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OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Need to Eliminate Feudal Influences
- Role of Individual Economy

"Beijing Review's" Interview With Pakistan President



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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

The Ghost of Feudalism

Theoretician Ruan Ming probes deep into China's past in search of the social and ideological causes for the backsliding during the "cultural revolution." He argues that China needs to combat feudal influences in order to forge ahead in the socialist modernization drive (p. 15).

Individual Economy — Yes or No

A roundup of opinions on the role of individually operated businesses now being revived in the cities. Both pros and cons are presented (p. 20).

"Iron Bowl" Cracks

The old system of life-tenure for cadres is being abolished. Incompetent officials face dismissal and "bureaucrat-businessmen" encounter widespread criticism (pp. 3 and 4).

Fruitful Sino-Thai Exchanges

A review of the results of Prime Minister Prem's visit to China (pp. 8 and 11).

Pakistan President Interviewed

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Zhao Dan — An Obituary

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Prejudice Defied

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POLITICAL

Chinese Communist Party Expels Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced on October 31 the posthumous expulsion from the Party of Kang Sheng, former Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, and Xie Fuzhi, former Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. Kang died in 1975 and Xie in 1972.

The Party Central Committee said that the speeches delivered at their memorial ceremonies have been rescinded and information about their counter-revolutionary crimes has been disseminated throughout the Party.

Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi directly participated in the plots of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state during the "cultural revolution" and committed grave crimes.

The investigation of the cases of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi was made in accordance with a decision adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978. Since then the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline under the Party Central Committee has made an extensive investigation of their cases, and the commission submitted its reports to the Party Central Committee last September.

The two reports were approved by the Party Central Committee and their contents



Since being elected director of a Chang-chun factory, Zhang Songyou (2nd from right) has succeeded in reversing ten years of deficits by running the factory at a profit.

made known to Party members throughout the country not long ago.

Cadres' "Iron Rice Bowl" Cracks

A veteran cadre was dismissed from his post recently. Though this first secretary of the Luohe city Party committee of the Henan Province had committed no serious mistakes, he did not know enough about municipal administration and failed to do a good job at his post. He had held important positions in five places since liberation with no achievements to his credit, prompting people to remark that he neither understood his work nor made much of an effort. His claim to his job was merely that he was a veteran cadre. The Henan provincial Party committee replaced him with a cadre of qualified knowledge and ability.

By the same token, the Guangzhou Railway Sub-bureau has checked up on 104 heads and deputy heads of the stations under its administration. Thirteen were relieved of their posts for inadequate vocational and organizational skills and asked to serve as workers or ordinary staff members. Another 10 retired because of advanced age and poor health.

Some leading cadres were voted out of office because of lack of qualifications. They had to accept lower positions or do other work. The press has reported many examples of electing grass-roots cadres in enterprises lately.

Until recently, cadres assumed that they could hold their offices indefinitely, provided that they did not make a major mistake. They did not care whether they knew their job or whether they had obtained any results. This life tenure of leading cadres was a de facto practice though it was not sanctioned in the Party or state Constitution. These cadres thought they had an "iron rice bowl."

This "iron rice bowl" of cadres was broken with the decision of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in February to put an end to the practice of life-long terms for cadres. Since then, many younger cadres have been promoted.

Renmin Ribao recently carried an article by Special Commentator, calling on all Communist Party members and cadres to consciously promote this reform. Entitled "An Important Reform in the System of the Party and State Leadership," it pointed out

that the main negative aspects of life tenure are quite clear now. Over the past 30 years, the average age of the leading cadres has risen considerably, the emergence and growth of talented and proficient young cadres has been obstructed, and the implementation of democratic centralism has been harmed.

Moreover, the de facto life-long tenure is a remnant from the feudal past. For in old China, once an official, a person could enjoy life-long privileges. This traditional notion has persisted for several thousand years and still is influential today.

The article stressed that the terms of office for the supreme Party and state leaders as well as other leading cadres at different levels should be clearly stipulated. Elections and appointments should be for a fixed term. In addition, it is necessary to work out procedures for when veteran cadres leave post for rest or retire. Lastly, the abolition of the remaining vestiges of feudalism is still a protracted task which cannot be overlooked (see p. 15).

ECONOMIC

Wiping Out Bureaucracy in Commerce

A recent commentator's article in *Renmin Ribao* urged that bureaucratic practices be eliminated in commerce. Following is a brief summary of the article.

Though management has been improved in many commercial departments during the past two years, the bureaucratic work style still plagues a number of localities, causing losses to both producers and consumers. Among its manifestations are:

—Ignorance of market demands, caring neither for losses or waste;

—Refusal to study economic problems and other professional expertise, using political verbiage to cover up incompetence;

—Lack of interest in the art of business management while being rude to customers; and

—Abuse of power to practise feudal monopoly and oppose competition. For instance, inexpensive industrial products of good quality from other places are kept out of a local market under the excuse of protecting the local industry and commerce.

All this is "a reflection of feudal remnants in a modern economy" and it originates from the work style which regards businesses as government offices of the old society and manages them according to the will of superiors.

Reforms of management constitute an important step in the elimination of these bureaucratic practices. Where such reforms have been instituted, the yoke of administrative orders

has been broken and economic vitality has resulted by protecting competition, encouraging economic integration and stressing economic results. The production and supply of commodities have been improved as well.

Competition is a good remedy for bureaucracy in commerce as it brings pressure to bear on those "bureaucrat-businessmen" who do not know their jobs and refuse to learn.

Competition on Repairing TV Sets

Beginning in August, four television manufacturing factories in Shanghai competed with one another over their television repair service.

"Home Service" was first advertised in a local newspaper by the Shanghai No. 18 Radio Plant. The advertisement stated that as of August 1, home repairs would be available to all customers in Shanghai within the first month after they buy the plant's Feiyue sets. Moreover, this service would be extended beyond the one-month



Waitress Song Limei is well liked for her warm service to customers in this Tianjin restaurant.

period to the elderly, the sick, invalids and army dependents.

Shortly afterwards the Shanghai No. 1 Television Plant offered a one-year home repair service for their Jinxing sets, starting from August 24.

The No. 4 Radio Plant of Shanghai, which has a strong technical team, put together a repair clause which provided for home repair service on its Kaige sets sold after September 1 for a one-year period. Those sold before September 1 could be repaired at home if the users are elderly, sick, invalids and army dependents. An extra provision in their offer was that those sets which broke more than twice within a month after the repair would be replaced with a new one.

The Shanghai Radio Plant then tried to offer a better deal by announcing that their home repair service would cover all Xinghuo TV sets purchased after July 1 of this year for a one-year period. This offer surpassed others in that it covered sets bought before the advertisement was published and the coverage period began at least one month before those of the other plants.

Such competition has steadily improved the service and quality of the television sets produced in Shanghai.

Rural Contract

Greater prosperity has been enjoyed by the 84 families of the poor mountain village of Matang in Jiangxi Province during the last year or so. Though the Matang Production Team only tills 32.4 hectares



The Matang Production Team reaped a bumper rice harvest this year.

of farmland, its total income in 1979 increased by 85 per cent over that of 1976, with each member earning 203 yuan, an average increase of 80 per cent. Four-fifths of the households have their own new houses and individual savings total 12,700 yuan.

The key to Matang's success is the implementation of the Party's rural policy. A diversified economy has replaced the single production of grain, labour organization has been readjusted accordingly and the principle of more pay for more work has been adhered to.

Five groups have been set up for growing grain and five others for overseeing afforestation, vegetables, vegetable oil production and livestock raising. In addition, some individuals have specialized in carpentry, sewing, carving and fishery. These groups and individuals make contracts with the team and use the latter's farm tools and other means of production, and their pay

is fixed according to their targets in output or value. The contract stipulates that everything produced within the targets will be distributed by the team in a unified way, and that most or all of what is produced beyond the targets will go to the producers themselves. Should the producers fail to fulfil their planned targets, the difference will be deducted from the amount normally distributed to them.

This contract system represents an important departure from past practice where production was determined by administrative means. The chief advantages of this new system in activating the rural economy are that it overcomes equalitarianism in distribution and lack of clear responsibility in farm work and thus encourages individuals to do a better job. The relatively fixed division of labour is conducive to the training and use of the peasants' skills and the best use of land and materials. Even



A member of a five-peasant group which contracted to raise 5,800 yuan's worth of vegetables this year. It is expected they will also earn bonuses for overfulfilling their target.

the old and weak who were idle before can now contribute to the collective by weaving and growing vegetables.

The experience of Matang is quite typical. Since the production team's power to run its own affairs was confirmed in 1978, the system of organizing production groups (embracing several or a dozen households) with contracted responsibility has spread. The Matang practice of combining the contract system with a division of labour has also appeared in many other areas. For instance, 3,000 production teams in Anhui Province have upped their income by organizing themselves in this manner.

Anhui Province recently called a meeting of cadres to discuss the merits of this contract system. It was urged that the system be popularized gradually after democratic discussions by the commune members and in line with the practical situation of different localities.

Urban Construction Needs Better Planning

Urban construction will not be successful until "Left" ideas are curbed, according to delegates attending the recent national city planning conference.

They recalled that proponents of "Left" ideas regarded city construction as enlarging the differences between city and country and as practising revisionism. Some even demanded that cities be kept at the level of the countryside. Consequently, several new cities with developing industries were too spread out. For instance, in southwest China's Guizhou Province there is one city with a population of nearly 300,000 that has been established on more than 50 separate locations, the farthest distance between them being 100 kilometres. This has caused much inconveniences in both production and daily life.

In many cities, development has been badly affected by overemphasizing production facilities at the expense of people's daily needs with the result that water, electricity

and housing are inadequate and public transportation is overcrowded.

Another manifestation of "Left" ideas was the neglect of architectural beauty and good environment because they represented a form of bourgeois enjoyment. Scenic spots, places of historical interest and splendid gardens were destroyed, and afforested areas were occupied. Many factories were set up inside cities, causing environmental pollution.

The conference called for a new development of cities as part of the modernization drive. Old cities should be gradually transformed and new cities built. There is a need to greatly strengthen city planning work and eradicate the vestiges of "Left" ideas.

Each city should determine its orientation, scale and layout in accordance with its geography, history and resources, and should devise an overall and rational plan for its construction while maintaining local features.

The conference laid particular stress on the need for mayors



A street in Huangcun, a satellite town of Beijing under construction.

to plan, construct and manage their cities. They should not be concerned with industry at the expense of municipal construction and people's well-being.

Bank Loans for Saving Energy

As China's heat energy utilization rate of 30 per cent is quite low due to poor equipment, it is important that efficient use of energy resources be stressed in addition to tapping new sources.

The Shanghai branch of the People's Bank of China has decided to provide loans to those industries willing to install energy-saving equipment.

The branch bank submitted a proposal for saving energy in the metallurgical, cotton textile and printing and dyeing industries—the major users of electricity, oil and gas—after making an investigation.

In September, the bank's Nanshi district office lent 150,000 yuan to the Shanghai Solvent Plant for purchasing and installing 8 heat exchangers which went into operation on October 12. Because the new equipment has effected a saving of 2.24 tons of vapour per hour and over 1,200 tons of oil per year, the factory will be able to pay back the loan from the money saved in only 15 months.

One-speed blowers in the air-conditioners at the Shanghai No. 25 Cotton Mill wasted too much energy. A loan of 26,300 yuan was taken from the bank's Putuo district office to increase the number of speeds. After the alterations were finished at the end of June, electricity consumption for the third quarter of this year dropped by 250,000

kwh. compared with the same period last year. The factory has now repaid half of the loan from the savings.

In all, the Shanghai branch bank has already issued or will issue more than ten energy-saving loans.

SOCIAL

A Questionnaire

"What causes you the greatest inconvenience in your family life?" asked a questionnaire circulated by the Pine Street Neighbourhood Committee of Beijing's Xicheng District.

In all, 778 families totalling 3,121 people were surveyed as part of an effort to help people overcome difficulties arising in their daily lives so as to enable them to work better. Drawn up after consultations with the local women's organization, the questionnaire covered such topics as employment, housing, heating, clothing manufacturing, shopping in groceries, day-care and providing lunch for pupils. Of the 628 families answering the questionnaire, 132 households raised 230 specific requests.

The committee then organized some retired people and those middle school graduates who are waiting for jobs to provide such services as whitewashing houses, washing clothes and quilt covers, delivering gas tanks, caring for the aged, disabled and the sick and educating those children who have not reached school age.

One committee member declared that this was only the beginning and that more services will be provided so as to

enable the residents to concentrate their energies on the modernization drive.

Beijing Ribao published an article by its commentator. It said: An important feature of a Communist's work style is to proceed from the practical requirements of the masses. Bureaucratic styles of work which take no interest in the people's needs must be changed. Without the joint efforts of hundreds of millions of people, China's four modernizations cannot be realized. More attention to people's lives will make them feel more closely connected with the modernization programme. Only in this way can the modernization drive be stepped up.

Explosion in Beijing Railway Station

Nine people died and 81 others were injured in an explosion at Beijing's main railway station at 6:15 p.m. on October 29.

Public security officers said their preliminary on-the-spot investigation indicated that the blast was caused by an explosive charge brought unlawfully into the station by an unknown person.

One man was killed immediately. Of the 89 injured and taken to nearby hospitals, five men and three women died during emergency treatment and two others were in critical condition, according to a news report of October 30.

The station was only slightly damaged and train service was not interrupted.

Senior officials rushed to the spot shortly after the blast to arrange care for the casualties and make an investigation. Among them were Lin Hujia, Mayor of Beijing; Zhao Cangbi,

Minister of Public Security; Guo Weicheng, Minister of Railways; Qin Jiwei, Commander of the Beijing Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Thai Distinguished Guests Warmly Welcomed

Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda was warmly welcomed during his recent visit to China, which greatly enhanced relations between the two countries.

During his stay in Beijing (October 27-30), the Thai Prime Minister met with Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping and held talks with Premier Zhao Ziyang. The two leaders exchanged views on the situation in Southeast Asia, the Kampuchea question and the further expansion of economic and technical co-operation and trade between the two countries.

Kampuchea Question. During the talks, Premier Zhao stressed that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops was the key to a solution to the Kampuchea question. Otherwise a political solution to the Kampuchea issue would simply be out of the question since Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and neutrality could not be guaranteed. He expressed the hope that all patriotic forces in Kampuchea would place their national interests above all else and unite to resist the Vietnamese aggressors, compelling them to withdraw completely.

Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda said that Thailand and other ASEAN countries would

work together to implement the United Nations General Assembly resolution on the Kampuchea situation. He said that his country was willing to join other ASEAN countries and other states in Southeast Asia in seeking a political solution to the Kampuchea question on the basis of respecting the will of the Kampuchean people and of safeguarding peace and stability in Southeast Asia. (For the commentary on the Sino-Thai talks see p. 11.)

Netherlands Prime Minister's First Visit

The visit of Dutch Prime Minister Andreas Van Agt and his party to China from October 28 to November 4 was quite fruitful. Agreements on economic, technological and cultural co-operation were signed on October 30 between the governments of China and the Netherlands.

During his visit, Prime Minister Van Agt met with Chinese government and Party leaders. In their talks, Premier Zhao Ziyang and Prime Minister Van Agt exchanged views on the world situation in general and specifically discussed the state of affairs in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Europe and the Iran-Iraq conflict. The two sides concurred that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea constituted a serious threat to world peace. In order to defend world peace and the independence and security of their own countries, it is essential for people to enhance their vigilance, strengthen their defence capabilities and carry out effective struggles against hegemonist aggression and expansion in the light of their different circumstances.

The two sides expressed the desire to strengthen friendly co-operation and believed that there are broad prospects for this. The agreement on economic and technological co-operation specifies that their co-operative relations in the following sectors: industry, mining, energy, sewage treatment and water supply, commerce, agriculture, horticulture, transportation, telecommunications, engineering and other services.

The agreement on cultural co-operation stipulates that co-operative relations will be conducted between museums, libraries and art galleries, that there will be exchange of visits by scholars, artists and art troupes, exchange of audiovisual materials and literary and art information, exchange of students and researchers as well as more contacts and co-operation between educational institutions.

News in Brief

Export of Farm Machinery on Favourable Terms. China is ready to supply developing countries with farm machinery on favourable terms and expand economic and technical co-operation with them in this field.

This was stated by Xiang Nan, Vice-Minister of Agricultural Machinery on October 21. He said that China had not just considered her own benefit. "What is even more important is the friendship between China and these countries," he stressed.

Bilateral or multilateral co-operation, he said, may cover:

Exchange of technical literature; visits by experts; technical training; transfer of manufacturing techniques; and designing of farm machinery factories.

"Beijing Review's" Interview With Pakistan President Zia Ul Haq

On October 30, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan General Zia Ul Haq received in Rawalpindi Zheng Fangkun, correspondent of "Beijing Review," and members of the Chinese Broadcasting and Television Team. Answering their questions, President Zia spoke about the need for the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to stop their intervention in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, his efforts to bring about a ceasefire between the two Islamic and non-aligned countries of Iran and Iraq, and about his country's relations with China.

Following are the correspondents' questions and the main points of President Zia's answers:

Q: Your Excellency, Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan has aroused profound concern the world over. Foreign Ministers of the Islamic countries have held two conferences in Islamabad this year to find a settlement to this problem. The current session of the U.N. General Assembly is also to discuss this particular issue. What, in your opinion, is an effective settlement to this problem?

A: Before I speak specifically about solutions to the problem, I want to qualify with certain conditions.

The first thing is that the Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan has brought about a fundamental change. This change goes against the norms of international relationship. You can't have a big power, a superpower, marching into a country, however close, however friendly it may be, to impose its will or a certain type of government or a certain type of system, against the accepted rules and norms of international relationship.

In my opinion, the Soviet Union made three errors of judgment. The Soviet Union, perhaps, did not realize the resilience, the stamina of the local Afghan population to resist the Soviet aggression. The Soviets did not realize the reaction from Pakistan in particular, and they totally underestimated world reaction. The immediate effect of the Soviet armed aggression was the entire world speaking out against the Soviet action. We had two conferences in Pakistan, attended by delegates from all the Islamic countries. In between, there was the United Nations special session. The Soviet Union was condemned not only in the Islamic conferences but also in the United Nations General Assembly.

There was a very effective boycott of the Olympic Games at Moscow. The Soviet casualties in Afghanistan, the result of the resistance put up by the freedom fighters, going back to the Soviet Union made the common man in the Soviet

Union see. He did not know what was happening and why those wounded were coming back. He wanted to know why this war was imposed on the people of the Soviet Union. And the common man of the Soviet Union had been looking forward to a well attended world event. At the Olympics he found that many people were not coming. He was at a loss. What has happened? he asked.

So this is the background, the qualifier about Afghanistan that I want to make.

As for the solution, a political solution must be found. But with certain qualifications. The solution must cater to total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the return of 1.2 million refugees now in Pakistan; and it must allow the will of the people of Afghanistan to be expressed, to select whatever form of government they want. In the meantime we will continue to give moral support. We should give as much moral support as we can to the freedom fighters because the entire resistance, all the fighting for this right is going on inside Afghanistan.

Q: Out of humanitarian considerations, Pakistan has made great efforts to help the Afghan refugees. In your opinion, Your Excellency, what must be done to bring about a fundamental settlement of the refugee problem?

A: The refugees are the direct result of the Soviet Union's action inside Afghanistan. After President Daud was overthrown, the late President Taraki came. It was from that time onward that we started having refugees. They [Taraki and others]

wanted to bring in a different type of system in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is an Islamic state, a non-aligned state. It has its own system, its own culture and this was disturbed. The result was that people started leaving their homes and herds and came out to Pakistan.

But the number was manageable. Then all of a sudden, we found 80,000 Russian troops entering Afghanistan and we found thousands of refugees coming into Pakistan. Today we have 1.2 million refugees in Pakistan. We are looking after them, we'll continue to look after them. They are our brothers, they are our neighbours. Humanitarianly it is our duty to look after them, even if we have to cut our own bread by half we'll give it to our brothers. But the permanent solution to this problem lies wholly with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and a peaceful environment in Afghanistan, so that these 1.2 million refugees can return with honour and security.

Q: Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea has become a matter of grave concern to the international community. Your Excellency, what is your view on the method and prospect for a settlement of this issue?

A: As you know we fight for principles and norms of international relationship. As in the case of Afghanistan, and as we said before, it is against the norms of international relations for a foreign power to intervene in the internal affairs of a country to bring about a change. Similarly, it is foreign intervention in Democratic Kampuchea which has brought about this disturbance inside that country.

We support the Democratic Government of Kampuchea. But unfortunately, at the connivance of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and other undemocratic elements inside Kampuchea brought about this result. We feel that there should be no foreign interference in Kampuchea. We also wish to see a political solution found. The people of Kampuchea should be allowed to decide things for themselves.

Q: It's known to all that you have been making valuable contributions to help solve the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. What is your view about this conflict? And what further efforts are you planning to help solve the conflict?

A: I have tried in my own humble way to see what services I can render to the two brotherly countries of Iran and Iraq. You are no doubt aware that it was the mandate given to me by the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference that I, along with Secretary-General Mr. Habib Chatti and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, went to see if we could bring about peaceful conditions. I went as a friend to both Iran and Iraq, as a listener, and I said to them I have come to listen to you. Please let me know what is your point of view. It was in this respect that I approached them.

What I saw and heard in Iran and Iraq confirmed my view that this conflict is very unfortunate. It is unfortunate in the sense that two neighbouring countries are fighting. It is unfortunate that two Islamic countries are fighting. It is unfortunate that two countries of the non-aligned movement are fighting.

What is the result? Something like 40 billion dollars

worth of damage has been done in the economic field alone. Who suffers? Iran and Iraq. Nobody else. It is very unfortunate.

I can only wish that they will stop fighting and come to the conference table. This was why I sent the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference again. Our Foreign Minister is in Baghdad today. Let's see if we can do something. As you know, another initiative of non-aligned countries is also under way in which Pakistan is also involved. It is my sincere wish and prayer to see these two brotherly neighbouring countries stop fighting.

Q: Your friendly visits to China in December 1977 and in May this year have further strengthened the relations of friendship and co-operation between your country and ours. In view of the present turbulent international situation, how do you assess the significance of strengthening and promoting such relations?

A: Pakistan attaches the utmost importance to relations with a very friendly neighbouring country such as China. This relationship is not new. It is as old as the life of Pakistan and it has stood the test of time. We attach very special attention to our relationship with China.

I have paid two visits to China. We have been very fortunate too of having a few visits from the Chinese leadership. As you know, His Excellency Geng Biao has been here, and many others have visited Pakistan in the last three years. This is a result of the strengthening of our relationship.

This relationship is not limited to a particular field. We are co-operating and collaborating

in the economic field, in the social field, in the cultural field and in the defence field.

We are very proud of this relationship. We hope that in the years to come this relationship will be strengthened. This relationship did not come about overnight. Both our countries have shed blood to cement this

relationship between us. Look at this Friendship Highway. It took 20 years to build it and many Chinese workers and Pakistan workers on this project have lost their lives in making this road between Pakistan and China. It is a link of friendship. Such a relationship is very difficult to sunder. It must be made to grow and grow.

against Kampuchea with the backing of the Soviet Union.

While crying out about the "threats from the north," Viet Nam sent well over 200,000 troops southward into Kampuchea and deployed heavy forces along the Thailand-Kampuchea border. This shows that Viet Nam's talk of "threats from China" is nothing but a fabrication aimed at deceiving the international community.

Fruitful Exchanges Between China And Thailand

GENERAL Prem Tinsulanonda, the Prime Minister of Thailand, held fruitful talks with Chinese leaders during his stay in Beijing.

Identical or Nearly Identical Views

Authoritative sources disclosed that the two sides agreed or were close in their views about many major issues concerning Southeast Asia.

Both sides supported the United Nations General Assembly's new resolution on Kampuchea and demanded that Viet Nam pull its occupation troops out of Kampuchea and that the Kampuchean people be left alone to organize their own government and determine their social and political system.

Both sides opposed aggression and expansion and hoped to see Southeast Asia become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

Prime Minister Prem explained to Chinese leaders the views of Thailand and of ASEAN and put forward a number of proposals which were discussed thoroughly.

The Chinese leaders expressed their willingness to join Thai-

land and the other ASEAN countries in implementing the U.N. resolution and promoting peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

During the Thai Prime Minister's visit to China, however, Hanoi time and again declared that it refused to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea because of the "threats from China."

China holds that the Kampuchea issue was entirely the result of Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, supported by the Soviet Union.

The issue will be settled once the Soviet Union and Viet Nam renounce their hegemonist policy and give up their designs to construct a "Greater Indochina Federation" so as to control the other countries in this area, and when Viet Nam withdraws its aggressor troops from Kampuchea and follows a policy of good-neighbourliness.

It is well-known that China's relations with Viet Nam did not deteriorate until the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. Viet Nam worsened its relations with China when China took exception to its aggression

How to Compel Viet Nam To Withdraw

The armed struggle in Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets has created increasing difficulties for the Vietnamese, and the Vietnamese authorities are using the presence of military resistance in Kampuchea as yet another pretext for its refusal to withdraw its occupation troops. This lays bare the Vietnamese aggressors' attempt to wipe out the Kampuchean people's resistance movement.

If the Vietnamese scheme should succeed, not only will the Kampuchean people suffer under foreign rule but the Soviet Union and Viet Nam will be able to consolidate their positions in Indochina and press ahead in their southward advance. This will in turn put enormous military pressure on Thailand and the whole of Southeast Asia and frustrate the objective of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

The Kampuchean people's armed resistance to the aggressors is not only imperative for defending their independence and safeguarding their national survival. It is also a contribution to peace and stability in

Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Only continued support of all the patriotic resistance forces in Kampuchea, and heavy blows to the aggressors before they have consolidated their foothold, plus pressure from the international community, will make Viet Nam withdraw its troops and achieve a political settlement of the Kampuchea issue.

As to how the internal problems in Kampuchea will be settled following Viet Nam's withdrawal, this should be determined by the Kampuchean people themselves.

So long as the patriotic forces in Kampuchea act in compliance with the trend of the times and the will of the people, abandon their old grievances against one another and work together for a solution, it will not be difficult for them to establish a new front for national unity. A government organized on this basis will win the people's support and international sympathy. This will also ensure Kampuchea's status as an independent, neutral and non-aligned state.

During Prime Minister Prem's stay in China, China reiterated its readiness to join all other countries concerned, including Viet Nam, in guaranteeing Kampuchea's territorial integrity and sovereignty. There must be no interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs in whatever form and no occupation of its territory or use of it as a stepping stone for aggression against any other country.

China Will Stand by Thailand

What deserves serious attention is Hanoi's threat about the Thai Prime Minister's visit to China. "Trying to use the influence of China to threaten us is like bringing war into his own

country," said an official Vietnamese commentary. The implications of this bellicose statement are clear.

China has declared with all solemnity that if Viet Nam again invades Thailand by

armed force, China will firmly stand on the side of Thailand. Hanoi should know that the Chinese people are serious about this.

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Zhou Mu

Afghan Official Denounces Moscow

WHEN the question of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was raised at the 21st Conference of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Belgrade, the Soviet delegate claimed that Soviet troops had been "invited" there by the Afghan government to cope with "external interference." However, the Soviet delegate was given a resounding rebuff on October 25 by Akhtar Mohammed Paktiawal, the acting leader of the Afghan delegation sent by the Karmal regime to the UNESCO Conference. The delegation leader accused the Soviet Union of invading his country.

"Afghanistan," he said, "is not a free country any more. It is completely dominated by the Soviet Union. But it is fighting to shake off such a domination." He said that Soviet tanks killed innocent Afghan women and children, and a million Afghans had been forced to flee their country. What the Afghan people want, he added, is the right to manage their own affairs without external interference.

The Soviet representative was dumbfounded. Paktiawal was applauded by the other members of the 4th committee. Later, the Afghan delegate left Belgrade to seek political asylum in Munich.

At the October 27 plenary session, a representative of the Karmal regime read to the com-

mittee a cable saying that Paktiawal had been stripped of his status as delegation head and demanded that the relevant paragraph in Paktiawal's speech be struck off the record. The Soviet representative said that since Paktiawal was stripped of his status, his speech was null and void. Chairman of the Fourth Committee and Senegalese Representative Thiam retorted that when Paktiawal delivered the speech, he had not yet been stripped of his status so his speech should be on record. Chairman of the plenary session and Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Ivo Margan ruled that all the statements made on the 27th together with the cable from Kabul should be recorded in the minutes. The Soviet representative managed only to make himself a laughing stock.

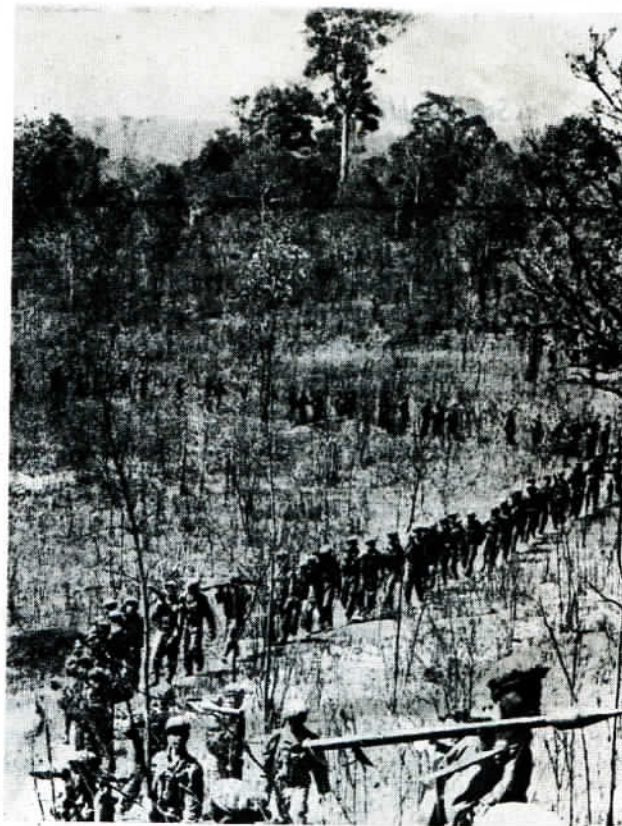
Even ranking officials of the Kabul regime are frequently defecting. They don't want to serve a regime imposed on their countrymen. Another high official, Dr. Abdul. Ali, chief engineer in the Public Works Ministry of the Kabul regime, according to a Radio Pakistan release of October 27, had crossed over to Pakistan to protest the Soviet invasion. He told reporters that Soviet advisers were in virtual control of the civil administration in Afghanistan. Under these circumstances, he said, he could not continue his work and decided to quit and take refuge in Pakistan.

GLIMPSES OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

People in Democratic Kampuchea are fighting a war of national salvation. Every effort is devoted to this end, by the soldiers, the producers and the students.



Farming.



On the way to the front.

Frontline hospital.



Women fight, too.



Before class starts.



Puzzling Reshuffle

THE series of mysterious personnel changes taking place in the top Soviet hierarchy give rise to extensive comments and speculations.

The most striking is that Alexei Kosygin, who has twice entered the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party since 1946 and had been Chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1964, recently "requested to be relieved" of his Politburo membership and premiership. One widely agreed view is that Kosygin's "worsened health condition [he is said to have a heart ailment]" is undeniably one reason for his "request to be relieved," but it cannot be the only reason.

A Scapegoat? A UPI report said that Kremlin watchers believe that Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin's retirement was "not totally voluntary." A special correspondent of the Japanese Kyodo News Service in Moscow reported in his dispatch that there was speculation that "behind Kosygin's resignation there might be a power struggle smelling of blood." Many newspapers in France, Italy and the United States maintain that Brezhnev and Kosygin were divided over a series of policy issues, especially on economic guidelines, and the failure of the tenth Soviet five-year plan was only the last straw.

These views may or may not be well-founded. The evidence is that Brezhnev has on several occasions expressed dissatisfaction with the work of the government. Way back at the plenary session of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee in December 1969, when he made a report

on economic problems in his capacity as the General Secretary of the Party, he questioned "the new economic system" initiated and carried out by Kosygin since 1965, and called for "new methods and new decisions." Since then, there have been bickerings within the Soviet ruling circle over economic problems. At the plenary session of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee last November, Brezhnev expressed strong dissatisfaction over the work of the economic departments. He criticized 11 ministers by name and declared that "incompetent persons should be dismissed." At the plenary sessions of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee in June and October, he again reproached the government departments for their work and expressed his displeasure over the organization and planning of the economy. A Reuter dispatch from Moscow on October 24 said that on October 23, when Brezhnev announced acceptance of Kosygin's resignation from his post as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, "the lack of any word of praise for Mr. Kosygin or any get-well message had led to speculation that the former premier, who oversaw the economy, might be held responsible in the future for the country's economic troubles."

One-Man Rule. Since the beginning of the 70s, Brezhnev has been active in the international arena. He toured Western Europe and the United States and presided over diplomatic negotiations at state and government levels as the actual head of state and government. In 1977 he replaced Podgorny as the formal head of state.

Kosygin was slated to step down even if his health did not fail. His two first assistants, Polyansky, in charge of agriculture, and Mazurov, in charge of industry, were dismissed in 1973 and 1978 respectively. Kirillin, another Kosygin aide in charge of science and technology, was fired in January. Following Kosygin's resignation, another of his aides, M.A. Lesechko, was also relieved of his post. Meanwhile, N.A. Tikhonov, who was associated with Brezhnev as early as the 1930s and known as an important member of the "Dnieper group," rose swiftly. In 1976, he was promoted to First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In 1978, he became an Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and was promoted to full membership in 1979. He was promptly nominated premier when Kosygin resigned.

On the extraordinary replacement of the head of the Soviet Government, many people outside the Soviet Union believe that Kosygin's "resignation" and Tikhonov's appointment reinforces the position of Brezhnev without noticeably altering Kremlin policy and may usher in a "Brezhnev era." Judging by the present situation in which Brezhnev has put himself prominently in the limelight despite his poor health, he will probably continue to be General Secretary after the Party's congress next year. If the Brezhnev structure stands for another five years, Brezhnev will be 79, the second in power M.A. Suslov will be 83 and A.P. Kirilenko also 79. In view of their age, personnel changes after Brezhnev are going to be problematic. Quite likely, Kosygin's resignation is a pre-quake tremor.

— Xinhua Correspondent
Guo Ping

The Need to Eliminate Feudal Remnants

by Ruan Ming

THE tortuous course as traversed by the Chinese people after their victory in the democratic revolution of 1949 points up a certainty: In a large economically and culturally underdeveloped, semi-colonial, semi-feudal country emerging from millennia of feudalism, its vestiges must be seriously combated. This must be done immediately upon the overthrow of the feudal exploitative system and with special emphasis on remnants of feudal bureaucratic autocracy. Such feudal leftovers have shown themselves not only to provide a social and ideological environment for present-day aspirants, as typified by Lin Biao and the gang of four, to a "throne" from which to overturn the people's political power. Shades of feudal autocracy at the same time also stand powerfully in the way of building a modern, strong socialist country.

This requisite has in the past been neglected, leaving the door open for Lin Biao and the gang of four to flood the country for ten years with the plague of feudalism. And even after the gang was put down, feudal forces continue to stand in the way of New China's advance, playing hob with political, ideological and organizational policies. These forces particularly impede the flowering of socialist democracy. The issue of wiping out feudal influence is, therefore, vital to China's modernization and democracy in political life.

China's Unique Historical Setting

Feudal society prevailed in China for 2,500 to 3,000 years, much longer than its European counterpart. As for bureaucratic political system and autocratic ideology, the Chinese

The author is deputy head of the department of theoretical study at the Party School under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

brand of feudalism reached a degree of perfection unequalled in the world.

Only a thousand years elapsed in Europe from the crumbling of the slave system as it existed in the Roman Empire of the West to the end of feudal medievalism. In Europe the feudal states were often in the throes of split and secession and their rulers being divided and thus weak, were more often than not toppled by the Vatican from on high. Religion and theology were the medieval European ideology. Since divine power was higher than sovereign power in the minds of the Europeans and the church's autocratic rule overrode that of a king, greater stress was placed on religion than the monarchy and the first attacks on the feudal system were always aimed at the church.

China has a different history. After the country's unification by Emperor Qin Shi Huang in 221 B.C., centralized rule in the resulting feudal empire with the emperor and all ranking and petty officials under him had been the force that dominated the entire Chinese society for several thousand years. This is unique in the world. The overriding rule in the minds of the Chinese was therefore sovereign power rather than divine power, and the mundane bureaucracy was thus able to override religion, the various religious sects existing as a tool or an appendage of the emperor and his court. It was the emperor, personification of God on earth, not of God in heaven, who symbolized omnipotence.

The political institutions and mentality referred to by Marx as the feudal autocracy of the East under Asiatic conditions had extraordinary vitality. Throughout their several thousand years' rule in China these institutions stood almost unscathed against the storms of the world bourgeois revolution. Further, they managed to hang on in the semi-feudal,

semi-colonial society of modern China but behind a different facade, a comprador-capitalist class subservient to foreigners.

In this respect, too, China differed from Europe, where a powerful bourgeois movement to unshackle the mind had made mental preparation for a bourgeois-democratic revolution. From the Renaissance which began in Italy to the Enlightenment in France, the bourgeoisie waged a prolonged and sharp ideological struggle against the church and aristocracy. On this Frederick Engels wrote that "religion, natural science, society, political institutions — everything was subjected to the most unsparing criticism" while "every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional notion was flung into the lumber-room as irrational." The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe added to the achievements of the bourgeois movement to free the mind. The French Revolution is striking evidence of this. Every upsurge of the revolution dealt a telling blow to the feudal elements in the superstructure.

Feeble Bourgeois Class

China's feeble bourgeoisie contrarily never made a dent in feudal thinking. Meanwhile, imperialists in the mid-19th century, disliking the declining Qing Dynasty's closed-doorism, shot open China's door with guns. These robber barons, however, found the superannuated ideology used by the decadent imperial court to rule the people so much to their liking that they lauded it as "ancient Chinese civilization." The Chinese bureaucrats and compradors, on their part, took pleasure in preserving this savage "civilization" which benefited their foreign masters because both parties profited from it in controlling China. The alliance, necessarily reactionary, of feudal ideology and the imperialist mentality that the Chinese should be subservient to imperialism produced an ideology that prevailed in semi-colonial, semi-feudal Chinese society for a full century.

The national bourgeoisie in China was even worse off culturally and ideologically than it was politically and its random attacks by a few of its advanced members on the feudal-ideological bastion were defeated by the reactionary alliance mentioned above. Even Sun Yat-sen, great pioneer of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, was not in a position to step out of the confines of history and his class. As leader of

the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the monarchy and established a republic, Sun Yat-sen was yet unable to advance the revolution; instead he handed over political power to Yuan Shikai and other feudal warlords. The failure of the old-democratic revolution led by the Chinese bourgeoisie at the same time declared the bankruptcy of China's bourgeois culture and ideology.

With the exception of the contemporary proletariat in China, which represented its advanced productive forces, there was no social force capable of consummating the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, still less of leading a movement to clarify the mind for discarding feudal-autocratic thinking. The historical task of sweeping away old China's feudal-autocratic political institutions and ideology thus fell on the shoulders of the proletariat. The May 4th Movement of 1919 ushered in a new era, that of the new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese proletariat. The cultural revolution embodied in this movement dealt the feudal-autocratic mentality its first serious blow. Science and democracy as promoted in the May 4th Movement roused to life people who had suffered suffocation under feudal autocracy for several thousand years. But this was only a beginning.

After the May 4th Movement, with the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and this vanguard of the proletariat thrown into day-to-day workers' and peasants' revolutionary movements, work in advancing ideology and culture was relegated to secondary importance, though successes in the struggle against feudalism in the ideological and cultural fields in the 30 years from the May 4th Movement to the time of countrywide liberation should not be underestimated. Still, a very great deal remains to be done.

In Europe it took several hundred years of struggle for bourgeois ideology to prevail over the feudal; yet this signified a mere replacement of the mentality of one exploiting class for that of another. Since feudal thinking in China is much more stubborn than its European counterpart, the Chinese proletariat must necessarily fight much harder if it is to overcome the old ideology completely. Moreover, a tremendous expansion of the productive forces is required, to help people to see beyond the narrow limits of the small producer.

Feudal Survivals Overlooked

Victory in the people's democratic revolution in 1949 and land reform on a countrywide scale abolished the millennia-old feudal system, creating favourable conditions for eliminating remnant deleterious effects of feudalism. But for some time it was wrongly held that feudal influence had been swept away with the destruction of the feudal exploitative system in China, and so surviving feudal influences in society, particularly in the nation's political and inner-Party life were neglected. After the transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main in 1956, bourgeois ideology alone was singled out for extermination, and not feudal vestiges. This emphasis was not in entire conformity with the situation in Chinese society.

After the October Revolution Lenin pointed out time and again that in building socialism in a country with such "semi-Asiatic conditions" as Russia had, remnants of feudal patriarchalism, such as bureaucracy, were a more dangerous foe than capitalism. Lenin said: "Capitalism is a bane compared with socialism. Capitalism is a boon compared with medievalism, small production, and the evils of bureaucracy which spring from the dispersal of the small producers." In the last batch of his works, he especially emphasized the need of Communists to fight tenaciously against remnants of the ignorant, feudal patriarchalism, and "dispense with the cruder types of pre-bourgeois culture, i.e., bureaucratic or serf culture, etc."

China's history gives it "Asiatic conditions" and it was much more backward than Russia in Lenin's time. If, instead of getting on with the task of wiping out feudal influence, opposing capitalism is taken as routine class struggle even in remote villages where natural economy held sway, the result will inevitably be to oppose the imaginary "capitalism" with feudal autocracy and equalitarianism of small producers. The political, economic and cultural life may even regress. This backslide occurred especially in the years of the "cultural revolution." The essence of the Lin Biao-gang of four reactionary system of thought was typical feudal-bureaucrat autocracy home-grown on the ruins of the millennia-old feudal empire and of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. They waved the flag of opposing imagined "revisionism," "capitalism" and "capitalist roaders" to summon feudal China's retrograde thinking to bolster their position in

usurping Party and state power in their futile attempt to discard Marxist rationale.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, China has done much to set ideological matters right. The process is a movement to liberate thinking, the third of its kind, the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the rectification campaign in Yanan in 1942 being the first and second. Wiping out feudal influence plays an important role in the current movement to free the mind, and our criticism of Lin Biao and the gang of four's anti-Marxist fallacies centring on contemporary blind faith involves criticism of feudalism.

Unearthing the Human Treasure

What does China's modernization require? Resources, funds, technology and equipment, certainly. Most needed, however, is to unearth the treasure that lies buried within the people — their wisdom and talent — and give everyone's initiative, creativeness and innovativeness a chance. A body of energetic persons fit for bringing about modernization should be trained. In other words, liberating the productive forces is needed. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism have been overturned, socialist transformation with its elimination of the system and classes of exploitation has been done. The way was cleared for liberating the productive forces, making the people the real masters with every opportunity to display their intelligence and talent in building a new society. The winning of political power by the people and introducing public ownership of the means of production are decisive factors. But the past three decades in China indicate that these alone are not enough. The ghost of Chinese feudalism still haunts man's mind, shackling the social mentality and hence the productive forces as determined by the existing institutions. To get rid of this ghost — this is one of the major tasks to be put on the order of the day.

The proletariat overthrows the old world in order to liberate man as a working force. "Society cannot free itself," said Engels in *Anti-Duhring*, "unless each individual is freed." The historical mission of Marxists is to change all relations under which workers are humiliated, suppressed, enslaved or despised. The Chinese Communist Party, which started with anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, has a glorious democratic tradition in past struggles. It has at the same time been a victim of feudalism. With few exceptions, its first

General Secretary and his successors adopted a patriarchal style of work. The rectification campaign in Yanan led by Comrade Mao Zedong resumed the scientific and democratic tradition of the May 4th Movement — the Marxist way. After the Party came to power, it failed to make a timely, serious and systematic clearing out of remaining feudal poison. Patriarchalism, one person having all the say and bureaucracy gradually reared their heads after the mid-1950s. The fact that the gang of four was able to penetrate the leading Party and state organs shows the extent to which the Party was poisoned by feudalism. When the gang gained clout, it used feudal practices to establish feudal fascism. It spread a modern form of blind faith and deified the leader of the proletariat, paving the way for its own "new royal dynasty." Wherever these modern despots laid their hands, inner-Party democracy and the people's democracy were trampled and the basic rights of man brutally denied.

Developing Socialist Democracy and Law

Some changes have been effected by the putting away of the gang of four. Greater scope is given to democracy and the legal system has been strengthened. The atmosphere has a certain change. Still, modern socialist standards have not yet been met. The right of the people to be masters in their own house is not fully realized in factories or on farms, for workers, peasants or intellectuals, in overall governing of the nation's political, economic and cultural life, or in the management of their respective units.

The Chinese Party and state need to place the institutions of socialist democracy on a sounder basis, and inner-Party democratic life and people's democratic life need the same. In no other way can the survivals of feudal bondage relations be eradicated politically and a new type of relations between man and man be established. Socialist democracy, as the antithesis of feudal patriarchalism, is the most effective political broom for sweeping feudalism's dirt from every nook and corner, high or low. The Chinese Party is big, as is the country, and we are pursuing a great cause never attempted before. To place our future in the hands of a few people is obviously an unsafe course and could be very dangerous. Socialist democracy means placing the future of the Party and state and of the four modernizations really in the hands of the whole people. The four modernizations depend on socialist democ-

cracy, which must be neither an ornament nor a luxury but a people's necessity in building their socialist country. This will be manifest first in the people managing their work units and the country as a whole. It will not consist in the mere procedures of holding elections and meetings. It will consist in restoring the labourers' inalienable right to supervise all work in their enterprises, government offices, educational institutions and production brigades and teams. Drawing up plans, distribution of income, making appointments, effecting institutional reforms will all be included. Workers should be able to use this right to cast aside all that fetters the productive forces (both material and mental), and fully display the initiative, creativity and innovative spirit of every worker.

The guarantee for democracy in law is the socialist legal system, which protects citizens' rights, freedoms and dignity from infringement, sees to it that every citizen can use his talent in socialist construction. The socialist legal system, once its role of protecting the people is departed from, easily degenerates into feudal fascism and cruelty to the people. For the socialist legal system to effectively protect the people against their enemies, law must represent the people's will which means constant listening to what the people have to say. It must not in any way act as master over the people.

Tasks in the Economic Field

Feudal influence also makes itself felt in our economic life and institutions. China's basic economic structure is socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. In the absence of substantive changes in the traditional economy and the habits of small producers, however, certain aspects of feudalism still cast their spell on the Chinese economy. These may appear disguised as socialist and seriously harm the development of the productive forces. They find expression, for instance, in neglecting the brisk circulation of commodities, funds, technology, resources and labour power in the planned economy, in rejecting advanced socialized large-scale production with specialization, division of labour, mutual co-ordination and mutual competition, while clinging to a conservative, isolated economic kingdom. They also find expression in confounding self-reliance with cutting the country off from the outside world, in rejecting the service of experts and

the use of advanced science and technology to innovate production. These feudal ghosts cast their spell so that the "unorthodox, indigenous way" is the only way, throwing masses of unpaid labour into engineering projects, using "human warfare" with no regard for economic results. Bureaucracy in economic management is among the other disastrous phenomena.

In economic work, with no line of demarcation drawn between socialism on the one hand and feudalism and capitalism on the other,



Managerial personnel in a factory in east China's Zhejiang Province sit for an examination in political economy and industrial management.

feudal manifestations have been mistaken for socialist and insisted on. In other cases socialist manifestations have been taken as capitalist and condemned. Both mistakes have caused tremendous losses in manpower and material resources. Eradicating feudal influence and conscientiously carrying out necessary reforms in the various links of production and circulation and in the various institutions is necessary in order to achieve the basic principle of socialism, namely, workers are masters in their productive units, rational use is made of the initiative and creativeness of every worker and full play given to these so as to achieve maximum labour productivity, and production and circulation in the national economy are adjusted scientifically so that the best economic results are obtained.

On Personnel System and Party Building

China's cadres at various levels for various historical reasons hold their posts for life. Experience shows, however, that such a system is liable to become a parasite on patriarchalism

and bureaucracy and leads to over-concentration of power which impedes the exercise of democracy inside the Party and of the people's democracy. It also causes stagnation in the body of cadres and aborts newborn forces both inside and outside the Party. We are determined to abolish the system of cadres at any level holding lifelong posts. Requirements for cadres of different occupations must be differentiated and scientific, democratic personnel system — including democratic elections, examinations and checkups, announcing vacancies to be filled through public notice and dissolving work contracts — set up.

Certain undesirable practices existing within the Party also have their roots in feudalism. The economic and cultural backwardness of Chinese society demanded that revolutionary armed struggle in rural base areas should be for a time the main effort of the Chinese revolution, while Party members were for a long time recruited mainly from the peasantry. The effect of this was dual: It served to educate a certain number of impoverished peasants and organize them into the main force of the Chinese revolution; at the same time, the backward feudal thinking and narrow vision of the small producer exerted its influence on the Party members, implanting social and ideological roots of a decadent style of work within the Party. Eliminating the influence of feudalism institutionally and ideologically, therefore, is necessarily an urgent task in Party building in the period ahead.

(An abridge translation of a "Renmin Ribao" article)

RADIO PEKING ANNOUNCES TIME AND FREQUENCY CHANGES

Radio Peking has just changed the time of its English language broadcasts to Western Europe. The two one-hour transmissions can now be heard at 19:00-20:00 and 21:00-22:00 GMT on 9.86 and 7.78 megahertz on the 30 and 38 metrebands.

Frequency changes have also been made in its transmissions to North America, the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, South Asia and Africa. Programme schedules are available upon request. All mail should be addressed to English Department, Radio Peking, Beijing, People's Republic of China.

Discussions About Individual Economy

by Zhou Jinghua

WHEN the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress met in March 1978, permission to develop individually operated industrial and commercial establishments as laid down in the Chinese Constitution was reiterated. In the two and a half years since then, these businesses have mushroomed: in 1979 the figure had grown to a total of 100,000 and by last July, to about 400,000. Liaoning, Jilin and Anhui Provinces, and the two municipalities of Shanghai and Tianjin, each have 10,000 to 20,000. Such

The state allows non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement and management by organizations at the basic level in cities and towns or in rural areas.

From the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Chapter One: General Principles, Article 5.

newly licensed establishments also appear in areas peopled by national minorities. Huhehot, the capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, has 1,300 and Lhasa in Tibet, no less than 70. While the state-owned sector continues to occupy a dominant position in the entire national economy, this individually run sector is playing a part in meeting consumers' needs with popular approval.

Quite a few people, however, have shown their opposition to this individual economy, sceptical that its comeback is justified. Typical of such a viewpoint is Xiao Lingling whose letter to the editor of *Beijing Ribao* was published in the daily last August 18. Xiao Lingling asked why the individual economy had been restored after all the efforts since the founding of the People's Republic to transform the private ownership system, efforts which had brought about a considerable growth of the state-owned economy. In that letter she further explained her concerns: "A small-time premise today

may well expand into a big one tomorrow. While capitalists of the old days are still living, new ones will before long come on the scene, with so many people intent on money-grubbing and so many small shops and roadside stalls cluttering the streets and compromising the good name of our capital city. . . . Socialist civilization and 'science — that's what we are after, not all these things which are quite out of place in a socialist country like ours. . . ."

Her letter caused a stir, with many people writing letters or articles to the press to voice their pros and cons.

Past Practice

It may be recalled that New China in its infancy switched all its capitalist firms into enterprises under state-private joint ownership* as part of an effort to transform its capitalist industry and commerce. This took place simultaneously with the organization of individually operated industrial and commercial premises into small collectives or co-operatives on a larger scale, with the exception of a few which remained under individual ownership. In the late 1950s, when undue emphasis was placed on the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, from collectives on a lesser scale to collectives on a greater scale, a policy was also adopted to further restrict the individual economy in town and country. By then only a few of the individually operated businesses had survived. But then they were partially revived in 1960, when national economic difficulties necessitated

*State-private joint ownership was a form of state capitalism used in our country for the socialist transformation of the industry and commerce owned by the national bourgeoisie. In these enterprises, the means of production formerly belonging to capitalists were transferred to the state for unified disposal and control. Production and operation were directly incorporated in the state plan; proper arrangements were made with respect to the work of their former owners, who were paid a fixed interest for their former assets. In this way, exploitation by capitalists was separated from the fruit of the operation of these enterprises so that these enterprises belonging to the national bourgeoisie were by and large transformed into socialist enterprises.

a readjustment in the national economy. After 1966, however, under the sway of an ultra-Left policy, the individual economy was once again frowned upon as "the tail of capitalism." A massive number of individually operated commercial ventures and service trades (such as catering and repair stores) were dismantled as were many businesses which provided services that were highly sought after, and a great variety of specialty stores were either discarded or suppressed. Thus individually operated industry and commerce as an economic form were in the main obliterated.

Theoretical Exploration

The discussion touched off by Xiao Lingling's letter quickly aroused the interest of economists, who assembled at forums to discuss the nature of individual economy and the actual role it plays at the present stage of our country. They pointed out: China is a socialist country

and socialist society is historically the period of transition from capitalism to communism; during this historical period, the economy of socialist ownership by the whole people and that of collective ownership are the mainstay while the individual economy serves as a supplement. This is so as determined by the present level of the productive forces in our country and by the needs of society.

The situation of the development of the productive forces, they further pointed out, determines the nature of the relations of production and their magnitude while the changes in the relations of production are the outcome of the development of the productive forces — such is the very basic law of the development of human society. China's productive forces, generally speaking, are rather low at the present stage; it is true that mechanization or semi-automation has come to stay in many enterprises, but manual labour is still quite commonplace in some trades, especially in the commerce and service industries, where most work is done by hand. This being the case, a hasty

attempt to set up a mono-economy of public ownership will not help boost the development of the productive forces. According to a mistaken view that once prevailed, changes in the relations of production may not be subject to the conditions of the development of the productive forces. Hence, it was believed that the faster the change, the better; the higher the degree of public ownership, the better. This practice of changing the relations of production in total disregard of the objective needs of the development of productive forces, though seemingly quite "progressive," could in actual fact only be destructive to the productive forces.

Some economists observed that it is, at present, impossible to establish and develop state-owned commerce and service trades in a big way because of the limited funds the state now has at its disposal. Nor is it possible for the state to take care of the needs of the public in the various aspects of their daily life. It is, therefore, necessary to allow the existence of multifarious forms of ownership. In real life, some industrial and commercial pursuits by private individuals have managed to persist despite 30 years of twists and turns. This demonstrates that individual economy is still full of vitality in the existing conditions of the productive forces.

Others spoke of the need to have a full understanding of the nature of individual economy in a socialist society from a theoretical point of view if a correct attitude is to be taken towards the individually operated industrial and commercial premises. When the means of production are in the hands of private individuals, it must be admitted that this constitutes individual ownership, but it is not justified to say that public ownership is without exception superior to individual ownership. For instance, scattered or mobile service trades (including repair stores) operated by individuals serve the public better than state-owned enterprises. Besides, individually operated businesses which are a small, private economy, cannot be identified with capitalism, nor is it true that they are bound to give rise to capitalism. People who run something individually are labourers and, even if someone has one or two apprentices working under him, he nevertheless earns his own living mainly with his own labour and professional skill. Moreover, since on the level of the whole nation, public ownership of the means of production already occupies a predominantly superior position and labour power is no longer a commodity, then individual



Zhang Shuzheng is a good dressmaker.

economy is invariably subject to the control and domination of the public sector of the economy and the state organs concerned in the scope of its operation, in the supply of raw materials, and in price and taxation. Generally speaking, it will never have a chance to grow into capitalist enterprises. It goes without saying that individually operated industrial and commercial premises, scattered as they are, may indulge in such undesirable practices as speculation and dishonest transactions. But these can be prevented with proper education and rigid controls.

Advantages

"Reviving and developing individually operated industry and commerce is conducive to both the state and the people," commented deputy director Wang Wenke of the National Administration of Industry and Commerce in an interview.



He pointed out that to begin with, this revival and development will increase social wealth and activate both urban and rural markets. Individuals engaged in industry and commerce do

business in their peculiar way both in the manner of operation and the scope of business. Their businesses are run in a handy, flexible way, are ubiquitous, found on main streets and in the back lanes, and provide good service. In Shanghai alone, such operations engage in more than 100 different trades, including repairing, processing, selling odds and ends and other services which are of benefit to the public.

Secondly, more job opportunities will be provided. Many people in the country are now seeking employment but it is difficult to achieve full employment in a short time. When individuals are given the green light to develop industry and commerce on their own, more people will be able to earn a living by their own hands.

Thirdly, according to Wang Wenke, individually operated industrial and commercial premises in most cases do not ask for state investment; only a few need some loans from the state. Moreover, while no managerial personnel have to be appointed by the state, taxes paid by these establishments help accumulate funds for national construction.

Fourthly, the traditional skills involved in the making of some handicrafts and the preparation of some local delicacies can thus be revived and further improved to enrich people's lives. The 1,000-odd individually operated industrial and commercial premises in Huhehot, for instance, are offering more than 30 handicraft goods, native and special products and delicacies of local flavour; some particular snacks and folk handicraft goods which had a long history but were on the verge of extinction have reappeared to the pleasure of people.



Woman chef Liu Guixian in her newly licensed restaurant.

Wang's last point was that individually operated industry and commerce will both fill the vacuum left by the state-owned and collectively owned industry and commerce and stimulate them through competition. State-owned commerce in the past monopolized things in the absence of competition, it prompted the development of an incorrigible style work peculiar to some government-owned premises, which cared little about doing business and paid little attention to the quality of service to the resentment of the general public. The individually operated industrial and commercial premises, by contrast, do business on a small scale with less facilities at their disposal. In order to survive, they put a premium on raising their professional skills and quality of service. Thus they are bound to attract more customers, forcing the state-owned premises to quickly improve their manner of business.

Compelling Facts

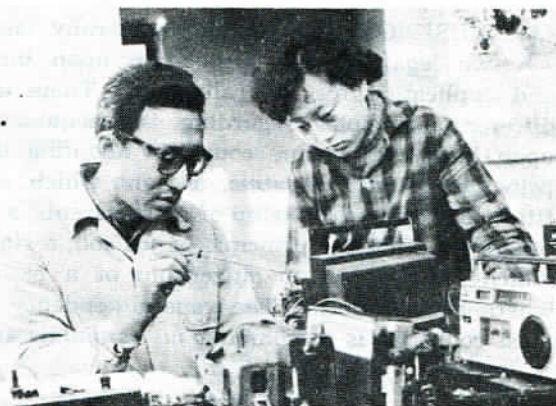
In 1953 there were over 9 million individual labourers in Chinese towns and cities. In about 100 cities, an average of 50 eating establish-

ments existed for the convenience of every 10,000 families. In Beijing, for instance, there were some 42,000 individually operated commercial and service establishments in 1956, each with some speciality to offer, and they dotted every nook and corner of the city, supplying local residents with a variety of products and services. Most were, however, forced out of business during the two major "reforms" in 1958 and 1966. Though some have been revived, numbering upwards of 1,200 in both the urban and rural districts by the end of September, Beijing residents still find the service trades leave much to be desired in terms of meeting the needs.

Many who are engaged in individual industry and commerce and their customers have countered Xiao Lingling's viewpoint on whether these individually operated premises should be allowed to exist.

Wang the Brush-Maker. Wang Shuying, who runs an individual business making brushes for which she is nicknamed brush-maker Wang, said: "For many years I made brushes of all kinds. But then I was forced to stop in 1966. Last November I was allowed to resume business. I guarantee the quality of my brushes. I will repair, or replace them or make a refund when there is a defect. Brushes are in demand. I've been doing a brisk business in the past six months or so. My production is limited by the intricate handicraft work needed and the lack of hands. Brush-making involves a dozen or so treatments, so I have to leave the making of the handles and the clipping of bristles to several retired workers and a few young people waiting for employment. In the first half of this year, I received about 13,600 yuan for the brushes sold. My costs amounted to: 8,800 yuan for raw materials; 1,770 yuan for payments to those who helped in the processing; 640 for operational expenses; 680 for industrial and commercial taxes paid to the state and 810 for income tax. This left me a net income of 880 yuan (including the money paid to my children who took part in production in their spare time), an average of 140 yuan a month. The retired workers and the young people who worked for me each get somewhere between 40 and 100 yuan a month. From what I've received and paid out, I don't see any exploitation involved. My business has not only provided my family with living expenses but also provided jobs for some people in society, a boon to both the state and the individuals."

Retired Hairdresser. In his letter to the editor Du Lai described his visit to a retired hairdresser now doing business at home. He had gone there to find out how the place was run. When he arrived at about eight in the morning, three women were leaving after having their hair done. The hairdresser started work at six. More customers were waiting inside and when they heard that some people were opposed to individually operated business, they immediately spoke up. One middle-aged woman said: "What's wrong with making things easier for the public? The big hairdressing saloons do not open until eight or nine and there's a long wait. Here, you don't have to wait long and it costs less." A young woman added: "I find people in these small shops are more polite and the service is better. I'm all for it." An old lady commented: "To be paid for your work is a socialist principle. It has no relationship with 'money-grubbing.'" Retired hairdresser Liu Wanchun who runs the shop was very frank. "This premise is officially licensed," he said. "I want to use my skill as a service to the public. This is better than doing nothing all day long after retirement! I have no intention of expanding this small premise into a huge beauty parlour, still less of becoming a capitalist." Everybody laughed. Du Lai concluded his letter: "To provide a service to the public and serve the people are not 'out of place.' For ten years the gang of four branded everything under the sun as capitalist—and what they said was most 'out of place!'"



Father-and-daughter repairing store.

A Bicycle Repair Stand. Another letter to the editor from Yang Zhizeng recounted his personal experience. One day when he was sitting in a state-owned bicycle repair shop waiting for his bike to be repaired, someone with beads of sweat on his forehead carried in a bicycle on his shoulder, one of the wheels having been

mashed. The moment he stepped in, the man doing the repair jobs shouted without even looking up: "It's about time to close. We have too much work on our hands. Try somewhere else!" The man with the broken bike said: "This is the seventh shop I have come to. Do you want me to make a citywide tour?" The repairman insisted that there was nothing he could do, admitting that shops like this were few and far between, that this shop was short of hands and that many jobs remained unattended to. The fellow had to leave with his bicycle on his shoulder.

On another occasion, Yang Zhizeng went to a bicycle repair stand, a new one operated by a private individual. He started his business early in the morning at six and worked until

seven in the evening. He attended to his customers warmheartedly and offered excellent service. Yang was in a hurry to get back home but his bike had not been repaired yet, so the stall-owner lent Yang his own bicycle and told him to come back for his bike the next morning.

Yang thus decided that it had been a terrific nuisance for people to have to run all over to take care of a simple matter in their daily lives and this situation had been caused by the restricting and barring of the individual economy.

Develop individual economy to fill the vacuum left by the state-owned commercial network as a convenience to the public — such is the way to go for a civilized, healthy society. □

On the Nationality Law

by Gong Qiuxiang

Our publication of an unofficial translation of the Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China adopted at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress last September in issue No. 40 prompted questions from our readers which we have attempted to explain here. — Ed.

ACQUISITION of nationality generally takes two legal forms — acquisition upon birth and application for naturalization. There are different principles regarding the acquisition upon birth, with some countries adopting the principle of *jus sanguinis*, a right which entitles one to the citizenship of one's parents, and others adopting the principle of *jus soli*, a right which entitles one to citizenship of a nation where he was born. The general tendency in most countries is to combine *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*.

Combination of "Jus Sanguinis" and "Jus Soli"

Traditionally China adhered to the principle of *jus sanguinis*. But after considering past experiences, the new situation and the general trend in most countries, it was decided not to adopt this practice in our Nationality Law. It integrates *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, which can

be seen in Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the law regarding the acquisition of nationality on birth.

Article 7 stipulates: Aliens or stateless persons who are willing to abide by China's Constitution and laws may acquire Chinese nationality upon approval of their applications provided that: (1) they are close relatives of Chinese nationals; or (2) they have settled in China; or (3) they have other legitimate reasons. Generally speaking nationality laws in many countries specify that their citizens may upon marriage to a foreigner acquire foreign nationality or vice versa. Under Chinese law, a foreign citizen who marries a Chinese will not automatically acquire Chinese citizenship. However, as those marrying Chinese will naturally become "close relatives of the Chinese," they are qualified to apply for Chinese citizenship.

Non-Recognition of Dual Nationality

Another important feature of our Nationality Law is the non-recognition of dual nationality. This principle has consistently been espoused by our government. Back in the 50s, Premier Zhou Enlai and some other Chinese leaders, for instance, reiterated this principle on many occasions and it was affirmed in communiques on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and foreign countries

and other documents. In so doing, a basis has been provided for reaching a satisfactory solution to the historical problem of dual nationality with some countries and assuring that this problem will be avoided in the future. As this problem is still a major concern, the principle is reiterated in the Nationality Law which stipulates: 1. Any Chinese national who has settled abroad and who has been naturalized there or has acquired foreign nationality of his own free will automatically lose Chinese nationality. 2. A person with one or both parents who are Chinese nationals and have settled abroad does not have Chinese nationality if he has acquired foreign nationality upon birth. 3. Those who apply for naturalization in China or restoration of their Chinese nationality and are approved shall not retain their foreign nationality. In the past years, we discovered some Chinese citizens who were residing in China had obtained foreign passports without renouncing their Chinese nationality, and they asked for the same treatment as foreigners, thus causing confusion in our nationality work. Therefore the Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China clearly stipulates: "Any person born in China and one of whose parents is a Chinese national has Chinese nationality." Chinese citizens are not allowed to hold dual citizenship. Anyone who applies for foreign nationality must gain approval of his request to renounce his or her Chinese nationality. These stipulations will help prevent dual citizenship.

Overseas Chinese Residing Abroad

The Chinese Government encourages overseas Chinese residing abroad to acquire on a voluntary basis the nationality of countries where they live. Such a stand has been reflected in the fundamental spirit of the Nationality Law and in the government's consistent policy. We hope that those who have acquired the nationality they applied for enjoy the same rights and perform the same obligations as the people of the residing country, and contribute to its prosperity and progress. Any overseas Chinese who has acquired the nationality of the country he is residing in automatically loses his Chinese citizenship. But in deference to the wishes of those overseas Chinese who are unwilling to acquire foreign nationality, we object to their being forced to change their nationality. As for those overseas Chinese who are willing to retain Chinese nationality, we encourage them to abide by the laws and decrees of the government of the residing countries, respect the local customs and be on friendly terms with the local

people so as to promote the friendship between China and their residing countries. Naturally we also hope that the governments of the residing countries will respect and protect their legitimate rights and interests. The Chinese Government is diplomatically responsible for protecting the legal rights and interests of the Chinese residing abroad. All this is in the fundamental interests of the masses of overseas Chinese, and is helpful in solving the historical problem of dual nationality among overseas Chinese and in improving and enhancing the friendly relations between China and the related countries.

Stateless Persons

The Nationality Law contains stipulations aimed at reducing the number of stateless persons. By stateless persons, we mean those persons without any nationality. In China there are very few people who are stateless or of uncertain nationality. To do away with such phenomenon and to enable these persons to enjoy the same rights and fulfil the same obligations as Chinese citizens, Article 6 of the law stipulates: "Any person born in China whose parents are stateless or of uncertain nationality but have settled in China has Chinese nationality." The law also stipulates that stateless persons may apply for Chinese nationality provided they meet the necessary requirements. □

How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Following is part of the Chinese phonetic alphabet showing the pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in brackets for reference.

"c"	(ts),	a consonant, as "ts" in its; and
"e",	(e),	a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;
"i"	(i),	a vowel, two pronunciations: 1) as in eat 2) as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;
"j"	(ch),	a consonant, as in jeep;
"q"	(ch),	a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;
"r"	(j),	a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;
"u"	(u),	a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German umlauted "u" in "Muenchen";
"x"	(hs),	a consonant, as "sh" in she;
"z"	(ts, tz),	a consonant, as in zero; and
"zh"	(ch),	a consonant, as "j" in jump.

● **Prejudice Defied**

Before the founding of the People's Republic, a large proportion of China's mine workers always remained unmarried because their jobs were dirty and dangerous and considered inferior by many people. Even today, this traditional prejudice persists, and many mine workers still have difficulty finding wives as a result. For this reason, *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily) recently published a letter by eight young women to China's Minister of Coal Industry Gao Yangwen, as well as the minister's reply, as a praiseworthy example of young people now breaking away from the old prejudices concerning miners.

The eight women wanted to marry workers in Hebei Province's Fengfeng Coal Mine, yet each was discouraged by family and friends from entering into such a marriage with a mine worker. The women did not share the others' prejudices, however, so they wrote to Coal Minister Gao for his support in the matter.

The minister's reply was full of warmth and praise for the women. He stated that mine workers have made great contributions to the people of China and have endured much hardship in the process. They should therefore be given the honour and respect they deserve, and he praised the young women for defying unjust prejudices and thinking independently. "Your actions are sure to receive public support," he added.

The minister also told the women that the State Council is now taking a number of measures to improve the working and living conditions of miners,

including the establishment of shorter working hours, a free meal for miners working underground and stricter safety standards in the mines. He said: "I believe that in the 1980s the coal industry will change greatly and so will the people's attitude towards coal miners."

● **Beijing to Export Kites**

Exquisite traditional Chinese kites produced by skilled craftsmen of the new Beijing Kite Art Company will soon be available for sale and exhibition abroad. The purpose of the company, said manager Pan Qinghua, is to preserve and continue the 2,000-year-old Chinese art of kite-making and flying.

Traditional Beijing kites are still made of silk and paper, rather than of plastic as elsewhere in China and abroad. Furthermore, each one of them is carefully hand-painted, and shaped in elaborate and vivid figures of butterflies, eagles, dragons and characters from popular Chinese classics, such as the Monkey King.

Fifty-three-year-old Fei Baoling is one of the seven skilled kite-makers now working at the new company, and a member of its board of directors as well. Formerly a bank clerk, Fei spent all his spare time over the last 40 years designing and making the traditional Chinese kites. He has made several hundred different types of kite in a multitude of

styles, sizes and shapes; the largest is two metres long and the smallest is the size of a palm. Fei's works have also been exhibited in more than 20 foreign countries, including a special display at the United Nations in 1979 in celebration of the International Year of the Child.

Fei Baoling is especially skilled at making kites of the Cao Xueqin style, noted for its delicacy and ingenuity. Cao Xueqin, a skilled kite-maker and flyer of the 18th century, was the author of the famous novel *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Cao also wrote a book entitled *The Craftsmanship of Kite-Making in North and South China*, of which the original manuscript, long missing and considered lost, was finally discovered in Japan not long ago.

The Beijing Kite Art Company was jointly founded by the Beijing Federation of Industry and Commerce, the National Art Gallery and the Beijing Kite Association, with the former two providing an initial investment of 130,000 yuan and the latter contributing



Fei Baoling (middle) discussing kite designs with colleagues.

People in the News



Young **Chen Aiwu**, a cook of the famous Feng Ze Yuan Restaurant in Beijing, is being acclaimed by the Party and people throughout the country for his courage and perseverance in challenging special privileges and exposing the abuses of Minister of Commerce Wang Lei. (See "Privileges Challenged" in our last issue.)

The 25-year-old Chen is a national model worker, an honour given for skill in production and dedication to the public interest. As the Youth League branch secretary at the restaurant, he always felt uneasy about the special privileges of high-ranking cadres who enjoyed extravagant meals at the restaurant but only paid the price of ordinary ones. Chen saw that other workers there were also upset by this, and felt that high officials like Wang Lei should be leading the struggle to eliminate such problems, rather than exploiting them for their own benefit.

So Chen discussed the situation with both the restaurant leaders and the Beijing service bureau in hopes of getting these privileges changed. However, nothing was done about his suggestions. Finally, Chen wrote a letter to the Party's Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and asked for their help.

After receiving Chen's letter, the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline sent a group to the restaurant to investigate the matter. Before the group arrived, however, a workers' meeting was held at the restaurant and one of the leaders instructed the workers to "mind your own business" around the inspectors. Thus a tense atmosphere prevailed throughout the restaurant. Several workers urged Chen not to pursue the issue, for this might damage his position as a national model worker. But Chen felt that precisely because of this distinction, he had a responsibility to uphold the Party's prestige. Indeed, all Party members and citizens have the right to write to a higher Party or government organization, and this is in the interest of the people. So in spite of the many obstacles and attempts to dissuade him, Chen persisted and successfully exposed this irrational phenomenon in his restaurant.

The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline seriously dealt with the case and spoke highly of Chen's courage in revealing the special privileges the Minister of Commerce was receiving. Leading comrades of the Communist Youth League also praised and encouraged the young cook. As a result of the incident, the Beijing municipal government decided that leading cadres must pay in full for their dinners like ordinary people.

group of buildings were just completed in October. These include several six-sided, beehive-shaped hotels, as well as restaurants serving both Chinese and Western food, cafes, shops and a theatre. Swimming and yachting are also available at the nearby beach. Construction of a golf course, tennis courts, a racing track for horses, a swimming pool and shooting grounds will soon begin.

For the convenience of the tourists, the centre also provides direct transport to Aomen, to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birthplace in Zhongshan County's Cuiheng Village and to the Yongmo natural hot springs.

Multi-Coloured Fish Under Study

Rare multi-coloured crucian carp discovered in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region are now being studied by biologists and aquatic experts in the area. The fish are similar to the type of carp found in other places of China, but have bodies that are red, gold, black, white, deep purple or a combination of these colours.

Sixty years ago a major earthquake hit Ningxia, causing several valleys in its Xiji County to be blocked with crumbled debris from the surrounding mountains. Many of these closed valleys later filled with water and developed into lakes, and it was here that the coloured fish, now estimated to number around 10,000, were first discovered in 1964. Where the fish originated, how they developed in these newly formed mountain lakes and whether they belong to local or other varieties of the carp are questions still under study.

the technical expertise. The company has hired 35 young workers and is preparing to open an experimental factory soon.

New Tourist Centre In Guangdong

A new tourist centre and resort has just opened in Zhuhai city in south China's Guangdong Province for foreign tourists

and compatriots from Xiang-gang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao). Situated near the beach of Xianglu Gulf and at the foot of rocky Shijing Mountain, the centre is only 5 kilometres from Aomen. The two places are linked by a highway.

Construction of this sprawling centre, which covers a massive 60,000 square metres, was started last February. The first

FILM

*The Passing of
A Brilliant Star*

Zhao Dan, China's leading movie actor, succumbed to cancer in the early hours of October 10 at the age of 65.

Born in 1915, Zhao Dan, who began acting at the age of 15, appeared in a total of 60 roles on the screen. During his 50-year stage career he won the hearts of the people and earned an international reputation.

Zhao Dan was very keen on literature and fine arts when he was young. After he graduated from middle school, he secretly registered at the Shanghai Fine Arts Academy against the wishes of his father who wanted him to become a lawyer. While studying traditional Chinese landscape and flower and birds paintings, he became acquainted with some progressive literature and art workers and developed an interest in stage art. He first drew the attention of the film and theatrical circles when at the age of 18 he appeared in the stage-drama, *A Picture of Madame C*. He became a full-time film actor in 1934 when his debut in the



Zhao Dan in "Lin Zexu."

silent film, *The Sorrow of Pipa in Spring*, brought him fame. Despite all the difficulties and risks that a progressive artist had to face in those days, he appeared in about 20 films in 1934 and 1935. He achieved such popularity that some people in film circles said 1935 was "the year of Zhao Dan" — he was then 20 years old.

Zhao Dan's skills became more sophisticated after the founding of New China in 1949. In the following years he starred in a variety of roles, playing characters from different historical periods. Among his most successful parts were Lin Zexu (1785-1850), a patriotic official who tried to put an end to the British opium trade in the 1840s, Li Shizhen (1518-93), a famous pharmacologist in the Ming Dynasty, composer Nie Er (1912-35) and a fictional Communist hero Xu Yunfeng. Zhao Dan was particularly adept at portraying the character's inner world. Though his roles varied tremendously and required different temperaments and qualities, all were presented with liveliness and in depth, a special acting style for

which Zhao Dan became known.

Zhao Dan's acting career was interrupted by two prison terms — the first for five years when he was jailed by the reactionary warlord, Sheng Shicai, in Xinjiang during the war against Japanese aggressors (1937-45) and the second, also for five years, during the "cultural revolution" when Lin Biao and Jiang Qing had charges trumped up against him. He was not rehabilitated until 1976. Zhao Dan's deprivation also was a loss for Chinese cultural life,

A devoted artist, Zhao Dan regarded his career as his life. He was ecstatic when he was invited to play the part of the well-known Chess Master Yi Kuangshan in *An Unfinished Chess Game*, a film which will be made jointly by Chinese and Japanese film companies. Though Zhao Dan was stricken with cancer shortly afterwards, he and his family still hoped he could make the film his last contribution to the Chinese people. He continually told his children that he wished to return to the studio and that he would be satisfied if his heart stopped beating the minute the



Zhao Dan starring in "Crows and Sparrows."



Zhao Dan (left) plays Communist hero Xu Yunfeng in "Immortals in the Flame."

last shot was taken. Unfortunately this wish could not be realized.

Zhao Dan remained an optimist to the end. He told his family he wanted no funeral, no wreaths and no mourning music. He said: "I love Beethoven." Zhao Dan's last words to his wife Huang Zongying (famous film actress and writer) were "I wish everyone in the world happiness."

Zhao Dan particularly appreciated Japanese artists and felt a special affinity with them. So he asked that half of his ashes be sent to Japan and placed beside the tomb of Nie Er, the great Chinese revolutionary composer who died in Japan in 1935. The rest of his ashes he wished to be scattered in an orange grove in Liuzhou, Guangxi, as a lasting memory; Liuzhou was the first to invite him to work after the downfall of the gang of four. While residing there, this gifted artist devoted much time to painting and calligraphy.

When Zhao Dan was critically ill, two of his books, *Creation of Screen Images* and *Door to Hell*, were published, describing his experience on the stage since the 1930s. The day before he passed away, his fine arts exhibition opened in Shanghai. Zhao Dan's final thoughts on the state of the arts in China were contained in the article "If the Control Is Too Specific, Literature and Art Will Be Hopeless" he wrote while in the hospital and which was published in *Renmin Ribao* two days before his death. He asserted that tightly controlling literature and art was asking for trouble and would ruin literature and art. He wished the principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend would be carried out seriously.

On October 27, more than 1,000 people attended a commemorative ceremony in Beijing. In deference to Zhao Dan's wishes, no mourning music was played nor were wreaths or elegiac couplets presented. Fresh flowers were laid in front of Zhao Dan's portrait. Xia Yan, Chairman of the Chinese Film Workers' Association, talked about Zhao Dan's personal experiences and his artistic achievements. His wife gave a speech entitled "The People Understand Him." The showing of a documentary, *He Lives*, which traces Zhao Dan's screen career concluded the meeting.

SPORTS

Women's Basketball Team Analyses Defeat

China's national women's basketball team suffered an unexpected 68-101 upset defeat by the south Korean team in the finals of the 8th Asian Women's Basketball Championship held in Xianggang (Hongkong) last September. The team's loss provoked a strong reaction at home. Literally hundreds of fans and sports watchers throughout the country wrote letters to the team or to newspapers criticizing the team's performance in the game, making suggestions and offering encouragement. Much publicity has been given to the defeat in the newspapers as well. The question everyone seems to be asking is not simply why the team was beaten (China has lost four of its five previous encounters with the south Koreans), but why it was beaten so resoundingly. The women's basketball team is now making an effort to answer this question in hopes of salvaging some lesson from this disappointing end of their season.

One explanation given was the attitude of complacency that prevailed among the players before the competition. They clearly exaggerated their own strong points and over-anticipated the weaknesses of the south Koreans. Then at the beginning of the championship when the strategies and skills of the south Korean team became apparent, they still did not seriously study and discuss new tactics of defence and counterattack. In addition, some of China's players allowed their discipline to relax during the games and disobeyed the strict time schedules and curfews customary during such matches.

Another important factor behind its defeat was the Chinese team's lack of depth and versatility in many areas. The height and physical training of the Chinese players were adequate in comparison with the south Korean players, but many lacked the all-round personal skills needed for a versatile, well-rounded team. The efforts of the team's coach to switch to new strategies during the course of the game therefore failed because they were simply beyond the players' basic skills.

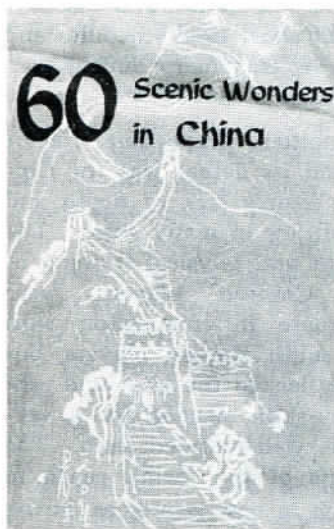
Of course there are undoubtedly other reasons involved in this latest defeat of the team. Perhaps an important one is that basketball and the study of basketball theory is still relatively underdeveloped in China. The Chinese public, however, has urged the team to learn from its experiences and start shaping up. It naturally wants the team representing China in women's basketball to have skill, strength and a dedicated fighting spirit. After its encounter with the south Koreans, the Chinese team now is working to fulfil that image.

A Handy Tourist Guide

60 Scenic Wonders in China

Edited by the Editorial Department of New World Press and the English Language Service of Radio Peking (Beijing),

Published by New World Press, Distributed by Guoji Shudian (China Publications Centre), Renminbi 2.00 yuan.



With English speaking foreign tourists coming to the New China in ever-increasing numbers, the New World Press has published on September 20 a new kind of guidebook — *60 Scenic Wonders in China* — that should be of inestimable help to these travelers. If one were coming to China and were fortunate enough to obtain the help of a top-flight interpreter speaking perfect English and with an encyclopedic knowledge of China's long history, one would still have need of this handy volume in order to keep a record of all that the top interpreter has said.

The book is handy and useful not only for the copious information it contains, but for the

helpful way in which it has been put together. The main body of the volume is divided into six sections, each dealing with a different area of the country. The six are Beijing — North China, Shanghai — East China, Guangzhou — Central South China, Guilin — Southwest China, Xian — Northwest China, and Northeast China. Thus in each day's traveling the tourist need not turn to other sections of this 260-page book.

And, for further convenience, the Appendix contains an alphabetical cross index of all of the article titles with place names, so that one can look them up for quick reference. The Appendix also contains sketch maps of six main cities, plans of the Palace Museum and the Chengde Mountain Resort, a map with places of tourist interest, a complete table of China's dynasties, and for those who are confused by the new Pin Yin spelling of place names, a transliteration glossary of them.

Both the cover design and the line drawings which illustrate the book, done by Shao Yu, a leading artist in China, are most attractive to the eye.

But it is the writing of each of the 60 articles that makes this travel book a standout. They were selected from the popular regular feature series "Travel Talk" broadcast by the English Language Service of RADIO PEKING (BEIJING), and thoroughly revised by the Editorial Department of New World Press, which also prepared the appendix.

Each article contains not only the basic historical facts and figures about the place being described, but also a number of fascinating stories, some legends and some of them factual, about

the particular scenic wonder involved. For example, there is told the legend about the western end of the Great Wall that the craftsmen had planned the construction so carefully that when the wall was completed only one brick was left, and a brick said to be the extra one still lies on one of the watch towers there.

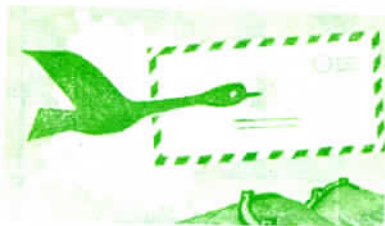
And, to accent the many lives lost in the building of the Great Wall, there is the pitiful story of Meng Jiangnu, whose tears crumbled the section of the wall at Shanhaiguan Pass under which her husband was buried, and who then drowned herself in the sea.

Few foreign tourists can afford both the time and the money to visit personally every one of the places mentioned in *60 Scenic Wonders in China*. But for reading interest alone, it is well worth its price, and it will tempt the reader strongly to come back and see more. And for the places one does visit in China, this handy volume will tell them all they need to know, and with a lot more besides.

— Charles L. Whipple

Briefs

"Album on Great Wall" Comes Off Press. China's ancient Great Wall was built during many different dynasties, either imperial or vassal, from the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.). The album, a collection of 130 photographs taken in all seasons, shows sections of the wall built in the various periods and the remains. Captions and the introduction are both in Chinese and English. Published by the Cultural Relics Publishing House.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Higher Education Reform

I read the article "Reform Higher Education" in issue No. 30. In order to accomplish the four modernizations in China, talented persons are indispensable. While I deeply appreciated your discussion on higher educational reform, I was shocked at the deficiencies of graduates and educational facilities. Although the people who have received higher education are not omnipotent, the technicians who possess professional skill are surely an important group for pushing forward the modernization of society. In view of the small percentage of the university students in China's 1,000 million population and the small number of college and middle school students in your state-owned factories, this seems a serious problem.

China's present situation is not conducive to the urgent need to train a great number of persons of ability. Moreover, owing to the small number of young students studying in schools, it is hard to prevent the emergence of the ideas of intellectual aristocrats in the selected youngsters. In a word, to train outstanding personnel you have to consider making large investments in key universities and departments where talented persons are urgently needed. A short cut, which can supplement this method, is to send students abroad to study.

Tsuyoshi Seki
Chiba, Japan

Leaders and the Masses

I greatly appreciate the article about the role of the individual in history (issue No. 32) because it gives me a better knowledge with which to explain to our comrades in trade unions why they have to organize themselves in the future.

Correct ideas come from the masses, and leaders should not be followed blindly but they themselves should be guided and criticized.

I appreciate very much, too, the popularized articles published in *Beijing Review*, for it is difficult to understand, apply and explain the Marxist philosophy. There is also a shortage of teachers in Tahiti.

Didier Kintzler
Papeete, Tahiti, French
Polynesia

After reading the article entitled "On the Role of the Individual in History" (issue No. 32), I am confident that Mao Zedong Thought has been entirely created by the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party. Although mistakes were committed after the founding of the People's Republic of China, I earnestly hope that its glorious history in clearing away the "three big mountains" will not be tarnished.

Hitonobu Onaka
Chiba, Japan

I've read carefully the reports about the Fifth National People's Congress and firmly believe that China today will no longer take Mao Zedong Thought as a theory in words but as a guide in action, and further apply it in practice. This also encourages us.

Akimi Nomura
Kyoto, Japan

Stop Soviet Expansionist Aggression

There is no doubt that the present Russian rulers have not shed their tsarist ambitions and are following the same path. The invasion of Afghanistan and its occupation is the latest manifestation of their imperialist urge. But what can the third world do to combat it? At present, the third world countries have their own rivalries. The Russians can easily find quislings and make them sing their tunes and thereby satisfy their hegemonist ambitions. Besides, the U.S.A. and Western countries are not close enough to forge a united front as their policies are divergent on the Afghan issue and Israel. I think in the world today different centres of power have emerged and the progressive movement cannot move in one direction. There is a worldwide danger of anarchy,

confusion and disintegration. But I hope a day will come when a new outlook and leadership will emerge that will end this chaos and bring about a new integration.

Abdul Qadeer Nomanji
Fatapura Gujrat,
Pakistan

Your report on the invasion of Afghanistan by social-imperialism is excellent. What it lacks is an evaluation and investigation of the domestic developments in the Soviet Union. I, first of all, wish to state that my view is the Soviet Union, which I regard as revisionist, has become a superpower contending for world hegemony. Today, the Soviet Union is more aggressive than the United States as it is a new superpower. In spite of this fact, the problem of how to explain its aggressive nature through its internal economic development does exist.

Like the people of other countries, China must be capable of explaining the unique and unprecedented phenomenon of a socialist country which has degenerated into the most aggressive superpower in the world.

Frank Nelamischkies
Kiel, W. Germany

Useful Exposure

Beijing Review has been very useful for us. It tries not only to remove the masks worn by imperialists and social-imperialist invaders and hegemonists from its cartoons, but also in its articles and events with related photos. I hope you will continue to do so.

In conclusion I want to add my own impression that *Beijing Review* has done a lot of work in exposing imperialism, social-imperialism and pseudo Marxist-Leninists for the third world.

Kumar Bahadur Dhakal
Kathmandu, Nepal



CAAC



REGIONAL DIRECT AIR SERVICES

BEIJING - XIANGGANG (HONGKONG)

Beginning November 4, 1980

HANGZHOU - XIANGGANG (HONGKONG)

Beginning November 2, 1980

GUANGZHOU - XIANGGANG (HONGKONG)

Beginning November 1, 1980

TIMETABLE

305 Daily Trid.	303 Daily Trid.	301 Daily Trid.	503 Su. Mo. Th. Trid.	5513 Su. Mo. Th. Trid.	101 Tu. Th Sa. B707	Flight No. Days Aircraft	102 Tu.Th. Sa. B707	504 Su. Mo. Th. Trid.	5514 Su. Mo. Th. Trid.	302 Daily Trid.	304 Daily Trid.	306 Daily Trid.
18:55	10:30	08:00	09:05	07:45	10:10	dep BEIJING	arr 17:25					
				08:05		dep SHANGHAI	arr					
						arr HANGZHOU	dep					
						dep GUANGZHOU	arr					
						arr XIANGGANG (HONGKONG)	dep					
19:20	10:55	08:25	10:50		13:10			13:35	14:30	09:40	12:10	20:35
								14:40	11:50	09:15	11:45	20:10

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