

No. 6 February 9, 1981

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



Premier Zhao's
SE Asian Tour

●
Former Red
Guards Speak
Out

●
Taiwan's
Preposterous
Protestations

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Premier Zhao's First Visit Abroad

Apart from strengthening friendly ties with Burma and Thailand, the Premier's visit is devoted to the promotion of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. This is especially important at a time when Vietnamese aggression poses a serious threat (p. 5). At a press conference in Bangkok, he enunciates Chinese views on this and other important questions (pp. 14-15).

Islamic Summit Conference

An important meeting that shows the solidarity of the 700 million Islamic people and their determination to uphold justice and defend peace (p. 10).

Begin in Trouble

Background to Israeli Premier's decision to call for general elections ahead of schedule, pointing to the bank-

ruptcy of his policies (pp. 12-13).

A Poor Performance

An authoritative article that analyses factors behind the recent anti-communist hulla-baloo raised in Taiwan (p. 16).

The Lunar New Year

Beijing residents celebrate the Spring Festival (p. 9) and greet the year of the rooster (p. 31).

Purchasing Power Rises

With more money in their pockets and more goods in the shops, people now enjoy a better life (p. 8).

Red Guard Forum

Former Red Guard leaders and rank-and-file members comment on the case of Jiang Qing (pp. 17-19).

Political Stability

Renmin Ribao on measures to

promote political stability as the key to China's economic success (pp. 20-22).

Public Servants

Special feature. How leaders of a semi-mountainous county correct their mistakes and regain the trust of the people (pp. 23-29).

Fossils Unearthed

Two recent archaeological finds throw light on the origin and evolution of mankind (p. 30).



Celebrating the Spring Festival.
Photo by Wang Chengzhang and Li Tao

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After the Enterprises Have the Right to Self-Management

Competition will result after the enterprises are given more power to make their own decisions. Will the small enterprises be swallowed up by the big ones and will there be exploitation?

Generally speaking, after more power is given to an enterprise to manage its own affairs, the enthusiasm of its leadership and the workers and staff members is enhanced, and the level of management will be improved. Some enterprises, however, are not so successful and find the going tough because of poor management or because they turn out goods not wanted on the market. These enterprises will be amalgamated with the successful ones, or in some cases, the workers and staff will select a new leadership to improve their management and produce commodities in demand on the market.

Amalgamations involve only a small number of enterprises and such mergers are different in nature from what happens in a capitalist society. Some enterprises which incur losses because of poor objective conditions are always given due aid by the state. Mines with rich deposits, for instance, are taxed more heavily than mines not so rich in deposits; and in some cases, they are exempted from taxes or, if necessary, they get subsidies from the state.

Enterprises with more power to make their own decisions are all state-owned, and their means

of production are public property. The workers are masters of these enterprises, so there is no question of exploitation whatsoever. It is true that the more capable workers get more bonuses and that they get bigger incomes than the others. But these bigger incomes are not the results of exploitation but are rewards for greater contributions.

Some state enterprises absorb a small amount of investments from individuals who receive a

certain percentage of the dividends. So long as these dividends are not too high as compared with the bank interest rates, they cannot be regarded as exploitation.

In joint ventures, a portion of the profits from foreign capital will be given to foreign capitalists and this is exploitative in nature. But in China where the socialist public ownership holds the dominant position, there is nothing to fear as long as the living standard of the workers and staff keeps improving.

— Economic Editor
Wang Dacheng

Curtailment of Financial Expenditures

Why has China curtailed its financial expenditures? Will this result in unemployment?

China's finance was in the red last year, and it was estimated that the deficit would be about 5,000 million yuan this year. To bring about a balance between revenue and expenditure and to ensure that the various sectors of the economy will develop in a proportionate way, full-scale economic readjustments will be carried out beginning this year.

Two ways are open to us in order to get out of the red. The first is to reduce investments. Since practically all the capital construction projects are financed by the state, a cutback in investments therefore is an effective way to reduce deficits. The second way is to cut expenditures — including administrative expenditures and outlays for various undertakings —

practise economy and eliminate wastes.

With the reduction of investments in capital construction, some factories will stop operation and a number of cadres and workers will be out of work for the time being. But they will get their pay as usual and will be organized to learn specific techniques. After training they may return to their former posts or work elsewhere as the case may require. Giving them training is a positive measure and a profitable investment too, for in this way the cultural and technical level as well as the managing skill of these cadres and workers will be raised.

Apart from learning the necessary skills, they will take part in some forms of physical labour, such as planting trees, repairing roads, and building water conservancy works.

— Economic Editor Jin Qi

LETTERS

The Trial of the Gang Doesn't Involve Chairman Mao

In regard to the article "The Trial Doesn't Involve Chairman Mao" (issue No. 1, 1981), you have made your position known at a most opportune moment. Earlier, I had often heard that the trial of the gang of four was indirectly aimed at Chairman Mao. In my opinion, Chairman Mao performed many great deeds during his lifetime. Without these deeds, China would not have become what it is today. I am convinced that the "cultural revolution" he initiated was originally intended to benefit China. He did not expect that everything would turn out just the opposite. I think his foresight at that time was not as good as during his early years. Perhaps he had not received correct and comprehensive information. China is a big country, and in my opinion, Mao Zedong was one of the outstanding statesmen of his era. Moreover, a man who makes no errors is non-existent.

Hildegard Nurnus
Weilburg, W. Germany

Tyranny Must Be Stopped

I have benefited greatly from reading *Beijing Review*, both in knowing how to assess the international situation and in learning of the tyranny of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. The imperialist behaviour of the Soviet Union is a formidable threat to the rest of mankind. There will be no peace on earth until it is stopped.

People of the world should live in harmony. Societies dedicated to upholding justice and preventing tyranny should be established. The Soviet imperialism, however, is exactly the opposite, being despotic and attempting to invade other countries' territory by force. Your country dares to oppose the Soviet Union. People of various countries speak highly of your just condemnation of the Soviet Union.

Masao Nisimura
Ashikaga, Japan

Articles on Economic Theory

I have been very interested in a number of Chinese publications which I have read as a scientific researcher. My particular interest is Chinese economic thought, and I am very interested in analysing economic structure, planned management, the role of the law of value in socialist economy of China, relations between plan and market, Chinese patterns of economic development and Chinese conceptions of new international economic and political order. I received great scientific satisfaction in the articles written by Xue Muqiao, Sun Yefang and others in your magazine.

I'll be very satisfied if *Beijing Review* publishes more studies on Chinese economic thought, economics and the world economy.

George Ciulbea
Bucharest, Romania

Enlarge the Scope of Debate

People often have the impression that certain important debates are only carried out within the limited scope of experts, cadres or Party and government leaders. This is, to repeat myself, only an impression, which I personally believe is quite different from the reality. This impression has been reinforced by the form of presentation, the style of writing and the academic character of these reports. The question which I would like to pose here is: Are these debates also carried out in the streets, workshops, production teams and factories? If so, why don't you describe these debates more concretely? Why don't you adopt more vivid forms of reporting?

Marc Vanhove
Steenkerque, Belgium

Nuclear Power Stations

I was surprised to read in the December 8 issue of *Beijing Review* (issue No. 49, 1980) that China is considering the use of nuclear power. It seems like a questionable venture with the availability of fossil fuels like coal, oil and natural gas in China.

There are two main drawbacks to the use of nuclear energy.

First, the cost of construction of a nuclear power plant is greater than that for a steam coal-fired plant.

The second and greatest deterrent is the disposal of spent fuel, or nuclear waste. The United States, after going the whole hog in the development of nuclear power, is now finding that waste disposal is a difficult problem. In spite of what the establishment says, public opinion is against the use of nuclear fuel for power.

Richard A. Dannels
Tucson, Az., U.S.A.

There is a report about building nuclear power stations in the "Events & Trends" column of *Beijing Review*, No. 49, 1980. Many workers, peasants, students and other citizens in Japan are opposed to the construction of nuclear power stations because of the dangers involved. Many technical problems have not yet been solved and radioactivity has often leaked from these plants; big incidents may occur.

In the long run, only socialist society can solve the major problems arising from the use of nuclear energy and the development of energy resources. But I oppose the construction of nuclear power stations right now. We cannot talk in generalities about how capitalism cannot solve the problems and socialism can. More efforts must be made to advance the socialist technical system.

Teruo Minoura
Aichi, Japan



FOREIGN RELATIONS

Premier Zhao Visits Burma And Thailand

Premier Zhao Ziyang, accompanied by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua and other officials, recently paid a short but fruitful visit to Burma and Thailand. Much importance was attached to it not only because it was his first visit abroad after he assumed the premiership but also because peace and security in Southeast Asia are now under serious threat.

In Burma. During his stay in Burma (January 26-30), Premier Zhao held talks with Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha. Both sides emphasized the importance of strengthening and developing bilateral co-operation and promoting the *pauk-phaw* (kinsman-like) friendship between them.

Premier Zhao praised the achievements made by the Burmese Government and people in promoting national unity and developing the national

economy under the leadership of President U Ne Win. He pointed out that President U Ne Win and the late Chairman Mao of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Chairman Liu Shaohqi and Premier Zhou Enlai all highly treasured Sino-Burmese friendship. In January 1978 Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping visited Burma in the capacity of Vice-Premier of the State Council. Mutual visits by the leaders of the two countries are just like calls paid among kith and kin. Premier Zhao expressed his wish that such visits would continue.

In Rangoon Premier Zhao called on President U Ne Win and invited him, Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and other Burmese leaders to visit China. They all accepted his invitation.

Premier Zhao also visited the work-site of the Swe Taung Textile Mill, a project undertaken by the two countries, the famous holiday resort of Sandoway and the Shwedagon Pagoda.

In Thailand. During his visit to Thailand (January 30 to February 2), Premier Zhao held fruitful talks with Prime Minister



Premier Zhao, accompanied by Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha, visits the Shwedagon Pagoda.



Premier Zhao and Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda hold talks.

Prem Tinsulanonda. They exchanged views on developing bilateral relations and, in particular, thoroughly discussed the Kampuchean issue. Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda stressed that peace, stability and co-operation among the countries in Southeast Asia would be out of the question if the Kampuchean issue, which threatens security in this region, were not solved. Premier Zhao reaffirmed: "The Chinese Government and people firmly stand on the side of Thailand and support its just struggle against foreign aggression." He added that the entire Thai nation, united as one, "has resolutely repulsed foreign armed incursions and provocations. Your righteous

acts of safeguarding your state sovereignty and national dignity have contributed greatly to the maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia."

Premier Zhao was received by H.M. King of Thailand Bhumibol Adulyadej and H.M. Queen Sirikit Kittiyakara, and met with former Prime Ministers Kriangsak Chomanan and Kukrit Pramoj. He also gave a press conference in Bangkok (for details see p. 14.). The Foreign Ministers of China and Thailand also held talks.

Speaking of the significance of Premier Zhao's visit, Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila said that he had come to Thailand at a moment which is crucial for the development of this region. He emphasized that bilateral relations are very good and that China is a trustworthy friend of Thailand.

Belgian Deputy Prime Minister in China

Deputy Prime Minister Guy Spitaels of Belgium, who is concurrently Minister of Communications, visited China with a delegation he led in the latter half of January.

The delegation included government officials and personages from industrial and commercial circles. During their visit, the Belgian guests discussed with leading members of the Chinese Government the possibilities of economic and technical co-operation between the two countries in the fields of navigation, railway, civil aviation, city communications and transportation.

Both sides expressed the opinion that the prospects of developing economic co-operation between the two countries are bright. At the banquet he hosted in honour of the Belgian guests, Vice-Premier Gu Mu said that China will continue to steadily expand its foreign trade

even in the current period of economic readjustment. Deputy Prime Minister Spitaels said that Belgium will co-operate with China in the fields of railway, subway, sea transportation, shipbuilding, harbour construction and inland river navigation.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the trade and economic interflow between them in the past few years.

POLITICAL

Mass Support for Sentences On Jiang Qing and Others

The Special Court passed sentences on Jiang Qing and nine other culprits on the morning of January 25. The news event was televised across the country that evening and reported the next day in all the major newspapers with the full text of the written judgment. For days running, the newspapers published articles voicing the support of the people of all walks of life for the Special Court's final judgment.

The consensus was that the trial had set an example of act-

ing according to law. In an article he wrote for *Renmin Ribao*, Ma Rongjie, a lawyer, pointed out that throughout the proceedings of the Special Court made objective and exhaustive inquiries into all the charges listed in the indictment against the defendants, and the court hearings were all aimed at clarifying the facts before deciding on the final judgment. The written judgment contained only the criminal offences which were proved to be true in the court hearings — a reflection of the correct relationship between the people's procuratorate and people's court. For instance, the indictment charged that, on October 17, 1974, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen conspired at Diao Yu Tai in Beijing and Wang Hongwen was sent to Changsha the following day to see Chairman Mao Zedong with false charges against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, their attempt being to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming the First Vice-Premier. After the hearings, the court held that the above-mentioned act did not constitute a criminal offence.



Hu Xieqing, widow of the well-known writer Lao She who was persecuted to death by the gang of four, watching the Special Court passing sentences on Jiang Qing and other culprits on TV.

and so the matter was dropped in the written judgment.

Liao Mosha, vice-chairman of the Beijing committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said that the trial was a success which would contribute to perfecting the socialist legal system. If this example is followed and when the law prevails throughout the country, the people will be happy, the nation will have a bright future and the four modernizations will be achieved.

Wang Guangmei, widow of the late Chairman Liu Shaoqi, recalled in a short article written for *Renmin Ribao* that in the summer of 1967 when the people of the whole country were in adversity, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that anyone who violated the Constitution would be severely punished by law. She said that Liu Shaoqi's words had come true, and that this victory fully demonstrated the strength of the people. She expressed her full support for the final judgment and agreed that Jiang Qing be given a little more time to reform herself through labour according to the principle of revolutionary humanitarianism. She said that the question of life and death of Jiang Qing was of little importance and did not in the least affect our socialist cause.

In an interview given to correspondents, Sun Junqing, a famous writer who had been persecuted by Jiang Qing, said that the Special Court's just judgment on the ten culprits "is an event of great joy for the people of the country. I join with them in applauding the punishment meted out to these arch counter-revolutionary criminals." He added: "I will in my remaining

years use the pen given to me again by the people to fight for the people's democracy, the socialist legal system and the realization of the four modernizations."

Implementing the Electoral Law

By the end of last year, elections had been completed in 1,319 of China's 2,757 units at the county level (including autonomous counties inhabited mostly by minority peoples, cities without administrative districts under them and districts in the municipalities directly under the central authorities). People's congresses were held in these places and the standing committees of people's congresses and people's governments were elected.

The elections which started last July across the country were carried out in accordance with the electoral law and other laws

concerned adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in July 1979.

Since the new electoral law gave greater scope to democracy and, in particular, since the systems of direct elections and voting from a larger number of candidates were practised, the people took great interest in the elections. Over 90 per cent of the electors voted in most places, and in some places the number of electors who turned out to vote reached 99 per cent. This was the first time that deputies to the people's congresses at the county level were elected directly by the voters. In the past, direct elections were carried out only at the people's commune and town levels.

At present, over 600 other counties have already elected their deputies and are preparing to hold people's congresses. In another 570 counties, elections are being held, and in the remaining counties elections will be held after April this year.



Ma Wenli, Hui nationality (second from the left), is the newly elected head of Linwu County of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.

Higher Purchasing Power

Estimates by the State Statistical Bureau show that retail sales of commodities last year increased by 20,000 million yuan as compared with 1979. It was the biggest annual increase in the 31 years since the founding of New China.

The increase of retail sales (after deducting the rises in prices) during the three years 1977-79 totalled 40,800 million yuan, averaging 13,600 million yuan a year. This outstripped by far the amount of increase in previous years.

Compared with 1953, in addition to a big rise in the sale of major commodities (see chart), last year saw a marked increase in the sale of commodities with sluggish sales or not available in the 50s. For instance, 25 million watches, 26 million radio sets and 2.44 million TV sets were sold.

The reasons for the higher purchasing power were:

— From 1977 to 1979, about three-fourths of the workers and staff members got a pay raise and 20 million people

were given jobs, and the bonus system was instituted in most of the enterprises. All these added up to a big increase in the workers' income.

— Farm production developed following a change in the economic policy for the countryside. In 1979, the peasants' income increased as a result of the state raising the purchasing prices for 18 kinds of farm and sideline products.

— Last year the state spent 9,000 million yuan more than in 1979 for labour protection and other welfare facilities, social relief, higher interest rates for bank deposits and more stipends for university and college students.

Besides buying more consumer goods, the people have deposited more money in the bank. By the end of 1980, total bank deposits in both the cities and countryside amounted to 37,900 million yuan.



TV sets sell quickly at the Shanghai No. 1 Department Store whose total volume of trade in the first quarter of 1980 rose by 50 per cent over that of the corresponding period of 1979.

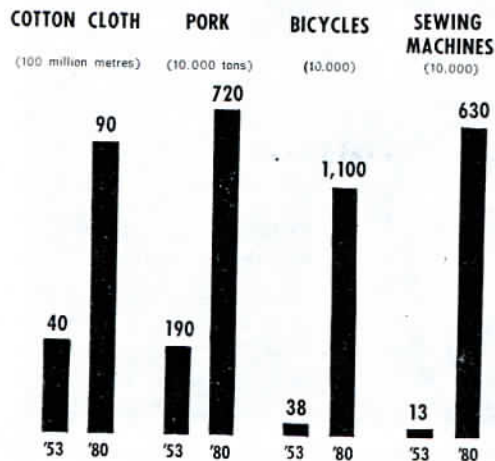
Atomic Reactor Reconstructed

China's first atomic reactor, built in the late 1950s, has been reconstructed and its performance greatly improved. A full-power test operation at the end of last year proved that all technical parameters met the designed standards.

The reconstruction was done by Chinese scientists, technicians and workers. The rebuilt reactor compares well with the advanced reactors of the same type in other countries.

The heavy water-type reactor was built at an atomic research institute in 1958. It came to the end of its expected life in the early 1970s when erosion, leaks and cracks were found on its body.

The reconstruction consisted of eight systems, including the replacement of its internal shell. Elaborate precautions were taken to protect the participants in the project and prevent pollution of the environment. In 22 months of



work, none of the participants suffered any harm from radiation and each only received an annual average of less than one rem (the national standard is five rems).

The reconstructed reactor is expected to work for another 15 years.

SOCIAL

Spring Festival

The Spring Festival, or the Lunar New Year, was celebrated across the nation. This year, it fell on February 5, and the people in the cities had a four-day holiday (including Sunday), while those in the countryside enjoyed a much longer holiday.

Readjustment of the national economy enabled light industry to develop at a faster pace in the past year, while implementation of the economic policies in the rural areas resulted in a big increase in farm and sideline products, thereby enriching market supply for the festival. Commodity prices have remained stable since the State Council issued a directive to control the prices on December 7 last year, and the market is brisk.

Abundant Supply. To facilitate shopping, the markets and some groceries in the capital remained open all night for a few days before the festival. In Shanghai, articles for daily use available on the market in January and February will go up by 13 per cent as compared with the same period of last year, while the amount of pork, beef, frozen poultry, eggs, wine, sweets, cakes and tea sold

on the market surpassed that of last year. In Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province, people had to buy meat in other cities during the "cultural revolution." During the Spring Festival this year 4.5 million kilograms of meat were sold on the market, more than double the amount of last year; in addition, 800,000 kilograms of eggs, 2,800 tons of fish and large quantities of fresh vegetables were sold.

Meeting With Sanitation Workers. On February 2, some Members of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premiers of the State Council as well as leading members of the Beijing municipality met with 150 representatives of the city's sanitation workers and extended festival greetings to them at a tea party organized by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Beijing Trade Union Council. The leading members praised the sanitation workers

for their contributions in keeping the capital clean and noted that though they have to handle garbage every day, they have lofty souls.

During the Spring Festival period, celebration parties were held in Beijing, attended by people from all walks of life and there were get-togethers of P.L.A. men and civilians. The cinemas, theatres and other recreational centres presented rich and varied programmes.

Happy Reunion. According to the Chinese custom, the Spring Festival is also an occasion for family reunion. People working away from home returned to spend the festival holidays with their families. To cope with the increase of passenger traffic, 12 million passengers a day during the peak period, the railway, navigation and other transport departments tapped their potential and made special arrangements to ensure that these people get home on time for family reunions.



An amateur theatrical troupe performing for the peasants of a county in Shandong Province in celebration of the Spring Festival.

From the Islamic Summit

AT the Third Islamic Summit Conference held in Taif, Saudi Arabia, from January 25 to 29, leaders of 37 Islamic nations and Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat met to discuss major issues, and after joint consultations issued the Mecca Declaration which deals with the Afghan and other issues, the Jerusalem Declaration on supporting the Palestinian cause, and other documents. The results achieved at this conference demonstrate the unity of 700 million Islamic people in their fight against hegemonism and Israeli expansionism. They also show that the Islamic nations are a major force in maintaining international justice and in defending world peace.

Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan Condemned

On the eve of the conference, Moscow told the Karmal regime to clamour for "political talks" with its neighbours in a bid to win recognition for its puppet regime and to forestall the conference discussing the Afghan issue. But the Soviet move came to nothing. The conference condemned the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and once again Moscow found itself in the role of the accused. The Mecca Declaration called for the "complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, respect for its political independence and territorial integrity as well as the non-aligned nature of Afghanistan and respect for the inalienable right of the heroic Afghans to self-

determination without any foreign intervention or pressure." The declaration expressed full solidarity with the Afghan people in their struggle for independence. This is a head-on blow to the Soviet invaders and forceful support to the Afghans in their bloody struggle.

Support for Palestinian Struggle

To restore the national rights of the Palestinian people is the sacred cause of the Islamic world. The just struggle of the Palestinian people have won the broadest support. The Jerusalem Declaration adopted at the conference calls upon the Islamic countries to use military, political and economic means to support the Palestinian people's struggle, safeguard their national rights and force Israel to relinquish Arab lands it has occupied. This is a mighty blow against the Begin authorities persisting in their policy of aggression and expansion and also a warning to the superpowers.

The Iran-Iraq War

The Iran-Iraq war was another important topic at the summit conference. Fighting between Iran and Iraq has gone on for more than four months and has brought great loss in lives and property. Moreover, it has not helped the united struggle of the Islamic countries against the superpowers, against Israeli aggression and for re-

covering the occupied Arab lands. The conflict also provides opportunities for superpower intervention in the affairs of the Islamic countries. So an early ending to this unfortunate war clearly benefits the long-term interests of both Iran and Iraq, the interests of the Islamic world and it is also a thing the people of the world want. Some Islamic countries have made continued efforts to mediate this conflict. This is an expression of admirable Islamic fraternity. The decision to set up a special committee to resolve the Iran-Iraq dispute and to end the war will have a positive effect towards bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Common Task

The Islamic world faces a grave threat from outside. The Soviet Union is not content with merely occupying Afghanistan. Over the past year, it has stepped up its penetration and expansion into the regions about the Gulf and the Red Sea and has continually reinforced its military forces in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, making the Islamic countries bear the brunt of its thrust and the consequences. At the same time, the Soviet Union has tried to sow discord among Islamic countries to fish in troubled waters. As Saudi Arabian Crown Prince and First Deputy Prime Minister Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz pointed out, "The Islamic countries face a new threat marked by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan."

Stern realities and grave militant tasks require the Islamic

world to strengthen its unity and wage a common struggle. Although some countries attending the summit conference see certain problems differently, the conferees have reached consensus of views on many more major issues after patient discussions and consultations. This shows that the Islamic countries sharing a common destiny and facing similar tasks have no fundamental conflict of interests. Problems from the past and current problems can all be solved through peaceful negotiations. At the recent conference the

leaders of the Islamic countries took the whole situation into account and sought common grounds for the sake of unity and their fight against a common enemy. This decided the successful outcome of the conference and will be fundamental in guaranteeing victory for the Islamic countries fighting to defend their independence and sovereignty, to develop their national economy, to counter external interference and to safeguard world peace.

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, January 30. Subheads are ours. — Ed.)

was behind the popular Kwangju uprising. Not a shred of evidence was presented at the trial to substantiate the charge, but Kim Dae Jung was found "guilty" and sentenced to death. The clique has now commuted Kim's death sentence to life imprisonment, but refuses to quash the verdict or withdraw the charge. Instead, it tries to make political capital out of it. If the Chun Du Hwan clique genuinely wants to see the country reunited peacefully, it should stop persecuting patriots who do.

Mutual Visits. Another issue making the south Korean clique equally unpopular is its disruption of efforts to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea and its continuing to create "two Koreas." The Sixth National Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea put out a proposal in October last year to establish a "Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo" and a ten-point policy for a unified national government. The proposal and policy were reasonable and received widespread support. The Chun Du Hwan clique had to do something to counter this without appearing to be against reunification, which the people wanted. So on the eve of a "presidential election" in south Korea it came out with a counter-proposal. It proposed "mutual visits" by the "top leaders" of the two parts of Korea. The aim, of course, is not reunification, but to weaken the political influence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and improve its own ugly image.

There is nothing to show that Chun Du Hwan and his men have the least sincerity for reunification. Chun Du Hwan warns stridently about the mythical "northern threat" even as he calls for "mutual visits." The U.S.-south Korea joint com-

South Korea

Chun Du Hwan's Insincerity

PUBLIC pressure forced the rulers in south Korea recently to do two things. On January 23 Chun Du Hwan announced commuting the death sentence passed on the popular democrat Kim Dae Jung to life imprisonment. This followed his New Year speech which contains a proposal for mutual visits by the heads of north and south Korea. These seemingly "concessions" are actually moves by the unpopular clique to sabotage efforts for the peaceful reunification of Korea and to give a veneer of respectability to its fascist regime in south Korea.

Trial of Kim Dae Jung. Chun Du Hwan took over the anti-democratic, tyrannical policies of Pak Jung Hi when he came to power. Some say he has even gone further in suppressing the people than his predecessor. He has met mounting opposition from the Korean people and also strong censure from the

world. Repugnance for the south Korean authorities grew as they went ahead with their harsh repression, particularly with their determined goal to "legally" murder Kim Dae Jung, a democrat and patriot who has worked for the past 30 years to bring some measure of democracy and freedom to the southern half of Korea and who has urged for the peaceful reunification of the country. Last May, the Chun clique arrested him, tried him and then sentenced him to death on the charge of "provoking rebellion." The charge was so transparently politically motivated that it caused a storm of protest from many parts of the world as well. Kim Dae Jung was already in custody when the people of Kwangju held massive demonstrations demanding democracy and an end to autocratic rule. But the south Korean authorities insisted that Kim Dae Jung

mand has ordered large-scale military manoeuvres, code named "Team Spirit 1981" involving nearly 170,000 troops to start in February and continue through April. This is not a manifestation of any desire to see a peaceful reunification.

Chairman of the Committee of the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland Kim Il has pointed out that if Chun Du Hwan really wants to do something for the nation, he could do a number of things, freeing Kim Dae Jung and all other imprisoned democrats in south Korea, for instance.

South Korea today is torn by internal crises and contradictions. The demand for democracy, freedom and a peacefully unified Korea is growing and neither bayonets nor tanks can halt this trend. If the Chun Du Hwan clique does not release Kim Dae Jung and other patriots, introduce democracy in south Korea and give up its policy of disrupting and sabotaging the reunification of Korea, the situation in south Korea will make it even more impossible for the ruling clique to maintain its rule.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

Israeli Elections Up-Scheduled

WITH the recent resignation of Israeli Finance Minister Yigal Horowitz, the ailing Begin government lost its slim parliamentary majority and whatever chance it had of staying in power until next November. It has therefore announced that general elections will be held in July of this year, four months ahead of schedule. To fully understand these latest political developments in Israel, it is useful to briefly review the policies that have been pursued by the current government over the last few years.

Failure of Expansionism

Begin came to power in June 1977 as the leader of the Right-wing Likud bloc which dominated the elections that year. Since then, the Likud government has stubbornly persisted

in a policy of expansionism in the surrounding region. Although Begin has conceded in the Camp David Agreement that Palestinian autonomy is a negotiable issue, in reality, his government has never relented in its efforts to annex the Palestinian territories under its oc-



"Rats leaving a sinking ship."

cupation. It has increased the number of Jewish settlements in these areas and even declared last July that Jerusalem would thereafter become Israel's "eternal and inseparable capital." The Begin government has also tried to annex the Golan Heights and has repeatedly sent troops into south Lebanon to attack Palestinian guerrilla bases there. Palestinian mayors in the occupied territories who opposed Begin's repressive rule and fought to uphold their national rights have been expelled. Such actions have resulted in the failure of the Palestinian autonomy talks, now more than a year old, to reach a substantive agreement. Newspapers like the *Jerusalem Post* are now saying that "soon after the ratification of the Camp David Agreement, things started going wrong for the Likud government." The *International Herald Tribune* in Paris recently pointed out that "Mr. Begin now is widely regarded at home and abroad as an obstacle to peace."

The Begin government's provocative actions have touched off worldwide opposition. The Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations have passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities condemning the Israeli provocations. The Israeli representative in the United Nations acknowledged that "Israel has never been so isolated at the U.N. as during my term." After Jerusalem was arbitrarily declared Israel's capital in defiance of international opposition, diplomatic missions there were withdrawn from the

city, making it the world's only capital without a foreign diplomatic corps. Israel has become "the most isolated nation in the world," said former Foreign Minister Abba Eban. Even the United States, which has always supported Tel-Aviv, has lately shown signs of discontent with Begin's approach.

Trouble at Home

The current government's policies of aggression and expansion have taken a heavy toll on Israel's ailing economy. An estimated one-third of the annual government budget goes to military spending. Another third must be laid aside each year for the repayment of the foreign debt, which has grown to over 16 billion U.S. dollars. Israel's annual rate of inflation has skyrocketed from 35 per cent in 1977 to 135 per cent in 1980. With prices soaring, production in 1980 dropped to its lowest level in ten years; basic necessities are thus in short supply. The rate of unemployment continues to rise. Even college graduates are now having difficulty finding work. As a result, many valuable skilled and educated workers are seeking better prospects abroad.

Under such circumstances, internal unrest and opposition to the government's policies have risen sharply. Workers have gone on strike for higher pay. Peasants have marched in the streets to protest the drain of government funds for building settlements in the occupied territories at their expense. Many of the youth have refused to be recruited to serve in the occupied lands. The "Peace Now" movement is growing rapidly and demanding that Begin resign.

Beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, contradictions

within the ruling coalition have sharpened. This has given rise to great instability in Begin's cabinet. In the last two years, seven members of his cabinet have resigned, including Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Defence Minister Ezer Weizmann. Dayan was reported to have said that Israel would be left sitting on a volcano if a solution is not found to the Palestinian problem. He resigned because of differences with Begin on this same issue. Weizmann has said that "we've made everybody tired of Israel."

The opposition Labour Party has compared the crisis-ridden Begin government to a sinking ship. Such is the inevitable outcome of its persistent practice of aggression and expansion. Begin's ultimate decision to call for general elections ahead of

schedule shows the outright failure of his policies.

The Crux of the Problem

The Palestinian issue is now the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the central problem in the Middle East. Begin's policies have done little to ease the situation, and his popularity in Israel continues to decline as a result. The Labour Party has high hopes for victory in the upcoming elections. It is clear, however, that if the government in power after July follows Begin's example and refuses to face the realities of the situation in the Middle East, it will find itself in the same crisis-beset position that Begin is in now.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yi Ming

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Premier Zhao Ziyang at Press Conference in Bangkok

DURING his visit to Thailand, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang held a press conference in Bangkok on February 1. Following are excerpts from his answers to newsmen:

On China's Modernization

China's four modernization drive is aimed at meeting the people's material, cultural and moral needs. China will never become a superpower and will never seek expansion abroad.

China is a big country but it is very poor. China can significantly improve its people's livelihood and enhance its cultural level only by pushing forward the modernization drive.

In view of the fact that China has a population of 1,000 million, with 800 million living in the countryside, we find the relationship between accumulation and consumption, between construction and people's livelihood a fairly difficult problem to tackle. Therefore, China's modernization programme cannot possibly be accomplished rapidly. What we strive for is a moderate but continuing and steady growth. We hope to see relatively good living standards by the end of the century. That is to say, we will by and large achieve the present level of what are called moderately developed countries.

On Kampuchean Problem

We support a union of all groups of patriotic, anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. Such a union will make resistance to the Vietnamese aggressors more effective and conforms to the interests of the Kampuchean people.

Democratic Kampuchea is the legitimate government of Kampuchea which was supported by the overwhelming majority of countries at the 35th U.N. General Assembly. We, like the ASEAN states, firmly support the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations and in international conferences.

Not long ago, Democratic Kampuchea issued a statement welcoming Samdech Norodom Si-

hanouk or Mr. Son Sann to assume leadership on the basis of a union of all groups of patriotic, anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. We appreciate and support this statement of Democratic Kampuchea. It is our belief that it would be a gratifying event if the statement is approved by all groups of patriotic, anti-Vietnamese forces in that country. I am optimistic about a union of the patriotic, anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea.

On Vietnamese Proposals

[Commenting on the Vietnamese proposal for convening a regional conference between the two state groups of Indochina and ASEAN, which was presented in a statement in the name of a so-called foreign ministers conference of the three Indochinese countries.] It is merely a reproduction of the four-point proposal made at a Vientiane conference last July and there is nothing new in it.

Hypocritical and treacherous as it is, the proposal by the Hanoi authorities was meant to achieve the following purposes:

First, to cajole the international community into recognizing that Indochina is a sphere of influence of Viet Nam.

Secondly, to dupe ASEAN countries into giving de facto recognition to the Heng Samrin regime.

Thirdly, to use the "conference between two state groups" to substitute or counter the resolution of the 35th U.N. General Assembly on the convocation of an international conference.

Fourthly, to distort the root cause of the tense situation in Southeast Asia and avert condemnation by international opinion.

The Vietnamese authorities' pursuance of regional hegemonism with Soviet backing is the root cause of the tension in Southeast Asia and of the disruption of peace and stability in the region. Viet Nam's military occupation of Kampuchea, its control of Laos and its repeated invasions of Thailand have gravely menaced the

peace and security of the Southeast Asian region. This is the essence of the problem, which can not be distorted by fabricating a so-called "Chinese threat" or hurling charges against ASEAN.

As to the suggestion of concluding bilateral agreements between the three Indochinese countries and China, everybody knows there exists a friendship of long standing between the Chinese people and the Vietnamese people. China has pursued a consistent policy of developing friendly relations with the Indochinese states. This is beneficial not only to China's modernization and the restoration and development of the national economy of the Indochinese countries, but also to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government stated long ago that provided that the Vietnamese troops withdraw completely from Kampuchea and provided that the Vietnamese Government abandons its ambition for domination of Indochina and expansion in Southeast Asia and no longer serves as a Soviet base for its southward drive, normal relations between China and Viet Nam can be restored immediately. It is merely an attempt of the Vietnamese authorities to dupe world opinion in suggesting the signing of bilateral agreements when they continue the policy of expansion and aggression.

The Chinese Government would like to make efforts along with ASEAN states to implement the resolution of the 35th U.N. General Assembly. The Chinese Government has made clear that after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, China, together with the countries concerned, including Viet Nam, will join in an international guarantee against committing aggression against Kampuchean territory, non-use of Kampuchean territory for encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of other countries in this region and non-interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. This is the right way to safeguard peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

If Viet Nam Attacks Thailand

If Viet Nam invades Thailand, we shall resolutely stand on the side of Thailand and support the Thai people's struggle against aggression. As to the specific measures to be taken in that event, they would depend on the specific situation and would also involve close consultations between the Chinese and Thai authorities.

On Relations With Malaysia

Our existing relations with Malaysia are friendly and we shall sincerely continue to de-

velop friendly relations and co-operation.

It is my belief that the continued development of friendly relations and co-operation with Malaysia is in the interest not only of the Chinese and Malaysian peoples but also of peace and stability in the Southeast Asian and the Asian-Pacific regions.

I earnestly hope to visit Malaysia one day. Malaysia is not only a beautiful country but also has rich experiences in developing its national economy. As to the timing of the visit, specific arrangements have to be made through proper channels.

Relations With C.P. Will Not Affect Co-operation With ASEAN

Our relations with the Communist Parties of ASEAN countries are mainly political and moral. We will continue to make efforts so that our relations with the Communist Parties of ASEAN countries will not affect our friendship and co-operation with these countries.

Our relations with ASEAN countries are very good. We will continue to develop the relations of friendship and co-operation with these countries. We sincerely wish these countries unity, stability and prosperity.

We have all along disapproved of exporting revolution and opposed interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Only the people can decide for themselves what system, economic or political, they will adopt for their country.

On Sino-U.S. Relations

Sino-U.S. relations have been developing steadily since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

We hope that after President Ronald Reagan's assumption of office, Sino-U.S. relations will continue to develop, instead of halting, or even worse retrogressing.

The principle governing the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations is that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China, and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government of China. This basic principle must be strictly adhered to in the handling of Sino-U.S. relations. Any harm to this principle, any interference in China's internal affairs will inevitably lead to a retrogression in Sino-U.S. relations. Such an event runs counter to the interests of the American and Chinese peoples, and it is our hope that it will not happen. □

A Short-Sighted Performance

— On Taiwan authorities' recent anti-communist hubbub

by Xiao Yi

RECENTLY, the Taiwan authorities raised a clamour against communism, showing their persistence in national separation. They held anti-communist "denunciation" rallies and delivered long speeches, saying that it was their "basic stand" and "unalterable policy" to firmly reject the Chinese Communist Party's proposals for peace talks.

For some time, the Taiwan authorities have not put on such a performance. Their present clamours, though made in a high pitch, are all hackneyed, and men of insight at home and abroad have sneered at them as a short-sighted performance in disregard of the noble national cause.

China must be reunited. This is the common demand of the whole Chinese people, including the people of various nationalities in Taiwan, and represents their fundamental interests. The reunification of the country through peace negotiations is their common aspirations. It is also the best road to take.

The Chinese Communist Party has long advocated peace negotiations. Its proposals for such negotiations and reunification have taken the present realities in Taiwan into account and are in accord with the basic interests of the compatriots in Taiwan. They are reasonable and practical and therefore have won the warm support of the masses of the people in Taiwan, and the endorsement of many intelligent persons in the upper strata there. The Taiwan authorities, however, have repeatedly refused peace negotiations and reunification and declared that this is their "unalterable policy." Through such perverse actions, they are branding themselves as national traitors, guilty of splitting the motherland, and are antagonizing the entire Chinese people, including the 17 million people in Taiwan Province. How can anyone hostile to the people survive for long?

The Kuomintang ruling clique is still plagued by an obstinate illness, that is, slavish dependence on foreign imperialism with a view to controlling and suppressing the people of various nationalities in Taiwan. Its present

clamours were touched off by a small adverse current abroad in favour of "one China, one Taiwan," which made it think that the world situation had changed in its favour. The clique is indeed short-sighted. It will find itself in an awkward position once the situation changes.

The recent clamours of the Taiwan authorities have served to show how feeble they are in the face of the nationwide demand for a peaceful reunification of the motherland, now that they are in a difficult position in the world. While talking boldly, the Taiwan authorities are afraid of an intensification of the "contradictions and division" within their own ranks for lack of a firm "anti-communist will."

The Taiwan paper *Zhongguo Shibao* (China Times) noted frankly that both internationally and "among ourselves," there are many disconcerting factors regarding "our present situation" and that at present many people in Taiwan feel "pessimistic" about the future. It is an open secret that some persons in Taiwan are preparing to go abroad and stay there.

From this point of view, the clamours against peace negotiations are actually intended to coerce the Taiwan people into submission and secure the Taiwan authorities' position.

The motherland will be reunified. No force on earth can stop this historical trend. Whether in China or in other countries, in the past or at present, no political parties or individuals engaged in splitting a nation can come to a good end.

It is better for the Taiwan authorities to stop clamouring about "no negotiations," "no re-establishment of trade relations, postal links, and air and shipping services" between Taiwan and the mainland, "fighting against communism to recover the mainland," and "returning to the mainland." Their best way out is to take realistic steps towards reunification through peace negotiations in the interests of the nation and the people as well as in their own interests.

(*Renmin Ribao*, January 31)

Former Red Guards Discuss Jiang Qing's Trial

During a court session several weeks ago, Jiang Qing assumed the role of spokesman for the former Red Guards, declaring that her trial was a disgrace to them. Is this really so? What is their attitude towards her trial? We interviewed some former Red Guards on January 26, the day after the final judgment was delivered against the ten principal culprits in the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing case. The interviewed included former leaders as well as rank-and-file members of the Red Guard movement. Their experiences are fairly typical of the young generation of that period. Following are some of their comments. — Ed.

From "Favourite" to "Criminal"



Peng Xiaomeng (32, formerly a student at the Attached Middle School of Beijing University. She headed the school's Red Guards during the "cultural revolution" and now works at the Bureau of Harbour Superintendency under the Ministry of Communications):

When the "cultural revolution" began 15 years ago, I was 17, the same age as new China. I deeply loved the Party and trusted it. Because I had been taught never to forget class struggle, to be on guard against capitalist restoration and to remain vigilant against the state changing its political colour, I naively believed the "cultural revolution" was a life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Filled with fervour, I, together with others, organized the Red Guards at the Attached Middle School of Beijing University. We raised the slogans of reforming

the educational system and rebelling against the bourgeoisie. Day in and day out, we wrote big-character posters and established contacts with other Red Guard organizations. We were so busy that we forgot about sleeping and eating.

On July 25, 1966, ten thousand teachers and students at Beijing University held a meeting. For the first time I saw Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and other members of the "cultural revolution group" under the C.P.C. Central Committee. How excited I was! After speaking at the meeting, I was praised by them and I became a "famous" Red Guard.

The Red Guard movement spread through the country very rapidly, submerging our nation in a reign of terror. Everywhere people were paraded through the streets with tall paper hats and many homes were ransacked.

By September 1966, I discovered that major leaders in all the provinces and cities as well as various localities and units were harassed. Factory production stopped, industry and communications were paralysed and the whole country was thrown into confusion. I was shocked. How could so many leading comrades have taken the capitalist road? Hadn't they been the backbone of the Party since its founding? Why were most veteran and ordinary cadres considered enemy elements? I drafted and distributed "Five Questions for the Cultural Revolution Group under the C.P.C. Central

During the interview between our editors and former Red Guards.



Committee," which asked Jiang Qing and others for an answer. Suddenly I changed from a "favourite" to a "criminal." I was taken into custody and interrogated. Bad as this seemed at the time, it was only the beginning of my persecution.

In 1968, my parents were called active "counter-revolutionaries" for grumbling a few unfavourable words about Jiang Qing. They were imprisoned for six years. In 1970, I was also arrested for "conspiracy" and kept behind bars for one year. I was falsely charged with having drafted a programme to subvert the proletarian dictatorship. More than two dozen young people whom I had relations with were also taken into custody, my 13-year-old brother was even followed. We were humiliated everywhere and could not lead a decent life. In order to avoid persecution, we wandered from place to place. Once I felt so dejected I considered suicide.

I have found that my experiences were not unusual and that there were tens of thousands of people who suffered as I did.

During the trial, Jiang Qing shamelessly defended herself as a spokesman for the Red Guards. She refused to admit that she and her cohorts had cruelly persecuted us. Naturally, she would never admit that many Red Guards opposed her even when she was throwing her weight about ten years ago. It is known to all that many of the young people who fought against the gang of four in the April 5th Movement of Tian An Men Square in 1976 were Red Guards.

Main Instigator of Fighting



Yi Zunsheng (35, formerly a Qinghua University Red Guard and now a teacher in the Department of Economic Management at the university):

When the "cultural revolution" started, I was a student in Qinghua University. As Jiang Qing and company incited the masses to struggle against each other, Red Guard organizations in all the capital's institutions of higher learning soon split into two big factions, each having a different point of view. Both received

the support of the then "cultural revolution group" under the C.P.C. Central Committee. Since both groups felt they had strong backing, neither was willing to relent.

In 1967 Jiang Qing concocted the slogan of "attacking verbally and defending with arms." With its appearance, Red Guards in Qinghua University and other institutions of higher learning in the capital put on wicker caps, took up guns and resorted to arms to solve their differences. As a result, most of the teaching buildings in Qinghua University were damaged. One was burnt to the ground and more than a dozen Red Guards died. What is more, Jiang Qing and her group did not take any measures to stop the armed clashes. On the contrary, they told one faction of Red Guards via Xie Fuzhi (then a member of the "cultural revolution group" and minister of public security): "You should not kill so many people!" The implication was crystal clear: You can fight each other with arms so long as you do not kill too many people.

Not a Whole Generation on Trial



Sun Changtai (33, formerly a student at the Beijing No. 6 Middle School and a Red Guard. He now works in the Marketing Managerial Section of the Beijing No. 2 Light Industry Bureau):

It is nonsense to say that putting the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique on trial was equivalent to putting the whole generation of Red Guards on trial. People of my generation were victims who suffered most from the ten years of turmoil. We wasted our time when we were in the prime of our youth and our education was interrupted. Moreover, nearly all of us were persecuted directly or indirectly by Jiang Qing and company. Some were even jailed. Based on our own experiences, we hate Jiang Qing and her cohorts. Today when they received their just punishment, we cheered and applauded from the bottom of our hearts. We shared the victory of the just judgment against the gang of four with the people across the land.

Counter-Revolutionary Pragmatism



Sun Keliang (32, formerly a student at the Beijing No. 6 Middle School who joined the school's Red Guards. He now works in the Research Institute of Industrial Economics at the Academy of Social Sciences):

Peng Xiaomeng was imprisoned for one year.

Jiang Qing kept me behind bars for three years, from December 1973 to October 1976. Both Peng and I are victims.

Jiang Qing and company adopted counter-revolutionary pragmatist tactics towards the Red Guards. When we said what they wanted us to say, they would flatter us; when we rose up against them, they would suppress us.

In 1966, we Red Guards in the No. 6 Middle School printed a tabloid, publicizing the slogan "it is right to rebel" and singing praises of the "cultural revolution." At that time, Jiang Qing and company thought they needed our paper as a mouthpiece and they sent someone to support us. They flattered us by saying that our paper "had broken through bourgeois control of the newspapers" and "our young people have risen in rebellion." But soon afterwards they found our paper not to their taste and they had it banned.

Later, I joined the People's Liberation Army. When Lin Biao's plot to stage an armed coup d'etat was exposed, I talked about Jiang Qing with some of my comrades-in-arms and criticized her views on literature and art in my diary. For this, I was labelled a "backbone member" of a "counter-revolutionary gang" and thrown into prison for three years.

Now Jiang Qing and her cohorts have been punished according to law. This fully accords with the desire of the people of the whole country, including us—the former Red Guards. In court, Jiang Qing defended her actions in the name of the Red Guards and the "cultural revolution" and refused to admit her crimes. This was futile.

We Are Also Prosecutors

Li Dongmin (33, formerly a student at the Beijing No. 25 Middle School and head of the capital's middle school Red Guard organization



during the "cultural revolution." He now works in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing):

What did Jiang Qing and company bring to our young generation? Suspension of our schooling, a loss of time, disaster and misfortune, deep wounds and bitterness. But, on

the other hand, I consider this as a kind of trial. Now, all of us should draw lessons from it, learn to sharpen our thinking, aim high and not be disheartened.

During the "cultural revolution," Lin Biao and Jiang Qing wanted to stir up nationwide disturbances in order to seize Party and state leadership. They sowed discord among the young people by supporting one faction today and another tomorrow. Sun Keliang, Sun Changtai and I were in different factions then. We used to be at loggerheads with each other. But now, after ten years of chaos, the majority of my generation have become aware of the truth and have united. The Tian An Men Incident which took place on April 5, 1976 is a good example. Most of the people involved in that incident were old Red Guards and young people. Whatever factions or organizations they had belonged to without any prior consultation, they all went to Tian An Men Square during those first days of April. They handed out leaflets, pasted up slogans and read poems to commemorate Premier Zhou Enlai, unanimously directing their attack against the gang of four.

From this, people can see how unpopular Jiang Qing and her followers had become. They were the culprits of the whole nation. Actually, the indictment of the Special Procuratorate of the Supreme People's Procuratorate can be regarded as one which won the approval of the broad masses of young people and the rest of the Chinese people as early as the Tian An Men Incident. This event was an indication that Jiang Qing and company would fall sooner or later and would eventually be tried by the people.

Today, Jiang Qing was sentenced to a death penalty with a two-year reprieve which she deserves. We hail this victory together with others throughout China. □

Political Stability Is the Guarantee Of Economic Readjustment

The following is an abridged translation of the "Renmin Ribao" January 17 editorial. Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

THE arduous task of economic readjustment lies ahead of us, in our efforts to realize the four modernizations steadily and healthily, to correct the "Left" mistakes in our economic work earnestly and to base the improvement of the people's livelihood on a reliable basis. It is obvious that, to fulfil this complicated task which has a direct bearing on the future of the people all over the country, political stability is indispensable.

Great Change and Progress

Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978, we have brought about a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness. The strength of the socialist system is becoming more and more apparent. We have put an end to the appalling ten-year turmoil, redressed and corrected a large number of fabricated and false cases left over from the past, restored and carried forward socialist democracy, improved step by step the socialist legal system, implemented in real earnest the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend, held public elections at the grass-roots levels, tried publicly the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, and begun to work on the elimination of the existing system of life tenure for leading cadres. To have turned all these into reality in the short time of only four years—what great change and progress it represents! The people are happy about all these matters which they can see with their own eyes.

But obviously, it is impossible for anyone, all at once, to turn an originally very backward China into a paradise in which everyone is satisfied. The Chinese Communists are neither sages who are free of shortcomings nor celestial

beings endowed with boundless supernatural powers. We must recognize that there are still many contradictions in society which have been piling up over many years, and some destabilizing factors emerged in the new historical situation.

Uphold the Party's Leadership

It is necessary first of all to uphold the Party's leadership in our efforts to solve the many complicated problems in the course of the economic readjustment and to maintain the political situation of stability and unity. There should be no doubt about this. But strengthening the leadership of the Party necessitates improving the Party's leadership and style of work.

We must energetically strengthen the Party organizations and the contacts of Party members with the masses, frequently and truthfully inform the masses of the situation of the country and its difficulties, as well as the Party's work and policies. We must resolutely criticize and correct the erroneous attitude and behaviour of some cadres who divorce themselves from the masses and show no concern for their hardships. It is necessary earnestly to help the masses solve their difficulties which are within our ability to solve. This is the bounden duty of all Communist Party members, and also the bounden duty of the personnel of the people's government and all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. As for those difficulties which cannot be solved for the time being, we must make honest, patient explanations to them.

The problem of the Party's style of work is a life-and-death matter directly affecting the Party in power. We must strictly implement the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life, make unremitting efforts to correct various unhealthy tendencies and resolutely fight against the wrong, double-dealing attitude of overtly agreeing but covertly opposing the



A cadre (first from left), who has worked closely with mine workers, is taking a break to talk with the miners.

Party Central Committee's line, principles and policies.

Strengthen Ideological and Political Work

It is extremely important to strengthen the Party's ideological and political work and propaganda in order to ensure smooth progress in the economic readjustment and to consolidate the political situation of stability and unity. At present, the central task of ideological and political work is to energetically publicize the four fundamental principles, that is, adhering to the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the leadership of the Party and upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and put up a resolute struggle against those seriously mistaken ideas which run counter to the four fundamental principles.

In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Among students and intellectuals there has recently been a falling off in ideological and political work, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern themselves with politics or with the future of the motherland and the ideals of mankind. It seems as if Marxism, once all the rage, is currently not so much in fashion. To counter

these tendencies, we must strengthen our ideological and political work." "Not to have a correct political orientation is like not having a soul." These words of Chairman Mao's are still entirely correct and applicable today.

The more the Party and government carry out the various policies of economic reform and the policy to open the country to the world, the greater the need is to strengthen the propaganda of communism and socialism as well as the study of Marxism. Every Party member, especially responsible high-ranking cadres, must do better in earnestly upholding communist thought and practising communist ethics. However, we cannot stop at this; we must raise a loud cry and set a good example to popularize this spirit among the whole people, particularly all the young people, and make it the principal pillar for the spiritual civilization of the People's Republic of China. The socialism we are building now must not only have a highly developed material civilization, but also a highly developed spiritual civilization as well.

The socialist spiritual civilization we are talking about must take the development of education, science and culture, especially socialist thought and communist thought, as its life. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of capitalist countries, nor do we allow them to poke their noses into our domestic matters. We will continue to learn from foreign countries things which are beneficial to us, but at the same time, we must oppose the tendency of blindly worshipping foreign things, resist the corrosive influence of the decadent bourgeois ideology and be on guard against the attack of various kinds of sugar-coated bullets.

Strict enforcement of organizational discipline is extremely important for maintaining the political situation of stability and unity. Education in discipline and law must be strengthened in Party and government departments, in the People's Liberation Army, in enterprises, in schools and among the people of the whole country. All kinds of anarchic tendencies in violation of discipline and law must be resolutely opposed and corrected.

Suppress Illegal Economic Activities

One of the important measures which must be adopted to maintain the political situation of stability and unity is to mete out necessary

economic and legal sanctions against all kinds of illegal economic activities. With the implementation of the Party's various economic policies, our economy has been reactivated. This should be confirmed, and it is something that people in both urban and rural areas are pleased about. But, there are really some people or groups of people who are out to grab exorbitant profits. They employ all kinds of illegitimate means, such as conniving to smuggle, evade taxes, offer and receive bribes, buy and sell grain coupons and coupons for other materials supplied according to plan, engage in speculation and inflating prices, disrupt the market and harm the livelihood of the people.

We should mainly impose economic sanctions on these criminal activities in the economic field, such as imposing heavy taxes and confiscating the excessive profits made illegally. We should not let them get any undue benefit economically, but, on the contrary, should make them pay a price for their illegal activities. Law suits will be brought against those who seriously violate the law, especially the smuggling setups with contacts abroad. In this respect, it is necessary to strengthen economic legislation and market control and learn to wage battles in the economic field.

Crack Down on Counter-Revolutionaries

It is extremely important for maintaining the political situation of stability and unity to deal resolute and effective blows at the remnant forces of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, who are stubbornly unrepentant, as well as the active counter-revolutionaries and other criminals. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that the combination of democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries was people's democratic dictatorship, which is, in essence, also the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially



Yu Fujing (front right), newly elected Vice-Mayor of Tianjin and a specialist in architectural engineering, talking with residents about housing issues.

since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have been making efforts to carry forward democracy and expand the democratic rights of the people. We will go on doing so in the days to come.

Now, while unswervingly developing socialist democracy, we ask all comrades in the Party and people all over the country to heighten their vigilance and deal resolute blows at all kinds of counter-revolutionaries and other criminals. The disasters inflicted on people during the "cultural revolution" are still fresh in the memory of the overwhelming majority of cadres, Party members and people in the country. How can we allow the small number of "rebels," who are still sticking to what Lin Biao and the gang of four preached, and a handful of newly hatched bad elements, who inherited what Lin Biao and the gang advocated, to undermine the hard-won situation of stability and unity which is so highly treasured by the people of all nationalities throughout the country? We must remember that though these counter-revolutionaries are very small in number, they can bring enormous harm to us. If we do not heighten our vigilance and deal necessary blows at them, we would be committing a crime against our country and people. □

Public Servants or Overlords?

by Our Correspondent Luo Fu



A view of Xunyi's county seat. The 53-metre high Tai Pagoda was built in 1064.

A few cases of cadres in the countryside throwing their weight around and violating law and discipline occurred several years ago in Xunyi County, Shaanxi Province. In July 1978 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party circulated throughout the Party a report on the investigation of these cases. Attached to it were comments calling for carrying on the fine Party tradition and rectifying the cadres' style of work. This special feature tells the changes in the cadres' work style over the last two years.

Behind Facade of an Advanced County: Suffering Peasants

TWO years ago, a local peasant said the following to sum up Xunyi County: "Outwardly it looks all right, but there isn't enough clothing and not much to eat." That's exactly how it was then.

Looking out of a car on a plain in Xunyi, one sees an expanse of neatly tended farmland and straight roads lined with high trees. The county, averaging 1,400 metres above sea level, is located in a semi-mountainous area in northwest China's Shaanxi Province. It has a population of 200,000. Because its work in farmland capital

construction was rather good, it was once supposed to be an advanced county and commended as such; people in other places were organized to visit and learn from Xunyi.

A Poor County. Xunyi historically never had a food problem. Between 1975 and 1978, however, the collective economy there was adversely affected by a "Leftist" line. Life for its peasants was hard. Average income was only 39 yuan in 1978; the next year it was 51. For the peasants of the whole country that year, it was 83.4 yuan. Xunyi was

undoubtedly a poor county among the nation's 2,200-odd counties.

Mechanically Copying Other Places. With both mountains and plains, Xunyi has places suitable for agricultural development as well as for forestry and animal husbandry. But, in those years, it just mechanically copied other places, disregarding natural conditions and old farming traditions in the locality. It chose to develop a mono-economy by overemphasizing food grains. Terraced fields and man-made small plains were built everywhere even though there were not enough manpower, money and material resources available for this purpose. This not only imposed heavier burdens on the peasants but also harmed forestry and animal husbandry with no progress made in farming. People in the county were full of complaints.

Deceiving Their Superiors. Leading members of the county Party committee at that time ignored the peasants' hardships and their need to take care of their crops. They assigned 70 per cent of the work force to



After an interruption of more than a decade, Xunyi peasants last year resumed their Spring Festival celebrations.

level land and fill gullies for three years (1975-77). This was just to make the farmland look good and tidy and to convince people that they had made achievements in farmland capital construction. Many things they did were not effective and so much labour power was involved that maize and sorghum crops were not harvested in time and some turnips were left to rot in the fields.

To impress their superiors who might come down to inspect their county, the county Party committee of that time started building roads leading to the various communes. For this purpose they ordered cadres under them to force the peasants to tear down the houses of 1,850 families near the highway.

Bullying the Peasants. Influenced by "Leftist" thinking, some cadres dictated to the masses, cursed them or even used violence. They also persecuted them in many insulting ways.

When the peasants were getting ready to celebrate the traditional Spring Festival (usually in early February), the county

Party committee sent word that the commune members were to "celebrate Spring Festival in a revolutionary way" and told cadres to destroy the *kangs* in some households and use them for fertilizer. (A *kang* is

a kind of bed made of clay and used by north China's peasants. There is a fire under it to warm the room. After years of firing, the clay is rich in potassium which can be used as fertilizer.) While elsewhere in the Chinese countryside peasants have a 20-day holiday before and after the festival, in Xunyi they only had one day off. The next day they again were assembled to work on farmland capital construction.

Peasants would be fined in cash or kind when they failed to fulfil their production quota or the quota for the sale of pigs or eggs, when they failed to turn up for work, when they didn't attend a meeting or were late, etc.

The indignant masses referred to these cadres as "overlords" or "local emperors" and even expressed doubt if there was any difference between their behaviour and that of the landlords and local despots of the past.

The Party's Call: Change This Style of Work

IT was impossible to go on like this. One peasant said: "If we didn't love the prestigious Communist Party and Chairman Mao, we'd have revolted long ago." Because of their confidence in the Party, the masses told themselves to put up with things while many times sending letters or visiting the central authorities to report on the terrible work style of the Xunyi County cadres.

Investigations. People sent by the Party Central Committee, together with those of the province and of Xianyang prefectural Party committee, went to Xunyi for on-the-spot in-

vestigations. They reported that most things said in the letters from the masses were true; in some cases, they found things were even worse.

In July 1978 the Party Central Committee circulated throughout the Party the report of the Shaanxi provincial Party committee on the breaches of discipline and law by a few cadres in Xunyi County and pointed out that this question of the cadres' style of work had to be resolved.

The Shaanxi provincial Party committee made a self-criticism by admitting that it had paid little attention to the com-



Chairman Mao chatting with peasants in Yanan, then the seat of the Party Central Committee (1939).

plaints of the masses and that bureaucracy on the part of the provincial Party committee had been so serious that it had actually helped give rise to the bad style of work of the lower level cadres.

Renmin Ribao, the Party organ, came out with a front-page story and an editorial stressing the need for a big change in the cadres' style of work.

No sooner had these documents from the Party Centre arrived in Xunyi on July 26 than the work team sent by the higher authorities called a big rally in the county. Two vans were sent to the people's communes in the county to spread the message from the Party Centre. The peasants were overjoyed. At long last the Party Centre had found out what went on in this remote hilly region.

Punishable by Law. After things were brought to light, the provincial Party committee removed from office the secretary of the county Party committee, who was concurrently chairman of the county revolu-

tionary committee, and expelled from the Party Liu Huanchi, then a member of the standing committee of the county Party committee. Liu had seriously violated law and discipline and was arrested according to law. Those cadres in Xunyi who had previously used violence against peasants made personal calls to apologize to their victims. Money and grain taken away from them as fines were returned.

Ideological Education. While the problem was being handled

organizationally, the more important thing was to help cadres realize the need to rectify this style of work. The county's cadres were organized to study and helped to see: A cadre is merely a servant of the people. Bullying the masses is the way of the reactionary ruling class in dealing with the people. We Communists must not in any way be tarred with this brush.

Many provinces also organized cadres to check up on their style of work in the spirit of the Party Central Committee document in an effort to restore and carry forward the fine Party tradition.

Public Servants. Karl Marx once described all public functionaries of a proletarian state as "the responsible agents of society." This is because a proletarian party does not have special interests of its own but considers the people's interest to be supreme. It neither tries to bestow something on the people as a favour, nor does it have the authority to take over everything or dictate to them. Its main task is to show the people the right direction in their advance, to help them get organized and overthrow the system of exploitation so they may become the

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention for Party and Government Cadres

The Three Main Rules of Discipline: 1) Implement in all seriousness the Party Central Committee's policies and government decrees and energetically take part in socialist construction. 2) Practise democratic centralism. 3) Report on things as they are.

The Eight Points of Attention: 1) Have concern for the life of the masses. 2) Take part in collective labour. 3) Treat others as equals. 4) Consult with the masses in work to be done and do things with fairness. 5) Forge close ties with the masses and seek no special privileges. 6) No investigation, no right to speak. 7) Do things in the light of the actual situation. 8) Enhance the class consciousness of the proletariat and raise the political level.



People are now free to buy or sell draught animals. Only a few years ago, a peasant raising these animals would be accused of "going the capitalist way."

ruling class and exercise their rights as masters of the country.

Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. The Communist Party of China is traditionally a party which aims at being "the responsible agents of society," or public servants. Its principle is to work for the interests of the overwhelming majority. Comrade Mao Zedong as early as 1928 laid down the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Six Points of Attention (two more points were later added and the wording was revised with the development of the revolution).

Along the line of thought on which these rules are based, cadres and the masses shared weal and woe in war and engaged in hard struggles. Cadres diligently served the people. That was the source of strength with which the Chinese Communist Party has won victory for the revolution.

After the Communist Party in 1949 became the party in power throughout the country, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong enjoined all Party members that they

keep to being modest and prudent and strengthen their ties with the masses. It should be

said that the great majority of Party cadres kept the quality and working style of "the responsible agents of society." 1999-

Then came the "cultural revolution" (1966-76). In those ten years, influenced by an ultra-Leftist line, democracy inside the Party was smothered, Party discipline and the socialist legal system were trampled on, as was the fine tradition of the Party—this time on an unprecedented scale. The breach of discipline and law by cadres of Xunyi County was a case in point. This was why the Party Central Committee called on its cadres to rectify their style of work and reiterated the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention.

Veteran Cadres on the Old Days: A Fish-and-Water Relationship

Li Shusen of Houzhang Commune, a Red Army veteran, made the following remarks on hearing the Party Centre document: "Here is an old revolutionary base area and the relationship between cadres and the masses was then like that between fish and water. But in the last few years it was rather unsatisfactory. The Party Central Committee now has decided to set things here right. This is a timely decision all right."

Old Revolutionary Base. As a result of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the Party, which started from 1931, 90 per cent of China's revolutionary base areas were lost. Northern Shaanxi where Xunyi is located was one of the few revolutionary base areas left after the Wang Ming line ceased to dominate the Party Central Committee in 1935.

In that year, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Red Army in reaching northern Shaanxi after the 25,000-li Long March. From 1936 to 1948, Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area were the seat of the Party Central Committee and the general rear of the people's struggle for liberation.

There is an institution for the aged near the office of the county Party committee. In its courtyard with fruit trees and a small plot growing turnips, Yao Zongxian, a deputy secretary of the Xunyi county Party committee more than 20 years ago, recalled: "In the past, when we carried out a Party policy we first of all saw to it that it was in the interest of the revolution and the people. The next thing was to convince the public. This way, things could be done so much easier when the masses knew what

they were doing. For instance, in the years of war, we mobilized the peasants to join the army, or take part in fighting as stretcher-bearers, and their women folk to make army shoes, etc. Each time we succeeded in overfulfilling our task. So, you see, to dictate things to others will never do."

Unforgettable Days. "Ah, in those years," he went on, "we were fighting a guerrilla war and we just didn't care whether we got killed because we were fighting for the liberation of the Chinese people. Of course we didn't have an office or a place of our own to live in. We just ate and stayed in peasants' homes. It is no exaggeration to say the relationship between

us and the peasants was one of fish and water."

He recalled how he and his comrades-in-arms one day found a house whose owner was not in. They cooked their meal there and left some money. Later when he saw the master of the house, the latter confided in him that there was a jar of good wine buried under a tree in the courtyard, adding that if nobody was in next time he went to his house, he mustn't forget to help himself.

Through their own revolutionary practice, cadres like Yao know very well that the Communist Party just can't afford to alienate itself from the masses, just as a fish cannot live out of water.

Restoring a Fine Tradition: Public Servants

AFTER the former secretary of the Xunyi Party committee was dismissed, the Shaanxi provincial Party committee and the Party committee of Xianyang Prefecture reshuffled the leadership of Xunyi's Party organization and the vacancy was filled by Zuo Huamao, until then secretary of the Party committee of Gaoling County under the jurisdiction of Xianyang Prefecture.

The Way the Work Is To Be Done. Forty-eight-year-old Zuo said: Cadres should not beat or curse the masses. But if they are to become good public servants, just refraining from cursing or beating people is not enough. They should go amid the masses to find out the people's problems in production and daily life and help solve them. They should report to their superiors things as they are; when assigning tasks to subordinates, they should

clearly explain Party policy and the way to carry them out.

Zuo said that changing the peasants' mentality and habits of a small producer was a prolonged, difficult job. It might take a whole generation or even a few generations to complete through careful political education and economic work. To dictate to them is of no use and even harmful. The right thing to do is to use persuasion, set examples, give guidance and have closer ties with them. Only thus can their political consciousness be enhanced step by step, and only thus can we successfully build our socialist new countryside.

Except for a few who grossly violated discipline and law, most cadres in the county were allowed to stay on. It is consistent Party policy to re-educate cadres who have made mistakes and help them correct them.

The New Leadership. The present leadership at the county level consists of nine people in their late forties with a high school education. They all joined the Party in the 1950s and have 20 to 30 years of experience in rural work.

The leadership of the county Party committee and some cadres under them had trekked all over the county. The county has 58 per cent of its land in the mountains but previously its Party committee had put the emphasis of work on the plains alone. When peasants in out-of-the-way mountain areas learnt that the new Party secretary had come to see them, old women and children came up and stood round looking at him because in all those years they hadn't seen one leader of the Party committee.

Leaders of the county Party committee visited peasant households one by one to find out what the mountain people wanted. These peasants complained that their children found their schools too far away from home, that means of communication were so poor, for instance, the 5,000 kilogrammes of potatoes produced by a team could not be sent anywhere because of snow and were left to rot, that the quality of their drinking water was no good and some of them had to walk two kilometres up and down hills to get water....



Zuo Huamao visiting a peasant invalid.



Purified water now available to mountain people.

A Change in the Style of Work. The county leadership took these problems seriously. Cadres recalled how in previous years red flags flew in the fields in the day and lights were everywhere after dark, how before they just did superficial things without looking into the peasants' real hardships. They had now reduced the scale of farmland capital construction and yet the actual results had been much better. Peasants were of the opinion that the Communist Party's down-to-earth style of work had come back.

Old Zuo, as he was called, and his colleagues in the county bureaus of civil affairs, communications, culture and education, water and power supply, agriculture and public health went into the mountains many times to find out how things were going and reported back to their superiors and used the state relief fund where most needed.

When this reporter talked to the peasants and cadres there,

they all acknowledged that the present Party leadership in the county in the past two years had not gone in for political claptrap, nor had they been boastful, but had worked for the public in a down-to-earth manner. This included:

Drinking Water. When Old Zuo and his colleagues saw teenagers carrying water with shoulder-poles along a winding mountain path, they told themselves this kind of thing must go.

Xunyi, with a population of 200,000, has 26,000 draught animals. For many years, there was a problem of drinking water for about 65 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of its draught animals. A number of measures were taken years before to solve the problem, but the progress had been slow. Since 1978, the county department concerned has quickened the pace in repairing the drinking water system and building new ones. By October 1980, the county boasted 169 wells and stations to solve the problem for 80,000 people and 16,000 head of draught animals. Only 25 per cent of the people and 20 per cent of the animals still have a problem. The county leadership plans to solve it totally by 1983.

Building Roads. Women living in the mountainous areas, in

scarves in bright colours, now can take a bus on a regular service to the department store in the county seat to shop—something their mothers and grandmothers only dreamed of.

Some production teams lived in 1,800-metre-high mountains. Although some roads had been built in previous years, communications remained poor. The peasants there had to carry the grain for sale to the state on mules or their own backs. In the last two years, the county bureau of communications had organized the peasants to build some 20 kilometres of asphalt road, another 49 kilometres of make-shift roads and repaired some 38 kilometres of existing highways. Today, all communes excepting two in the county are linked up by bus.

Building Houses. The 1,800 and more houses of peasant families pulled down forcibly several years ago, plus many houses in disrepair, caused a housing shortage for those peasants concerned. With the help of the county government, 2,288 peasant families have built or are building new houses.

Schools. Some production teams in remote mountains had no primary schools nearby. Children had to climb two mountains to go to a school. So

Government Aid to Old Revolutionary Base Areas

According to the Ministry of Civil Affairs, in 1980 the government appropriated 500 million yuan as aid to the old revolutionary base areas, mostly in the mountains, economically underdeveloped and with poor communications. In future more appropriations will be allotted for this. The central authorities have set up a special committee in charge of aid to the old base areas.

Beginning in 1978, the government has exempted communes, production brigades and teams with low income in the old base areas from the industrial and commercial income tax for five years. It is estimated that because of this 2,354 communes upped their income by 30.7 million yuan in a year.

some school-age children just could not go. But they don't make up a large number and their ages vary. The county bureau of education has sent teachers to the mountains to teach these children. When they are ready to enter middle school, they can study at commune or county boarding schools. These teachers go to the mountains by rotation and are paid by the state.

Some schools did not have enough chairs and desks and children had to attend classes sitting by tables made of clay. After school, they were covered with dirt and people called them "clay dolls." The county leadership not long ago found some lumber for these schools and elderly members of the children's families were glad to make chairs and desks. In the last two years they built some 9,200 chairs and desks.

Medical Service and Health. Because of the poor quality of drinking water, about 8.8 per cent of the population in the county had endemic diseases. In March 1979, the county bureau of public health made a general survey of health conditions, sent people in to test the water and look for good water resources. Effective measures for medical treatment and pre-

Housing Construction in Chinese Countryside

According to China's noted architect Feng Hua, in 1979 and 1980 about 10 million peasant families moved into new homes (there were 174,910,000 peasant households in China—the 1979 figure).

Feng Hua, who is chairman of the committee of rural architecture under the China Association of Architects, said: Each peasant household has an average of 70 square metres in northern China or 90 square metres in southern China. The state has allocated an enormous quantity of steel, glass and other building materials for erecting houses for peasants.

Up to now, in the countryside, adobe houses and thatched houses still make up over 40 per cent of the peasants' residences. In northern and central Shaanxi, which mostly is a hilly region with an arid climate and little rainfall, many peasants live in cave rooms, each about 20 square metres in size and three metres high. The peasants there like these rooms which are warm in winter and cool in summer.

vention were taken. Today, the incidences of endemic diseases have gone down.

Now, each of the 17 communes in the county has an extra doctor specializing in gynecology and pediatrics. Every production brigade has a woman paramedic and a midwife who form a health network for women and children, spreading from the county to the communes and brigades.

At the home of 48-year-old peasant woman Liu Rongwa, this correspondent saw Dr. Gong Xiue of the Zhengjia Commune examining Liu who had a prolapsed uterus. Doctors here seldom stay in their clinics but make their

rounds in the mountain villages.

Forty-year-old Dr. Gong said, last year 2,542 women in the county, about 95 per cent of the female population, had had a general check-up. As many as 1,094 had a woman's disease; 652 have been cured. Dr. Gong said: "In previous years, these women were exhausted by overwork. When the woman of the house got sick, the whole family would suffer. This is why the county leadership keeps reminding us to take good care of them."

Old Zuo did not rest content with the achievements made in the past two years. He said, as the influence of "Leftist" thinking on rural economic policy has been cleared up in recent years, the peasants are in a good mood, now that they are living better. And the cadres also find things easier in rural work. But, he added, if we are to become cadres who understand Party policies and government decrees well, who know how to run the socialist collective economy well and have a good style of work, that is, if we are to become good public servants helping peasants prosper, we must work harder, and harder still. □



New houses.

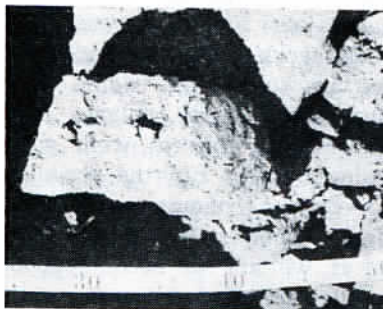
ARCHAEOLOGY

Significant Fossils
Discovered

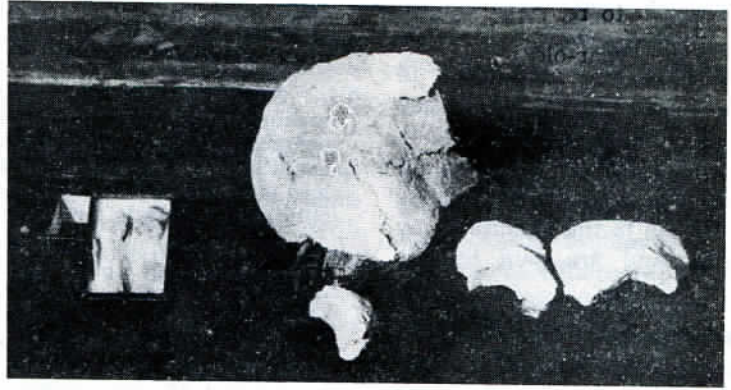
Two important archaeological discoveries in China in the last few months are expected to provide new insights into the origin and evolution of mankind.

Forerunner of Man. The skull of a *Ramapithecus*, one of the forerunners of the human race which was thought to have lived 8 to 14 million years ago, was found last December in southwest China's Yunnan Province. Jaw fragments and teeth of this early pre-man have previously been found in China and various other countries, but this is the first actual skull of a *Ramapithecus* ever to be discovered.

The skull is well preserved, though broken into many fragments. Reconstructed, it proves helpful in studying the brain shape and calculating the brain size of the *Ramapithecus*, as well as in identifying the location of the *foramen occipitale magnum*, where the spinal cord meets the base of the skull; this latter point is particularly important for determining whether the animal walked on its hind legs and what position it occupied in the evolutionary process. Study of the skull will also



The unearthed skull of a "Ramapithecus."



Skull fossils of a primitive ape-man. (Right: forehead and eyebrow ridges; middle: cranium and a piece of the lower left jaw; inside box: teeth.)

furnish new clues for establishing the time and place of the origin of man.

The first *Ramapithecus* fossil was discovered in India and given its name by the U.S. paleontologist G.E. Lewis. It is considered an important link between the ape and man. Jaw fragments and teeth have been discovered in China, Pakistan, Turkey, Kenya, Hungary and Greece over the past 50 years.

The excavation of this recent discovery was conducted by Professor Wu Rukang and scientists of the Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology under the Chinese Academy of Sciences in co-operation with researchers of the Yunnan Provincial Museum.

Contemporary of Peking Man. The second important discovery was made last November in a cave in east China's Anhui Province. A well-preserved skull of ape-man dating back 300,000 to 400,000 years was found, and according to Chinese paleoanthropologists, it is the best-preserved specimen of this kind yet discovered in China.

The skull is of medium size, with a thick cranium, a flat forehead and heavy eyebrow ridges. Scientists estimate that

this ape-man lived some time during the Mid-Pleistocene Epoch, close to the time of the Peking Man.

It is believed that the skull will provide new material for studying the similarities and differences between ancient human beings in southern and northern China, as well as for tracing the history of human development in the Changjiang (Yangtze) River terrace. It should also furnish new clues for studying changes of climate and the migration of fauna in prehistoric China.

ENTERTAINMENT
Performances by
Returned Overseas
Chinese

"I love you — China. I'll sing my sweetest song to you — my mother, my motherland"

Thus sang Ye Peiyong, a returned overseas Chinese woman from Malaysia, in the melody *I Love You — China*. The occasion was a recent gathering of returned overseas Chinese and their relatives residing in Beijing for an evening of song and dance entertainment at one of the capital's largest theatres. Through her moving perform-

ances, this singer expressed the same love for the motherland that prompted the overseas Chinese to return home.

Sixty-four-year-old Dai Ailian gave a performance of the Tibetan folk dance *Spring Tour*. Born in Trinidad, she later went to England to study ballet and modern dance for nine years. In 1940, she came to China. Once president of the first dance school established in the new society, she now is vice-president of the Chinese Dancers' Association.

A popular old song, *Farewell to Southeast Asia*, was sung by Pan Yingfeng who returned to China from Indonesia in 1938. During the 1930s, this song symbolized the love and longing of overseas Chinese for their homeland.

The evening of entertainment was the largest of its kind ever held in Beijing. During the "cultural revolution," the Party's policy concerning overseas Chinese was disregarded, and many of these people suffered persecution. The famous soprano Liu Shufang, for example, was forced to abandon her singing career for ten years until the fall of the gang of four. She was also present on this occasion and sang several numbers, including *To the Sea Gull*, a song about cherished memories of fellow-countrymen on Taiwan.

Audiences also enjoyed the performance of the famous tenor Zang Yuyan. He sang several songs in the style of the aesthetic school of Italy.

During the intermission, greetings and conversations in many different tongues could be heard throughout the lobby; the dialects of the southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong, as well as such languages as Indonesian and English were all spoken at the gathering.

CALENDAR 1981: Year of the Cock

A wide variety of stamps, coins and works of art have been produced to commemorate the coming of the year of the cock. According to the Chinese lunar calendar, the new year began on February 5 this year.

A special commemorative stamp (see photograph) marking the occasion has been issued by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. The stamp pictures a strutting cock originally painted by Zhang Ding,

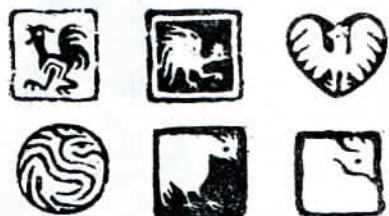


President of the Central Institute of Arts and Crafts.

Two commemorative coins have also been issued: a 22-karat gold coin with a face value of 250 yuan and a weight of eight grammes and a 15-gramme silver coin with a face value of 30 yuan. Both coins display the image of a cock

drawn by noted Chinese painter Xu Beihong; on the reverse side is an image of the famous white dagoba in Beijing's Beihai Park.

A collection of 50 printing seals has also been designed for this event by a famous seal-engraver from Suzhou. Some of the seals are modelled after ancient stone engravings of cock designs from around the 3rd century A.D. Others vividly display fighting cocks in bold outline. All of the seals are



admired for their ingenious designs and skilled engraving.

Finally, a variety of glass, stone, porcelain and bamboo handicrafts featuring the symbol of 1981 are now on sale.

Since ancient times, when China first created its lunar calendar, 12 animals have been used to represent each new year in succession. Besides the cock, the symbols are the dog, pig, rat, cow, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep and monkey.



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