

BEIJING REVIEW

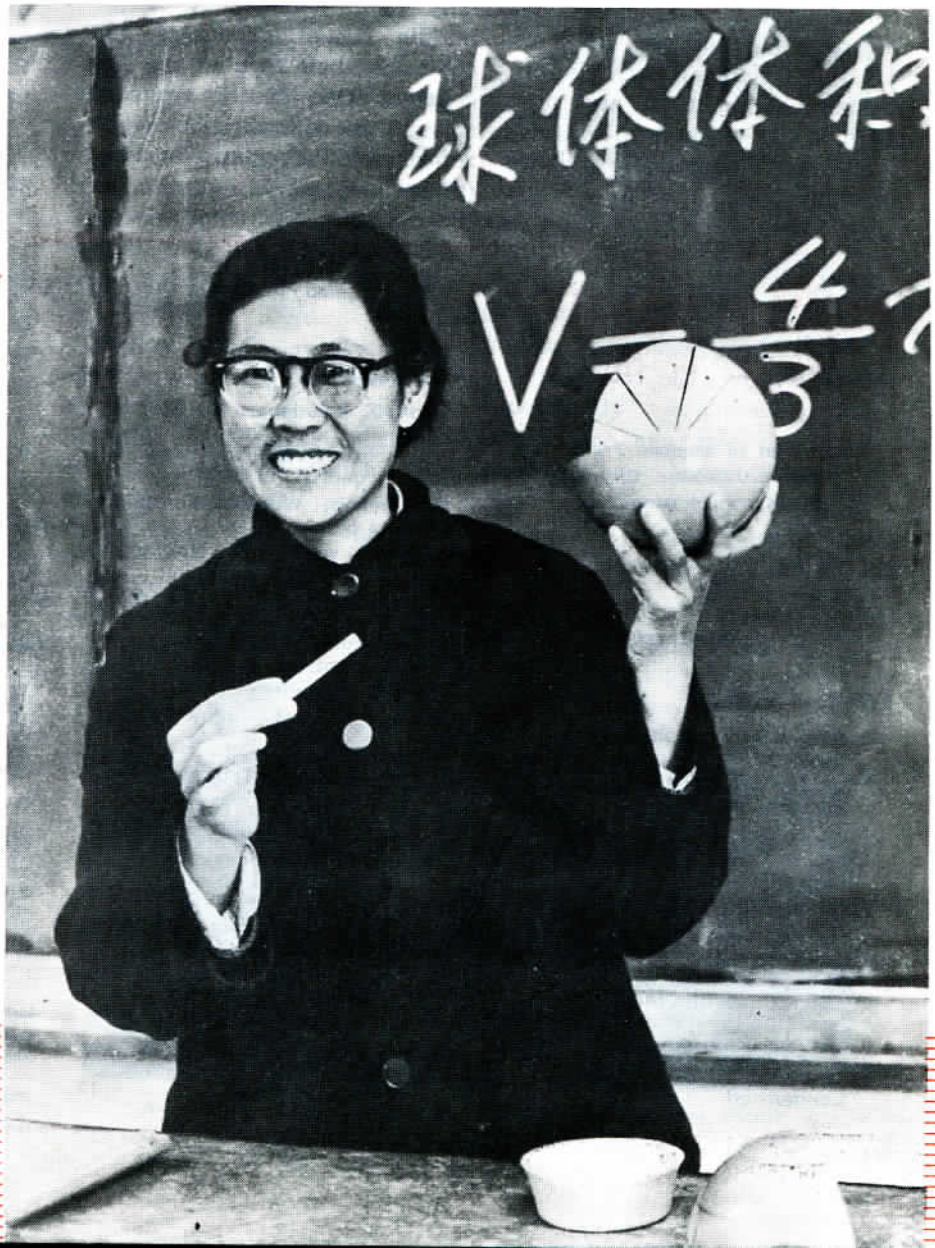
北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

Democracy in
Factories

On Bush's Visit
To China

Reforming Middle
School Education



U.S.A.....US\$0.30
Canada.....Can.\$0.36
Australia.....A.\$0.29
New Zealand...NZ.\$0.34
U.K.....£0.15

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

No Compromise on Question of Principle

While Bush was trying to "clarify" in Beijing Reagan's statements concerning Taiwan, Reagan pulled the rug out from under him by repeating the same statements. The Chinese people will never tolerate a "two Chinas" policy, no matter who advocates it (p. 9).

Democracy in the Factories

An on-the-spot report by our correspondent on how democracy is practised in some of the factories in Tianjin. Numerous channels are now open to the workers in exercising their democratic rights (p. 19).

Motive Force of Historical Development

Theorists in China's academic circles have divergent views regarding the motive force that propels the advance of history. Their ideas are expounded in three articles (p. 14).

Reforming Middle School Education

Large numbers of young people with special knowledge and production skills are needed for the modernization drive. But only 6 or 7 per cent of the middle school graduates can continue their studies in the colleges. One of the ways to solve this contradiction is to reform middle school education (p. 5).

Japan's Policies

A brief look at the Suzuki government's defence and foreign policies. Indications are that Japan will play a bigger role than before in the present-day troubled world (p. 12).

More Tourists

With the number of tourists continually increasing, more places are now open to them and more hotels are being built (p. 4). One of the places most tourists wouldn't like to miss during their visit to China is the lovely Taihu Lake (p. 27).



BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

Published in English, French,
Spanish, Japanese, German
and Arabic editions

Vol. 23, No. 35 September 1, 1980

CONTENTS

EVENTS & TRENDS	3-8
Survey of Agricultural Resources	
Markets Selling Agricultural and Sideline Products	
More Tourists Visiting China	
Develop Energy Resources in Countryside	
Reforming Middle School Education	
Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin Removed	
A Discussion: The Meaning of Life	
High Officials' Sons Punished	
Israel's Policy of Aggression Condemned	

Indian Armed Personnel Released

INTERNATIONAL 9-13

Sino-U.S. Relations: No Compromise on Question of Principle — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	
Kampuchea: War Situation in Rainy Season	
Sihanouk Asks U.N. Not to Recognize Puppet Regime	
Report From Tokyo: Suzuki Cabinet's Defence and Foreign Policies — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen	
Unwanted Interference	
Outrageous Lies! — Ren Yan	

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Academic Discussion: What Is the Motive Force of Historical Development?	
Class Struggle Is the Motive Force in Private Ownership Society — Liu Danian	14
Material or Economic Interests of Mankind — Yan Zhongkui	16
Joint Force of the Movement of Various Social Contradictions — Song Shitang and Li Demao	17

SPECIAL FEATURE

Democracy in Factories — Our Correspondent Tian Sansong	
Past and Present	19
Congress of Workers and Staff	22
Democratic Election	24

THE LAND & PEOPLE 27-28

CULTURE & SCIENCE 29-30

BOOKS 31

COVER: Training competent people for the four modernizations. A teacher in a middle school using the elicitation method to teach mathematics.

Published every Monday in Beijing,
The People's Republic of China

Distributed by GUOJI SHUDIAN,
(China Publications Centre),
P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription prices (1 year):

Australia.....A.\$12.50	U.S.A....US\$13.50
New Zealand...NZ\$14.50	U.K.....£6.80
Canada.....Can.\$15.60	

ECONOMIC

Survey of Agricultural Resources

People who had taken part in the biggest-ever survey of the country's agricultural resources met in Beijing not long ago to assess the results of the survey made so far.

Speaking at the conference, Vice-Premier Wan Li said that such a survey will provide a scientific basis for drawing up long-term plans and will be beneficial to the adjustment of the national economy and the modernization of agriculture.

The conference pointed out that China, with an area of 9.6 million square kilometres and a population of more than 900 million, has only a limited area of arable land per person, and wasteland that can be reclaimed is also limited. But China has rich water and plant resources as well as a favourable climate for plant growth.

China has varied natural conditions, but not enough attention was given to this characteristic in agricultural production in the past three decades. Instead, arbitrary decisions were made and followed, with the result that production was not as good as expected. The conference stressed that a scientific approach should be adopted regarding agricultural development and that each region should be allowed to choose methods of development best suited to local conditions.

The survey covered crop land, forest land, grassland and fisheries, aimed at obtaining reliable data for protecting and

making rational use of agricultural resources.

All the departments concerned with agriculture and the Chinese Academy of Sciences took part in the survey, which also embraced soil, hydrology, climate, biological resources, and other fields of agricultural research.

Markets Selling Agricultural And Sideline Products

There are now 2,300 peasant markets selling agricultural and sideline products in the big and medium-sized cities throughout China.

The peasants on the city outskirts take their own products or those produced by their teams or communes to sell at these markets at prices agreed upon by both sides. This has proved to be convenient to the city dwellers and beneficial to the peasants as well.

Most of these markets are open only during the daytime, but there are others where, like three big markets in Harbin in northeast China, the peasants sell their produce in the daytime and, in the eve-

ning, state-owned commercial departments and individual traders do business.

Such markets, being a supplement to the state-owned commerce, help enliven urban and rural economies and meet the needs of the people.

In the first half of this year, commodities on sale increased from 50 to more than 100 kinds, and sometimes as many as 200. The total amount of transactions in the first six months was more than double that of the same period of last year, and 90,000 tons of grain, 280,000 tons of vegetables and about 50,000 tons of meat, poultry and eggs were sold.

Pheasants, wild ducks, hares, crabs and turtles, which were not sold on the market for several years, are now on sale. Peanuts, sesame seeds, edible fungus, dried bamboo shoots, mushrooms, longans and lychee which could only be obtained occasionally in state-owned stores, are available on these markets at reasonable prices. According to the statistics of 70 big and medium-sized cities



A peasant market in Urumqi, capital of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

at the end of last June, the prices of grain, edible oil, meat and poultry had dropped, the prices of grain and pork having dropped sharply, sometimes below those in the state-owned stores.

More Tourists Visiting China

China received a total of 2.72 million foreigners, overseas Chinese, Chinese compatriots from Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao) and Taiwan Province in the first half of this year. This was 730,000 more than in the same 1979 period, with an increase of 35 per cent in the number of foreign tourists.

Apart from visiting scenic spots and places of historical interest, some of these tourists came to China to see their relatives and friends, to do business or to take part in scientific and cultural exchanges.

More places are open to tourists this year. These include the four coastal cities of Fuzhou, Xiamen (Amoy), Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in Fujian Province, and Zhuoxian County in north China's Hebei Province, bringing the total number of tourist centres to 122.

To meet the requests of foreign mountaineers, a number of famous peaks are now open to them. These are Mount Qomolangma of the Himalaya Range, Mount Muztagata in Xinjiang, Gongga Mountain in Sichuan, Anyemaqen Mountain in Qinghai and four other peaks.

Kunlun, a luxurious tourist vessel, has begun plying the Changjiang (Yangtze) River since spring this year, enabling the tourists to view the natural grandeur of the three famous gorges and visit scenic cities



Tourists going up the reconstructed famous Lou Wai Lou Restaurant by the West Lake in Hangzhou. (Upper right) Live carp in the restaurant's own pond are ready to be cooked and served at any time.

along the river. Special well-furnished coastal vessels now ply between Luda, Tianjin, Yan-tai and other seaside resorts.

The Shanghai Tourist Company has added new services. Tourists may hold wedding ceremonies, spend their honeymoons or go fishing in Shanghai or neighbouring scenic spots. Chess or football matches can also be arranged for them.

More than 2,000 beds have been added in tourist hotels in various parts of the country during the period. There are now 15 hotels in Shanghai for receiving foreign tourists, and a new 25-storeyed hotel with 600 rooms is under construction.

Develop Energy Resources In Countryside

The peasants in China's countryside, numbering about 800 million, use about 40 per cent of the total energy consumed in the country. Inadequate supply of energy in the rural areas is an outstanding

problem at present, and the way of using energy is irrational. *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial proposing more ways of providing fuel and electricity for the rural population.

- Make efforts to generate more marsh gas, a product of decomposition of stalks and human and animal excrement. In southern China and most parts in the north, there are rich resources and the climate is favourable. At present, nearly all the stalks are used as fuel, a primitive way causing about 90 per cent waste. If marsh gas is used instead by half the rural households, around 200 million tons of stalks burnt away could be turned into organic fertilizer annually.

- Open up small coal mines. At present, small coal mines run by rural people's communes and production brigades produce one-sixth of the nation's total output. It is possible for them to produce more coal within a few years if help is given them to carry out technical innovations and if the difficulty in transport is overcome.

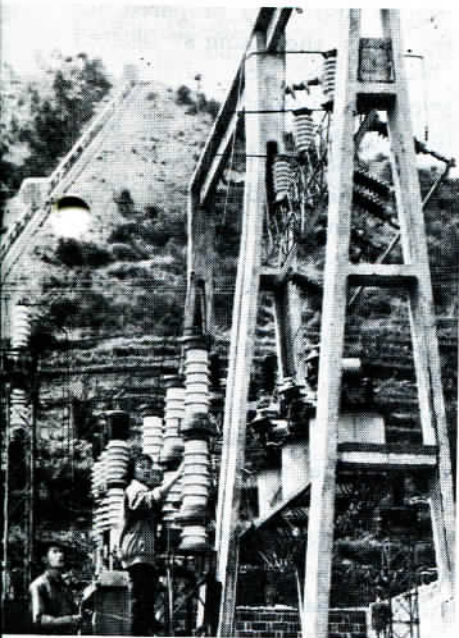
EDUCATION

Reforming Middle School Education

- Fuel forests should be created in areas where there are no coal deposits or where conditions are not suitable for building marsh gas pits.

- Build more small hydroelectric power stations is another way to solve the problem. These stations require little investment but yield quick results and the cost is low. China now has 89,000 small hydroelectric power stations with an annual output of more than 10,000 million kwh., or about 40 per cent of the total electricity consumption in the countryside. However, to date only a small fraction of the known hydropower reserves in China are utilized. The building of more small hydroelectric power stations, therefore, is an important way to accomplish electrification in the rural areas.

- More experiments should be made in the exploitation of solar, wind and geothermal energy resources.



One of the 460 small hydroelectric power stations built in recent years in Pingjiang County, Hunan Province.

Four thousand students were chosen from among 36,000 applicants and enrolled in 97 senior middle school vocational classes in Beijing recently. They will after three years' training become junior or intermediate specialists with a middle school education and at the same time equipped with a certain level of special knowledge and production skills.

This is one of the measures taken in Beijing this year to change the structure of middle school education.

These training classes are turned from ordinary senior middle schools and divided into 35 specialties, including tourism, foreign trade, commerce, service trades, electrical appliances, cooking, sewing and printing. They are run by 51 enterprises in conjunction with 45 senior middle schools in the capital.

At present, there are 803 senior middle schools with 300,000 students in Beijing. But only 6 or 7 per cent of the graduates have the opportunity to continue their studies in colleges and universities due to limited accommodations and other reasons. Hence the need to reform middle school education.

In the early years of the 60s middle school education was more or less geared to the needs of the developing national economy, attention being paid to providing a general education and to giving vocational and technical training.

Available statistics show that the ratio between students in regular senior middle schools and those in vocational, technical and agricultural schools was about 48 to 52 in 1965, and the latter had trained various kinds of useful personnel for China's socialist construction.

During the ten tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution, however, the policy of paying attention to both general education and vocational training was labelled as "revisionist." As a result, large numbers of vocational and agricultural schools were closed down.

After the smashing of the gang of four, these schools have been restored in China, but their development has fallen far behind that of the regular middle schools. In 1979, the ratio between students in regular senior middle schools and those in vocational and agricultural schools was 86 to 14. This proportion is far short of the needs of the four modernizations.

During the ten years of turmoil, China's higher education was seriously damaged, while ordinary middle school education developed in a blind way. In the last few years, only 4 per cent of the middle school graduates each year were enrolled in institutions of higher learning, and there will be no marked increase for some years to come. So on the one hand, there are several million middle school graduates who have to find work every year but do not have special training, while on the other there is a severe shortage of skilful technical personnel. Workers newly recruited usually have to undergo two or three years'

training before they can master the necessary production skills.

This is why the restructuring of middle school education to give proper attention to vocational training is an urgent task on the educational front today.

The following steps will be taken to achieve this:

(1) Some courses in the senior middle schools will be altered so that vocational and technical courses can be added.

(2) Some of the ordinary senior middle schools will be turned into vocational schools or agricultural schools. These schools will enrol graduates of junior middle schools and give them three to four years' training, and the ratio between general courses and vocational and technical courses in these schools will be 60 to 40.

(3) Various types of vocational or technical schools will be set up with the emphasis on vocational training, apart from giving them a general education.

(4) More secondary technical schools will be set up so that the ratio of enrolment between institutions of higher learning and that of secondary technical schools will be gradually changed to 1 to 2 or 3. The ratio now is less than 1 to 1.

POLITICAL

Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin Removed

The portraits of the revolutionary teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were removed from Tian An Men Square on August 21.

A spokesman of the Beijing Municipal People's Government said that these portraits "will be put up only when necessary."

"Our past practice was that these portraits were put up at Tian An Men Square only during important festivals when celebrations were held, and they were removed after the celebrations," he said. "But during the Cultural Revolution, they were erected and remained there ever since."

Earlier, Chairman Mao's portraits hung above the gates of the Great Hall of the People, the Museum of Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History were taken down. But his portrait over Tian An Men Gate is still there.

A recent directive issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party urged that "less publicity be given to individuals." It said: "There have been too many portraits, quotations and poems of Chairman Mao in public places, which shows the lack of political dignity; the number should be gradually reduced to an appropriate amount. The same principle applies to portraits and inscriptions of other leaders."

A Discussion: The Meaning of Life

A discussion on the meaning of life sponsored by *Zhongguo Qingnian* (China Youth), the journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, has met with warm response from the young people. The journal's editorial board has received more than 40,000 letters from youths of all walks of life throughout China in a little more than three months.

Why has there been such widespread response? Members of the editorial board said that the major reason was that the young people were encouraged to voice their innermost feelings

and discuss matters of common concern to the young in a practical and realistic way.

The discussion was touched off by a letter to the editorial board written by Pan Xiao, a young woman worker of a factory in Beijing. Published in this year's 5th issue in May, the letter was entitled: "Why has life for me become increasingly meaningless?"

In her letter Pan Xiao told what had happened to her during and after the ten years of turmoil. When she was a little girl, she wrote, she thought that life held out great hopes for her. But shortly after she entered primary school, turmoil started and the world around her was plunged into chaos. She saw with her own eyes how people's houses were searched and their property confiscated without warrant, how people resorted to violence and destruction and acted with utter disregard for human dignity or life. Joy and laughter had vanished from her family, and while the elderly people went about cautiously and were prepared for the worst, the young swaggered about all day long, cursing and swearing, playing cards, smoking and whiling away the time doing nothing. Later, her family quarrelled because of pecuniary matters. She had no choice but to suspend her studies and find a job. Not long after, she fell in love with the son of a persecuted cadre, and found solace and happiness. But after his father was rehabilitated following the downfall of the gang of four, he deserted her.

She was disillusioned but would not give up for lost. Against heavy odds she groped and tried to find the meaning of life. She came to the conclusion through her own experience that "everyone is selfish" and that



Pan Xiao reading letters from young people all over China.

discussing with the other young people the meaning of life.

High Officials' Sons Punished

The Beijing intermediate people's court recently sentenced four young men to imprisonment, ranging from two to six years. Three of them are the sons of high-ranking officials. The case has been the talk of the town and cited as yet another example that the principle "All are equal before the law" has been upheld.

The chief culprits are Xu Yulan, his younger brother Xu Yuqi and Xiahou Lianming, all workers and the sons of high-ranking cadres. Their accomplice worked in a hospital.

From last October, the two brothers engaged in smuggling goods, such as colour TV sets, tape recorders and watches, in collusion with a merchant in Xianggang (Hongkong), who got jewelry in return. The contacts between them were arranged by Zhang Ruowen, a woman employee in a store, who boasted before the Xu brothers that she had many jewels of her own.

The four culprits tried to force her to give them these jewels, but when she refused to do so, they beat her up and detained her in a room for three days and nights. Later they took her wristwatch and 95 yuan in cash and made her write an IOU for 10,000 yuan.

Commenting on this case, *Beijing Ribao* said: "Most of our cadres' children are good. But there are a few who don't attend to their work and do what they like in violation of the law, banking on their parents' positions to shield themselves. This is an evil tendency endangering

"everyone, whether in making a living or an innovation, is subjectively for himself and only objectively for others."

The journal neither criticized nor ignored her. To Pan Xiao and numerous other young people like her, it extended a warm and helping hand, affirming that it was a sign of progress on her part that she had pondered over questions confronting her as well as the meaning of life instead of taking an apathetic or callous attitude. At the same time, the editorial board did not hastily answer the questions she had raised in her letter or draw abstract conclusions, but decided to let the young people themselves discuss this crucial question: "What is the meaning of life?" One of the letters addressed to Pan Xiao said: "Four years ago, the questions you have raised in your letter surely could not be published for the young people to discuss, but your letter would be handed over to the court and you would be tried."

In the letters that had poured in like snowflakes, many young people spoke of experiences and sufferings similar to hers, sometimes even more tortuous and complicated. All were earnest and told what was really in their

hearts: their disillusion and sorrows, their joy and hopes.

The discussion caught on. The national newspaper *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily) and many local papers also started similar discussions.

Renmin Ribao has published reports of these discussions on several occasions. In a commentary entitled "The Discussion on the Meaning of Life Deserves Attention," the paper stressed that "the discussion deals with some of the ideological problems common to the young people today and has touched the right chord." It added that "for quite some time there has been too much criticism of the young people but too little work done to discuss and analyse ideological problems together with them. The discussion that is going on marks a return to the fine tradition of the Chinese Communist Party to do a good job in ideological and political work. It should be given close attention."

The discussion is continuing in *Zhongguo Qingnian* and other journals. *Zhongguo Qingnian* published in its 8th issue Pan Xiao's second letter to its editorial board in which she expressed her desire to go on

the progress of the modernization drive. We must sweep it away resolutely." The commentary added: "Ours is a socialist country. No one can defy the law and go unpunished."

The commentary criticized a few high-ranking cadres who, after their children were arrested, tried by every means to help them escape punishment by law. One of the reasons why these young people have committed crimes is that they are spoiled by their parents.

Renmin Ribao also commented that, in educating their children, cadres should do a lot of work, and a very important task is that they must not seek special treatment for their children or relatives. To do so, the crucial point is that they must not put themselves in a special position.

The paper said that it is the pernicious influence of feudal ideology to use their positions and power to seek privileges for their children. This, it stressed, is by no means showing proper concern for their children but will only harm them.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Israel's Policy of Aggression Condemned

Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, sternly denounced Israel for stubbornly pursuing a policy of aggression and expansion and bombarding south Lebanon. He also condemned the Israeli authorities' announcement making Jerusalem the capital of Israel in disregard of international law and world opposition. Premier Hua said this when he

met with the delegation of the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al Fatah) led by Abu Jihad, Deputy Commander of the "Al-*Assifa*" Forces, on August 24.

Neither the Arab countries nor the Islamic countries will agree to Israel's actions, Premier Hua stressed. "These actions will be denounced by the justice-upholding countries and people throughout the world."

The Premier declared: "Israel should withdraw from the Arab territory it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. The Palestinian people's rights to national self-determination and to building their own country should be restored."

He said that China has long established diplomatic relations with Palestine and their relations have become better and better. The Palestinian people are waging an arduous struggle. The truth is on their side, and their future is bright and their influence is spreading. They have won the sympathy and support of the people in China, in the Arab and other countries in the world.

Indian Armed Personnel Released

The Chinese frontier guards released 40 Indian soldiers on August 20 at the China-Sikkim border. They had been detained when they entered China's territory.

These Indian army officers and men crossed the China-Sikkim border on August 7 and intruded into Yadong (Chomo) district in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a protest with India. The Indian side said in reply that the detachment had entered Chinese territory by mistake when it lost its way in bad weather while

on routine patrol duty. The Indian side said it was "sorry" and hoped the Chinese side would release them at the earliest possible date. The Chinese Government agreed to this request. The handover took place smoothly.

News in Brief

Nicaraguan Trade Delegation.

At a meeting with the Nicaraguan trade delegation on August 19, Vice-Premier Yao Yilin said that China and Nicaragua, though geographically far apart, need to know each other better. He said that "trade can be a bridge across which our countries can increase contacts and mutual understanding."

A trade agreement was reached in principle that afternoon, under which Nicaragua will export more than 10,000 tons of cotton to China next year.

American Indians' Delegation.

Yang Jingren, Minister in Charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, met and feted a delegation of American Indians on August 14. He extended a warm welcome to the guests who had come to China to study the life of the minority nationalities in China.

It was the first delegation of minority people from the United States to visit China. Most of the members were chosen by various Indian tribes living in reservations. They visited Beijing, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Shanghai.



*Sino-U.S. Relations***No Compromise on Question
Of Principle**

FORMER director of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, George Bush, and his party left Beijing for home on August 23 after a four-day visit. He had been sent here by Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan to "clarify" Reagan's statements concerning Taiwan, which were not at all helpful to improving Sino-U.S. relations. In Beijing, he met with Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. But he hardly achieved anything in his mission.

Stopping over in Honolulu on his way home, Bush argued that Reagan had only used vague wording in describing his proposal to re-establish "official relations" with Taiwan. In so doing, Bush was either pretending to be ignorant or distorting the facts, for what Reagan himself said was not vague at all.

A Difficult Mission. In Beijing, Bush categorically denied that Reagan had said that he wanted to establish "government-to-government relations" with Taiwan and reiterated that Reagan wanted to "improve relations with the People's Republic of China" and that he would not "set the clock back" in Sino-U.S. relations by pursuing a "two Chinas" policy. However, while Bush was "clarifying" in Beijing, Reagan on August 21 was saying in Los Angeles that he wanted to establish "official relations" with China's province of Taiwan and to "establish an official U.S. government liaison office" there.

Reagan thus put Bush in a very embarrassing position.

Bush affirmed that Reagan would handle U.S.-Taiwan relations within the context of the U.S. "Taiwan relations act," which everyone knows has been opposed by the Chinese Government. It is, moreover, a domestic law of the U.S., which cannot form a legal basis for handling Sino-U.S. relations.

These relations should be guided by the 1979 communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations. This document states clearly: "The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan." Any "official relations" between the U.S. and Taiwan will be a violation of this agreement.

When asked by newsmen in Beijing on August 22 if there were any possibility of setting up a liaison office under the act, similar to the semi-official liaison office that existed in Beijing before the United States and China established full diplomatic relations, Bush replied categorically: "No." But Reagan said the same day at a press conference in Dallas: "I guess it's a 'Yes,'" when pressed to give a yes or no answer to the same question.

Question of Principle. This was not the first time Reagan proposed a "two Chinas" policy. Shortly after China and the

United States announced establishment of diplomatic relations, he criticized the Carter administration for severing diplomatic and official ties with Taiwan. Then in the current U.S. presidential election campaign, he advocated restoring governmental relations between the United States and Taiwan and called Taiwan the "republic of China" on many occasions. This is decidedly not a slip of the tongue or unintentional, still less a misunderstanding on China's part.

Although China has rebutted Reagan's "two Chinas" proposition on many occasions, he still persists in advocating it. This has hurt the sensibilities of the 1,000 million Chinese who are very indignant about it.

Reagan avers that he is not against carrying forward relations with China. How can he not be against developing relations with China further when he so lightly dismisses the aspirations of the Chinese people on a major issue involving China's territorial integrity and sovereignty? It must be made quite clear now that there can be no compromise on China's part over the Taiwan question. It is an important question of principle. So Reagan and his supporters had best not bank on anything. If Reagan's "two Chinas" policy prevails, it is certain to seriously jeopardize the process of the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations and lead to a big retrogression.

Irresponsible Talk. China has never interfered and has no intention of interfering in U.S. politics, presidential elections included. Developing relations with the United States is supraparty. The Chinese people can be expected to firmly oppose whichever party that gets into

power and violates the agreement reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations and brings about a step back in Sino-U.S. relations.

But when China was only taking necessary and reasonable steps to defend its sovereignty, U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater in his August 18 statement accused China of interfering in the internal affairs of the United States. In his written statement, Goldwater spoke like an old-time imperialist, declaring that the United States need not worry about Chinese reactions to a "two Chinas" policy and China's "empty threats," because China needs the United States more than the United States needs China.

The U.S. signed the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States only after 30 long years of hostility and attempts to isolate China. This was not the result of the will of any one U.S. leader in power, but was the result of the joint efforts of the peoples and governments of the two countries. This must not be overlooked. Moreover, it was inevitable. History and international developments made it so. China does attach importance to the development of Sino-U.S. relations and is willing to do more to promote and consolidate this relationship. However, this should not be mistaken to mean that China is begging the United States. Normalization of relations between the two countries was realized because it conformed to the desire and interest of the people of both countries and helped maintain stability in the world. It is also relevant to point out that the process of normalizing relations between China and the United States was begun under Republican

President Nixon and completed under Democratic President Carter. This shows that farsighted people of both parties in the United States were aware that the United States had its own needs and interests to serve in developing friendly relations with China. Undermining Sino-U.S. relations will only harm peace and security in the world and delight the Soviet hegemonists.

Goldwater is a prominent member of the Taiwan lobby in the United States, so his irresponsible utterances are not unexpected. He represents a

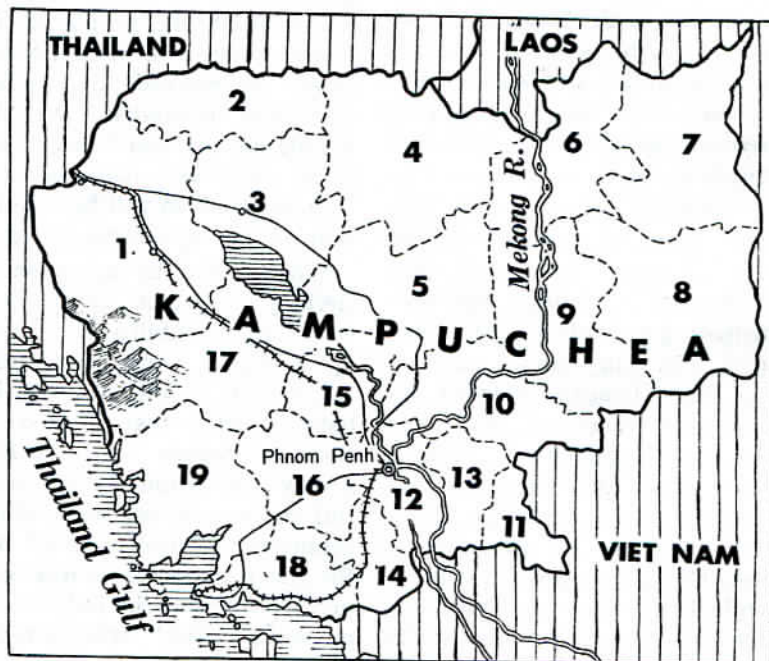
handful of people in the United States who still harbour unfriendly feelings towards the Chinese people and who come out whenever a chance appears to try and influence U.S. policy towards China. But they have no support among the people of the United States. There is a saying in Chinese that "whosoever understands the times is a great man." A responsible, sober-minded statesman is one who perceives world trends, makes the right decision and suits his action to his word.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

Kampuchea

War Situation in Rainy Season

THE Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea are having a more miserable time since the monsoon set in. From mid-May they have had to put up passively with rain and mud and increasing guerrilla attacks. Heavy rains have driven the Vietnamese troops to hole up in the cities and towns and to



- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Battambang | 8. Mondolkiri | 15. Kompong Chhnang |
| 2. Oddor Meanchey | 9. Kratie | 16. Kompong Speu |
| 3. Siemreap | 10. Kompong Cham | 17. Pursat |
| 4. Preah Vihear | 11. Svay Rieng | 18. Kampot |
| 5. Kompong Thom | 12. Kandal | 19. Koh Kong |
| 6. Stung Treng | 13. Prey Veng | |
| 7. Ratanakiri | 14. Takeo | |

try keeping communication lines open. They have, however, mustered one division to attack the guerrilla base in Phnom Melai near the Kampuchean-Thai border, where the resistance forces are very active. The Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units in this hill region are more than holding their own against the Vietnamese. The weather and the terrain favour the Kampuchians, whose mines and well-concealed traps are also making the attackers pay dearly. Small detachments of highly mobile Kampuchians have blown up bridges, cut communications and attacked the enemy from the flanks and from behind. In over 50 days of fighting, the Vietnamese division has made little headway and has

sustained heavy losses. The division has had to call off the attack and other units stationed in Kompong Thom east of Tonle Sap have been rushed to the front in Phnom Melai.

There are no clearly defined lines in this war. The Vietnamese troops are not secure anywhere. Guerrillas strike and fade away. For the Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea, "it rains all the time," there is no respite. It is a gray, gloomy picture. They are ambushed and their transport and communications constantly cut. Although there is a Vietnamese soldier on guard every 100-150 metres along the No. 4 Highway from Phnom Penh to Kompong Som Port and a platoon or a company of Vietnamese troops every mile or two along

the Phnom Penh-Battambang railway line and along the No. 5 Highway, Kampuchean forces have destroyed three enemy military trains and wiped out an estimated 200 enemy soldiers along the Phnom Penh-Battambang railway. Another enemy military train was blown up in Ang Krong on the Phnom Penh-Kompong Som railway. Guerrillas on several occasions destroyed bridges and sections of the No. 6 Highway between Phnom Penh and Siemreap. Foreign observers back from Phnom Penh say that the guerrilla attacks against bridges and highways since the monsoon season started have been stepped up and the already appalling state of transport and communications is now worse than ever.

Sihanouk Asks U.N. Not To Recognize Puppet Regime

SAMDECH Norodom Sihanouk in a statement issued in Beijing on August 21 once again roundly condemned "Vietnamese colonialism" and requested the United Nations not to recognize the Viet Nam and Soviet-installed Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh.

The statement, according to Sihanouk himself, was made because some Kampuchians and foreign observers had described his position vis-a-vis the Heng Samrin regime as "ambiguous."

"My country, Cambodia, is today the victim of Vietnamese colonialism," said Sihanouk in his statement.

"I demand that the U.N. never recognize the 'fait accompli' Viet Nam has created in Cambodia and never recognize 'de jure' the Heng Samrin-Pen Sovan regime installed in Phnom Penh by the

Vietnamese and Soviet imperialists.

"Heng Samrin, Pen Sovan and company in Phnom Penh are traitors to their motherland and the Khmer people. Heng Samrin is a quisling who does not represent Cambodia, but Viet Nam and the U.S.S.R. He in no way represents the Cambodian nation and sovereign Cambodia, a full member of the United Nations since 1955."

In his statement, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk also condemned the Vietnamese authorities for their brazen violation of the April 1970 Resolution of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and for their colonialist rule over

Laos and Kampuchea.

In conclusion, he stressed in the statement: "As for my country Cambodia, I demand that the United Nations reject totally and definitively the candidature of the so-called 'the People's Republic of Kampuchea.'"



Give them more. Cartoon by Xu Jin

Since June, guerrillas have demolished 20 Vietnamese strongholds in the provinces of Mondolkiri, Stung Treng, Kratie, Preah Vihear, Battambang and Pursat. There are small active resistance areas around Phnom Penh, Siemreap (including Angkor), Kompong Chhnang and other important

centres. The resistance is scattered but every resistance group is in contact with each other. Guerrilla-controlled territory now stretches from the provinces of Battambang, Oddor Meanchey, Preah Vihear, Stung Treng and Kratie to Mondolkiri, Ratanakiri and other provinces in the east.

ment assistance in the five years beginning 1981 from this year's 2,800 million U.S. dollars, an increase of 15 per cent each year. Terms for economic aid abroad will be less tight, too.

Diplomacy. Diplomatic activity will also play an important part in the new cabinet's efforts for comprehensive security. While maintaining Japan-U.S. relations as the axis of Japan's diplomacy, the new government is attaching greater importance to relations with other Asian countries. Prime Minister Suzuki will visit the ASEAN countries next January and has decided to send Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito to visit Thailand, India, Burma and Pakistan in late August, and stop-over in China on his way back.

The *Mainichi Shimbun* disclosed that Ito and the leaders of those countries will discuss the situation in Asia, with emphasis on Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Political observers in Tokyo have pointed to the strategic significance of the Suzuki government taking steps to fulfil its international obligations to stand up to the Soviet threat, by playing a bigger role in Asia diplomatically and forging closer ties with the ASEAN countries.

— *Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen*

Unwanted Interference

THE Iranian official Pars News Agency reported that Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Ghotbzadeh on August 13 demanded that the Soviet Embassy, consulates and other Soviet institutions in Iran stop their "abnormal actions" against Iran.

Report From Tokyo

Suzuki Cabinet's Defence and Foreign Policies

THE world has been watching the Zenko Suzuki cabinet put its defence and foreign policies into operation, step by step, over the past month. The application of these policies is of particular interest against the background of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

More Defence Spending. Four days after he assumed office, Prime Minister Suzuki proposed the establishment of a "comprehensive national security council" to study the question of Japan's security from a wider angle which covers diplomacy, energy, food, in addition to defence. The creation of such a council to promote a global and integrated security policy was first proposed in a report submitted to Acting Prime Minister Masayoshi Ito on July 2 by an advisory group to the late Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira.

The concept of "comprehensive national security" was more or less reflected in the compilation of the state budget for fiscal 1981.

The Finance Ministry and the Defence Agency agreed that defence expenditure in fiscal 1981 should be raised by 9.7 per cent over the current fiscal spending to a record 2,446,600 million yen (10,970 million U.S.

dollars). A large portion of this sum will be spent on new weaponry.

The necessity to increase defence spending to cope with the changing world is stressed in the 1980 Japanese Defence White Paper issued on August 5. It says: "The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, which took place amid a growing concern in the West about the permeation of the Soviet influence in the Middle East and Africa, has increased tensions between the East and West and further aggravated the unstable Middle East situation." The Soviet military buildup on the northern territories and the activities of the Soviet Far East forces have begun "to pose an increased potential threat to Japan's security," it adds.

Economic Aid. Greater government economic aid to the developing countries is also considered important in Japan's concept of comprehensive security. The advisory group has stressed in its report that Japan's security is to be taken in an overall sense, encompassing economic security and efforts to create a favourable international environment.

It was disclosed that Japan will double its official develop-

The demand was contained in a letter to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in reply to his memorandum of July 9, in which the Soviet minister complained about Iran's attitude towards Moscow.

Referring to the expulsion of Soviet Embassy first secretary Vladimir Golovanov, Ghotbzadeh charged in his letter to the Soviet minister that "not only him but many of your men, instead of carrying out current and ordinary embassy work, are busy spying." Ghotbzadeh, denying a Soviet allegation that he had met exiled former Iranian Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar in Geneva, said that Bakhtiar had, in fact, met "your representatives."

The Soviet Union is supporting the Kurdistan guerrilla forces against the central government, the Iranian Foreign Minister said. The Russians had supplied them with satellite photographs of government strongholds in Kurdistan and had engaged in illicit currency exchange there. Sophisticated Soviet weapons were discovered in the region as well.

He urged Moscow to stop supporting the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and the distributors of that party's newspaper *Mardom*.

The Soviet Union should withdraw its troops from "the Moslem country of Afghanistan, our neighbour, and let its people choose their destiny," said the Iranian Foreign Minister.

Moscow's intervention in Afghanistan raises fears about Soviet intentions towards Iran. "How can we be assured that our Baluchistan on the border of Afghanistan will not be attacked by your army?" asked Ghotbzadeh.

According to the Iranian paper *Ettela'at* of August 21 quoting the commander of the Revolutionary Guard Corps in Rasht, a Soviet named Klashko was arrested in Rasht and expelled from Iran because of his relations with certain "Leftist forces."

The commander also said that an extensive investigation into the activities of foreign agents in the town was under way and that all information obtained will be made public.

At Iran's request, the Soviet Union has recently closed down its consulate in Isfahan.

Outrageous Lies!

SOME newspapers in several African countries have suddenly and simultaneously run a story about China conducting "secret talks" with South African officials purportedly in Zaire and Namibia "with opposition to the African national-liberation movements in mind." Some papers even alleged that high-ranking representatives from the Israeli Defence and Finance Ministries have visited China, which "wants to establish links, through Israel, with the racist regime of South Africa" and that the United States has recently obtained "military bases in the China Sea" under a military pact signed by the two countries. These weird stories were immediately picked up and disseminated by the Soviet media. It does not need much thought to see who had spread these rumours in the first place.

Some newspapers in certain African countries simultaneously running such a story certainly cannot be taken to mean

African animosity towards the Chinese people.

The Chinese Government and people have always supported the just struggle of the southern African people, the Palestinian and other Arab people. China strictly abides by the U.N. resolutions, firmly opposes South Africa's apartheid policy of official racial discrimination and Israel's policy of aggression and expansion. China has refused to have any contact or ties with them. China's just and consistent stand is known throughout the world.

Who has dealings with the South African and Israeli authorities? Not China. Who doesn't know it is the Soviet Union that is seeking military bases and strategic resources in Africa and the Middle East and fomenting trouble in these regions? Isn't it the same Soviet Union that is trying to break up and destroy the African national-liberation movements, prevent the Arab people from recovering their lost lands and the Palestinian people from regaining their legitimate rights? Isn't it the Soviet Union that is trying to seize control of Africa and the Middle East?

The recent spate of rumours defaming China is a Soviet attempt to drive a wedge between China and the African and Arab countries so as to cover up Soviet collusion with the South African regime and the Israeli authorities, to say nothing of its infiltration, expansion and aggression in Africa and the Middle East.

Such sinister Soviet schemes are counter-productive. It will help Africans to see the Soviet hegemonists for what they are a little more clearly.

— Ren Yan

Academic Discussion

What Is the Motive Force of Historical Development?

A DISCUSSION on what is the motive force in the development of society has been unfolding in the Chinese press since last year. Highlights of the discussion are:

- Productive forces are the ultimate motive force. This is a universal law applicable to every society.

- In class society, class struggle is the real motive force.

- Both the productive forces and class struggle are the motive force propelling the social changes in a class society. But they play different roles in different stages of historical development.

- The basic social contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the superstructure and the economic base constitute the motive force, and the former is fundamental.

- The motive force that directly affects historical development is a "joint force"—the interaction of all factors which exert influence on human society.

- The material or economic interests of human beings are the fundamental motive force.

- The masses are the fundamental motive force.

Some of these divergent viewpoints are expounded in the following three articles.

Class Struggle Is the Motive Force in Private Ownership Society

by Liu Danian

WHAT are the positions and roles of productive forces and class struggle in historical development? Which one provides the major impetus? Or do both of them serve the same



Liu Danian.

function? If both, then what is the relationship between them? The answer to these questions involves an understanding of the principles of historical materialism and the Marxist theory of class struggle.

First, the advance of human society is, in the last analysis, determined by the development of productive forces. To depart from this prerequisite is to depart from the basis of historical materialism. In class society, the role of the productive forces as the impetus of historical development finds its expression in the need for the relations of production to conform with the development of the productive forces. The contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production manifests itself in class struggle. As to the relationship between the productive forces and class struggle, a series of expositions can be found in the Marxist classics.

Engels said: "Where . . . the internal state power of a country becomes antagonistic to its economic development, as occurred at a certain stage with almost every political power in the past, the contest always ended with the downfall of the political power. Inexorably and without exception economic development has forced its way through—we have already mentioned the latest and most striking example of this, the great French Revolution." (*Anti-Duhring*.)

Social structure rising from the mode of economic production boils down finally to class structure. When economic development leads

The author is the director of the Research Institute of Modern History.

to the downfall of a political power and forces its way through, it naturally means that the class representing the new productive forces blazes a new trail for itself by overthrowing the class representing the old relations of production. But economic development cannot change history spontaneously; it requires class struggle and revolutionary movements. The most convincing fact is the establishment of a socialist system in Russia after the October Revolution when its productive forces were relatively backward, and in China after the socialist transformation when its productive forces were very backward. On the other hand, though their production levels are comparatively high or much higher than the above-mentioned two countries, some Western countries are still in the capitalist stage of society.

This shows that the development of the productive forces cannot change history naturally. It can only change the course of history — that is, toppling the old society and old social system and establishing a new society and a new social system — through class struggle and social transformation. Therefore, it can be said that in a society of private ownership, class struggle is the motive force for historical development.

Second, the statement that class struggle is the motive force for historical development refers mainly to the turbulent transformation from the old society, the old social system to a new society, a new social system. This point has been clearly enunciated by Marx in his *Preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy."* He made further expositions when he stated in *The Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850* that "revolutions are the locomotives of history" and in *Capital* that "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." The entire history from the slave system to the socialist system proves that this statement is an accurate objective law like the principles in the natural sciences.

Though revolutionary class struggle propels the advance of history, it does not mean that in a society of private ownership there must be revolutions at every moment to ensure its advance. In such a society, it is impossible that each revolutionary action or each triumph of the revolution will result in an immediate advance of the productive forces. It was only in 1760s, 100 years after the bourgeois revolution in Britain, that the Industrial Revolution occurred and capitalism scaled its first height.

The Taiping Revolution (1851-64) was a peasant uprising of tremendous scale in modern Chinese history. Did it prompt the advance of the social productive forces? I think it is hard to find any convincing proof in the direct results that it played such a role. Its significance is self-evident: (1) It concentrated the forces of scattered resistance of the people to deal a crushing blow to the entire power and order of the feudal-patriarchal society, thereby accelerating the decline and collapse of the Qing court and the whole feudal system. (2) It waged a large-scale armed struggle against the foreign invaders, thwarting the attempt of the Western bourgeoisie to colonize China in a short time. (3) Ideologically and organizationally, the Taiping Revolution was on a higher plane than the previous peasant wars. It had an obvious impact on the later people's struggle. But these characteristics did not directly propel the development of the productive forces.

If we view the Taiping Revolution in terms of the whole course of China's democratic revolution — from the old democratic to the new democratic revolution — and regard the movement as an important step in overthrowing the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, then we can say that it did advance the productive forces. This is because it ushered in the developments finally leading to the big advance of the productive forces under the socialist system. The developments are the Yi He Tuan Movement (an armed struggle, with the peasants as its mainstay, against imperialist aggression at the end of the last century), the 1911 bourgeois revolution, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May Fourth Movement in 1919 (the students took their place in the van), the struggles during the various stages of the new democratic revolution, and the great victory of the democratic revolution.

Third, when we say that in a society of private ownership, the development of productive forces can change the course of history only by class struggle, it does not mean that the development of productive forces and class struggle form an indivisible whole, or that there is only harmony between them, but no contradiction or antagonism. The two are harmonious at one time and antagonistic at another. When they are harmonious, history advances; otherwise, the advance of history is retarded. There are revolutionary and progressive classes and class struggle as well as counter-revolutionary and retrogressive classes and class struggle. It all depends on the positions of the classes and the related actual conditions.

Engels said: "The reaction of the state power upon economic development can be of three kinds; it can run in the same direction, and then development is more rapid; it can oppose the line of development, in which case nowadays it will go to pieces in the long run in every great people; or it can prevent the economic development from proceeding along certain lines, and prescribe other lines. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and cause a great squandering of energy and material." (Engels to C. Schmidt, October 27, 1890.) Either in the past or in the present-day world, sometimes there is a big leap forward in social production and historical advance, but more often than not there are twists and turns. These are historical facts.

Historical materialism tells us that the social relations and productive forces are closely related. The hand-operated mill gave rise to a society headed by feudal lords and the steam-engine-propelled mill to a society headed by industrial capitalists. Class antagonism and class struggle are products of the development of the productive forces and they will be eliminated in the course of the latter's development. Marx said: "The existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production." (Marx to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852.) When the productive forces develop to a higher stage, the elimination of classes, like their emergence, cannot be blocked. After that, how the productive forces will lead society forward has been scientifically explained by the Marxist classical writers. As to more detailed explanations, we had better leave them to future generations.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Renmin Ribao")

Material or Economic Interests of Mankind

by Yan Zhongkui

MEN must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history.' But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing and various other things. The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the produc-

tion of material life itself. And indeed this is an historical act, a fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousands of years ago, must daily and hourly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *The German Ideology*, 1845-46.) It is precisely in order to live that mankind produces. Production gives rise to productive forces. The attainment of each new productive force inevitably changes mankind's mode of production and way of life and continually pushes man's social history from a lower to a higher stage. Productive forces are a manifestation of the motive force of historical development, an indication of the level of historical development, but not the fundamental motive force.

Some comrades claim that the development of productive forces is the basic motive force in historical development. In doing so they have mistaken the form for the essence, the indicators of historical development for the fundamental force of historical development. Productive forces grow out of the material needs of the existence and development of man. When people develop the productive forces, their primary purpose is to satisfy their material needs, not to promote the development of history. At least prior to the emergence of Marxism, people could not have become conscious of the effect on historical development. It would thus be better to see the material needs of mankind's existence and development as the basic forces for historical development than to regard the productive forces as playing such an historical role, because the material needs more closely get to the heart of the matter.

With the advent of class society, people became divided into several classes that were economically antagonistic or distinct. Thus history progresses through class antagonism and class struggle. A host of historical facts have proved that class struggle (the highest form is violent revolution) has brought about a change in social formation and the development of history. From this some comrades have concluded that class struggle—the direct motive force of history—is the fundamental motive force of historical development in a class society. However, this assertion is incorrect.

Why do the oppressed classes engage in class struggle? That is to say, what makes the oppressed classes struggle against the ruling classes? Engels said: "All political struggles are

The author is a lecturer of Jinan University.



Newspaper clippings and magazine articles on the motive force of historical development

cal development. They are only its external expression.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Guangming Ribao")

Joint Force of the Movement Of Various Social Contradictions

by Song Shitang and Li Demao

MARXISM tells us that contradiction is the motive force in the development of a thing. Contradiction produces movement; the movement and solving of contradiction brings about the change and development of a thing. Therefore, we hold that it is the joint force of the movement of various contradictions in society that pushes human history forward.

class struggles, and all class struggles for emancipation, despite their necessarily political form — for every class struggle is a political struggle — turn ultimately on the question of economic emancipation." (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, 1886.) Clearly, the economic or material interests of a class make up its "class interests" while "class struggle" is the struggle waged by various classes to obtain and safeguard their material or economic interests. The goal of all oppressed and exploited classes in history for life and struggle is the realization of an ideal life. It is precisely because they have to win and defend such interests to live and develop that they have struggled wave upon wave against the ruling classes. Class struggle is merely a means for a class to realize its material or economic interests. Therefore, it is only a direct motive force of history, not the basic motive force of historical development. It is the material or economic interests that, as the basic motive force, push forward the class struggle.

On the basis of the basic motive force, there are several direct motive forces or levers, such as the development of the productive forces, the class struggle and mental emancipation, which have helped push forward historical development at various stages. Engels said: "It is precisely the wicked passions of man — greed and lust for power—which, since the emergence of class antagonisms, serve as levers of historical development — a fact of which the history of feudalism and of the bourgeoisie, for example, constitutes a single continual proof." (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.) But these motive forces or levers cannot replace the basic motive force of histori-

The history of mankind is a complex entity made up of many contradictions. It is by no means just one contradiction that plays the main, direct role in advancing history. The first contradiction mankind encounters is the contradiction between itself and nature. To survive, the first thing people must do is to solve the problem of food, clothing and shelter — to take up material production and struggle with nature. Man's capabilities in solving this contradiction are called the productive forces. However, in the process of material production, people invariably enter into definite relations of production; otherwise, production would be impossible. It is proceeding from this fact that Marx and Engels discovered that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production and the corresponding contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure constitute the basic contradictions in human society. The contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production is the concentrated manifestation of the blend of the contradiction between man and nature and all the various contradictions in human society itself, and therefore the most fundamental contradiction in human history. As for other contradictions, they are all no more than manifestations of this fundamental contradiction which is the basic motive force in propelling history forward.

How does the fundamental contradiction in society push history forward? The contradiction is a concrete, real, material movement and its

Song Shitang is a member of the Research Institute of Modern History, and Li Demao is a theoretical worker.



Song Shitang (left) and Li Demao talking over problems.

major forms of manifestation differ in different historical periods. When the relations of production are suited to the productive forces, the contradiction manifests itself chiefly in developing the social productive forces, that is, advancing history by the speedily developed productive forces through the struggle for production and scientific experiment. When the relations of production hinder development of the productive forces, the fundamental social contradiction manifests itself chiefly in transforming the existing relations of production. In class society, any fundamental change in the relations of production and in their corresponding superstructure must be made through class struggle or even through its highest form — violent revolution. This means destroying the old relations of production and their superstructure, opening up a way for development of the productive forces and pushing history forward. It is quite obvious that the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment are the primary forms of manifestation of the fundamental contradiction in society and, at the same time, also the basic practical activities in solving the contradiction. The struggles and experiment are the direct motive forces because they are the material means by which the contradiction pushes history forward. The continual advance of history stems from the joint force formed by the converging of this contradiction and its primary forms of manifestation.

Historical facts have proved that when the relations of production are suited to the productive forces, the development of the forces plays a major role in the development of history. And at such a time, the struggle for production

and scientific experiment become the direct motive forces pushing history forward. It was the British Industrial Revolution, for instance, that carried the history of capitalism a big step forward. And the revolution itself was the very result of the struggle for production and scientific experiment in which the steam engine and the spinning jenny were invented and used. The invention and use of the steam engine ushered in a new era in the development of the productive forces and the progress of history — the “age of steam.” With the revolution, the history of capitalist society underwent a change, or a revolution, and took a big leap forward. The struggle for production and scientific experiment which set off the Industrial Revolution were, of course, the major direct motive forces driving history ahead during that period.

When the relations of production hinder the productive forces seriously, transformation of the relations plays a major role in the advance of history. In class society, to bring about a thorough change in the old relations of production, it is necessary to carry out class struggle. At such times, the struggle becomes the major, direct motive force of historical development. A typical example is provided by modern Chinese history. In modern China, cruel suppression by the three enemies (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism) resulted in the Chinese people’s continuous class and armed struggles. So class struggle was the major, direct motive force driving modern Chinese history ahead.

Could it be said, then, that class struggle was the sole motive force? No, it could not. As a matter of fact, the struggle for production and science and technology were also direct motive forces pushing modern Chinese history forward, but less important than class struggle.

The historical facts tell us that in human history the fundamental social contradiction in society and its major forms of manifestation — struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment — jointly advance history as they complement each other and act on each other. In different historical periods, the contradiction and the major forms may play different roles. The factor which plays a major role at one time may perform a secondary one at another, but at no time does any of them cease to operate or play the sole role. Therefore, on no account must it be said that the motive force pushing history forward is any single exclusive force.

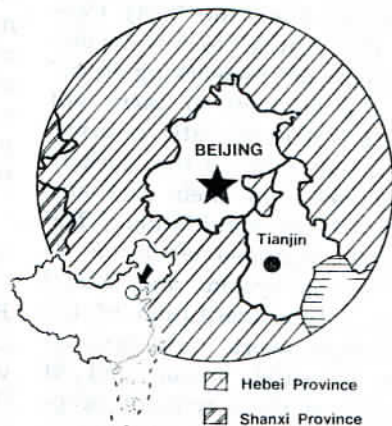
(An abridged translation of an article in “Guangming Ribao”)

Democracy in Factories

by Our Correspondent Tian Sansong

In China's factories, big-character posters have disappeared, "mass criticism" bulletins have been pulled down, and there are no more boisterous meetings to criticize somebody or factional debates. Does this mean democracy in the factories has been weakened?

One of our correspondents has just returned from a visit to several factories in Tianjin. Following is a brief account of the tortuous path the workers have traversed regarding their democratic life. — Ed.



Past and Present

I CALLED at the Tianjin Dyestuff Factory, No. 1 Food-Processing Factory, No. 3 Carpet Factory and Xinhe Shipyard.

Known as the door to the capital, this coastal city 120 km. to the southeast of Beijing was blasted open by imperialist gunboats in 1860. During the ensuing 90 years, eight imperialist countries seized concessions in the city. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Tianjin was under Japanese occupation.

Tianjin is one of the three municipalities directly under the Central Government (the other two are Beijing and Shanghai). It is the largest centre of industry and commerce in north China, with 4,001 enterprises and 1.26 million workers and staff members.

What has been the situation in Tianjin factories with regard to democracy?

Wage Slaves

I paid a visit to the Tianjin No. 1 Food-Processing Factory on the bank of the Haihe River.

Workshop head Qi Shufang, a woman worker who used to beat eggs in the predecessor of the factory before liberation, recalled those days: "The capitalists never



Qi Shufang.

looked on us as human beings. Each of us had a number. The foremen called us by our number instead of by name. We were searched when we entered or left the factory, and even when we went to the toilet. We were constantly under the supervision of the senior or junior foreman; any worker who was at all slow at his job would be dragged out and given a beating or fired."

"Why didn't you go to some other factory?"

"Well, maybe this was the only freedom the workers en-

joyed in those days. But the unemployed were everywhere, and it was very difficult to find another job. What was more, the situation in other factories was no better than in this one," Qi replied.

From the factory history compiled after liberation I learnt about the following incidents: Song Xiaowu, a 15-year-old woman worker fell from a high place during work and died from the injuries received because the capitalists refused to provide for treatment. . . . Some women workers gave birth to abnormal babies because they had bound their abdomen during pregnancy for fear of being sacked. . . .

In the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society before liberation, the workers were just wage-slaves who were brutally exploited and not allowed the slightest exercise of democracy.

Twists and Turns

In January 1949, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — the three moun-

tains weighing on the backs of the Chinese people — fell asunder under the gunfire of the Liberation Army. Tianjin was liberated.

The municipal people's government, in line with instructions from the Party Central Committee "to rely wholeheartedly on the working class," led the workers to carry out a series of democratic reforms. From that time on the workers have stood on their feet and been free of humiliation. The reforms included abolition of the search system and feudal gang bosses, institution of the eight-hour work day, prohibition of child labour and of sacking workers without proper cause, and establishing a system of labour protection. Trade unions and workers' spare-time schools were set up in the factories.

In the meantime, in the state-owned factories (including those formerly owned by imperialists and bureaucrat-capitalists and taken over or confiscated by the state), democratic management was practised through an administrative committee and a conference of workers and staff members. The administrative committee, an organ of power, was composed of the director, vice-directors, the chief engineer, chairman of the trade union, other responsible per-

sonnel and representatives of workers and staff members. Members of the conference of workers and staff members were elected at the grass-roots level — shifts or groups. The conference was entitled to hear and discuss reports submitted by the administrative committee, supervise the committee's managerial activities and working style and, when necessary, make criticisms or proposals.

- Influence of the "one-man leadership" system. In 1953, China began its First Five-Year Plan for economic construction. Owing to our lack of experience, we copied from the Soviet Union the system of the director exercising leadership in a factory. In the next two or three years, the administrative committee, which had worker representatives, and the conference of workers and staff members were suspended in some factories. Democracy was weakened and the relationship between workers and cadres became tense in some places.

- Birth of the workers' and staff members' congress. Later at the Eighth Party Congress held in 1956, the Party Central Committee summed up past experiences and corrected deviations resulting from the "one-man leadership" system.

A decision was made to introduce a system of division of responsibility between the director and vice-directors under the leadership of the Party committee. This was supplemented by the system of workers' and staff members' congress under the leadership of the Party committee. The congress was empowered to examine and discuss plans in regard to production, finances, techniques and wages, as well as measures for materializing these plans, and to examine how these plans were being put into effect. The congress was also empowered to make decisions (which were binding on the administrative department) regarding the use of enterprise funds for rewards and welfare funds. It also had the right to propose the removal of particular leaders. In these ways the workers gradually began to exercise greater democracy.

- Ten years of turmoil. However, democracy in factories was seriously undermined during the ten years starting from 1966. In the beginning some workers criticized certain leaders for their undemocratic, bureaucratic style. This was reasonable. Later, under the instigation of Lin Biao and the gang of four, the tendency to "suspect all, overthrow all" became rampant. Nearly all the Party committees in the factories were "kicked aside"; the leaders were labelled "capitalist-roaders" and criticized for implementing a revisionist line. (There was no clear definition of revisionism.) Trade unions were forced to suspend their activities and workers became divided into two large factions. Good comrades and friends of long standing became implacable enemies. Anarchism reigned; everywhere, the two factions attacked each other and held meetings



Worker students at a spare-time school in the early days after liberation.



A checkup group of the congress of workers and staff.

to struggle against "villains" in the other faction, sometimes even resorting to physical combat on a considerable scale. All this made convocation of the workers' and staff members' congress impossible.

Yet doing things like this was known as "big democracy." "How can this be called big democracy!" exclaimed Li Li-hai, a worker of the No. 3 Carpet Factory. "In those days we simply would not sit together in one room," he said, indicating his co-workers. "Once I put up a big-character poster attacking someone. As soon as he found out about it, he immediately pasted up a poster about me in retaliation. We tried to harm each other regardless of the facts. The factory was in disorder, so was the whole of society. We were really taken in."

Different Channels

In the last few years, the "big democracy" described above has disappeared, while normal, down-to-earth democracy was being gradually restored. Though not yet consummate in all details, the trend of development is healthy. So far as I know, there are the following channels of democracy in Tianjin factories.

Congress of Workers and Staff Members. This is one of the main channels which I will discuss in detail later. At present, China is reforming its system of economic management and expanding the power of an enterprise to make its own decisions; accordingly the congress also has a bigger say in factory affairs.

Democratic Election and Appraisal of Leaders. This is a new development. Previously leaders at different levels in factories were appointed. Now, heads of workshops, sections and shifts have been democratically elected by workers in more than 100 factories. Some factory directors and deputy directors were elected or recommended by workers, and more will be elected. In many other factories, workers had the opportunity to appraise their leaders with respect to their working style and ability.

Trade Unions. Trade unions at various levels have resumed their activities in the last two years. The factory trade union committee, which is also the working organization of the workers' and staff members' congress, is playing a bigger role. At present each factory has a trade union office with the chairman, several vice-chairmen and other members.

Under the trade union committee are working committees for studying and solving problems which the workers are concerned about, including the special needs of women workers. Liu Bin, chairman of the trade union at the No. 3 Carpet Factory, said: The workers' suggestions are made known to the departments concerned through their trade union which also helps the workers when they have difficulties. Trade union members have come to consider and call their trade union the "workers' home."

Democracy in Shifts and Groups. The grass-roots units in a factory are the production shifts and groups, which make up the base for factory democracy. Many workers take on responsibility for certain tasks within the shift or group.

Take for instance group No. 7 of the carpet factory's No. 1 workshop. Of the 32 members in the group, there are two group leaders, one responsible for administration, and the other for trade union work. Six members are separately responsible for either quality, business accounting, political study, attendance, safety or daily life. The two leaders and six members can seek advice or help at the factory or workshop level. There are eight machines, each tended by four workers. They help one another and check on each other's work.

Other Channels. The workers are encouraged to make rationalization proposals. Special meetings attended by workers, technicians and managing personnel are called to study problems relating to production, technique and management. The factory leaders often go to the workshops to listen to the workers' opinions, work with

the rank and file or hold forums among the workers. They also receive worker-visitors at their homes or in the offices. Since workshop, section, shift and group leaders are always among the workers, the latter have a chance to voice their opinions at any time and supervise the leaders.

Besides, Party and Communist Youth League organizations are also channels through which workers express their opinions. In case their opinions are turned down at the grass-roots level, they may ask the trade unions at higher levels for help or write to the press. In the past few years, newspapers all over China have published letters from readers, many of whom are workers, giving their suggestions and criticisms. Comrade Wei of the Tianjin Municipal Trade Union Council told me that his department took care of over 2,000 interviews and letters from the workers last year.

Searching for a Better Way

The experience of Tianjin shows that democracy in China's factories has gone through a tortuous path — from absence of democracy to its institution, from disruption of democracy to resumption and development of democracy. At present the workers enjoy more democracy than before and the channels for exercising democratic rights are wider. "But we are still searching for a better way," said a comrade of the municipal trade union council. The organization of the congress of workers and staff members has to be legalized. Election of leaders at the grass-roots level is still on a trial basis. Since China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial coun-

try, feudal ideas (such as arbitrary and patriarchal working style, privilege-seeking) are still hampering the advance of socialist democracy in various ways.

What are the prospects? A staff member of the municipal trade union council said: "We are optimistic. The economic relations of socialist public ownership decide that workers and staff are masters of the state and enterprises. Our

policy is consistent — that is, to give play to democracy and to rely on the working class in factories. Anything which goes against this policy is a deviation from socialism. But as to the methods of carrying out this policy, there is no ready-made answer. It is necessary to sum up our own experiences, adopt the good experiences of other countries critically, and go in for practical measures which allow workers to exercise their rights as masters."

Congress of Workers and Staff

THE congress of workers and staff members is a major channel through which the Chinese workers and staff members can give full play to democracy in running their factories. The number of these congresses has been rapidly growing in the last two years. Tianjin is a case in point. Of its 4,001 enterprises, the overwhelming majority have restored or established such an organization while the rest are preparing to follow suit before 1981.

Structure

Liu Bin, trade union chairman of the Tianjin No. 3 Carpet Factory, explained the structure of the congress in his factory.

As the term suggests, he said, "workers and staff" in the factory covers not only workers but also all the other wage-earners including the secretaries of the Party committee, the director and deputy directors, chief engineer, engineers, technicians and office workers. They have a common goal and the same basic interests, and their relationship is entirely different from that between exploiters and exploited. Dele-

gates elected from among them make up the congress of workers and staff.

Sixty-six of the 91 delegates in the current congress are workers, Liu told me. The rest include 17 technical and management personnel and eight factory leaders. The factory has a total of 1,319 workers and staff members.

"The municipal trade union council stipulates that worker delegates should not be less than 60 per cent. Ours account for 72.5 per cent this time," the trade union chairman said.

Elections are generally held once a year and delegates can be re-elected. Since the congress of workers and staff in the carpet factory was reinstated in October 1978, the first and second congresses have already called five sessions, at which important resolutions on certain major questions were passed. The congress also elected a group to check up on how the departments of the factory implement the congress resolutions and to assess the work of the cadres. When the congress is in recess, its daily work is carried out by the factory trade union.



The Xinh Shipyard's congress of workers and staff members in session.

The factory trade union sets up ten working committees — organization, propaganda, production, welfare, finance, women, education, sports and physical culture, labour protection and labour insurance — staffed mostly with delegates of the congress. The trade union has only six cadres.

Functions and Powers

According to the Temporary Provisions on Certain Questions Concerning the System of the Congress of Workers and Staff enacted by the Tianjin municipal trade union council, the congress is "an organ of power through which workers and staff manage the enterprise, supervise cadres, and practise democracy politically, technically, economically and in everyday life."

Powers bestowed on the congress by the document are fairly wide:

Politically, it has the power to supervise and appraise cadres at various levels in the factory. Those who have made outstanding achievements in their work will be commended and rewarded, or even have their names submitted to the upper level to be recommended for promotion.

To those with objectionable behaviour, who repress democracy, seriously neglect their duty, violate discipline or offend the law, the congress will adopt resolutions to mete out disciplinary punishment or even dismiss them from office and ask the upper level organ for approval. It can also discuss readjustment of the factory's major management organs and labour organization, provisions for rewarding or punishing, and the establishment, revision or abolition of major regulations or systems.

Economically, it has the power to examine the factory's development programme, production plan, budget and final accounts as well as the distribution and use of various kinds of funds. How to use the profit put aside for the factory's disposal is also discussed and decided at the congress.

When the factory decides to go in for major technological innovation and transformation or call for rationalization proposals, the plans are to be reviewed at the congress.

The congress also has the power to discuss and make decisions on questions concerning the immediate interests of the workers and staff, such as

the building and distribution of housing, nurseries, kindergartens, canteens and bath-houses as well as the issuing of subsidies to those who have financial difficulties.

During my visit to the Tianjin Dyestuff Factory, the factory's trade union chairman Zhao Hongfa refreshed me with the illustrative fact: The congress which was convened at the beginning of 1979 passed a resolution on measures to relieve the housing shortage as soon as possible. After this the Party secretary, together with the director of the factory, went in person to departments concerned to secure building sites and materials. And the people of the welfare working committee of the trade union lost no time in organizing manpower to help repair houses and to discuss ways and means of helping workers build new houses. Within one year the factory built dormitories with a total floor space of 2,500 square metres and repaired 140 rooms. This won praises all round.

The Tianjin No. 3 Carpet Factory put out a kind of carpet which had led the nation in quality for the past two years. At the session of the congress held earlier this year, a decision was passed calling for efforts to win the honour again this year. But at the city's preliminary quality-appraisal fair for the first quarter, this factory lost to the others because a slight blemish was found on one of its carpets. The setback worried the director of the factory who later criticized himself at another session of the congress for not having done a good job in carrying out the above-mentioned resolution. He proposed to have his bonus suspended while he worked to make



Director Han Xianzhang reporting his work to the check-up group of the congress of workers and staff members in the Tianjin Dyestuff Factory.

a comeback at the second quarter's fair.

Roles

The Tianjin Dyestuff Factory with 1,200 workers and staff members faced a possible one-third drop in total output value last year, because its traditional products did not have a good sale on the market. Thus the state had to cut its production targets by a big margin. To turn the tide, delegates to its congress and the masses put their heads together. The congress adopted a resolution on speeding up the trial-manufacture and production of salable new products and expanding exports.

As a result, instead of a drop in total output value in 1979, the factory had a 5.14 per cent increase over that of 1978 and found new markets. This enabled all in the factory to get a bonus averaging some 160 yuan each, equal to three months' wages of an ordinary worker. Every one was pleased. Referring to this, director Han Xianzhang said: "This taught

me a lot. If I had gone on in the old way, just racking my own brains and issuing orders, such a big achievement would have been out of the question." A worker delegate told this

Democratic Election

IN October 1978 at the 9th National Trade Union Congress, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping said: "Workshop directors, section chiefs and group heads in every enterprise must in the future be elected by the workers in the unit." Over the past year, elections of leaders at the three levels have been carried out on a trial basis throughout the country. In some Tianjin factories, the trial has even extended to electing factory directors through democratic recommendation.

The Xinhe Shipyard I visited has led the city in this field. At the end of 1978, the workers there elected all the workshop directors, section chiefs and group heads and at the beginning of the next year, after

correspondent that they had based their resolution on the opinions of the masses. "Our words counted, for the resolution had the masses behind it. And we were so encouraged, we worked all the harder," he added.

Has every congress of the workers and staff in the city played its role to the full like the one at the Tianjin Dyestuff Factory? On this question, a staff member of the municipal trade union council had this to say: "Most of them have. But about one-sixth have not played their part satisfactorily, because there are still some cadres who are accustomed to issuing administrative orders and worry about their prestige if they are subjected to the supervision of the masses. This, of course, does not exclude those who sincerely do want to give full play to the role of the congress, but lack suitable methods. We are lending them a helping hand."

discussions, recommended 11 persons to serve as shipyard director, deputy directors, chief engineer, deputy chief engineers and chief accountant. The 11 persons, after receiving their formal appointment from the higher authorities, formed the new leading body of the shipyard.

How were elections conducted at the Xinhe Shipyard? And what were the results?

Democratic Elections in the True Sense. Learning that there would be an election of cadres, the workers said: "Democratic elections are fine; just what we want! But we'd rather wait and see if the election is going to be carried out in a democratic way or not!" Hearing this and analys-



A new workshop director is elected.

ing the workers' thinking, the shipyard Party committee announced that in this election, the leadership would not set any rules or regulations but would act in accordance with the workers' opinions, as long as they were reasonable and correct.

Formerly the hull workshop was overstaffed with one director and six deputy directors. When the workers discussed how many leaders were really needed, they pointed out that four would be enough. Their opinion was supported by the leadership.

In discussing electoral procedures, some workers proposed that everybody could nominate candidates, who should be selected after full discussion and in accordance with majority opinion. The nomination, selection and election could not be carried out in a hurry. This proposal was accepted and put into practice during the election.

Minority Subordinate to Majority. The election was held with the help of a work team sent in by the higher authorities. In recommending candidates for the post of shipyard director,

most of the workers nominated Wang Shaoren, on the ground that he had worked in the shipyard for many years and in the ten years from 1955 to 1964 he held this post and did a good job. However, the team leader wanted to recommend him to be a member of the factory Party committee because he was over 50 years old and in poor health. The workers did not agree. It was all right for an old comrade like him to be on the Party committee, they argued, but, since the focus of the Party's work was now on the four modernizations, it was more suitable for him to lead them in production.

Wang Shaoren himself said: "The leadership need not worry about my health. Since the workers have faith in me, I'd



Wang Shaoren.

like to do my best. If no progress is made in the shipyard within two years, I'll step down of my own accord." Everybody was deeply impressed by Wang, including the other members of the work team. This brought the team leader round: "Seeing that you all recommend him for the post and I am left alone," he said, "let the majority prevail over the minority!"

It Doesn't Mean Giving Up Leadership. Chairman of the shipyard trade union Liu Wenrong said: "In the course of electing cadres, we organize workers to discuss the aim and significance of democratically electing cadres, so as to get the workers to select the cadres in light of the needs of the four modernizations. When the workers are evidently wrong in their opinions, the leadership is duty-bound to set them to rights."

In electing a deputy head of the health section, he added, some people nominated former head of the health centre Comrade Zhao for the post; others did not agree, and exaggerated his shortcomings. In this situation the leadership helped the staff in the section to find out the facts and to reason things out. It turned out that the exaggerations were not in accord with facts. As a result, he was elected the deputy head of the section.

Election on Merit. Democratic elections have brought some talented people who were formerly overlooked to leading posts, and some others were enabled to assume posts more suited to their ability. Take Xiao Caili for instance. He graduated from a university before liberation and once studied abroad, but had never been put in an important position. This time, he was elected a



Factory leaders and workers studying a technical problem.

deputy shipyard director and deputy chief engineer.

Former director of the hull workshop Comrade Kou had been promoted to the post two years earlier when he was a group leader. During the election, the workers acclaimed him as dynamic, selfless and a good riveter, but he lacked experience and found it difficult for him to lead the workshop smoothly. When the comrade in charge of the election consulted the workers to find out if Kou was acceptable as deputy director since he was not suitable for the post of director, some workers said Kou was more of a grass-roots "officer" than a "commander." So it turned out that he lost the election.

However, Kou received 90 per cent of the 200 votes in the riveting section, and was elected chief of the section. Led by him, the riveting section has made great progress over the past year. He was deeply moved by these events. "The democratic election awakened me

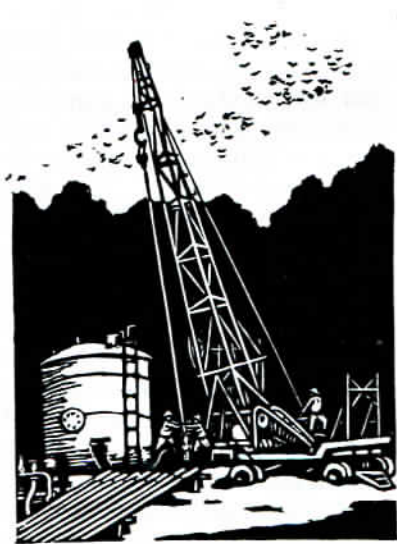
to my shortcomings," he said. "My failure in the election can only help me make progress!"

Changes. Democratic elections have brought about great changes in the Xinhe Shipyard. In its leading body — consisting of one director, six deputy directors, one chief engineer, two deputy chief engineers and one chief accountant — seven are well-trained engineers or technicians; two are veteran directors with 20 years' experience in management and two are experienced cadres who were workshop heads for many years. This leading body is quite different from former ones, in which the members were older and many were in poor health and not familiar with technological matters. The newly elected body enjoys the confidence of the overwhelming majority of workers.

Greater changes have taken place in people's thinking. In the past, cadres were appointed by the higher authorities. They could only be promoted but not demoted. Some cadres took

their jobs as "iron rice bowls," knowing that they could keep their posts and receive the same wages whether they gave a good performance or a bad one. But now things are different. A newly elected workshop director said: "If you neglect the interests of the workers and keep aloof from them, you would not be re-elected next time."

Chairman of the shipyard trade union Comrade Liu showed me some material about the 40 workshop directors, deputy workshop directors, section chiefs and deputy section chiefs who were all elected in a democratic way. Ten or 25 per cent of them have given a good account of themselves and are warmly supported by the workers. Twenty-six or 65 per cent are competent at their posts and make a fairly good impression on the workers. Four or 10 per cent are competent but whose effectiveness left much to be desired. Now, the shipyard Party committee and the worker delegates are helping these four persons overcome their shortcomings, said Liu. They are expected to improve their work and overcome their shortcomings, otherwise they may not be re-elected next time.



● **Tibetan Medical Graduates**

Thirty-one Tibetan students have recently graduated from the Harbin Medical University in northeast China. Before leaving the university, their monitor, Adeng, thanked the teachers on behalf of all the students. He said: "Han teachers trained us, the sons and daughters of slaves, into doctors. On returning to Tibet, we will devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds between nationalities and developing medical work in Tibet."

Before entering the university in March 1977, they had studied in the Southwest Institute for Nationalities for three and a half years to improve their educational level. Because they had not received much of an education as children, they found it rather difficult to study medicine at the beginning. For instance, what Han students could master at one sitting, they would have to study several times. In order to deal with their difficulties, they set up a group which was responsible for helping those who fell behind. This group enabled one student named Qimeiciren whose foundation was quite weak at the start to achieve good results.

The Tibetan students attributed their success to the university leadership who provided them with better living conditions and to their teachers who were well-trained and experienced. The students also benefited from the opportunity to practise their knowledge in Inner Mongolia which has similar medical conditions to Tibet.



A sanatorium on one of Taihu Lake's numerous islands.

● **Taihu Lake**

The scenic Taihu Lake, lying between the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang in east China, is becoming an increasingly popular tourist attraction.

Forty-eight islands dot the huge lake — one of the largest in China — which covers an area of 2,420 square kilometres and is more than 400 kilometres in circumference. At its northern tip is the picturesque ancient city of Wuxi, which is located some 120 kilometres west of Shanghai.

Tortoise Head Peninsula is a well-known scenic spot in Wuxi where many go to enjoy the beautiful lake. From Guangming Pavilion on the peninsula, one can see the wide expanse of misty Taihu Lake, the green Jishan hills to the west and other faintly visible hills off in the distance. Another scenic spot in the heart of the lake is Sanshan (Three Hills) which is, in fact, composed of four islets — East Duck, West Duck, Big Rock and Little Rock. Only three islets can be seen from the bank of the lake as Little Rock Islet is hidden behind Big Rock; hence the name.

From Wuxi, tourists can easily travel by bus to Yixing, where there are many magic limestone caves. Shanjuan Cave and Gengsang Cave are quite impressive and are considered first-rate scenic spots in south Jiangsu Province.

The area around Taihu Lake abounds in rice, fish and shrimps. The locally produced honey peaches and *biluochun* tea are well known at home and abroad.

Many tourists like to fish in Taihu Lake. Novice fishermen can easily catch the common variety of carp, black carp and Chinese ide; experienced fishermen have been known to pull in five kilogrammes of fish in one day. Some are lucky enough to snag mandarin fish, turtles, shrimps and crabs.

● **Children Paint**

Before a large audience in the big art hall of the Sichuan Provincial Exhibition Centre, five-year-old Zhang Hui drew a picture of six chickens. Then Su Baozhen, a veteran painter who was standing beside him,

took the brush and added a hen and two birds. Finally a traditional Chinese painting entitled *Protection* was finished and applause resounded through the hall.

It was one of several performances by children painters and calligraphers sponsored by the Sichuan Provincial Artists' Association in Chengdu. Ten children artists and six veteran traditional Chinese painters and calligraphers took part.

When Zhu Xiaodan, an eight-year-old, finished his painting *A Giant Panda Sits on the Ground*, the veteran painter Lu Lin told him: "When you paint four legs of a panda you must start with the paws because they should be painted in a darker colour and the upper legs in a lighter colour. Since giant pandas like to eat bamboo leaves you can draw some branches beside the panda to make the picture more vivid." Then the artist drew a giant panda.

Eight-and-a-half-year-old Wu Ling painted a cat while veteran painter Yan Songwen gave her



A veteran calligrapher helping a promising beginner.

People in the News



Wang Biyun is a doctor at the Beijing Traditional Chinese Medicine Hospital with 30 years of fine work. One of her patients recently wrote to her: "It is very important for doctors to be proficient in their profession, but more importantly they should have a spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism and a serious style of work. In this regard, you are an example."

Wang Biyun was born in a doctor's family in Taiwan Province. Influenced by her parents, she decided in her childhood to study medicine in order to help people and build China into a powerful and prosperous country. In winter 1946, after 16 years of study in Japan, she returned to China with her husband, Wei Zhengming, and two young daughters.

In 1952, both Wang and Wei were invited to join the preparation work for setting up the No. 5 Beijing Municipal Hospital. Wei was later appointed the director of the hospital and Wang a senior doctor of the department of gynaecology. They started learning traditional Chinese medicine in 1953 and were later transferred to the hospital they are now working in. Doctor Wang has mastered both the theory of the dialectical treatment of traditional Chinese medicine and the functions of Chinese herbal medicine and has already applied them in her treatment.

During the disastrous 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, Wang and her family were not spared. But she did not allow her personal difficulties to dampen her patriotic spirit or to stop her from carrying out her responsibilities. When she worked in Beijing's suburban Miyun County as a member of the mobile medical team, she visited all the 11 brigades of Shicheng commune. She studied the local herbs and did her best to use them in her treatment so as to save the peasants' money. She also displayed tremendous selflessness towards her patients. Once, she climbed high hills to examine a blind pregnant woman. Another time, she waded through an icy river to treat a patient suffering from pleurisy. And quite often she wrote to her patients to ask after their health after they had been released from the hospital.

During her one-year stay in Shicheng commune, she won the confidence and friendship of the peasants.

In the last few years, she has made progress in treating functional utery hemorrhage during puberty and inflammatory hypertrophy of the uterus by combining Western and traditional Chinese treatment. Her medicine for pelvic infection is particularly welcomed by the patients.

instructions and handed her brushes. Wu Jianyu, her six-year-old younger brother, was preoccupied with his painting. By the end of the performance he had finished almost ten pictures.

Two young calligraphers also took part in the performances. Their Chinese characters were dignified and strong, eliciting

the praise of veteran calligrapher Feng Jianwu.

Sichuan Province's pioneer palaces, cultural centres and primary school art groups provide the children with good conditions for studying calligraphy and painting. In recent years, children's art has been displayed at national and foreign exhibitions.

MEDICINE

Artificial Blood

Artificial blood has been successfully used at the Zhongshan Hospital affiliated to the Shanghai No. 1 Medical College.

On June 19, 250 c.c. of this blood substitute, a fluorocarbon emulsion, was given to an elderly worker suffering from kidney failure while on a dialysis machine. The patient responded favourably. Electrocardiograph and blood pressure tests showed that everything was normal with no adverse side effects.

On June 30, the same hospital again administered the substitute to a disabled armyman who had kidney stones in his left kidney. The artificial blood was used for five hours when the operation was performed to remove the stones. Tests two weeks later showed that the patient's left kidney was functioning quite well.

Before using it clinically, the hospital extensively tested the substitute on guinea pigs.

This fluorocarbon compound was jointly developed over a five-year period by the Shang-

hai Institute of Organic Chemistry under the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the No. 3 Medical College of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. According to researchers at these institutes, the blood substitute has the same oxygen-carrying function as the body's red blood cells and can discharge carbon dioxide. It can be used regardless of a patient's blood type and be kept for a longer period than human blood. It can replace whole blood in emergency transfusions and treat carbon monoxide poisoning and perhaps certain diseases of the blood.

Further research will be undertaken on the biological characteristics of the blood substitute, its preservation properties and the technology necessary to produce it. It still needs to be approved by the Ministry of Public Health.

The research for a blood substitute has been going on for several decades around the world. The fluorocarbon compound was not found until the late 1960s.

PEN CLUB

Coming Back to the World

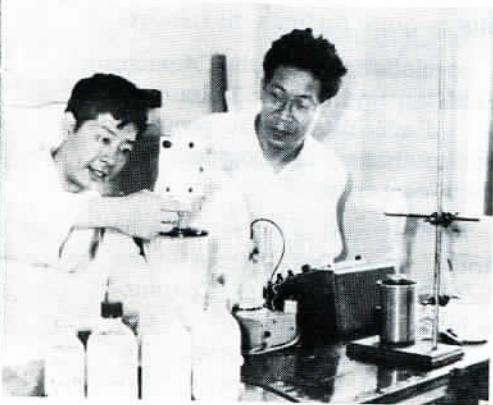
After having lost contact with international literary circles for more than a dozen years, Chinese writers applied to join the International Pen Club. When the application was passed unanimously at the club's annual meeting in Yugoslavia last May, delegates from other countries congratulated the Chinese writers there. One held a Chinese writer's hands and said: "You should return to the world."

The International Pen Club is an international writers' organization with a long history. As Chinese writers did not participate in international activities on a wide scale in the past, they had no direct working relations with the club until the downfall of the gang of four. Then Chinese cultural circles started to regain vitality. Greater cultural exchanges between China and other countries led to a growth in contacts between Chinese writers and international cultural circles. Supported by many friends abroad, particularly the Yugoslav friends, Chinese writers have now established relations with this international writers' organization.

Mr. Alexandre Blokh, the UNESCO representative, said that accepting China into the Pen Club was a major event in international cultural circles which would have a profound effect on world culture and peace.

China Pen Centre was founded in Beijing on April 17. Its membership includes more than 60 of China's well-known poets, novelists, literary editors, critics and translators. Ba Jin, the 76-year-old famous novelist, was elected president of the centre. Xia Yan, Mao Dun, Ding Ling, Feng Zhi, Chen Huangmei, Ai Qing and nine others were elected council members, with Feng Mu as the secretary. Two new centres will soon be organized in Shanghai and Guangzhou.

The China Pen Centre will hold annual meetings once a year to accept new members, organize cultural and academic exchanges between Chinese writers and their counterparts abroad and promote friendship



The laboratory where artificial blood is made.

and co-operation with writers all over the world so as to develop world culture.

SPORTS

American Ski-Mountaineers Conquer Mt. Muztagata

Three American mountaineers made history recently by climbing the Chinese snow-capped Mount Muztagata, 7,546 metres above sea level, on skis and then skiing down.

"It was a most unique experience skiing on Mount Muztagata. Looking down from the top we found the scenery really exhilarating," said 35-year-old Ned Gillette, head of the ski-mountaineering expedition. He had been a member of the 1968 U.S. Winter Olympics Skiing Team. In 1975, he was part of a U.S. expedition which reached the summit of Mt. K 2 in the Karakorum Mountains.

The other two American climbers were 40-year-old Galan Rowell, a photographer specializing in pictures of fauna who had climbed Mt. K 2 in 1975 with Ned Gillette, and 24-year-old Janet Reynolds. Janet Reynolds' feat — skiing upwards from the base camp to the summit and back down — is a first in women's mountaineering and is all the more amazing because she is a slender skiing instructor who looks more like a figure skater than a skier who climbs rugged mountain slopes.

The three Americans reached the summit at 20:30 hours on July 21. They sat at the top for ten minutes, then took their time skiing down. They returned to the base camp at 5,500 metres above sea level on July 23.

Mount Muztagata lies in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous

Region. The local people of Uygur and Tajik nationalities call it the "Father of Snow-Capped Mountains." It was first climbed in 1956 by a Chinese-Soviet mountaineering expedition. Three years later, China's mixed mountaineering expedition again reached the summit.

Three other members of the American expedition did not make it to the summit. Dick Dorworth withdrew on account of high altitude dizziness and Camerone Bangs gave up because of snow blindness. Melinda Sanders stopped at the base camp in charge of the expedition's rear service.

American skiers said that they had joined villagers of Uygur and Tajik nationalities in villages and towns near the mountain for meals and chatted with them through interpreters.

Expedition members regretted that they did not have time to study the local fauna and flora such as the Marco Polo sheep.

ENERGY

Conference on Methane

Specialists from China and 21 other developing countries met in Beijing to discuss how to utilize organic waste in producing methane, a cheap source of energy, and how to deal with related technical problems.

The conference was sponsored jointly by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the Chinese National Office for Methane Development.

Chinese specialists read seven papers and presented two talks on methane development in China. Particular attention was paid to experiences gained in

building large methane-generating pits.

China has made substantial progress in building large methane pits in recent years. Of 635 methane power stations built in 10 provinces and cities, 276 are completely fuelled by methane. A large pit with a total capacity of 1,680 cubic metres built by the Deyang Horticultural Farm in southwest China's Sichuan Province provides gas not only for water pumps and cooking, but also for a generating unit of 68 kilowatts.

China currently has more than 7 million small methane pits which enable some 30 million peasants to use methane for electric lights and cooking. Larger pits have been used for generators, water pumps, irrigation sprinklers, rice threshers and dryers and mills by communes, production teams, state farms, stock-raising farms, wineries, bakeries and confectionaries.

An important feature of China's methane development is that pits require little investment and provide quick results. Construction is simple, and the technology is easy for peasants to master. Relatively small amounts of building materials and little or no steel are needed. One drawback still to be overcome is that the residue from pits is quite difficult to remove.

Specialists from India, Mexico, Pakistan and Upper Volta presented accounts of the progress in methane development in their countries.

Also attending were officials and specialists from the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and the Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Revolutionary Reminiscences

Flying Red Flags

《红旗飘飘》

Edited and published by the
Chinese Youth Publishing
House;

Distributed by Xinhua Book-
store;

Prices: Volume 17, 1.05 yuan
(Renminbi); Volume 18, 0.76
yuan; Volume 19, 0.82 yuan;
Volume 20, 0.58 yuan; Selected
Volume 1, 1.25 yuan; Selected
Volume 2, 1.15 yuan.

Flying Red Flags is a series of books containing the memoirs and biographies of revolutionary martyrs.

Volume 20, which came off the press recently, is a special edition on Liu Shaoqi, the former Chairman of the People's Republic of China. As he was defamed on trumped-up charges for over a decade, many young people are unfamiliar with his revolutionary activities. Thus this volume is rendering a valuable service by setting the record straight. The book contains 16 reminiscences which describe Comrade Liu Shaoqi's experiences and struggle over a 50-year period beginning in 1920 and reflect his great contributions to the Chinese revolution. Articles by secretaries, bodyguards, medical and health workers, who worked at his side, are especially convincing as they vividly depict the late Chairman's thoughts, style of work, moral character and sentiments as if he were still around.

Flying Red Flags began publication in May 1957. The

September 1, 1980

16 volumes which were published before the series was forced to suspend publication exerted a tremendous influence on the young people. They contained several hundred articles on major events and famous people in the history of the Chinese Communist Party and as such constituted a valuable collection of historical materials. But Kang Sheng, who claimed to be an authority on theoretical problems, forced the series to stop publication at the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962. The pretext he used was that one of these articles had been approved by a comrade who was then coming under criticism. Three hundred thousand copies of Volume 17, which had already been printed, were destroyed.

It was in 1978, two years after the downfall of the gang of four, that *Flying Red Flags* resumed publication at the request of its young readership.

Now four volumes of the resumed *Flying Red Flags* are in the bookstores. The new Volume 17 has 20 articles devoted to famous people. Among them are nine recalling the lives of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Dong Biwu and Peng Dehuai. There are other articles on veteran proletarian revolutionaries written for the original Volume 17. The work also contains essays written from different angles about Chairman Mao's early years of revolutionary activities.

To celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, articles recalling the War of Liberation (1946-49) were published in Volume 18. In

addition, there are four reminiscences of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37). Qiu Nanzhang and Luo Qing contributed two extremely interesting articles in which they recalled their memories of Premier Zhou Enlai. Both had worked at the late Premier's side for many years.

For Volume 19, articles were solicited on Cai Hesen, Deng Zhongxia, Xia Minghan, Gu Bo and Liu Zhidan, all proletarian revolutionaries who laid down their lives in the early years of the Chinese revolution. These articles give a comprehensive description of their heroic deeds. Two other articles worth noting in this collection are "Between Father and Daughter" by Xu Lei, daughter of Xu Fanting, a famous general in the war against Japanese aggression, and "Memoirs of Comrade Lin Boqu — My Father" by Lin Li. They reflect their authors' admiration for the older generation.

In 1939 Comrade Xiao San, a veteran writer and poet, went to Yanan from the Soviet Union. There, he wrote extensively in his diary about his talks with almost every Party, government and military leader. Though he is now more than 80 years old, he is still working on these notes, for which he has chosen the title "Cave Town." Volume 19 contains the foreword and first part of this work.

The Chinese Youth Publishing House has also begun to publish collections of articles selected from the 16 volumes printed before the Cultural Revolution. The first and second selected volumes have already come off the press and the third is now being printed.

— Li Rongsheng

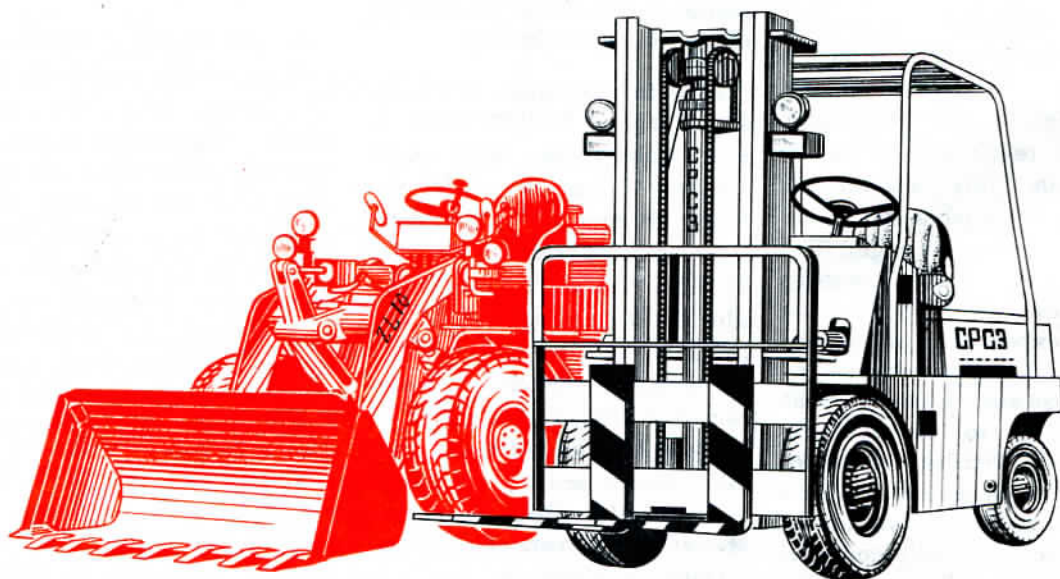
HANGZHOU FORK LIFT TRUCK PLANT

Hangzhou Fork Lift Truck Plant is an established firm of many years.

We make sturdy industrial vehicles of advanced construction and reliable quality. Prices are reasonable. Write to us for details.

ZL10 Loader with 0.5M³ shovel capacity. High efficiency. For loading and unloading loose material, and for shovelling and digging work.

CPC3 Fork Lift Truck with 3-ton loading capacity. Another high efficiency vehicle, comes with a complement of auxiliary implements.



Order from:



CHINA NATIONAL MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT IMPORT AND EXPORT CORPORATION

Address: 12 Fu Xing Men Wai Street, Beijing, China

Cable Address: EQUIMPEX Beijing

Telex: 22186 EQUIP CN