

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- The Party Leads, Not Individuals
- At the UN: Moscow & Hanoi Suffer Another Defeat
- Life of City Dwellers

National Minority Art Festival



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Industrial Successes

The State Economic Commission reports on industrial performance during the first three quarters of the year. Light industry leads the way in the present economic readjustment (p. 3).

The Party Leads, Not Individuals

Dire consequences result when the Party's power is concentrated in the hands of individuals. This is one of many bitter lessons of the "cultural revolution." How and why such distortions of the principle of collective leadership happened is analysed in detail (p. 15).

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National Minority Art Festival

Two thousand artists from 55 minority nationalities participated. Dances, songs and instrumental music for a whole month, the biggest ever in New China (p. 28).

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ECONOMIC

Industry Continues to Grow

The State Economic Commission announced that China completed 76.8 per cent of its annual plan for gross industrial output value in the first three quarters of this year, amounting to an increase of 11.7 per cent over the corresponding nine months of 1979.

In this period, 77 of the 100 major industrial products surpassed 75 per cent of their annual targets. The volume of rail freight and water freight transported by enterprises under the Ministry of Communications fulfilled more than 80 per cent of this year's plan.

In these first nine months, light industry registered a 21.5 per cent increase in output value over the same period of last year, while the output value of heavy industry increased by 4.6 per cent. Light industry thereby accounted for 45.7 per cent of the total industrial output value as compared with 42.1 per cent for the corresponding period of 1979. It is predicted that light industry will continue to develop at high speed in the fourth quarter of this year.

China's overall industrial structure has been initially readjusted with the rapid growth of light industry. This has helped meet the demand of the market, quicken the pace of industrial development and cut energy consumption. The total amount of energy produced, in terms of standard coal, decreased by 0.4 per cent for the first three quarters of this year, while realizing a significant increase in industrial production.

During this nine-month period, profits turned over to the state by state-owned enterprises grew faster than the value of the industrial output as a whole. More profits and taxes were collected by the state compared with the same 1979 period. In the fourth quarter adjustment will be made in those enterprises which have a record of high consumption of fuel and raw material and have continually suffered losses.

"One Pattern" Will Not Do

"'One pattern' will not do!" has become a popular saying when people talk about our country's on-going economic reform. It means imposing uniformity in guiding work, irrespective of the varied concrete conditions and the will of the people, will no longer work.

Developing working policies according to actual conditions has been a fine tradition of our Party, but it was undermined in a period by the pernicious influence of Left-deviation thinking. Administrative means were often applied to economic work, pushing one type of management as the only socialist model and banning all others as non-socialist. This way of doing things — "cutting the foot to fit the shoe" — has met all sorts of setbacks and thereby caused people to suffer.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978 called for an emancipation of the mind. Consequently, the state has begun to reform the highly centralized economic management system and has adopted a series of flexible policies to activate the economy.

People in the country are generally satisfied with the results of this reform. An example is the change in management of agricultural production. It has been decided that the decision-making power of production teams — the grass-roots units in China's countryside — should be respected; under the guidance of the state plan, developing a diversified economy in line with local conditions should be encouraged; and the mistakes of subjectivism in the guidance of production and equalitarianism in distribution should be corrected.

In the countryside there are many ways of management, but in general they can be divided into the following two categories:

In most places, the production team divides the peasants into several production or specialized groups. The production groups use the means of production provided by the production team, including land, farm machinery and tools, draught animals and water conservancy facilities. The groups contract with the production team to complete certain jobs within a specified period of time. They are held responsible for the quality of these jobs. They are rewarded if they overfulfil the targets and must compensate for the difference if they underfulfil. These rights and obligations are written into the contracts. This method is called "fixing output quotas for production groups."

In a small number of places (embracing some 10 per cent of the nation's production teams), production teams assign tasks directly to households or even individuals. This is called "fixing output quotas for house-

holds." This method is usually used in remote mountainous areas and other places which have remained impoverished. The peasants there have lost confidence in their collective management and they wanted a change.

Practice has proved that both methods can arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for production. Especially in places where the life has been hard for a long time, when the policy of "fixing output quotas for households" has been implemented, production has gone up, output has been increased and peasants have got more food grain than they need.

But some people have reservations and others have adopted a negative attitude towards "fixing output quotas for households." They hold that it encourages "farming on one's own" and thus represents a step backwards.

A commentator's article in the latest issue of *Hongqi* pointed out that which management method is better can only be decided by the actual local conditions and the wishes of the masses. "We must never again impose uniformity by political compulsion and administrative means."

An article in the same issue recalled that after agricultural collectivization in 1956, "fixing output quotas for households" was adopted several times. In most cases, it was the peasants in areas with long histories of impoverishment who spontaneously adopted this method. It yielded good results in increasing output. This showed that it corresponded with the low level of productivity and management in these places. Unfortunately, it was banned in each case as "a mistake of orientation and road." But, the poverty in these places did not change

because of this prohibition. Furthermore, peasants objected to its banning.

The article maintained that it is time for the ban to be lifted. "Fixing output quotas for households" is carried out under the leadership of the production team, without changing the public ownership of the means of production and the principle of "to each according to his work." Further, since this method does not deviate from the socialist road, it has nothing to do with capitalism.

Rural Savings and Credits Up

Along with the recent development of China's rural economy, bank loans and savings deposits put in by both individuals and collectives have increased substantially throughout the countryside.

Total personal and collective savings in rural areas at the end of September were up to 12,650 million yuan, 28 per cent over savings at the beginning of this year. During the January-September period of 1980, the Agricultural Bank of China and credit co-operatives all over the country extended loans totalling 19,840 million yuan to people's communes, production brigades and teams and their industrial enterprises, an increase of 45 per cent over the same period of last year. During the same nine months, 10,720 million yuan in loans were repaid by these units and this amount is 43.5 per cent higher than that repaid during the same period of last year.

These increases are mainly a result of last year's good agricultural harvest, state increases in the purchasing prices of farm and sideline products and the subsequently larger cash in-

comes received by both collectives and individual commune members. Higher interest rates on savings accounts and the expansion of personal income through sideline occupations also contributed to the increases.

Branches of the Agricultural Bank and credit co-operatives in various regions also extended loans to help communes develop commodity production or resist natural disasters and to assist individual households of commune members in raising sideline production as well. Between January and September, the credit co-operatives issued loans totalling 660 million yuan to commune members, a 94 per cent increase over the same period of 1979.

More Small Cities Needed

A national city planning conference recently held in Beijing has called for strict limits on the growth of population and use of land in China's big cities*, and has urged the construction and development of small cities and towns throughout the country. The conference concluded that this measure would help ensure an even distribution of the productive forces, ease the problem of over-concentration of population and industry in the cities, and gradually narrow the differences between city and country and between industry and agriculture.

The conference suggested the development of the following three categories of small cities and towns in connection with its conclusions:

* Big cities are those with a population of half a million or more; medium-sized cities have 200,000 to 500,000 people; and small cities have populations below 200,000.



Danjiang, a developing town in central China's Hubei Province.

First, priority should be given to the development of the more than 3,200 small cities and towns already existing in China, about half of which have populations of 10,000 or more. They should be further developed into local economic, political and cultural centres by making use of present industrial foundations and building new projects.

Secondly, new small cities and towns should be constructed in those areas where mines, power stations, forestry and other natural resource projects will be operated, where railways and harbours are to be built, and where scientific research and tourism will be developed.

Thirdly, satellite towns should be built around the country's major cities to allow old factories to be moved out of these cities. A number of satellite towns have already been constructed around Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Wuhan and Shenyang.

The three kinds of small cities and towns should be limited to populations of around 200,000 people, and have a mixed industrial base that provides a balanced proportion

of both men and women workers and offers more job opportunities.

In addition, many of the seats of the nation's 53,000 people's communes have some factories and commercial shops and have become local political, economic and cultural centres. Their further development will provide jobs for rural surplus labour and ease the state's burden in supplying marketable grain and building welfare facilities for workers and staff members.

The conference also noted that a number of medium-sized cities already have a fairly sound base in technology, transport, communications, municipal construction and public services. These cities can be properly expanded in the coming years, but must not be allowed to develop into big cities.

China now has 43 cities each with a population of more than half a million. Fifteen of these (including Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Shenyang, Wuhan, Guangzhou and Chongqing) have more than one million inhabitants each. Concentrated in these cities are 42 per cent

of China's urban population and 65 per cent of the country's total industrial output. Hence the call to develop small cities and towns in the nation.

Victory Over the Changjiang Floodwaters

The floodwaters of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, which hit the peak level in the period from June to September this year as a result of heavy rains, were the biggest ever since 1954. Thanks to the role played by the water conservancy projects built over the years in preventing floods and the persistent struggle carried out by several million people along the river for more than two months, the fight against the floodwaters ended in triumph. This was reported recently in China's newspapers.

Last summer, the weather along the Changjiang, China's largest river, was capricious. There were frequent rainstorms and the flood crest came earlier than usual. The water level of the Changjiang was above the warning line for more than a month, with six big flood crests at Wuhan in central China's

Hubei Province. On September 2, the water level at Wuhan was as high as 27.76 metres. It was the third highest water level since 1865 when hydrological data began to be kept, next only to the extra-high water level in 1954 and that in 1931 when the dyke was breached and great damage was done. This year, although the water level was three to four metres above the downtown area, Wuhan remained safe and sound under the protection of dykes totalling 300 kilometres.

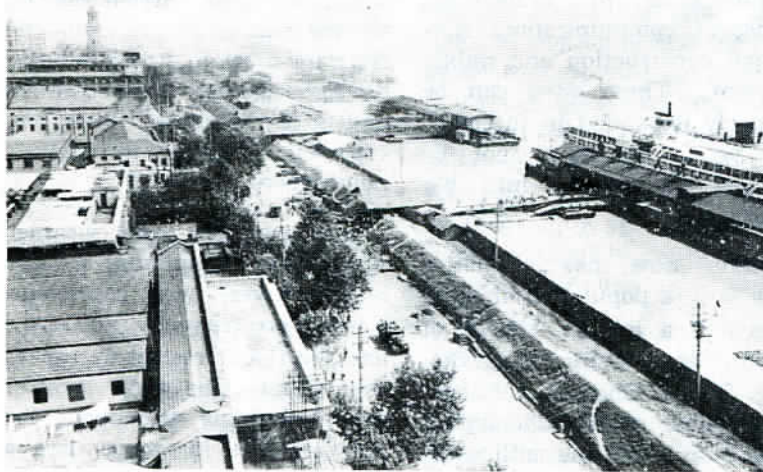
In 1954 the floodwaters overflowed the banks and threatened the city. Since then, the main dyke and its supporting works have been reinforced and a number of water conservancy projects built. When the flood season arrived this year, the people along the river consolidated the dykes and made full use of the reservoirs and lakes to prevent the floodwaters from overflowing the banks. In Hubei Province, for instance, the 6,000 reservoirs stored as much as 12,000 million cubic metres of water, and the 55 electric pumping stations, with an aggregate capacity of 310,000 kilowatts, drained off 3,500 cubic metres

of water per second. Excess water on the 1.2 million hectares of inundated farmland was promptly drained off, thereby reducing the losses. But a concentration of rainstorms caused some embankments to be breached and fairly serious damage to 370,000 hectares of farmland.

In this struggle against flood, emergency measures were taken in Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Anhui and Jiangsu Provinces and the municipality of Shanghai, which lie on the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang, and more than 3 million people were mobilized to reinforce the dykes and drain off the water. The People's Liberation Army also sent their officers and men to join the local people in the struggle until complete victory over the floodwaters was won.

Afforestation on the Plains

The area afforested in China over the past three years is nearly as large as in the previous 27 years. This was announced at the fourth national conference on afforestation on the plains convened by the Ministry of Forestry.



The Changjiang floodwaters are held in check in the industrial city of Wuhan.

Since 1977, 6.7 million hectares of farmland on the plains have been put under the protection of newly built windbreaks. Last year, 3,200 million trees were planted, including those planted along the roads and rivers and around the houses of rural commune members.

Since liberation, China has planted 7,200 million trees, and about 12.8 million hectares of farmland have been protected by windbreaks.

According to investigations, wind speed in areas protected by tree belts has dropped by 30-50 per cent, humidity is higher by 10-30 per cent, and evaporation has been reduced by 14-40 per cent, compared with open areas. This helps increase the yield of wheat by 13-26 per cent and rice by 21-25 per cent.

POLITICAL

Privileges Challenged

The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recently issued a circular commending Chen Aiwu, a young cook at the well-known Feng Ze Yuan Restaurant in Beijing, for his courage in combating privileges.

Wang Lei, Minister of Commerce, frequently dined at the restaurant, enjoying extravagant meals, but he paid only the price of ordinary meals. This infuriated Chen Aiwu, a national model worker. He decided that something should be done, but the leaders he approached thought that they were unable and unwilling to tackle such a problem.

Refusing to be dissuaded, Chen believed that unprincipled acts in the Party should not

be countenanced and ministers should set an example in observing Party discipline. He wrote to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, which paid great attention to his letter and dealt with the case seriously.

The commission's circular stated that some leading cadres were using their positions to seek special privileges, thereby hurting the prestige of the Party and its cadres. In order to come to grips with privileges, the Party Central Committee last February adopted the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life. Anyone who violates these principles, the circular pointed out, must be criticized or punished.

The circular criticized those Party organizations which have not supported those who combat wrong tendencies, but rather put pressure on them. "How can these Party organizations lead people forward if they are overwhelmed by such tendencies?" the circular asked.

When the circular and Chen's story were published in the Beijing newspapers, they aroused strong reactions. Many readers wrote in or telephoned the newspapers to convey their warm support for Chen Aiwu's actions.

Chen's example inspired others around the country to combat the continuation of such practices. Workers at a Shanghai restaurant said that unreasonable regulations which gave license to privileges ought to be cancelled. They argued that if more laws and systems to protect the public and develop democracy were adopted, more

people would stand up against these abuses.

The Beijing Youth League organization decided to call on its members and other young people in the city to learn from Chen Aiwu and play a supervisory role in defending Party discipline.

Minister Wang Lei admitted he was wrong in a self-criticism to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. He also wrote a letter to the Feng Ze Yuan Restaurant, expressing his willingness to accept the criticism of Comrade Chen Aiwu and pay what he should have paid for his meals. Other erring cadres are now telephoning the restaurants concerned, indicating their desire to pay the full price of their meals.

Now all restaurants under the Beijing No. 1 Service Bureau are making investigations to see whether some cadres have paid the full price of their meals. Regulations have also been adopted to prevent such incidents in the future.

Factory Director Arrested

A factory director in Nanjing was arrested recently for his direct responsibility in the evasion of 116,000 yuan in taxes owed by the plant. Dai Mingsheng served both as director and Communist Party branch secretary of the Qinhuai Commercial Machinery Plant.

The factory was first cited by the district financial and taxation bureau for tax evasion of 127,000 yuan due to bad management and inaccurate accounting in 1978 and was ordered to pay up. Restitution was

made, but then Dai recouped the sum by inflating the costs of production.

Subsequently, he directed the accounting personnel to forge records and documents and continuously evade taxes. In October of last year, the district bureau found his plant had evaded another 116,000 yuan in taxes.

This is just one example of the recent crackdown on financial crimes, which is part of China's endeavour to strengthen the socialist legal system. According to incomplete statistics from 24 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, more than 4,000 cases — comprising half of those investigated — of economic crimes, such as corruption, bribery and major accidents involving criminal liability, have been uncovered and handled since 1979.

The recent session of the Fifth National People's Congress stressed that in the present modernization drive, criminal violations in the economic field must be seriously dealt with.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Burmese President Makes Eleventh Visit to China

President U Ne Win's recent visit to China was short but very successful.

During his stay in Beijing (October 20-23), he met with the leaders of Chinese Party and government Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Zhao Ziyang and others and a banquet

was given in his honour. Vice-Chairmen Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian held talks with him. Deng Xiaoping noted that it is very important for the leaders of China and Burma to meet frequently and exchange views when the international situation becomes turbulent as it is now. He also expressed his appreciation for President U Ne Win's positive role in the development of friendly relations between China and Burma, in international affairs and in the affairs of the Asian and Pacific Ocean areas.

The Burmese President expressed his hope that Burma and China would not just work for the peace and prosperity of their two countries but for that of the whole world.

President U Ne Win is an esteemed friend of the Chinese people. He has visited China 11 times and has made great contributions to the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

News in Brief

Zhao Ziyang Meets With Foreign Guests. Premier Zhao Ziyang met separately with Fijian Deputy Prime Minister Sir Penaia Ganilau and the Trinidad and Tobago Government Delegation on October 23. At the meeting with the Fijian Deputy Prime Minister, Premier Zhao reaffirmed: "The Chinese Government favours the strengthening of unity among countries in the South Pacific region, which would be conducive to the development of their national economy and stability in the region. It would also help prevent the infiltration of hegemonism."

During the meeting with the Trinidad and Tobago Govern-

ment Delegation, Premier Zhao pointed out that both countries are developing countries and have much in common and since establishing diplomatic relations, they have continued to develop friendly co-operation.

30th Anniversary of C.P.V.'s Entry Into Korean War.

October 25 was the 30th anniversary of the entry of Chinese People's Volunteers (C.P.V.) into the Korean War. A Chinese friendship delegation led by Wang Ping, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Political Commissar of the General Logistics Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army was in Pyongyang to attend the commemorative celebrations.

On October 24, Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian and others went to the Korean Embassy in Beijing and talked with the Korean comrades about the profound friendship between the two peoples. On October 25 *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial entitled "Friendship Between Comrades-in-Arms Always Vibrant" marking the occasion.

Special Envoy of Iraqi President. Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping had a meeting with Jassim Mohammed Al-Khalaf, Special Envoy of the President of Iraq, on October 23. At a banquet in his honour, Vice-Premier Ji Pengfei expressed the hope that the dispute between Iraq and Iran would be resolved through negotiations, so as to prevent the superpowers from taking advantage of the situation. "This is not only in the interests of the Iraqi people but also in the interests of peace in the Gulf area and the world as a whole," Vice-Premier Ji added.

Pan American Airlines Selected.

The U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board announced on October 17 that the Pan American Airlines has been designated as the first U.S. company to provide air service between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

As part of implementing the civil air transport agreement signed on September 17 between the U.S. and China, the U.S. State Department issued the following statement: "Air services will be provided on the Chinese side by China's national carrier, the Civil Aviation Administration of China (C.A.A.C.), those aircraft will bear the national flag of the People's Republic of China, 'China Airlines' (Taiwan) continues to provide service between the United States and Taiwan, under a non-governmental arrangement between two private entities, the American Institute in Taiwan and the Co-ordination Council for North American Affairs. The United States does not recognize the flag of Taiwan as the flag of a sovereign state, but regards it as an insignia or marking identifying an aircraft as coming from Taiwan." The statement further reaffirmed: "The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China."



United Nations

Moscow and Hanoi on the Defensive

A U.N. resolution sponsored by the five ASEAN countries and 25 other countries calling for an international conference early next year to discuss, among other things, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea was passed on October 22. This was another blow to Moscow and Hanoi. An earlier setback was the General Assembly's rejection of their attempt to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its seat in the international body.

After the resolution was adopted, the Vietnamese authorities attempted to sabotage it and proposed that the five ASEAN countries negotiate with the three Indochinese countries. It was turned down by the ASEAN countries and found little support from others.

When the Kampuchean issue came up before the General Assembly there was speculation in some quarters that Democratic Kampuchea would get less support than last year. However, the contrary happened. The voting was 97 for and 23 against, as against 91-21 last year, when the resolution that Viet Nam withdrew its troops from Kampuchea immediately, completely and unconditionally was put forward.

In a way the Soviet Union had unintentionally contributed to this. By invading Afghanistan and backing Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea, it helped more nations see what Moscow and Hanoi had in mind, that their talk about socialism and

peace is nothing more than a smokescreen to hide their hegemonist ambitions. Soviet and Vietnamese aggression threatens world peace and security. It violates the international code which is of vital concern to the interests of all nations. The resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority shows where world public opinion stands.

Chinese Proposal. At the current U.N. General Assembly session, the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and their supporters, while giving lip service to a political settlement, refused to touch the substantive question of troop withdrawal. The five

ASEAN countries, most third-world and some Western countries, on the other hand, held that any political settlement had to be preceded by a Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

Chinese Representative to the United Nations Ling Qing supported the draft resolution drawn up jointly by ASEAN and other countries. He reiterated China's three basic principles for the settlement of the Kampuchean question. He said that all foreign troops must be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from Kampuchea in compliance with the relevant U.N. resolutions; that after the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the Kampuchean people should be free to decide their own destiny without any outside interference; and that Kampuchea should revert back to its original independent and

Bark and Bite

AT the current U.N. General Assembly Session in New York, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach held two press conferences to explain his country's unwanted presence in Kampuchea and to sell "the China threat." Here are some of his replies to questions by newsmen.

Question: China is cut off from Kampuchea and has no troops there, how do you explain your claim about a threat from China?

Nguyen: This is not a question which can be explained by geography. It is very complicated. In our era, science is developing very fast and can surpass geographical limits. China does not need to tell us what their route will be. (Puzzled looks all around.) China threatens Viet Nam every day.

Question: Does it have anything to do with the Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea? If there is a "threat from China," why did Vietnamese troops move south into Kampuchea instead of north to deal with China?

Nguyen: (shouting) China has always attacked Viet Nam, [it has done so] for more than 2,000 years.

Question: I had understood China had supported you a lot in the wars against France and the United States. Is that true?

Nguyen: Yes, that is true. But [the aid given by China] not enough. . . . It was as you might feed a dog, never feeding it enough, because if you overfeed it, the dog will run away.

A French journalist turned and remarked to a Chinese colleague: "The dog is now biting you, because you underfed it."

non-aligned status. If a settlement of the Kampuchean problem is reached according to these three principles, China will commit itself, together with the other countries, to a guarantee that Kampuchean territory will not be occupied or used to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of other countries in that region and that there will be no interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs by any means.

Withdraw Troops First. Compared to a year ago, the Kampuchean situation has gravely deteriorated. The number of invading Vietnamese soldiers has doubled and the war inside Kampuchea is directly threatening Thailand's security. Some 300,000 Kampucheans have been forced to leave their country. All this constitutes a serious menace to peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world as a whole.

It is clear that the key to the settlement of the Kampuchean issue lies in troop withdrawal, for only this and an end to foreign armed occupation can provide the Kampuchean people with a political environment in which they can freely decide for themselves what they want.

But contrary to the stand of most U.N. members, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam tried to derail the resolution and even to prevent the international body from discussing the Kampuchean situation.

On October 23 the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued a statement refusing point-blank to accept the new U.N. resolution and saying not a single word about withdrawing troops. As a result of the Vietnamese authorities' defiance of the just desire of most countries of the world, there is little hope of solving the Kampuchean prob-

lem through an international conference. Therefore, what must be done now is to strengthen support for the anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea and give the Vietnamese invaders no rest so as to force Viet Nam to alter its refusal to withdraw troops and to bring about conditions for the convening of a successful international conference. Over the past year, the anti-Vietnamese armed struggle in Kampuchea has

developed so vigorously that the 200,000 Vietnamese invaders are having a sticky time. At home, too, Viet Nam is embroiled in worsening political and economic troubles. An efficacious prescription for a reasonable settlement to the Kampuchean problem is to boost support for the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces fighting the Vietnamese aggressors.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Zhong Tai

Gulf War Developments

THE Iran-Iraq war which broke out in the most important oil-producing area has shaken the world and affected the global situation. The fighting has taken a heavy toll of lives and inflicted much suffering and loss to both countries. Third world countries are much disturbed, too. But the most disturbing thing is the prospect of superpower interference.

Openings for Moscow. The Western media have warned that the Iran-Iraq conflict has given the Soviet Union "openings" hard to come by ordinarily. It could reap advantages from both sides without lifting a finger. The conflict has already deflected world attention from its occupation of Afghanistan. This has helped Moscow to escape condemnation by the world community and has given it time to "digest" the "fruits" of its Afghan adventure. Babrak Karmal was in Moscow recently, where master and servant discussed ways to intensify suppression of the Afghan guerrillas. That is the first advantage. Second, Moscow is strengthening its position and clout in the Middle East. Syrian President Assad has been to the Soviet

Union to sign a friendship and co-operation treaty with military provisions. Under present circumstances the treaty is a matter for deep thought. Third, the Soviet Union can use this war to advance its southward strategy by taking advantage of its geographical proximity and relations with the two belligerents. By astute manoeuvres in both camps it can make its influence felt to bring long-term goals nearer.

Ever since the outbreak of the war, many United Nations members have appealed for a ceasefire but Moscow has played an obstructionist role. It knows very well the two combatants will not come together for talks by themselves and yet it opposes mediation by any third Party. Obviously the Soviets want to see the hostilities continue. Of course they do not want the war to get out of hand either, for fear of coming into direct confrontation with the United States and Western Europe.

U.S. Steps. The United States has no diplomatic relations either with Iran or Iraq and, with a presidential election on the way and the hostages still a

problem, it finds its hands tied. It is worried about the possibility of the war spreading to endanger the security of the oil-producing areas and the oil lanes vital to the West. The United States has taken energetic steps to deter Soviet meddling and to bringing Iran and Iraq to the conference table as soon as possible to avoid seeing the war spread. Militarily, it has taken some precautionary measures and is paying close attention to the war. But as hostilities spread to cover more Iranian territory there were signs of an easing on the American hostage problem. President Carter and Secretary of State Muskie have come out to declare that territorial disputes should not be settled by "aggression" and that the United States is opposed "to dismembering Iran." Carter also said that if Iran released the hostages, he would unfreeze Iranian assets amounting to several billion dollars, lift the embargo and restore trade with Iran. Although the United States has declared it takes no sides in the Iran-Iraq conflict, Muskie now says that U.S. policy "might have to be adjusted in the light of development."

Prospects. The destructive war has already caused huge losses to the belligerents. Preliminary estimates put the loss of high-cost sophisticated weapons, oil installations, buildings and houses at tens of billions of U.S. dollars.

The Gulf conflict has from the outset caused universal anxiety and concern among the Islamic and other third world countries, who have called again and again for a ceasefire

and made repeated efforts to mediate. Their good offices were welcomed by Iraq because, as it said, it had attained its objectives in the war. However, Iran rejected such offers as it considered itself the injured party.

Now, there are signs pointing to a softening of Iran's stand. Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai went to put his country's position before the United Nations General Assembly and Ayatollah Khomeini met the Secretary-General of the Islamic Countries' Conference, Habib Chatti. He told his visitor that he would welcome the good offices of a delegation of

Soviet Union

Troika to One-Horse Sleigh

THE biggest reshuffle since 1964 when Brezhnev took over from Khrushchov was suddenly announced by the Soviet Union on October 23. On the afternoon when the joint meeting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet was about to end, Brezhnev said that the C.P.S.U. Central Committee had a letter on October 22 from Alexei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In his letter Kosygin said that he needed "rest and departure from vigorous activities on the grounds of health, which has worsened recently." He asked to be relieved of his membership of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairmanship of the Council of Ministers.

Brezhnev said the Party's Political Bureau discussed Kosygin's request and recom-

heads of state of Islamic countries.

Meanwhile, the non-aligned countries have decided to send a goodwill mission of five or six foreign ministers to the two belligerent countries to try to bring about a ceasefire.

Of course, even if the belligerents do accept mediation, it is still a long way to bringing the hostilities to an end. With the war entering its second month, animosity has hardened on both sides. The most strenuous efforts are needed to bridge the awesome gap and settle the conflict.

— Xinhua Correspondent
Guo Ping

mended that the Supreme Soviet accept Kosygin's offer to resign the chairmanship of the Council of Ministers and appoint Nikolai Tikhonov to succeed him.

Brezhnev gave no assessment of the work of Kosygin, who had headed the Soviet Government for 16 years. Not a single word of eulogy was uttered, mandatory routine when a Soviet leader resigns for "reasons of health."

Instead, Brezhnev asked the Supreme Soviet to approve the nomination of Tikhonov and expressed the belief that Tikhonov would be equal to the job. The meeting of course approved the resignation and nomination, without any discussion.

In his brief inaugural speech Tikhonov said that he would adhere unswervingly to the general line set forth by the

24th and 25th C.P.S.U. congresses, and the guidelines laid down by Brezhnev. He had worked in the Dnepropetrovsk region in the 1950s when Brezhnev was first secretary there.

Kosygin, who has not appeared in public since last August, is believed to be in poor health. But, inexplicably, according to official Soviet reports, at the plenary meeting of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee held one day before the Supreme Soviet meeting when personnel changes were discussed, Kosygin was not involved. His request for resignation was made public only the day after the plenary meeting wound up.

Kosygin, 76, was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Council

of Ministers in 1940. He entered the Politburo in 1946 and rose to be Chairman of the Council of Ministers in October 1964, when Khrushchov was thrown out of office. He has been in the No. 2 slot in the triumvirate since.

Kosygin was reported on many occasions by Western news agencies to have clashed with Brezhnev over certain domestic and foreign policies since 1968. His diplomatic activities fell off after the 24th Party congress in 1971.

Podgorny, No. 3 in the triumvirate, was removed from his office as the head of state in 1977 and Brezhnev took over his post. With Kosygin's resignation, the triumvirate is now a one-man rule.

States and other NATO countries of pursuing a policy destroying detente, stepping up the arms race and increasing the danger of war. So U.S.-Soviet nuclear talks were suspended.

Yet when the U.S. Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister met in New York on September 25, they agreed to hold preliminary talks on intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Why?

U.S. Considerations. After the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, the United States readjusted its strategy, made various military deployments and beefed up its military confrontation with Moscow, but it never abandoned wholly its "arms control" proposal with the Soviet Union. As Washington sees it, while the SALT agreement has many faults, it does have a restraining effect on Moscow.

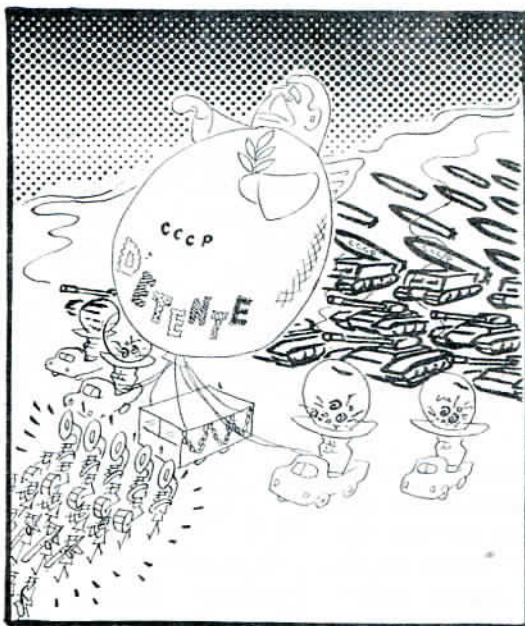
Moreover, the United States faces many economic problems and its defence expenditure is quite a burden. The Carter administration would like to maintain a rough numerical parity in nuclear forces and,

Limiting European Nuclear Arms

THE United States and the Soviet Union met in Geneva on October 16 to work on an agenda for limiting theatre nuclear weapons in Europe. With U.S.-Soviet relations as they are at the moment, this development is worth watching.

The United States had earlier considered that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan constituted the gravest threat to world peace since World War II as well as a major challenge to East-West relations. It imposed a number of political boycotts and some economic sanctions against Moscow as punitive measures and put off Senate discussions to ratify the SALT II treaty. Prior to this, Washington and its NATO allies had decided, beginning in 1983, to deploy the Cruise missiles and Pershing II launchers in Europe to match the Soviet SS-20 missiles with multiple-warheads and the Backfire bombers. At the same time NATO proposed

negotiations with the Soviet Union on the reduction of nuclear theatre weapons. On its part, Moscow tried to explain away its Afghan invasion. It rejected the NATO proposal and accused the United



A bagful of gas.
by Lan Jianan

spend more on building up its conventional forces and upgrading the quality of its nuclear weapons. This was why the United States has repeatedly said it would adhere to the provisions of SALT II and make efforts to broaden the scope of the arms limitation negotiations, particularly in the field of nuclear weaponry. Another reason is that some West European countries also hope to see such talks held.

In the past six months or so, nothing has come out of the nuclear missiles talks, mainly because the Soviet Union insisted on NATO first rescinding its decision to deploy new types of U.S. missiles, which, of course, is unacceptable to NATO. In July, Moscow declared it would drop this precondition and was willing as circumstances stand to hold talks with Washington. It is against this background that some West European countries urged the United States to hold talks as soon as possible with the Soviet Union. After repeated consultations with its NATO allies, the United States finally decided to do so.

The Soviet Posture. After the Afghan incident, the true aggressive and expansionist features of the Soviet Union were further laid bare and Moscow was even more isolated. In order to extricate itself from its difficulties and cover up its global strategic intentions, Moscow has time and again launched propaganda offensives and asserted that the Afghan incident does not hinder East-West detente. To this end,

Moscow took new steps to tempt the West. It came up with a "new proposal" for talks with Washington. Brezhnev wrote personally to the leaders of the United States and West Germany and a dozen other Western countries, urging them to attend to this "urgent question." It can be seen that the Soviet Union is flourishing the banner of weapons control to create the false impression of "detente."

Difficulties. From Soviet and Western reports one can see clearly that the differences between them are very great. The United States' first concern is that the land-based intermediate-range missiles, especially the Soviet SS-20 missiles deployed in Europe, should be put on the agenda for discussion. Western Europe too wants to restrict this type of weapon

so as to attain parity of nuclear forces. The Soviet Union is not interested in this. It has again and again harped on the theme that if NATO deploys new types of American missiles, then it will undermine the essential balance of military forces in Europe. What is more, Moscow wants to include on the agenda for discussions U.S. nuclear-armed bombers and submarines in Europe. In short, the Soviet Union is interested first of all in restricting the Western nuclear forces.

U.S.-Soviet talks on the limitation of intermediate-range missiles in Europe already are under way. It is hard to forecast what will result from the negotiations, but all signs point to long and hard bargaining.

— Fang Min

Zimbabwe Since Independence

SINCE its independence on April 18 this year, Zimbabwe under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has pursued a realistic domestic and foreign policy. It has sought stability and tried to unite with all the different forces in the country. And this policy has paid off. The economy is being steadily rehabilitated.

From the start, the Mugabe government put the stress on consolidating the newly won independence to bring about peace and stability. It called on all blacks — both victors and losers in the general elections — to join hands in the spirit of reconciliation. As to the whites, the blacks were asked to "work together with them." There has been trouble from a few dissidents over the past few months,

but the majority of Zimbabweans have collaborated in a spirit of understanding and reconciliation in order to build up the new state. As one cabinet minister noted: "We are all Zimbabweans, whether we are from Shona or Ndebele, of European descent or Asian. We all should love our country and build up our country." One white technician said that he and his son were born and brought up in Zimbabwe. "This is our home, I wish it well because it's here on which the prosperity and future of my whole family depends."

Refugees Resettled. The thorniest problem facing Zimbabwe after independence is resettling some 1.2 million displaced people. The government appointed five ministers to look after this

CORRECTION: In our issue No. 41, the first word of the 13th line of the middle column on page 29 should read "metres."

Why Cuba Gave Up

ON October 20, the U.N. General Assembly elected Ireland, Japan, Spain and Uganda as non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year period beginning January 1, 1981. The seat for Latin America remained to be filled because of three inconclusive ballots between Costa Rica and Guyana. Cuba was a non-runner.

Cuba had applied once again for candidacy, but just before the vote, it announced its withdrawal. Why did Cuba pull out at the last minute? It had been very eager to become a member of the Security Council.

Cuba does not wish to induce another 150 ballots over its candidacy, explained the Cuban representative. Actually, the assembly last year voted 154 ballots between the two contesting nations: Cuba and Colombia. Cuba just could not obtain the required two-thirds and received progressively fewer and fewer votes with each ballot. After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Cuba's chances of winning the ballot were minimal, so it was forced to withdraw its candidacy. Ever since then, Cuba has found itself increasingly isolated, especially among the non-aligned countries. This is because over the issue of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it has been abusing its position as chairman of the non-aligned movement to prevent the movement from publicly condemning the Soviet aggression against a non-aligned state. This completely betrays the principle of non-alignment and has won Cuba well-deserved opprobrium.

So rather than court a more resounding rebuff than last year, it gave up.

issue in co-ordination with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. By late August, over 200,000 people who had fled the country during the war were repatriated. The government has already spent 14 million Zimbabwean dollars, distributed 52,000 tons of relief materials as well as a large amount of seeds, fertilizer and farm implements free of charge to help the homeless to settle and support themselves.

The representative of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees in Salisbury said that he had been to many other countries to help tackle the refugee problem and few had done such a good job as Zimbabwe.

Improving Production and Living. To restore and develop the

economy, the government has moved to boost agriculture. This is a very important sector as 75 per cent of the population is engaged in it. Agriculture produces 12.5 per cent of the gross national product and 45 per cent of its products are exported. Besides raising purchasing prices for farm products the government has set up 176 agricultural co-operative groups on a voluntary basis. So far, some 40,000 farmers have joined these co-operatives.

The Zimbabwean Government's policy of protecting private capital and encouraging private investments in mining, industry and commerce has won support from domestic and foreign investors. There are now some 20 foreign corporations

with branch offices in Zimbabwe.

Education has not been neglected. Almost right after independence, 1,397 primary schools, 67 secondary schools and all teacher training colleges were reopened. Free primary schooling for all children was begun on September 1. Many students who left secondary schools to fight for liberation are now back in school.

A minimum wage for workers has been enacted. The law stipulates that women are entitled to the same pay as men and have paid maternity leaves.

Unified Army. One urgent task facing the government is the establishment of a unified army. It is not going to be easy to integrate former members of the Rhodesian security forces with those under the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. But, already, within six months, seven mixed battalions numbering 7,000 men have been formed. A smooth transition to a unified national army is of great import to Zimbabwe's stability.

Another factor securing stability for development at home and winning international support has been the government's foreign policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment.

— Ren Yan



Power Should Not Be Concentrated In the Hands of Individuals

— "Hongqi" Special Commentator

THE "cultural revolution" has taught the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people many lessons. An important one is that serious consequences result when the power of the Party is concentrated in the hands of individuals for a considerable period of time.

Manifestations and Damage

Concentration of power in individuals' hands has the following manifestations:

— The power to make final decisions in the Party is assumed by individuals;

— Individuals can cancel presumptuously the resolutions of the Party and decisions of the collective;

— The personal will of the leaders substitutes for collective leadership in the Party's leading bodies at various levels and only what the first secretary says goes;

— One man holds too many posts concurrently. In some places, a number of leading posts are often given to a single person.

Under certain circumstances, concentration of power in the hands of individuals will inevitably lead to a distortion of power: The power of the Party turns into the power of individuals; and the power which should be used in the interests of the Party is changed into a power which runs counter to the Party's will and interests, or even a power which is used by individuals to dominate the Party.

The following problems spring up whenever a distortion of power occurs after the Party's power has been concentrated in individuals' hands for a long time:

— Inner-Party democratic life is smothered. Those who hold power can wield it as they wish while others cannot and dare not raise different opinions. The power-holders are always extolled and eulogized merely because of their power and they cannot see their weaknesses or mistakes.

They do not like to carry out self-criticism. But in our political life, if people cannot speak out freely or make criticism and self-criticism, there will be no real democracy.

— The unhealthy trend of leading members holding life-long posts, which exists in the Party, is strengthened. To allow one person to arrogate to himself complete power will inevitably lead to the situation of an individual holding on to that power for a long time.

— Factionalism is abetted and the Party's unity weakened. Those who have too much power in their hands are liable to be infatuated with it. Those who submit to the power-holders will prosper and those who resist will suffer. Under this situation, opportunists flourish while people who hold on to principles are discriminated against and excluded.

— Individuals are deified. Once a leader is deified, he will be followed blindly and eulogized feverishly; irrational actions become prevalent.

In the history of our Party, calamities occurred when too much power was wielded by one person so that he alone decided everything. This over-concentration of power did not exist from the Zunyi Meeting in 1935 — especially from the Yanan Rectification Campaign in 1942 — to the Eighth Party Congress in 1956. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, democratic life in the Party was normal during this period. The tendency to over-concentrate power grew gradually because of the tremendous growth of prestige of the Party's leaders after the victory in the revolution, the great achievements in the early years of socialist construction and the continuance of imperfections in the socialist democratic system. It became increasingly conspicuous after the struggle against what was called Right deviation in 1959. Though socialist democracy and democratic centralism were repeatedly emphasized after-

wards, there was hardly any effect. Thus what was done was far removed from theory.

Causes

Apart from purely personal factors, the concentration of power in the hands of individuals has its deep social, historical and ideological roots.

China experienced a long period of feudal rule and the present socialist society emerged directly from the womb of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Therefore, feudalistic ideology is so prevalent that it has permeated every corner of the society, affecting the habits of people. For instance, the concepts of respectability and inferiority, the hierarchical system and patriarchal behaviour manifest themselves everywhere. At the same time, we are swamped by the mentality and habitual force of small producers, especially of the peasants. The ideology of the agricultural small producers is characterized by the belief that they cannot take their destiny into their own hands, but rather entrust it to some "saviour." They sincerely sing the "saviour's" praises and hope he will be a wise emperor. They also embrace the concept of returning kindness with loyalty. All this provides an extensive social basis for individuals to arrogate to themselves complete power. We can be sure that, so long as the ideological remnants of feudalism have not been totally eradicated and the small producer mentality has not been reformed, there will always be the possibility that power can be distorted.

Secondly, the problem arises from a lack of proper understanding of the truth. Our Party is an entity made up of its leading organ (its Central Committee), its organizations at various levels and its members. The Party's line and policies are laid down by its leaders, that is, the leading cadres in the Central Committee, on the basis of pooling the wisdom of the masses. All its goals and tasks are fulfilled by the Party members and masses through organizational work of its leading members. Therefore, people naturally link the victory of the revolution and the successes in work with the leaders of the Party and easily attribute the achievements to some individuals. Many people, including some comrades holding very high posts, cannot see this. They often think highly of themselves and underestimate the strength of the Party and the collective. All this reflects the one-sidedness and superficiality of thinking which provides one important reason why the Party's

power is concentrated in a few people's hands and is abusively exercised.

Thirdly, the wielding of power by a few individuals in the Party is connected with the practice during the period of the Communist International when the power of Communist Parties of all countries was highly concentrated. The practical needs of the revolutionary struggle and situation made it necessary at that time to concentrate power to a certain degree in the hands of a few people. But, when the situation changed, especially when the Party seized state power, we failed to introduce corresponding changes. This tradition of centralizing power in a few people's hands, as was reflected in theory, overemphasized centralism in respect to the Party's principle and system of democratic centralism. In the history of our Party, there were times when struggles against decentralism and assertion of independence were unduly emphasized, but there was no occasion when decentralization and giving more power to the localities were overemphasized. Moreover, the concentration of power in individuals' hands has never been opposed. This history has made people believe mistakenly that it is natural for power in the Party to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. Serious consequences will ensue if we do not conscientiously restrict the over-concentration of power, which took shape in the Party's history, but, rather, turn what was a one-time necessity into a common practice or even institutionalize it.

The Party Leads, Not Individuals

The goal of our political life is to facilitate the smooth progress of our socialist modernization by creating a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness, in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom and both unity of will and personal ease of mind. Therefore, it is necessary to constant-



ly improve democratic centralism and socialist democracy. We must pay full attention to those actions which are detrimental to the development of such a situation and to the carrying out of democratic centralism, including those which foster the concentration of power by any individual. Practical measures must be taken to overcome these trends step by step in a planned way.

Of course, our opposition to power being centralized in the hands of a few individuals does not mean that we deny the necessity of centralization, the strength of authority or the role of an individual. The personal authority we talk about does not denote that an individual alone exercises authority. Nor does it mean all powers of the Party must be given to one man. The Party of the Chinese proletariat has needed and will need its own outstanding leadership which enjoys high prestige among the people. But this leadership can only be collective. It cannot be realized through any single individual.

The Party needs its outstanding and authoritative leadership. It asks its leaders to perform their roles well within the limits of their functions and powers. This is totally different from concentrating the Party's power in the hands of individuals. While the former is a necessary part of democratic centralism, the latter is in opposition to and undermines democratic centralism. The cause of the proletariat is a cause of hundreds of millions of people. It is the Party, not any single individual, that forms the vanguard of the proletariat to give leadership to the cause. In the fight for the proletarian cause, no man, however talented, experienced and competent, can do everything well, because there is a limit to what he can hope to accomplish. What is more, everyone is fettered by his inherent weaknesses and shortcomings. This is why man is always a man, and not a deity.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 17. Subheads are ours.)

Answering Our Readers

Two Questions About China's Criminal Law

SINCE *Beijing Review* published a special feature on "China's Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure" in issue No. 23, some readers have inquired: Why does China have a death penalty? In determining a counter-revolutionary crime, how do you distinguish ideas from actions which jeopardize society? A *Beijing Review* correspondent has interviewed Chen Zhucheng, assistant research fellow of the Institute of Jurisprudence of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, to get his views on these questions.

Why does China retain the death penalty?

This is decided by the present class struggle and the objective needs to combat crime. Though exploiting classes have been eliminated, class struggle still exists. There are still secret agents, spies, counter-revolutionaries and other criminals who seriously endanger social order. They are still committing sabotage and crimes. In order to effectively defend the political power of our proletarian dictatorship, maintain social order, protect people's lives and their prop-

erty and ensure the smooth progression of the four modernizations, it is necessary to mete out punishments to such criminals according to law, including inflicting the death penalty on those who have committed most heinous crimes.

For instance, not long ago a law-breaker who had been detained seriously wounded two guards, snatched their rifles and fled. He then shot and killed a public security man. Another offender caused trouble on a public bus and was restrained by a conductor. When the bus stopped, the offender manhandled the conductor and then stabbed him to death with a dagger. Shouldn't we mete out the death sentence to these two killers? If we fail to sentence to death those who deserve death sentences, this might encourage similar crimes to the detriment of state interests and people's safety, resulting in even worse consequences.

We have retained the death penalty in our Criminal Law, but we don't abuse it. The passing of the death penalty is strictly restricted. For instance, the law stipulates: "With the ex-

ception of those handed down by the Supreme People's Court pursuant to law, all death sentences shall be submitted to the Supreme People's Court for examination and approval. . . . The death penalty shall not be imposed on any person who has not reached the age of 18 at the time of the commission of the offence, nor on a woman found to be pregnant during trial."

Except in those cases when the death sentence must be immediately carried out, an offender who is sentenced to death may receive two years' reprieve. The offender must be subjected to a programme of reform through labour to see how he behaves. This gives the criminal a last chance to repent. If the offender demonstrates sufficient repentance, the penalty shall be reduced to life imprisonment at the end of the two-year period. Where he has shown sufficient repentance and rendered meritorious service, the penalty shall, on the expiration of the two-year reprieve, be reduced to a sentence of 15 to 20 years. But if, during the period of reprieve, the offender flagrantly resists reform, the death sentence will be carried out upon the ruling of the Supreme People's Court or after its examination and approval.

How do you distinguish ideas from actions when determining counter-revolutionary crimes?

Article 90 of the Criminal Law stipulates: "Any act which jeopardizes the People's Republic of China for the purpose of overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrowing the socialist system is a counter-revolutionary offence." That is to say, a counter-revolutionary offence must fulfil two conditions: first, the counter-revolutionary purpose of overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system must be present; second, the acts must jeopardize the People's Republic of China. Neither conditions can be dispensed with. So if we use this article which clearly stipulates what constitutes a counter-revolutionary crime as a criterion, we will be able to distinguish between innocence and guilt, and between ideas and actions.

I'd like to discuss how reactionary ideas are distinguished from counter-revolutionary actions. For instance, is someone committing a crime if he writes statements in his diary attacking China's dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system but he keeps his diary in a drawer without sharing his idea with others? Since he has neither committed a counter-revolutionary act which jeopardizes the Peo-

ple's Republic of China nor inflicted any harm on society, this action does not constitute a counter-revolutionary crime. Naturally he should not be punished.

What, then, constitutes a counter-revolutionary act? If someone gives public speeches slandering the dictatorship of the proletariat and attacking the socialist system with the intent to incite people to resist the implementation of a law or decree, and to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, his action constitutes a counter-revolutionary crime of incitement according to the Criminal Law. Not only is his purpose counter-revolutionary, but his speeches also constitute a violation of the law and a danger to society.

The Criminal Law also stipulates other crimes related to speeches, such as slander, libel, bringing false charges against others and instigating criminal activities among the people.

If someone criticizes state policies or makes specific proposals about them he should on no account be suppressed or attacked as this is a civil right guaranteed by the Constitution. Even if his opinions are wrong, he should not be regarded as a criminal. Nor is it a crime when someone says something wrong because he feels discontent about the state policies he cannot understand. □

What are the trends in philosophy and social sciences in China?

Get the answer from

Social Sciences in China

A journal started earlier this year.

The first issue, published in March, presents much on

The structural reform of China's economy.

The second issue, dated June, includes:

- Two different evaluations of Confucianism;
- A review of the debates on the periodization of ancient Chinese history;
- An in-depth study of Marxist dialectics; and
- A report on ancient Iranian relics found in China.

This is the journal of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, published bimonthly in Chinese and quarterly in English.

Distributors: Home: Post offices throughout the country.

Overseas: GUOJI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), P. O. Box 399, Beijing, China, and local agents in all parts of the world.

City Dwellers and the Neighbourhood Committee

by Our Correspondent Luo Fu

At our readers' request, "Beijing Review" has carried news stories about life and work in an ordinary factory and a rural people's commune (see Nos. 11 and 15 respectively). In this issue we present a picture of community life in a precinct of Beijing's Xicheng District and describe the neighbourhood committee organization. — Ed.

Assistant to Grass-Roots Government Agency

THE lights in many houses on Reed Bed Lane (Weikeng Hutong) went out one after another shortly after nine for several nights running last spring. Their occupants were getting up earlier than usual on the following mornings to plant flowers and shrubs to brighten their streets. The work was voluntary, one of the activities organized by the local neighbourhood committee.

An urban neighbourhood committee is a self-governing popular organization whose members are elected directly by the local residents. It is entrusted with tasks which the local government cannot get around to, but which nevertheless vitally affect residents' interests.

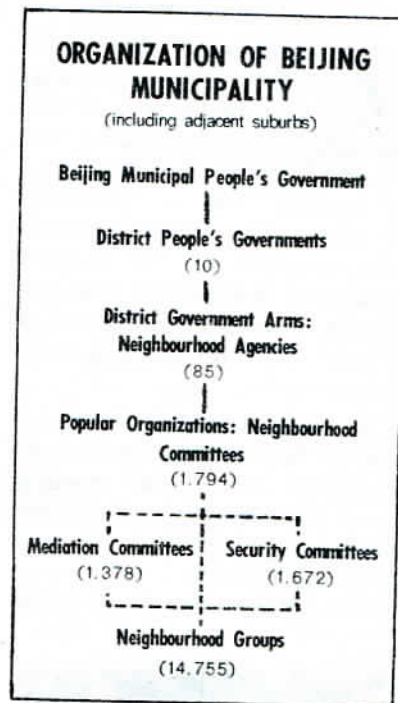
Beijing Municipality is divided into ten districts, including some adjacent suburban ones. Each district governs an average of three to five neighbourhood agencies, while a fairly big district may have as many as ten. There are altogether 85

such agencies in Beijing serving as arms of the district people's government.

A neighbourhood agency, though not large, covers a precinct with more than 50,000 residents on the average. Meeting the demands of this number of residents on a district government and relaying their opinions and requests to the district government concerned is no easy job. The neighbourhood committee to a very large extent gives the helping hand.

Functions of the Neighbourhood Committee'

A neighbourhood committee is not a part of the political power but it functions under the leadership of a neighbourhood agency. The term of office of members is one year. It usually takes care of three to seven hundred households and is composed of from seven to 18 members, each of whom is elected by the neighbourhood group to which he or she belongs. Committee members choose among



themselves a chairperson and one to four assistants. All members volunteer their service to the neighbourhood without salary; however, in case of need a reasonable government subsidy may be granted.

The functions of a neighbourhood committee are to establish and run public welfare undertakings of all kinds, relay local residents' opinions and demands to the government agencies, help solve domestic problems that arise, encourage residents to respond to government requests and abide by the law, take responsibility together with the residents for security matters, and mediate between any residents who have differences.

Actually, neighbourhood committees handle a multitude of problems. Over the past two years, for instance, they have been helping neighbourhood agencies to find jobs for high school graduates. They have also done organizational work among local residents, aimed at improving public security and sanitation and planting greenery in the local communities.

Each neighbourhood committee sponsors a health centre which co-ordinates with a local district hospital in taking care of public health and epidemic-prevention in a particular precinct. The health centre is also prepared to give medical treatment to mildly ill local residents. Family planning is now one of a health centre's main jobs.

A neighbourhood committee acts as liaison between its local residents and the government organs. A local resident may, for instance, complain to his neighbourhood committee about noise or waste pollution



A meeting of Reed Bed Lane Neighbourhood Committee.

by a nearby factory. The neighbourhood committee may protest to the factory authorities, and if nothing is done, the neighbourhood agency or district government in the area may intervene.

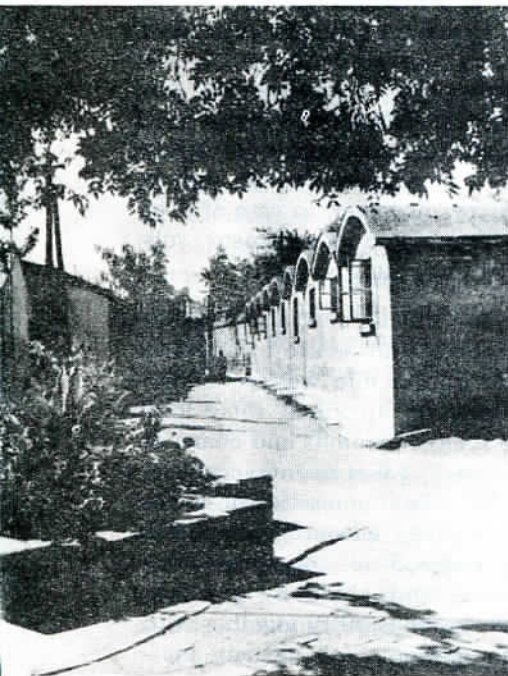
As the nation has instituted the legal system on a sounder basis over the past two years, these committees have been explaining the newly enacted laws to the local populace so that everyone knows their content.

Security and Mediation Committees

These popular organizations come under the leadership of the neighbourhood committee and the local government agency at the lowest level, and are also guided by the public security organs and people's courts.

Security Committee. This assists in maintaining public order and security. The committee members are all local residents who know their neighbours fairly well—who in the neighbourhood have committed theft or robbery or have disturbed the peace in other ways. Residents who find something amiss may report to the committee, and those committees have helped some juvenile delinquents to change their ways.

Mediation Committee. These committees have ironed out differences among local residents, the differences having arisen in many cases from overcrowded living conditions. One family, for instance, built a kitchen in a courtyard where it blocked the sun from the window of a neighbour. There are also cases of sons and daughters refusing to look after their aged parents, of husbands maltreating wives or of quarrel between husband and wife. The mediation committees handle these cases according to government policy so that the parties involved do not have to go to court. Last year alone these committees in Beijing mediated in 43,683 cases of civil disputes, five times as many civil cases handled that year by the district people's courts of Beijing.



A back street within the precinct of the committee.

Those who work in these popular organizations are local people themselves, and are always ready to help. They are highly respected in the neighbourhood. Well acquainted with the local situation, they are often able to solve problems in a practical and sensible way. They are liked and trusted and so can act as competent assistants to the people's government, helping to improve local community life and cementing ties between the government and the people.

These organizations were unfortunately weakened in the ten years of turmoil, while some

even fell into the clutches of ultra-Leftists. One urgent task for the current political power building is, therefore, to restructure and underpin these grass-roots popular organizations. Early this year the National People's Congress Standing Committee once again publicized the regulations governing urban neighbourhood agencies and committees that had been promulgated in 1954, reaffirming the validity and importance of these regulations. The Beijing Municipality and district governments under it have in the past year sent personnel into these organizations to help in their work.

rat poison to our residents and tell them how to use it. The new school term has started,



At the committee's health centre.

Reed Bed Neighbourhood Committee

THE Neighbourhood Committee of Reed Bed Lane takes care of 620 households of 2,100 residents. Ten neighbourhood groups comprise the committee.

Public Welfare Is Their Concern

Chairperson of the Reed Bed Neighbourhood Committee Guan Shumin is 70 now. Her 30 years of work in the neighbourhood have acquainted herself with the families there so that she knows them well. Though she no longer does all the foot work she once did, she goes to the committee office every day to receive local residents and handle committee business.

The office is just one room simply furnished, but tidy and well lighted. It has bookshelves with a variety of publications for teenagers, a 14-inch black and white TV set for local residents who do not have one in their own homes. They pay two fen (100 fen equal one yuan) to watch an evening's programme. This defrays electricity expense. The district government's monthly allowance for the com-

mittee's running expenses is very small, so it has to count every fen.

Meng Suyi, who heads the security committee, is another old-timer in neighbourhood work. She used to chair the mediation committee and left an excellent record. She served as an assessor at the People's Court in Xicheng District. At 55 she is an energetic woman always ready to help others. Her husband is an invalid, but with two children both grown up, Meng Suyi is able to take care of him and work in the neighbourhood as well. The other three assistant heads of the neighbourhood committee are all middle-aged women who like their work of serving their community.

"Sometimes," said Meng, who is also a vice-chairperson of the committee, "it's hard to say what has kept us busy all day. There are so many different kinds of things to do. A few days ago we had to notify each household about killing mosquitoes that night; in a few days we'll issue

and our committee will send application letters to the school for exemption from paying tuition by some economically worse-off families. And now with the weather getting cold, it's our duty to visit homes to see if the stoves and flues are properly installed to avoid carbon monoxide poisoning. Then there are the arrangements to be made for preschool-age children to receive their preventive inoculations and medicine against polio. . . . Of course, all these things are not done by just a few of us. We get help from the neighbourhood groups, who serve the community without pay."

Old-Time Slum

Reed Bed, or Weikeng, got its name from the reed swamp that it was in the old days before 1949. This Beijing slum area with more than 200 households had only one well. People had to queue up at midnight for water.

After liberation the old and dilapidated houses were repaired or renovated to make them fit for human habitation—these were in quadrangle courtyards in the typical old Beijing



School children in the neighbourhood and their extra-curricular activities instructor.

style, which have remained as they were. Urban Beijing before liberation had 15 million square metres of dwelling space; it has 40 million now, mostly apartment buildings with flush toilets. About one-quarter of the 1.2 million families in the capital are still living in one-storey houses in these courtyards. And those in Reed Bed Lane are below the average standard.

Here, each courtyard houses three to four families, who share a water faucet outside their door. Most of these households still use coal stoves for cooking and heating, though overall in Beijing about 60 per cent of the households use piped or bottled gas for cooking.

Neither housing nor the general living standard in Reed Bed Lane is as good as in most residential areas in Beijing. Compared with the older generation, however, people there are quite well-off, due mainly to the fact that practically all middle-aged residents, including former housewives, are employed and have a regular income that covers their basic needs of adequate food

and clothing. And in the past two years, when more people have been paid according to their work, the people here, who are mostly workers, receive a higher income and are eating and wearing better than before.

The big problem now is employment for the young people. The economic backslide in the ten years of turmoil plus the rapid population growth, have

brought this problem to the fore, and it is only recently being tackled. Last year, Beijing had 340,000 young people looking for jobs; by the end of the year 324,000 had them. In the last two years Reed Bed Lane has had 200 young people who were jobless; half of these are now fully employed, while 54 have become temporary workers. A few are preparing for college entrance examinations and not seeking jobs while still fewer are physically unemployable. Meanwhile, jobs are being sought for the rest.

Another urgent problem that needs to be solved is housing. The neighbourhood committee can only organize the residents to try to improve things for themselves. Sanitary conditions are watched so that gastrointestinal diseases do not occur. For three consecutive years there have been no accidents such as fire, theft, hooliganism or carbon monoxide poisoning. Reed Bed Lane with its neighbourhood committee has been cited by the municipality as a "safe neighbourhood."

Profiles

Woman Cook

YAO YUBAO, 51, cooks at a middle school canteen nearby. Her daughter is a waitress and her son, a building worker, while her husband is a warehouse janitor. Yao earns 48 yuan a month (average for China's workers and staff members in 1979 was 705 yuan a year).

Asked how she fared, she said all right, adding that her only big problem had been solved with the help of the neighbourhood committee. "You see," she explained, "people used to

want a lot of children to take care of them in their old age. The government did not encourage family planning. Well, I have six children and did not have time to look after them properly. Our third boy fell in with a petty thief and sold a stolen overcoat for that fellow. He was arrested and sent to a reform school. He ran away several times, which prolonged his stay there."

He was finally re-educated and released, but neither he nor the rest of us were happy because no one would give a job to a reform-school graduate.

Middle-Grade Army Officer

In another compound lives the 52-year-old Liu Hanbang with his wife and daughter. Two sons are working in other cities. Liu is a regimental deputy political commissar. Their three-room house looked quite spacious.

In front was a yard eight square metres in size, with a tree. On summer evenings they ate out under the tree. Two watermelons were cooling in a bucket of Beijing's very cold tap water, as most Beijing residents do not have refrigerators.

Several years back Liu's unit offered him a fine flat in an apartment building for its officers. At that time, children of army officers liked to show off their fathers' military rank, and would say things like: "Look, your dad is only a battalion commander and has to take orders from my dad — he's a regimental commander. That means you have to take orders from me..." Liu, countering this bad influence on his children, chose to live in this courtyard instead of moving into the new apartment building.

Liu, now a convalescent, takes an active part in the meetings of the local residents and learns about their difficulties and problems. "As a member of the people's armed forces in the service of the people I should be close to the people," he said.

Liu's wife practises traditional Chinese medicine and enjoys her work so much that in the evening she re-examines the prescriptions made for her patients, comparing them with prescriptions made out by more experienced doctors of Chinese medicine.

started out at a salary of 35 yuan a month, but as the factory prospers and she has been hard-working, she is now receiving a bonus which brings her income up to 70 yuan. Her husband, a building worker with 20 years of experience earns over 100 yuan a month. Both husband and wife had a middle school education and their life is fairly good.

Li said: "I go to work by bus in the morning and have lunch at the factory. My husband does the same. Back home in the evening, we share the housework, such as washing and cooking. Both of us are busy all day long."

This family, with one son still in high school and living at home, has two simply furnished rooms. They appeared neat and not overcrowded, while outside some flowers and luffa gourds were growing. Their elder son is a pharmacology student at the Army Medical School in Shanghai and is getting good marks. Li said: "Our second son is also doing well and his class teacher says he has good prospects for entering college after graduation. But at this point he wants to work in a quick lunch restaurant."

Meng Suyi observed that people here, quite different in value concept from those in residential quarters where intellectuals and cadres live, are not all that keen on going to college but want jobs after high school. Young people here even sought sanitation jobs, traditionally considered menial, because the pay is good and many fringe benefits are offered. Moreover, public opinion now regards sanitation work no less decent than any other. Still, the Lis' neighbours thought they should be proud to have a son in medical school.



A young man from a reform school playing chess after work.

"For years," Yao continued, "my husband blamed me for failing to bring the boy up right. He would come home from work and sit drinking alone. He became so sullen I found it impossible to stay at home and used to stay a lot at neighbours' places."

The neighbourhood committee learnt of the problem, and the women went to places with job vacancies where they reminded the authorities of the government policy to help reformed young people by giving them a chance to work and take their place in society. Finally a building company took the Yao boy on.

"Life is more pleasant, now that my husband no longer quarrels with me. Our other four children wrote to the neighbourhood committee thanking them. I can work better. The school where I cook recognized my service this summer by giving me a vacation at the seaside resort of Beidaihe free of charge."

Woman Factory Worker

A neighbour of Yao is the 45-year-old Li Fengying, a former housewife who took a job in a glove factory when her two children were old enough to take care of themselves. She

Their daughter is working now and likes to follow the new fashions like most young women. Her parents feel it's all right to keep up with the styles but not to overdo things.

Bank Accountant

Chang Zhenying is 55 and has been working in a bank for more than 30 years. Both he and his father are intellectuals with a higher education. Chang said he was busier at work since



Bank accountant Chang Zhenying and family.

the interest rate on bank deposits was raised last year, and also there had been two wage increases in the last two years, so more people were putting money in the bank.

Chang Zhenying is a soccer and movie fan and watches matches or films either by himself or with his children. His wife is a factory worker but still does a lot of housework when she comes home.

With Chang live his father, mother-in-law, two boys from his first marriage and two more boys from his present marriage. That makes eight people squeezed into three rooms. "It is a good thing all the children are boys," quipped Chang. "If some were girls, I don't know how we'd manage."

The family had had six rooms, but during the "cultural revolution" they were told to hand over three of them because Chang was considered to be an intellectual and intellectuals in those years were generally discriminated against. Due to the housing shortage in Beijing this injustice has not been rectified. Still, the family of three generations gets along quite well. Chang subscribes to four periodicals including *Beijing Review*, which his octogenarian father has read for many years.

"In the evenings we read newspapers and exchange opinions. Sometimes we differ, but all three generations appreciate most of the recent political and economic reforms introduced by the government," said Chang.

All four boys grew up in the ten years of turmoil and consider themselves its victims; because they missed getting a good education. Three have become workers, while the family hopes the youngest will pass the college entrance examination the following year.

Three Old Folks

Lone Widow. Fang Shuping, 65 and with poor eyesight, has no children. Her late husband was a vegetable vendor. The neighbourhood committee urged her to enter a home for the aged, but Fang refused, because, she said, she wouldn't have elm-leaf porridge there. In old China poor people, without enough to eat, often mixed elm leaves in their porridge. She was sold as a child bride at the age of five. She eats rice and flour now, but once in a while she fancies what she used to eat as a child for a change. Also, she is

used to her old double bed and does not like to leave it.

With little means of support, she receives a monthly living allowance from the Bureau of Civil Affairs after the neighbourhood committee investigated and reported her situation. Fang's neighbours help her in her daily life.

Retired Worker. Seventy-one-year-old Zhang Zhiyuan, a retired carpenter, was left alone last year when his wife died. A step-daughter who works on a farm on the city's outskirts visits him often, helps him clean his room and with his laundry. Though she is not his own blood, she follows the Chinese tradition of looking after the aged. In fact this is prescribed by law.

His old-age pension amounts to 44 yuan a month, quite adequate for his support. And people help. Recently when his factory learnt that he had been slightly paralysed, they made him an easy chair. On holidays, they visit him with a basket of fruit. Occasionally he cooks a meal for himself though he usually eats at the neighbourhood canteen where the food is



An old lone woman baby-sits.

well cooked and reasonably priced.

Happy Granny. Tian Sanhuan felt she was fortunate at 67 to be living with her only son, a carpenter, and his wife, who is also a worker, and two granddaughters.

Her name Sanhuan means "three exchanges." In her childhood she ground wheat for a bowl of rice. She was no higher than the mill. She had three such "jobs" as this, exchanging her child labour power for a bowl of rice and came to be known as Sanhuan because in the old society a woman from a poor family generally had no name of her own but was known as some man's wife, mother etc.

Granny Tian's family has three rooms of which Granny occupies the sunniest. She is also the "finance minister" of the family and manages her son's and daughter-in-law's pooled wages. She decides what the family will eat every day. Her son said: "Mom has had a hard life. We want to make her happy."

The daughter-in-law chimed in: "Mother certainly knows better than I how to spend money wisely. She gets our money's worth for us, and we have a bank account." The couple had wanted to buy a TV set but Granny thought too much watching TV might interfere with her granddaughters' homework.

Granny Tian keeps her habit of getting up early every day and takes a walk outdoors. Like most aged country women she also enjoys an occasional smoke of her long-stemmed pipe. She prepares lunch for her granddaughters and leaves the cooking of the evening meal to her daughter-in-law.



Vice-Minister Guo going home after work.

Ranking Official

North of Reed Bed Lane are two apartment buildings which are also within the jurisdiction of the Reed Bed Lane Neighbourhood Committee. Vice-Minister of Public Health Guo Ziheng lives in one of the flats, where the living conditions are much better than in the old courtyards. There are gas stoves, central heating and flush toilets in every apartment, though these are far from luxurious.

The vice-minister, 56, and his family of four have a three-room flat. One is used as a study and living room. The daughter, who works at the airport, comes home only at weekends, and an unmarried son in college lives with the family.

Guo Ziheng gets up at six and jogs and does other exercises with a transistor radio in his pocket so he can listen to the news and English lessons.

An orthopaedist by profession, the vice-minister graduated from the China University of Medicine in 1947 and

went to the Soviet Union for further study at the Leningrad Medical Institute, where he spent four years in the department of orthopaedics. Since 1961 he had been a vice-director of Jishuitan Hospital in Beijing and secretary of the Party committee there. Two years ago he was transferred to his present post. Still he remains in the same flat and goes to work by bicycle.

On Sundays he often goes to the local market and cooks a meal himself. He does not plan to buy a washing machine. "Laundry is no big problem to me. My wife and I each wash our own clothes," he said.

The change in Guo's life is giving up smoking after being a chain smoker for more than 30 years. The Ministry of Public Health has issued health warnings, and Guo as a leader thinks he should set a good example.

But the change in his day-to-day work is greater than that in his living. He is familiar with rural public health work because as Jishuitan's vice-director he often went to the countryside and had worked in Yanan prefecture for a year as head of a Beijing medical team. But he said it was more difficult getting accustomed to attending so many meetings and reading volumes of official documents. Some of his evenings are taken up with activities involving foreign visitors. He does arrange to spend time with his family on Sundays, for instance, seeing to it that he gets an hour of badminton with his daughter. □

Home Education Research Group

The Beijing Home Education Research Association, the first of its kind in China, has just been founded in an effort to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency and crime resulting from improper home environment and upbringing. The association will make an extensive investigation and survey of home education, particularly that in one-child families, and then begin to introduce positive methods of child-rearing and education to the public by organizing lectures and publishing articles on this topic.

According to an investigation by the Beijing Education Bureau, home education has become a topic of public concern. As more families have only one child, parents frequently tend to be too permissive and indulgent, or pay too much attention to their child's academic education at the expense of his moral teaching. At the other extreme, there are still many people who believe that physical punishment and beating is the best way to raise their children, while still others have a negative influence on their children simply because of their own improper education and behaviour.

A recent survey by the education bureau in the Xuanwu District indicates that among the 157 minor offenders at the district reform school, improper home education was the primary cause of the delinquency of 56 per cent of the youths. Twenty per cent had parents who either ignored or encouraged their children's offences, and another 20 per cent were ill-treated by the parents who had adopted them. Many of the rest

had families who were over-permissive and did not give proper guidance when problems occurred.

Another survey of 53 juvenile delinquents in a Beijing neighbourhood community showed that 80 per cent of the youths had a negative home education or were neglected by their parents during childhood.

The new association says home education not only concerns the upbringing of young people, but also has a tremendous influence on the moral standard and behaviour of the society as a whole.

The association is led by the director of the Beijing Education Bureau, Han Zuoli, and its members and advisors include the vice-chairman of the Beijing Women's Federation and other education experts.

Albino Monkey Needs a Mate

The authorities of the Kunming Zoology Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences are now looking for a mate — for their monkey.

The albino male monkey of the rhesus variety is three and a half years old and a very rare animal. Its body and hair are completely white and

its eyes have blue irises and deep-red pupils. It was captured last year by eight peasants of the Songping People's Commune, Yongsheng County, deep in the forests of Yunnan Province in southwest China. The men brought the monkey to the institute in September after learning of its scientific value. The monkey is now kept by experienced handlers at the institute, and is proving to be of great value in genetic and biomedical research.

Taiwan presently has a four-year-old white female monkey of the same species. They are also looking for a mate for their monkey, and have even published advertisements in the Taiwan newspapers in an effort to locate one. The Kunming institute has therefore offered to allow its albino male to couple with the Taiwan female. Said Pan Qinghua, director of the institute: "We welcome those concerned in Taiwan to bring their white monkey to Kunming, where they will naturally be accorded due respect and guaranteed the freedom to come and leave as they wish. Provided with the necessary facilities, we can even send our monkey to Taiwan. And we hope to cooperate with the Taiwan scientists to study the two monkeys."



People in the News

Wu Zhonglun, deputy head of the Chinese Forestry Research Institute, is a veteran scientist who has dedicated many years to the preservation and development of China's woodlands and forests.

Wu originally came from a poor peasant family in Zhejiang Province. When he was 13 years old, he went to work on a farm outside of Shanghai and became very interested in plants and trees. Later, he went abroad to study forestry and received a Ph. D. at Yale University's School of Forestry. He returned to China in 1950.



Since then, Wu has surveyed or visited almost every major forest in China. In 1958, he joined a group of scientists on a surveying expedition in the forests of southwest China. For a year or so, the scientists gathered information on the forest distribution of this area. As a result of the work of Wu and his colleagues, a programme of careful forestry management and conservation was implemented in this region.

In the early 1960s, Wu led a contingent of 250 foresters and scientists in a comprehensive study of the forests of the Greater Hinggan Mountains in northeast China. On the basis of their experiments, they wrote an article on "Ways of Felling Trees and Measures of Reforestation in the Main Afforested Areas of the Greater Hinggan Mountains," as well as two other articles of a similarly important nature.

Later, Wu surveyed the loess plateau in the northern part of Shaanxi Province, which has long been beset by sandstorms, soil erosion and problems in water conservation. Wu concluded that with the exception of a few areas, the entire plateau region had immense potential for reforestation and increased agricultural production, and needed forestry to conserve soil and water. At a symposium on soil conservation, agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding on the loess plateau, Wu presented a paper entitled "Some Views on Forestry Work in Shaanxi Province," in which he discussed his observations and put forth a comprehensive plan for the region.

In the last two years, Wu also studied the problem of firewood in rural areas. Studies and visits throughout the country have led him to advocate developing planned fuel forests as an important energy resource in the countryside. Wu has also urged that China import foreign tree seeds in order to improve its forests in many regions.

many ornate ink sticks shaped in the forms of celestial beings, cicadas, tortoises and swords. The famous xuan paper, well-known throughout China for its fine quality, is also on display.

In addition, a traditional scholar's study has been recreated for the exhibition, complete with furniture of padauk and red sandalwood, old books, scroll paintings, a chess set and a zither. The room offers visitors the opportunity to appreciate the atmosphere of a study and calligraphers a place to use the "four treasures."

One of the organizers of the exhibition said the display is unique not only because it is the first of its kind in New China, but also because the "four treasures" are in themselves a form of art to be studied and admired. "The exhibition



One corner of a scholar's study recreated for the exhibition.

"Four Treasures" Exhibition Opens

An exhibition of the "four treasures" used in traditional calligraphy and painting recently opened at the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing in response to a growing interest among people here in this form of art. The exhibition presents a comprehensive display of the "four treasures" — writing brushes, ink sticks,

paper and ink slabs — from Anhui Province.

The 1,600 exhibits include many valuable items. At the entrance, there is a one-square-metre giant ink slab with pine trees, the traditional symbol of welcome, engraved on its sides in bold relief. There are also a reproduction of the writing brush taken to Japan 1,200 years ago by the celebrated Tang Dynasty Buddhist monk, Jian Zhen, as well as

has been moved to the capital," he said, "with the hopes of raising the level of production and popularization of the 'four treasures' so as to promote painting and calligraphy in China."

During its earlier six-month run in Hefei, the capital of Anhui Province, the exhibition drew more than 130,000 visitors, including UNESCO officials and diplomats from more than 60 foreign countries.

MUSIC AND DANCE

National Minority
Art Festival

Just before this year's National Day (October 1), some 2,000 performing artists from China's 55 minority nationalities gathered in Beijing to participate in the biggest national minority art festival ever held in New China. The festival ran for an entire month and featured nightly performances at each of the capital's five leading theatres. The singers, dancers, actors and musicians who came together for this event were both professionals and amateurs, famous and unknown, but were all clearly selected for their exceptional ability to capture the unique "local flavour" and vitality of their native cultures in their performances.

Each of China's five autonomous regions — Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Guangxi, Ningxia and Tibet — and 12 of the provinces sent companies of performers to the festival. The Tibetan delegation, with 162 members, was one of the largest. All

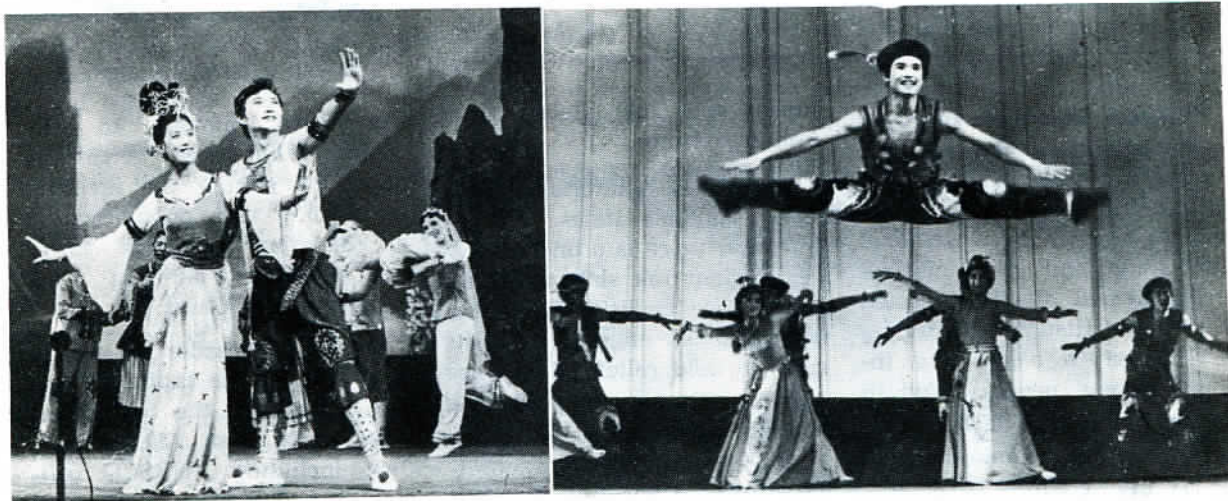
three of its deputy leaders were former serfs, and the troupe's 14-year-old Renjin Jolma was the youngest artist to participate in the festival. Yunnan in southwest China is a multi-national province and its delegation was made up of artists from 24 different minority nationalities. Northwest China's Xinjiang sent a group representing 13 nationalities. Inner Mongolia sent the youngest delegation, with an average age of only 22. And in the company from the coastal province of Fujian in southeast China, there were 11 artists of the Gaoshan nationality of Taiwan.

The performances given by artists of Xinjiang's various nationalities and of the Korean nationality from northeast China, both renowned for their distinctive styles of singing and dancing, were particularly well-received by the audiences. Among the presentations they gave were two short musicals entitled *Joyful Pamirs* and *Happiness After Distribution*. The former was a portrayal of the nomadic life of the Tajik people in mountainous Xinjiang, while the latter depicted

a joyful celebration by the Korean nationality peasants after a bumper harvest.

Another highlight of the festival was the Ningxia company's performance of *Mansur*, the Hui people's first major opera. Based on a centuries-old legend of the Hui people, the drama tells the story of a brave young shepherd, Mansur, who overcomes many dangers and tests of courage to save and win the hand of a beautiful princess. The songs and music of the opera were developed from *huaer*, a traditional form of folk singing popular among the Hui people, that is rich in metaphor and imagery. In the past, the Hui people's dancing always focused on the feet and the head, with little movement of the hands. The choreography of *Mansur*, however, increased hand and arm movements and made its dancing more natural, lively and rhythmical. The opera has received wide acclaim from critics in Beijing.

For many years, the Manchu nationality of north China was considered a people without



Left: A scene from "Mansur," the first major opera of China's Hui nationality.
Right: "Mangshikongqi," a dance by north China's Manchu artists.



"High Green Mountains," a dance by artists of the Gaoshan nationality of Taiwan.

dance. With the Beijing premiere of the *Mangshikongqi*, however, this misconception came to an end. This ancient style of Manchu folk dancing, which disappeared for many years, was recreated from history books and the memories of old people of the Manchu nationality. As the artists demonstrated once again, the Manchu dance is sometimes slow, sometimes quick, and characterized by raising one hand up to the forehead and putting the other behind the back.

Artists of the Jinuo nationality of sub-tropical Yunnan Province entertained the capital's audiences with musical instruments made of bamboo. Living in groves of bamboo trees along the banks of the Lancang River, the Jinuos were officially recognized last year as China's 55th minority nationality. As they demonstrated at the festival, it is a traditional custom among the Jinuos to celebrate the end of a hunt with the joyful beating of bamboo tubes and playing of bamboo instruments. Men and women play together, and the music is often accompanied by joyful and excited singing.

Interesting stories lay behind the creation of many of the per-

formances presented at the festival. For example, bronze drums were traditionally used by the Yi people to help celebrate their new year festival on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar. During the "cultural revolution," however, the drums and even the festival itself were banned as "remnants of feudalism." When choreographers visited a Yi village in the spring of 1977, they persuaded an old man to unearth the village's old bronze drum which he had buried and saved long ago. That evening, when the first drum-beats broke the silence of the night, villagers gathered around the drum. A bonfire was lit and a grand dance party followed. This inspired one of the festival's choreographers to create the *Dance of the Bronze Drum*.

Some of China's most famous singers of all nationalities gave performances at the festival. Among them were Alatai, an Inner Mongolian mezzo-soprano; He Dezhi, a 58-year-old Daur nationality singer; A Sang, from southwest China's Miao minority; and Bai Luzhu, a famous Bai singer who was once praised by the late Premier Zhou.

Many ancient musical instru-

ments used by the national minorities aroused great interest too, during the festival. The *bai*, for example, a traditional wind instrument made of two reeds instead of one, was played at the festival by the Li musicians of Hainan Island. The *kalong* is another ancient musical instrument which is rarely seen today. This traditional, multi-stringed plucked instrument is a favourite of the Uygur nationality of northwest China. Before the festival, the Uygur musicians made several renovations to the instrument to increase its volume and range, and the result was a clear and melodious music enjoyed by all. Another interesting performance was given by Miao musicians with a flute-like instrument made of rolled-up tree leaves. The lovely quality of the music the instrument gave astonished festival audiences, who were told that the practice of using tree leaves in this way dates back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.).



Uzbek performers staging "Bell Dance."

The art festival exemplified the Party's policy of encouraging the preservation and development of the traditional art and culture of all of China's national minorities. The festival also reflected the tremendous upsurge and revival of their art in the last few years.

A First-Hand Report

Refugees From Viet Nam in China

Written by Rewi Alley;
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While the plight of the hundreds of boat people driven from Viet Nam — mainly ethnic Chinese — was catching international headlines, China was swiftly and efficiently giving refuge to hundreds of thousands. Rewi Alley, in his *Refugees From Viet Nam in China*, tells us about it. The octogenarian New Zealand writer and poet presents a striking picture of the exodus and its origins, derived from his visits to the refugee centres in the provinces of Guangxi and Guangdong.

Sino-Vietnamese relations have a history of 2,000 years. Until their expulsion, the ethnic Chinese numbered well over a million. "There has been a considerable intermixture of peoples," says Alley, "so that in many cases it was not possible to distinguish to which grouping a family belonged. The ethnic Chinese have Vietnamese nationality, and have contributed much to the building of modern Viet Nam, especially technically."

In the south many were labourers, traders and professional people. In the north they were largely farmers, fishermen and technicians in mining and other industrial enterprises. They were law-abiding, loyal citizens, "... many of them fighting with Ho Chi Minh at Diem Bien Phu and afterwards in the war against south Viet Nam and the U.S. intervention," Alley says.

The young People's Republic of China strained her limited

resources to help Viet Nam become a self-sufficient independent nation. But, to the astonishment of the Chinese, as early as 1966 the Hanoi government began implementing a pro-Soviet, anti-China stand. China had made "... enormous sacrifices, including the deaths of thousands of engineering corps members sent to help Viet Nam at the most crucial time. . . . The border which had been quiet through the years, was now transformed into an area of conflicts, with incessant Vietnamese provocations resulting in death and injury to many hardworking Chinese farm folk, who had in the war years been hosts to their like from Viet Nam seeking refuge from bombing."

Both in their methods and in their callous greed Hanoi's bully boys bear a marked resemblance to the barracudas of the Third Reich. Ethnic Chinese were fired from their jobs, bled out of their small businesses, driven from their homes, pressured, extorted, beaten and sometimes murdered. After every last penny was extracted from them, they were expelled from Viet Nam's borders.

By the end of 1979 more than 250,000 Vietnamese refugees had arrived in China. The Central Government provided the equivalent of 450 million U.S. dollars for their relief, over and above the funds expended by the local governments.

Farm families were absorbed in existing state farms. Fisherfolk went to fishing villages. Workers were fitted into their own trades wherever possible. Doctors and teachers were easily placed. The cost of providing food, clothing, housing, medical care, travel expenses and job training has been huge, but most of the refugees have

now adapted to their new communities and are earning their keep.

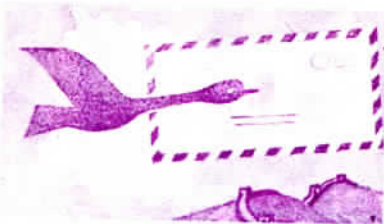
Many have become valuable adjuncts to China's economy. Apart from the shameless brutality of the Vietnamese authorities, one wonders at their short-sightedness. Ethnic Chinese fishermen expelled from Viet Nam supplied 70 per cent of the fish caught in the northern part of the country, according to Alley. "Many of the coal miners of Hon Gai have come over, and have been allocated to various state coal mines in China," he says. And he adds: "There was the biggest Vietnamese pottery at Mong Cai. Among its workers, 1,700 were ethnic Chinese and got rid of."

Another resemblance to the German Nazis, who destroyed or drove out some of their most useful citizens.

Rewi Alley has interviewed dozens of the refugees and set down their stories in intimate detail. They reveal much of the admirable character of these people, and reflect the moral disintegration of present-day Viet Nam. The book is rich in facts and figures. Interspersed are a number of Alley's fine poems. Their trenchant passion fits in well with the author's strong convictions. He recalls friendly visits of Chinese and Vietnamese across their common border in the past, and affirms his belief that those times will come again. Says Alley:

"This coming and going was normal and considerable . . . and will certainly continue when the Russian overlords turn from their efforts to control the whole world and devote their energies to developing their own vast territories, leaving independent smaller countries to develop normally without interference."

— Sidney Shapiro



LETTERS FROM READERS

Economic Policy

The article "More on Economic Reform" in issue No. 36 by Xue Muqiao deals with the theory behind China's socialist economic policy, a theory which is capable of bringing into play the enthusiasm of individuals and small collectives for socialism and making contributions to the socialist development of China. The article demonstrates the orientation and flexibility of China's economic work. I learnt a lot from the article. This cannot, of course, be said to be an ideal socialist economy, but it is a great creation of applying Marxism to the Chinese reality. This is an inevitable and at the same time a necessary economic policy.

Koichi Masuko
Tokyo, Japan

On Competition

I live in a capitalist country and know the harm brought by competition. Regardless of the quality, enterprises try by every means to keep their production costs as low as possible and at the same time, use advertisements to deceive people. You should guard against the risk of this kind of system.

Mario Vacondio
Reggio Emilia, Italy

We would like to suggest that you read the article entitled "More on Economic Reform" published in issue No. 36. Socialist competition is not free competition but is carried out under the guidance of state planning on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. It is an indispensable and limited competition. — Ed.

Avoiding Waste

I was particularly happy to learn from the article "On the Use of Foreign Funds" (issue No. 34) that China, unwilling to fall captive to the luxurious American style, tries to avoid waste in the building of hotels and restaurants. Hope you succeed in this regard.

Halter Raphael
Frauenfeld, Switzerland

Training of Lawyers

I found the article on China's Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure in your magazine No. 23 to be interesting although I am not a criminal lawyer, but a commercial lawyer. I would therefore be interested to see more articles in the *Beijing Review* about the training of lawyers and the courses and syllabi at the law schools, the establishment of commercial legal practices and the advice available to Chinese and overseas businessmen in China and, indeed, the development of Chinese commercial law.

Alan P. Williams
London, Britain

"Why Memories of 1939?"

I found this article in issue No. 32 very interesting.

Why memories of 1939? This is because the danger of war does exist. It comes mainly from Soviet social-imperialism which cherishes wild ambitions and is attempting to dominate the world. Therefore, I would like to see this important article become known to the public. As readers, we have the duty to spread information among the masses. Hope that more topics of this nature will be covered in the future.

At present, there are actually a number of Japanese who are deeply engrossed in peace and ignore the menace of the Soviet Union's southward policy. We are very indignant that the aircraft carrier *Minsk* is cruising in the territorial sea of Japan as a display of strength.

Sunao Shigeta
Osaka, Japan

Another Revolution in Viet Nam

Re your article concerning the speech given by Comrade Hoang Van Hoan where he calls for a new revolution in Viet Nam (issue No. 34). It is imperative that this revolution takes place as Viet Nam, under the leadership of Le Duan, has become nothing more than a satellite state of the U.S.S.R. Le Duan has brought ruin to Viet Nam. Le Duan has no intention of rebuilding Viet Nam. He has spent so much money on weapons and annexing Kampuchea that there is no money left for the reconstruction of Viet Nam. Hopefully we will see him go shortly. He will not be missed.

K.A. Hawkins
Kalgoorlie, Australia

I have read your article (issue No. 34) "There Must Be Another Revolution in Viet Nam." I was very shocked to hear about what Le Duan and the Vietnamese authorities did to China after so many years of warm friendship.

This can be expected now since Le Duan and his associates have decided to become robots of a foreign power. Anyone with any common sense knows that Moscow throws its voice through Le Duan and his gang of traitors.

Gregory Currier
Union City, Ca., U.S.A.

Articles I Appreciate

I appreciate very much your articles "Upheavals in Uganda" (issue No. 22) and "Educating the Younger Generation Is a Great Task" (issue No. 24), and also the article about the workers of a bicycle factory (issue No. 11). It gives outsiders an insight into how ordinary people in the People's Republic of China live.

I suggest that you publish more wonderful articles on the life style of people in different professions.

First of all I'd like to say something about the column "Special Feature." The articles are very informative and written in great detail. This has been my long cherished wish. The articles under the general title "Let No One Fall Behind" in issue No. 16 are very interesting.

Fredrick Kumwenda
Kasama, Zambia

CAAC



Announces

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Beginning November 4, 1980

BEIJING-KARACHI-FRANKFURT-LONDON INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Beginning November 15, 1980

TIMETABLE

(All local time)

CA937 Sa. B-747SP	CA101 Tu. Th. Sa. B-707	Flight No. Days Aircraft	CA102 Tu. Th. Sa. B-707	CA938 Su. B-747SE
19:45	10:10	dep BEIJING	arr 17:25	15:45
↓	13:10	arr XIANGGANG (HONGKONG)	dep 14:40	↑
Su. 00:35		arr KARACHI	dep	06:35
02:00		dep	arr	Mo. 05:05
08:10		arr FRANKFURT	dep	15:05
09:40		dep	arr	13:35
09:40		arr LONDON	dep	11:40

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