor of a Spanish newspaper, I. Gandhi said, “of course it is not an intervention” when asked for her opinion on the Afghanistan issue; on Sino-Indian relations she said, the recently held talks had been going smoothly, “but this was only a start . . . they [the Chinese] occupy many territories of our country”. Reference News headline read, I. Gandhi “attacks China ‘to occupy many Indian territories’” (AFP, Jan 19)

Feb 6 At the 11th party congress of the Indian CP (Marxist) the party departed from its 10th congress resolution and is now close to USSR and anti-Chinese (AFP, Jan 30) dito (AFP, Jan, 29)

Feb 12 Indian CP (Marxist) influence on the Nepalese CP (Nepalese weekly, Jan 16)
Leader of Indian CP (Marxist) explains his party’s pro-Soviet and anti-Chinese position: China does not fight against US imperialism as in the past, while the Soviets now do (unlike in the past) (AFP, Feb 40)

Feb 14 Indian Foreign Minister visits Hanoi, hopes to strengthen overall cooperation of both countries; Thailand next station on his trip (Reuters, Feb 12)

Feb 15 “Indian Foreign Minister calls his visit in Vietnam satisfactory”; Vietnamese Foreign Minister stated “‘aggressive’ behaviour of China” and said, strained Sino-Vietnamese relations not to relax in the near future (Reuters, Feb 13)

Feb 18 Indian Foreign Minister in Bangkok; India against foreign troops in Afghanistan and Cambodia (AP, Feb 16)
Questioned on Sino-Indian relations, he said, normalization was underway (AFP, Feb 16)
Feb 20  Indian Foreign Minister on Sino-Indian and Indian-Vietnamese relations; "India will not sacrifice its relations with a certain country for its relations with another country" (National Herald, India, Feb 15)

Feb 23  Vietnam welcomes Indian efforts to normalize its relations with China, said Vietnamese Prime Minister to Indian journalists who accompanied the Indian Foreign Minister to Vietnam (Press Trust of India, Feb 20)
Appendix 5
Reference News Coverage of
Sino-American relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aug 1</td>
<td>&quot;Ten years after American-Chinese reconciliation&quot;; progress of Sino-American relations is closely connected with US Taiwan policy (Kyodo, Tokyo, Jul 8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aug 8</td>
<td>US Department of Commerce / Announces facilitation of US exports to PRC by issuing a special license (Reuters, Washington, Aug 5)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Aug 9</td>
<td>When talking about Soviet-Indian treaty, Gromyko asserted / Soviet Union will consider American-Chinese &quot;collaboration&quot; in its relations with America and China (TASS, Moscow, Aug 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aug 12</td>
<td>Countering Gromyko's attack on American-Chinese relations / US State Department says, American-Chinese relations are not directed against anybody (International Communication Bureau, Washington, Aug 10)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aug 16</td>
<td>US will only sell defense arms to China, says Barkley / Will not constitute a threat to ASEAN (AFP, Manila, Aug 13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aug 21</td>
<td>US magazine reports / &quot;America postponed arms sales to China&quot; (Newsweek, Aug 24, preprint)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Aug 22</td>
<td>US will hold exhibition of paintings in Peking (Christian Science Monitor, July 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Aug 23</td>
<td>Japanese Sankai Shimbun carries interview with former Japanese Premier Tanaka / &quot;Japan-America-China normalization contributes to world peace&quot; (Sankai Shimbun, Aug 19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aug 24</td>
<td>AP journalist comments on Carter's visit to China (Carter is &quot;an old friend of China&quot;, but Peking knows that it cannot use Carter to criticize Reagan) (AP, Peking, Aug 22)</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug 24</td>
<td>UPI reports / America hopes that China will provide rare strategic metals (UPI, Hong Kong, Aug 14)</td>
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<td>Aug 25</td>
<td>New York art gallery exhibits Qing dynasty palace dresses (Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao (American Overseas Chinese Daily), Aug 5)</td>
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<td>Aug 29</td>
<td>US journalists comment on Deng Xiaoping-Carter meeting (UPI, UPI, AP, UPI, all from Peking, Aug 27)</td>
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<td>Aug 29</td>
<td>UPI reports what Carter said about American-Chinese relations before leaving Peking (UPI, Peking, Aug 28)</td>
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<td>Aug 30</td>
<td>Textbook for Chinese children in America published / Quwei Zhongwen (i.e., Fascinating Chinese) published in America (Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao, Aug 11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 2</td>
<td>AP reports / Carter visits shipyard and marine base in Shanghai / Carter said, it is an important US-Chinese policy to respond jointly to aggression everywhere in the world (AP, Shanghai, Aug 31)</td>
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<td>Sep 2</td>
<td>Carter's visit in Xian (AP, UPI, both from Shanghai, Aug 30)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 3</td>
<td>AP reports / Carter visiting Suzhou (AP, Shanghai, Sep 1)</td>
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<td>Sep 5</td>
<td>Carter on US-Chinese relations - Press conference in Shanghai / He said, he was shocked by the sharp words Chinese leaders used when talking about the Taiwan problem; these words were not a menace but a strong declaration. He will deliver a report to Reagan on his visit to China and make some suggestions (AP, Reuters, both from Shanghai, Sep 3)</td>
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<td>Sep 5</td>
<td>Peking Opera troop of Tianjin to tour USA and Canada (Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao, Aug 20)</td>
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<td>Sep 8</td>
<td>US Coca Cola Company announces opening of bottling plant in Canton (AP, Atlanta, Aug 26)</td>
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<td>Sep 9</td>
<td>Carter suggests, Ohira should meet our leaders as early as possible / Also briefed Ohira on his recent visit to China (UPI, Tokyo, Sep 7)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
23 Sep 10  Carter says, he firmly believes that China cherishes friendship with America. Also says, it is essential that the Reagan administration does not harm these relations by Taiwan contacts (UPI, Los Angeles, Sep 8)

24 Sep 10  Nine US musicians to come to China to teach. They say, the Chinese students study very well, their skill in playing musical instruments is extraordinary (AP, Peking, Aug 29)

25 Sep 11  After returning to the United States, Carter delivered a speech. China is an economic and political power in the world that becomes stronger every day. He also said, his trip to China and other Asian nations was the most pleasant experience of his life (AP, Los Angeles, Sep 9)

26 Sep 11  American Jerome Robbins Dance Group to perform in China. Choreographer Robbins is very happy because of this performance (International Communication Agency, Aug 28)

27 Sep 12  US newspaper reports. US exhibition of paintings opened in Peking (New York Times, Sep 2)

28 Sep 12  El Caribe commentary, “Peking is approaching the American continent” (El Caribe (Dominica), Aug 11)

29 Sep 14  US embassy in Peking announces. China and US will discuss problems of nuclear cooperation in Peking (AFP, Peking, Sep 11)

30 Sep 14  Chinese aircraft industry exhibition in New York. US newspaper says, the exhibition left a deep-going impression with the traveling traders (Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao, Sep 1)

31 Sep 14  Hong Kong’s Xin Wanbao (New Evening) on Sino-US relations, the steps are not big, more American postures than action (Xin Wanbao, Sep 7)

32 Sep 14  US embassy in China donates money to victims of natural disaster in Sichuan province (UPI, Peking, Sep 9)

33 Sep 16  New US ambassador in China will arrive (UPI, Peking, Sep 10)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep 16</td>
<td>US enterprise signed cooperation contract with China/ Will provide China with technology for building agricultural machinery (Reuters, Peking, Aug 28)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 16</td>
<td>US indicates willingness to sell cereals to China (Reuters, Washington, Sep 3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 23</td>
<td>Director of American International Communication Bureau (? Wake) says / There is hope for the development of US-China cultural relations (Boston Globe, Sep 9)</td>
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<td>Sep 23</td>
<td>Director of US Johns Hopkins Hospital leads delegation on China visit (UPI, Baltimore, Sep 14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 25</td>
<td>US <em>Wall Street Journal</em> reports / “Pentagon opposes Japanese computer sale to China” / Japanese newspaper believes that by this the Pentagon deviates from decisions recently taken by Reagan administration (Wall Street Journal, Sep 22; Report by our own correspondent, based on the Japanese Japan Kaizai Shim bun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 29</td>
<td>US foundation sends English textbooks to China (AP, Peking, Sep 8)</td>
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<td>Sep 30</td>
<td>Hong Kong <em>Huaqiao Ribao</em> (Overseas Chinese Daily) comments on US China policy / For 30 years the US have always been following the “two China policy”; although the international situation has changed greatly, the quality of the US “two China policy” has not changed, but only shifted its focus. Because of its strategy toward the USSR, America relies heavily on the service of Peking, but has by no means abandoned or underrated Taipei’s importance (Huaqiao Ribao, Aug 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 5</td>
<td>Brzezinski on his visit to China / China is becoming stronger, its stability and prosperity can be an enormous contribution to peace in the Far East, and the balance of power in the world (UPI, New York, Sep 22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
43 Oct 19 American Import and Export Bank and Bank of China sign credit documents (AP, Washington, Oct 1)

44 Oct 20 On the question of computer exports to China / Japanese - US dispute (Mainichi Shimbun, Oct 9)

45 Oct 21 [Former US Secretary of Defense] Brown says, US-Chinese world interests are familiar, strategic views are identical / He thinks our Nine-Point-Proposal to Taiwan to be extraordinarily generous, US arms sales to Taiwan contribute to peace negotiations (AFP, AP, both from Peking, Oct 18)

46 Oct 23 Foreign agencies report on Zhao Ziyang-Reagan meeting in Cancun / Say, they discussed their differences with regard to US arms sales to Taiwan that are being drafted (AP, Cancun, Mexico, Oct 22; Reuters, ibid., Oct 21)

47 Oct 23 Haig says, Zhao Ziyang exchanged views with Reagan on global strategy / And says, meeting has been very important, extraordinarily successful and useful (Report by our own correspondent)

48 Oct 23 US Secretary of Agriculture gives press conference / He says, the establishment of an US organization in Peking, selling agricultural products is of huge significance for the United States (AP, Peking, Oct 18)

49 Oct 24 Haig answering questions by journalists about Zhao Ziyang-Reagan talks / He says, the problem of supplying Taiwan with defensive weapons will be handled cautiously (Report by our own correspondent from Cancun, Mexico; press conference on Oct 22)

50 Oct 24 US newspaper comments on our cutting research activities of US scientists in China / Says Chinese and American officials and scientific circles sternly point out that Mosher used his investigations to obtain intelligence from our country (Christian Science Monitor, Oct 6)

51 Oct 24 US Secretary of Agriculture says / China will send delegation to inspect corn processing (UPI, Peking, Oct 17)
Commentary by (? XX) “Chinese Prime Minister’s ‘Premiere’ in Cancun” / Says, China, naturally, belonged to a different position than the US in Cancun (*Christian Science Monitor*, Oct 22)

Former US Secretary of Defense, Brown, on US-Chinese relations and other questions / Says, China is busy to strengthen her national defense and to oppose the real threat, left him with a strong impression (AP, Peking, Oct 20)

US *Los Angeles Times* reports / List of arms the US plans to sell to China (*Los Angeles Times*, Oct 8)

Six US cities hold “China Film Week” / *Wutai Jiemei* (Sisters of the Stage) received good critics in Washington (*Xin Wanbao* (Hongkong), Oct. 22)

Foreign agencies report on Huang Hua’s US visit and talks with Reagan / US speaker (? XX) says, identical views of both sides on most of the important international questions; he confirmed that the Taiwan issue had been discussed (AP, Reuters, both from Washington Oct 29)

UPI reports exchange of conventional greetings between Reagan and Huang Hua (UPI, Washington, Oct 29)

Huang Hua and Haig talks (UPI, Washington, Oct 29)

Huang Hua-Haig talks finished / Reuters says, the talks clearly did not solve the problem of US arms sales to Taiwan (Reuters, Washington, Oct 30)

Kissinger says / China’s independence and territorial integrity conform with US interests (AP, Singapore, Oct 31; AP, Kuala Lumpur, Oct 31)

US Secretary of Finance, Regan, will come to China on [November] 14 (AP, Washington, Nov 3)

US State Department announces / W. Stoessel will visit Japan, China, Thailand, and the Philippines starting [November] 7 (AP, Washington, Nov 5)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov 8</td>
<td>US official says / China will take part in next years World Fair (<em>UPI, Tennessee, Knoxville</em>, Oct 31)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 8</td>
<td>Former US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, on US-China relations / Says, the Chinese can solve the Taiwan question themselves somehow, but will probably need time. America should not be the matchmaker and meddle in; US-China relations will develop slowly, step by step; China is strong. The Chinese population is numerous, extraordinarily talented, and rich in life-force to overcome difficulties (<em>Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao</em> Oct 21, interview with D. Rusk)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 10</td>
<td>US Nucleonic Society official says / China will probably continue to import plans for nuclear plants (<em>Reuters, Peking, Oct 23</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 10</td>
<td>US discovery of 400-year old Chinese vase (<em>UPI, Los Angeles, Nov 3</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 12</td>
<td>Stoessel arrives in Peking (<em>AP, Peking, Nov 10</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 14</td>
<td>Stoessel talks to journalists / Says, although there are differences between US and China the relations are good, because these differences can be solved by “patience and good-will”; the opinions of both sides on international questions harmonize and are identical (<em>AP, UPI, Reuters, all from Peking, Nov 12</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 16</td>
<td>Foreign agencies report, US Secretary of Finance to visit China soon / US official says, Regan will discuss with us complex economic and trade problems, and will not discuss political or military questions (<em>Intern. Comm. Agency, Reuters, both from Washington, Nov 13</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
73 Nov 17 US Secretary of Finance / Regan at Peking airport on his China visit / Hopes that his visit will deepen economic relations between the two countries (Reuters Peking, Nov 15)

74 Nov 17 US newspaper article “China trade with agricultural and stock products to develop thrivingly” / Says, Sino-American trade and scientific, technical exchange will expand (Washington Post, Nov 2)

75 Nov 17 Ship broker interrogated in US for cheating us [PRC] (AP, New York, Nov 7)

76 Nov 19 UPI comments on meeting Deng Xiaoping-Regan / Says, Regan always tried to avoid discussion of the Taiwan question (UPI, Reuters, both from Peking, Nov 17)

77 Nov 20 UPI journalist (? XX) comments / Speeches of Regan and Bo Yibo during welcome banquet (UPI, Peking, Nov 16)

78 Nov 21 US film producer (? XXX) on / Sino-American cooperation in producing the film “Meeting in Peking” (Xiangfeng zai Beijing) (UPI, New York, Nov 4)

79 Nov 21 Foreign agencies report Mondale meeting with Chang Wenpu / US official says, the Chinese side clearly explained its position with regard to the Taiwan question (UPI, Reuters, AP, all from Peking, Nov 19)

80 Nov 21 Deputy Assistent of Commerce Department (Shangwubu Zhulibuchang Bangban) says / US will quickly approve of advanced technology exports to China (AP, Peking, Nov 18)

80 Nov 24 Before leaving Peking, Mondale speaks at press conference / Praises progress of Chinese agriculture, people have more confidence / When talking about Sino-American relations, he says, the central question at present is that of arms sales to Taiwan; the sale of fighter planes to Taiwan would produce grave difficulties (AP, Reuters, AP, all from Peking, Nov 22)

82 Nov 27 US publishes coloured Chinese newspaper International Daily News (UPI, California, Nov 10)
83 Nov 28 US *Washington Post* reports / Though restrictions have already been relaxed, China trade still sluggish / Says, differences in views of Department officials responsible for hampering US sales of advanced technology to China; disparity between declarations by the US government and reality is extraordinarily large (*Washington Post*, Nov 20)

84 Nov 28 US newspaper reports that US Department of Commerce temporarily turned down the sale of an advanced meteorological computer to us [PRC] (AP, Madison, Wisconsin, Nov 20)

85 Nov 29 US newspaper reports / US State Department wants to restrict research of Chinese students in the US / Some American universities do not agree with this measure (*New York Times*, Nov 27)

86 Dec 5 US State Department Speaker confirms that he wrote letters to two universities demanding them to observe certain limits for research plans of Chinese students (Intern. Comm. Agency, Washington, Dec 1)

87 Dec 7 Brzezinski publishes article / Next spring US foreign policy will run into a grave crisis / With respect to foreign affairs America will probably meet with four big crises: Failure of Camp David agreement, economic and political breakdown in Poland, very big low in US-China relations, and obvious turn for the worse in El Salvador (Reuters, New York, Dec 6; article from the *New York Times Magazine*)


89 Dec 16 AP comments development of relations between us and Third World countries / Says, China just makes clear that her strategic relations with the US do not influence her support for the Third World (AP, Peking, Dec 9)

90 Dec 17 US Senate ratifies US-China consular agreement (UPI, Washington, Dec 12)
US newspaper comments on election of Pérez de Cuéllar as Secretary General of UN / China defeated America and Soviet Union (*New York Times*, Dec 13)

US export computers for census to us (AP, Washington, Dec 4)

Japan *Kaizai Shimbun* reports / “US does not approve Japan exporting large computers to China” (*Japan Economic News*, Dec 13)

US *Los Angeles Times* carries a letter to the editor, saying / China was, is, and will be important for the United States (*Los Angeles Times*, Dec 23)


Suicide rate of New York Chinese No. 1 in that city / Traditional views and liberalized air incompatible, inflation presses on livelihood, unbearable racial discrimination


US Department of Commerce relaxes restrictions on export of technologically advanced products to China (AP, Washington, Dec 29, 1981)
102 Jan 10 Hongkong Zhong Bao editorial / “With the overall strategic situation in mind” / Says, China pins down one quarter of Soviet army so that Western Europe is not endangered. If Sino-American relations deteriorate because of US arms sales to Taiwan, this will lead to a change in strategic balance. What will Western security look like? This deserves Reagan to think thrice (Zhong Bao, Jan 1)

103 Jan 12 Speaker of US Department of State on Holdridge’s China visit / Says, both sides will discuss international and bilateral questions of common interest (Reuters, Washington, Jan 10)

104 Jan 13 UPI reports from Peking / Holdridge held secret meeting with us (UPI, UPI, both from Peking, Jan 11)

105 Jan 14 Peking correspondent of AP, Brown, says / The question of sovereignty is the key in China’s indignated reaction to the US (AP, Peking, Jan 12)

106 Jan 14 UPI comments our strong protest against US arms sales to Taiwan / Says, this statement is the newest in a series of Chinese criticisms of Reagan’s Taiwan policy since one year; it seems there is no common Sino-American basis in a question so rich in explosiveness (UPI, Peking, Jan 12)

107 Jan 14 AFP says, America and China just on the way to confrontation (AFP, Peking, Jan 12)

108 Jan 15 Speaker of US State Department (?XXX) on / The talks of Holdridge with China (UPI, Washington, Jan 13)

109 Jan 15 Reaction of Westerners in Peking to US-Chinese talks / Western analysts say, China’s protest against US arms sales to Taiwan is the minimum reaction at the present state of affairs (AP, UPI, both from Peking)

110 Jan 15 UPI internal circular says / American-Chinese relations not close to crisis (UPI, internal circular of Jan 12)
111 Jan 15 US news agencies report / Holdridge on American-Chinese talks (UPI, AP, both from Peking, Jan 13)

112 Jan 16 Foreign agencies on Holdridge's China visit, comment on Sino-American relations (UPI, Reuters, UPI, Peking, Jan 14; AP, Peking, Jan 12)

113 Jan 16 Reuters says, US decision criticized by us [PRC] and Taiwan (Reuters, Hong Kong, Jan 12)

114 Jan 17 Hong Kong Xin Bao commentary / “US not to fish again in troubled waters” / Says, the Chinese abroad now see that China is really throwing out its chest before America (Xin Bao, Jan 14)

115 Jan 17 Holdridge introduces Japanese Foreign Ministry to Sino-American talks / Japan hopes that America and China will resolve the question of US arms sales to Taiwan satisfactorily and preserve good US-Chinese relations (AP, UPI, both from Tokyo, Jan 15)

116 Jan 17 Japanese newspaper reports / “Japan thinks of mediating in American-Chinese relations” (Japan Kaizai Shimbun, Jan 16)

117 Jan 18 West Berlin newspaper commentary says / Reagan walking the tight rope between Taiwan and Peking (Tagesspiegel, Jan 15)

118 Jan 19 Japanese Foreign Minister says to American journalists, Japan and US must develop good relations with China / US journalist says, the Japanese Foreign Minister is close to America, his working style in foreign policy prefers suggestions rather than sensational talks; but there is not the least doubt that he is criticises American arms sales to Taiwan (New York Times, Jan 13)

119 Jan 29 Japanese World Weekly carries article saying / China contains Soviet Union in Asia / China’s peaceful foreign policy achieved a certain role in stabilizing Asia; US arms sales to Taiwan will cast shadows on Sino-American relations (World Weekly, Jan 12)
Feb 1  Haig interview with US magazine journalist on US foreign policy [Half page article, one quarter of which is subtitled, “On US-China relations”] (US News & World Report, Feb 1)

Feb 9  Reuters reports, US businessmen in Peking view Sino-American trade cautiously optimistic (Reuters, Peking, Feb 5)

Feb 9  US New York Times carries special report by (?) on Haig calls Taiwan issue a ‘difficult problem’ in US-China relations” / Haig said, the differences between US and China on arms sales to Taiwan are serious; US and China are just holding extremely secret talks, which just are in a delicate phase, the result cannot be foreseen. America recognizes that this is a problem that if handled has to be handled carefully and carefully again (New York Times, Feb 7)

Feb 21  Holdridge on US-Chinese relations and other questions / Says, US and China are just discussing questions that are related to US arms sales to Taiwan, the problem is a very serious one; the talks are now in a very sensitive phase; it is impossible to foresee their result (Wall Street Journal, Feb 16 (interview with Holdridge)

Feb 25  Article by Richard Holbrooke discusses US-China relations / Says, Reagan administration second year in office, has no clear policy with regard to the Taiwan question; hopes that America and China will eliminate their differences (Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), Jan 29)

Feb 27  A commentator of Soviet paper and an expert on US problems (?) on Sino-American relations (TASS, Moscow, Feb 24)

Mar 1  US State Department statement on 10th anniversary of Shanghai Communiqué publication / Says, US treasure to preserve good relations with China; there are some differences between the two countries, US is busy finding a solution for these differences (UPI, Washington, Feb 27)
127 Mar 2 Foreign agencies comment on our non-celebrating 10th anniversary of the “Shanghai Communiqué” / Reuters says, this illustrates the tense situation Sino-American relations are in since Reagan decided to sell fighter planes to Taiwan (UPI, Shanghai, Feb 28; Reuters, Peking, Feb 28; Tanjug, Peking/Washington, Feb 28)

128 Mar 2 Article by Nixon / “Ten years after visiting China” / Says, in ten years the Soviet army turned from being inferior to being superior to the US. To stop Soviet imperialism, we need all friendly and allied nations, and so does China. To save Taiwan at the cost of losing China is utterly foolish. China has to recognize, he also said, that an American President cannot obey other people in matters that are related to America. The two nations never must let the differences endanger their relations (New York Times, Feb 28)

129 Mar 2 US State Department, China division says / US State Department has not published an official statement on 10th anniversary of Shanghai Communiqué (New York Times, Feb 28)

130 Mar 2 Nancy Reinhard (? Nan-xi Lai-yin-ha-te), delegate of US Department of Commerce Office for Promotion of East-West Trade, says / US exhibition of light industries in Peking very successful (AP, Feb 16 and 15, both from Peking)


132 Mar 2 US Department of Agriculture says, we increase our wheat and corn purchases in America (Reuters, Washington, Feb 19)

133 Mar 9 US Commerce (Mei Shangye) magazine says / Perspective of US-Chinese trade still good this year (US Commerce, Feb 8)
134 Mar 10 AP special report / “China as seen 10 years after the Shanghai Communiqué” / New York Times
special report “US-China relations are just being damaged by arms sales to Taiwan” (AP, Peking, Mar 3; New York Times, Feb 28)
Appendix 6
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1. 工資福利文件選編
2. 企業管理百科全書
3. 科學技術研究成果公報
4. 電子市場
5. 機械科技
6. 工業經濟管理叢刊
7. 農業經濟叢刊
8. 經濟學動態
9. 外貿調研
10. 國際貿易消息
11. 經濟參考
12. 財政研究
13. 會計研究
14. 農機商情
15. 優俱
16. 港澳經濟
17. 共產黨員
18. 國外社會科學動態
19. 共產資料選譯
20. 應史研究
21. 馬列著作編譯資料
22. 國際共產史研究資料
23. 蘇聯問題譯叢
24. 對外報道參考
25. 外文報刊資料
26. 蘇聯文藝
27. 國內哲學動態
28. 在華經濟與政治的參
29. 經濟研究參考資料
30. 外國文學動態
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