

No. 28 July 14, 1980

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

For a Better  
Party Style  
Of Work

Social Effects  
Of Literature  
And Art

Solidarity Among  
African States

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### For a Good Party Style Of Work

Improving the Chinese Communist Party's style of work is crucial to raising its militancy and prestige (p. 16).

### Younger and More Proficient

China's third largest city Tianjin has a new mayor. Heilongjiang Province has put a soybean expert into the post of deputy governor. A new policy stresses appointing cadres with professional expertise and in the prime of their life (p. 3).

### Guidelines for Economic Work

Renmin Ribao elaborates on six principles of economic work, with reference to current readjustments in the national economy (p. 22).

### A Foolish Decision

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### Close Parallels

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### Catholics in China

Chinese Catholics now have their own national administrative commission and bishops college (p. 7).

### New Subways

Tianjin has a new subway. Harbin, Guangzhou (Canton) and Shanghai will follow suit (p. 6).

### Art, Literature and Their Social Effects

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### Book Review

*Essays on Chinese Economic History* looks at many basic problems of Chinese history in a new light (p. 28).



## BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

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

Vol. 23, No. 28 July 14, 1980

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**COVER:** Performances on the stage. Sketch by Zhao Shiyang.

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

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

Subscription prices (1 year):

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



## POLITICAL

### Younger Cadres With Professional Knowledge

The situation that cadres in China lack professional knowledge and that many in leading posts are quite old must be changed as soon as possible. This has indeed become an important and urgent task in the modernization drive.

According to figures available in 1978, cadres competent in specialized work accounted for less than one-third of the nation's total, and among qualified scientists and technicians, the average age of those having reached the level of associate researchers was 58.

In order to make up for the heavy loss in training talented personnel sustained during the ten years of turmoil, priority has been given to the development of science, culture and education in the last few years. In addition, Party and government organizations at different levels have taken steps to change the composition of cadres in leading organs.

The reform is being undertaken in two ways. First, competent cadres who uphold the Party's line, have professional knowledge and are in the prime of life are promoted to leading posts in Party organizations and in political, economic and cultural work. Secondly, those cadres who lack vocational knowledge but who show promise are sent to training classes to acquire scientific and technological knowledge and management skills.

Professor Wang Jinling, a soybean expert in the Northeast

Institute of Agriculture, and Associate Professor Yang Jike of University of Science and Technology, who specializes in mathematical statistics and quantitative inheritance, were appointed deputy governors of Heilongjiang and Anhui Provinces respectively at the end of last year. They have given full play to their professional skills and are praised by the people for their good work in the provincial people's governments.

Hu Qili, 51, was recently appointed Mayor of Tianjin, China's third largest city. A graduate of Beijing University's department of mechanical engineering, he was formerly President of the All-China Students' Federation and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, and he had experience in working in the local governments at the county, prefectural and autonomous regional levels. Two vice-mayors appointed at the same time were 61-year-old Wang Guangying and 57-year-old Yu Fujing. Wang is an expert in economics and a former industrialist and businessman, and Yu used to be chief engineer of the Construction Commission of Tianjin.

Reports from other places, enterprises and institutions show that able people who are both politically competent and have professional knowledge have been appointed to posts in the leading bodies at different levels. It must be admitted, however, that in selecting cadres there are ideological obstacles, one of which is the idea that seniority must be given top priority.

On June 28, in its editorial entitled "Doing Away With the

Conventional Way of Promotion," *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that it is a conservative and outdated feudal concept to give top priority to only seniority in the selection and promotion of cadres. It is also a manifestation of absolute equalitarianism in selecting qualified personnel. But the development of things is always uneven, and this applies to the growth and maturing of talented people. It is therefore necessary to recognize this uneven development. The paper added that "outstanding people should be promoted faster; exceptionally outstanding people, in particular, could be promoted more than one grade at a time."

There are numerous cadres who lack professional skill. They must therefore study anew. At present, many areas, departments and enterprises have made great efforts in organizing various types of training classes and evening schools for the cadres to study in groups by rotation. *Guangming Ribao* in Beijing, *Wen Hui Bao* in Shanghai and other newspapers have all published special articles or commentaries suggesting ways and means to help the cadres to study anew.

Some articles stressed that those who for the time being do not have the opportunity to attend training classes to study specialized knowledge should make good use of their spare time to learn to master professional skill in order to become experts in their own fields as soon as possible. This was what cadres had done in the years of revolutionary wars — "learning warfare through warfare."

## Direct County Elections

Since the latter half of 1979, deputies to the people's congresses of 552 counties (or cities corresponding to counties), which is about one-fourth of the total number of counties in China, have been elected directly. The majority of these counties have held people's congresses and elected their standing committees and people's governments. These elections have been carried out on a trial basis, to be popularized later throughout the country. (See *Beijing Review*, No. 8, 1980.)

This work was carried out in accordance with the new electoral law adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in July last year.

The new law stipulates that the scope of direct election will be extended to the counties (formerly only held in people's communes and towns), the number of candidates should exceed the number of deputies to be elected, and the elections

should be carried out by secret ballot. These regulations ensure that the voters have the freedom to express their own wishes.

The voters in the pilot counties actively participated in the elections. A voter in Shanghai who happened to be abroad at the time of election wrote back asking to vote by proxy. Some blind people and deaf-mutes as well as many old people also took part. In pastoral areas, in view of the fact that herdsmen and their families live far apart and often move from place to place, mobile ballot-boxes were provided to ensure their right to vote. According to statistics, over 90 per cent, and in some places 98 per cent, of the voters took part in the elections.

The elected deputies to the people's congresses, and the standing committees of the people's congresses and people's governments at the county level, enjoy the support of the great majority of the voters. For instance, Huang Weining of Panyu County in Guangdong Province, who was formerly a responsible member of a

county-owned factory, was elected county head by the overwhelming majority of voters. At the first working conference of the county government presided over by him, he encouraged everyone to serve the people wholeheartedly. Together with other leading members, he solved several outstanding problems which were raised time and again by the people but had not been solved for more than ten years. Some voters said: "Huang might not have been elected county head without the enforcement of the new electoral law."

In nominating candidates for the elections through democratic consultation, great attention was paid to the proportional representation of different nationalities and various walks of life, and earnest efforts were made to put into practice the Party's policies on nationalities, religion, united front and intellectuals, thereby promoting the political situation of stability and unity.

Direct election of county governments will be carried out in other places of China and completed this winter or next spring.



Casting votes directly electing deputies to the local people's congress in Gansu Province's Guanghe County, where the Hui people live in compact communities.

## ECONOMIC

### Circulation of Commodities

To enliven the national economy, it is more important to begin by changing the system of circulation of commodities than by changing the system of distribution of profits. This is the view expressed by Xue Muqiao, a noted economist, in an article published recently in *Renmin Ribao*.

The current reform in China's economic management system, which started in the winter of





Numerous individually owned stores selling sundry goods have been reopened in Shanghai, to the great convenience of the local residents.

that suit socialized mass production.

Complete unified management is impossible in a big country like China, Xue Muqiao says. He agrees that China's traditional economic centres should be restored. For example, Shanghai was the economic centre in southeast China having links with other parts of the country, and Tianjin was the centre in the north, Guangzhou in the south, Chongqing in the southwest, Hankou in central China and Xian in the northwest. These centres should not be separated by administrative boundaries, but should be interlinked and organized according to the objective laws of economic activity.

### Progress in Afforestation

China planted more than 3.3 million hectares with trees last spring, 10 per cent more than in the same 1979 period, according to recent statistics from the Ministry of Forestry.

This means that over 80 per cent of the afforestation plan for 1980 has been fulfilled. Trees are mainly planted in spring and autumn in China.

A meeting attended by 10,000 people was held in Beijing last March to call on the people of the whole country, from Party and state leaders to pupils, to plant trees and cover the land with greenery. (See *Beijing Review*, No. 13, page 5.)

The long-term aim is to increase the afforested area and timber reserves, conserve water and soil, protect farmland against sandstorms and improve the climate.

A leading member of the Ministry of Forestry said that

1978, has given some state-owned enterprises more power of self-management and enlivened economic work. The economist agrees that the orientation of the reform is correct. But he feels that there should be more outlets for commodities, fewer circulation links and closer and more direct contacts between producers and consumers.

In the past, he says, there was basically only one outlet, namely, commercial departments in cities, supply and marketing co-operatives in rural areas and the Ministry of Foreign Trade in charge of trade with foreign countries. The means of production were distributed according to plans. Now the means of production are considered commodities too, which may be regulated through the market, thereby changing the situation in which production and consumption were long separate and disconnected.

He stresses that there should be some competition within the guidelines of state planning so as to do away with the bureaucratic style of work in state-owned industry and commerce. In so doing, state-owned commerce is still the main part of the unified socialist market, but it can't do without collectively owned commerce as an auxiliary agent or without the rural fairs (free markets for farm and sideline products) as a supplement. Therefore, trade agencies, exchanges and other commercial forms should be restored, and the old business activities of the bank should be revived to facilitate capital turnover.

In short, he says, for the purpose of giving scope to the regulating functions of the market so as to benefit the development of China's socialist economy, it is necessary to use certain economic forms developed in capitalist countries to organize the circulation of commodities



A forestry centre in a people's commune in Hunan Province.

the main tasks of the afforestation projects are:

— Set up several hundred timber-producing bases with fast-growing trees in some provinces of southern China; the plan for this year is to afforest 660,000 hectares:

— Establish bases for oil-bearing trees, such as tung oil trees and oil-tea camellia, in some 200 counties in east and central-south China, and plant 130,000 hectares with these trees this year;

— Build a shelter belt extending from Heilongjiang Province in northeast China to Xinjiang in the northwest;

— Establish extensive networks of tree belts to protect the farmland on the north and central China plains; and

— Replant trees in areas of state-owned forestry centres where trees have been felled.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued last March a directive calling on the people to plant trees and stipulating that those who plant the trees will own them and those who fell trees in violation of regulations will be punished according to law.

## Modernization March

**New Highway Bridge.** The first highway bridge spanning the Changjiang (Yangtze) River on its upper reaches near Chongqing<sup>1</sup> opened to traffic July 1, half a year ahead of schedule.

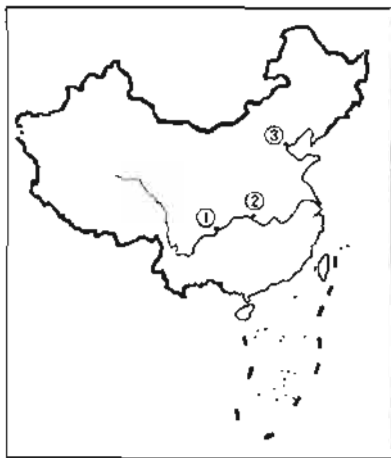
The new bridge is 1,121 metres long and 21 metres wide. It links up the city in the north with the Sichuan-Guizhou Highway in the south. Its biggest arch, through which steamboats may pass, has a span of 174 metres, the longest span of this type of bridge in China today.

Construction of the bridge started in late November 1977.

**Large Turbogenerator.** A set of large hydraulic turbogenerators, weighing 4,000 tons, is being delivered to the Gezhouba<sup>2</sup> Hydroelectric Power Station, China's biggest now under construction, on the Changjiang River.

This set has an installed capacity of 170,000 kilowatts, with a 27-metre maximum designed head. It is the world's second largest generating unit, the largest is in Romania's Iron Gate Power Plant on the Danube. It was jointly made by the Dongfang Power Equipment Plant and the No. 2 Heavy Machinery Plant in Sichuan Province, southwest China.

The generator and blades have been detached from this giant machine to make transport easier. Some components and the blades, each weighing 40 tons, have already been sent to Gezhouba. A special type of flat-car is being constructed by the railway departments to carry the entire runner shaft with a diameter of 11.3 m.



The station has 21 turbines, of which two will produce 170,000 kilowatts, and each of the remaining 19 has a capacity of 125,000 kilowatts. They will generate a total of 13,800 million kwh. of electricity annually — thrice the national total before liberation in 1949.

Some of these turbines are expected to operate in 1981.

**New Subways.** Following Beijing, the industrial city of Tianjin<sup>3</sup> in north China has become the second city in China and the 14th in Asia to have a subway.

Built on the bed of an abandoned sewage canal, the circuit subway runs in the southwestern part of Tianjin. Working on the project voluntarily, thousands of Tianjin residents used mainly shovels and push-carts to complete most of the earthwork.

On the ground above the subway is a newly built wide





The Changjiang bridge at Chongqing.

avenue. The first phase of the project has been completed, five kilometres long and with five stations.

Preparations for building underground railways are under way in Harbin, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

## SOCIAL

### Chinese Catholics Set Up National Commission And Bishops College

The National Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church and the Chinese Catholic Bishops College were set up on June 2 in Beijing at the closing meeting of the three-day All-China Catholic Representatives Conference.

Convened for the first time since 1949 when China won liberation, the conference was attended by 207 representatives, including 33 bishops and 105 priests.

The commission is made up of 105 members while the college has 33 bishops. The Bishop

of Shanghai, Zhang Jiashu, was elected director of the commission and head of the college.

The constitution of the Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church, which was adopted at the conference, stipulates that the commission is a national organization handling church affairs. Its main tasks are "to lead the clergy and laity to observe strictly god's decalogue, adhere to the principle of independence and democratic administration, discuss and decide important matters relating to church affairs and run the Chinese Catholic churches well."

The constitution also says: "The Bishops College is formed by bishops of various dioceses. It is designed to study and expound the doctrines to be believed and the commandments and precepts to be observed, to exchange experience in propagating the gospels and expand friendly contacts with foreign Catholics."

The conference pointed out that in the years since New China was founded in 1949, Catholics have carried out anti-imperialist patriotic activities,

adhered to the principle of independence and run the church in a self-reliant way. This is "in conformity with China's independence and sovereignty as well as the traditional spirit of Jesus Christ establishing the church and the apostles propagating the gospels."

The conference also approved a resolution reopening the Philosophical and Theological College of the Chinese Catholic Church with a view to training clergymen and specialists in this field.

During the meeting, Ulanhu, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Peng Chong, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, received all the representatives.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Support for Thailand's Fight Against Vietnamese Aggression

The Thai National Assembly Delegation led by Air Chief Marshal Kamol Dejathungkha, First Deputy Speaker of the Senate, arrived in Beijing on July 6 for a 13-day friendly visit to China.

During his meeting with the delegation on July 7, Premier Hua Guofeng said that the Chinese Government and people stand firmly on the side of the Thai people and support their just struggle against Vietnamese aggression.

Premier Hua denounced the Vietnamese invasion of Thailand and expressed his appreciation of Thailand's stand to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Head of the delegation Kamol Dejathungkha thanked the Chinese Government and people for their sympathy and concern for Thailand. He said that most countries in the world condemn the Vietnamese invasion and support the just stand of Thailand.

### **Viet Nam Steps Up Provocations in Chinese Border Areas**

Recently, the Vietnamese authorities have continuously sent armed personnel to carry out armed provocations along the borders of Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, thereby posing a serious threat to the life and property of the Chinese people in these areas.

The Vietnamese soldiers have penetrated into Chinese territory to conduct reconnaissance, lay mines, blow up vehicles, loot, destroy fields and forests, distribute leaflets, and kill and injure Chinese border inhabitants. There were 114 such provocations in May and June alone.

On July 2, large numbers of Vietnamese troops crossed the Chinese border and forcibly carried away Chen Faan and three other fishermen of Dongxing Commune in Guangxi's Fangcheng County.

It is worthy of attention that these provocations took place at the time when the Vietnamese troops intensified their military activities along the Kampuchean-Thai borders and intruded into Thai territory.

Prior to this, the Vietnamese authorities had never ceased such provocations. In the last 14 months, there were more than 2,000 incidents of incursions and armed provocations along the border by Vietnamese troops who killed, wounded and kidnapped over 240 Chinese civilians. During the recent period, their provocations have become more frequent.

Observers in Beijing point out that, in stepping up their harassing activities along the Sino-Vietnamese border and at the same time accusing China of "stepping up armed provocations," the Vietnamese authorities intended to divert world attention from the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and the latest Vietnamese armed invasion of Thai territory.

In a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in Beijing on July 5, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest against the incessant armed incursions and provocations by the Vietnamese authorities. The note stressed: "The Vietnamese side must put an immediate end to all armed incursions and provocations in China's border areas and return the kidnapped Chinese fishermen. Otherwise they must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

### **News in Brief**

**Zambian Military Delegation.** The Zambian military delegation led by Alexander Grey Zulu, Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the Central Committee of the Zambian United National Independence Party, recently visited China. This was Chairman Zulu's fourth visit to China. The delegation and its Chinese counterpart exchanged views on bilateral co-operation.

Meeting with the delegation in Beijing on June 23, Premier Hua Guofeng pointed out that there are broad prospects for friendly co-operation between China and Zambia in the political and economic fields.

They also exchanged views on the national-liberation movement in southern Africa. Premier Hua wished Africa prosperity.

**Li Xiannian Meets Bacilio Horta.** During his meeting with Bacilio Horta, Minister of Commerce and Tourism of Portugal, on July 4 in Beijing, Vice-Premier Li Xiannian said: "We hope that the West European countries will close their ranks and that the United States and Western Europe will enter into an equal partnership so as to deal with the threat of hegemonism."

Minister Bacilio Horta said: "Our two countries share similar views on opposition to hegemonism. Our present visit shows clearly that the Portuguese Government is willing to strengthen friendship and establish friendly co-operation with China."

On the same day, the first trade agreement between China and Portugal was signed.

**China Undertakes Building Projects in Yemen Arab Republic.** The China Construction Engineering Corporation and the China Road and Bridge Engineering Company have in the past year signed contracts with the Yemen Arab Republic for the designing and construction of more than 20 projects, three of which have been completed. They are: a helicopter parking apron in the Republican Palace, the extension of a roundabout in the northern suburb of Sanaa and two roads in Sanaa, capital of Yemen.



*17th O.A.U. Summit*

## Solidarity and Co-operation Among African States

THE 17th summit conference of the Organization of African Unity closed in Free-town on July 4 after wide-ranging discussions on pressing political, economic and social issues facing Africa today. A series of resolutions were adopted in the spirit of unity, consultation and mutual accommodation. It was a successful conference of unity and co-operation among the African states.

The situation in Africa has developed enormously over the past year. The Zimbabwean people got rid of colonialist and racial domination and won their independence to set an example for the other peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for national independence and freedom. It shows that the days of the colonialists and racists in Africa are numbered. The past year also saw closer economic solidarity and

co-operation among the African states. The convocation of the African Economic Summit Conference earlier this year was a grand effort by the African states to build up Africa by their own efforts.

Thus, the summit dedicated itself to removing differences and promoting solidarity and co-operation with a view to safeguarding the security and peace of the continent, developing the African economy and improving the livelihood of its peoples.

In a resolution on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the summit demanded that the big powers remove their bases and other military installations from the Indian Ocean. This is a reflection of the African countries' desire to safeguard peace, security and stability in the Indian Ocean region and is a valuable contribution to the cause of world peace.

The conference adopted resolutions on the proposal for the establishment of an O.A.U. political security council and on the creation of an O.A.U. defence force so as to effectively combat through their collective strength the danger to Africa's security and stability and stave off outside interference. Both will certainly boost the O.A.U.'s capability to defend the peace and security of the African continent.

As in previous summit conferences, the elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa and the thorough emancipation of the African continent were major items on the summit conference agenda. The conference paid great attention to the new situation in southern Africa following the independ-

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### Premier Hua's Message of Greetings

Premier Hua Guofeng sent a message on June 28 to the 17th conference of the heads of state or government of the Organization of African Unity, extending his warm congratulations.

The message said: "At present, there is a heartening situation in Africa. Adhering to the purposes of the O.A.U. Charter, the African countries and peoples are making great progress in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. The glorious proclamation of Zimbabwean independence not long ago marks a historic victory not only for the Zimbabwean people, but also for the other African countries and peoples and for the O.A.U. This is an eloquent indication that it will not be long before colonialism and racism are eradicated in Africa and all the African countries become free and independent.

"Recently, the economic conference of the heads of state or government of the O.A.U. was held in Lagos. The resolutions it adopted on the establishment of an African Economic Community and the Programme of Action expressed the resolve to strengthen economic co-operation among African countries and practise collective self-reliance to promote joint economic development. This far-reaching historic programme fully reflects the shared wish and determination of the African countries and peoples to eliminate poverty and backwardness and build a strong and prosperous new Africa."

In conclusion the message said that the Chinese Government and people are prepared to work together with the African countries and peoples in combating the policy of aggression and power politics and defending world peace.

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## 17th O.A.U. Summit

Time: July 1 to 4, 1980

Place: Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone

Participating countries: 50 member states of the Organization of African Unity

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ence of Zimbabwe. The victory of the Zimbabwean people is a great encouragement to the national-liberation movements in southern Africa. The Namibian people's struggle for national independence and the struggle of the black and coloured people in South Africa against repression grow stronger by the day. The summit conference vehemently condemned the South African authorities for their recent massacre of the black people and their latest armed invasion of Angola.

To speed the liberation of southern Africa, five resolutions were passed, pledging further assistance to the national-liberation movements there and calling for enforcement of the oil embargo and other sanctions against South Africa.

Another fighting task facing the African countries and people is to accelerate economic development and get rid of their poverty and backwardness. Africa's fertile soil and abundant resources are excellent conditions for developing the national economies. However, centuries of bondage and plunder by the colonialists and imperialists have kept the economic base in African countries at very low levels of development. In recent years, the Western industrialized countries' shifting the burden of

their economic crises abroad and serious natural calamities in parts of Africa have made economic development in African states rather difficult. To improve the economic situation in Africa, the conference called on O.A.U. members to strive to put into effect "the economic charter for the 80s" approved by the O.A.U. economic summit not long ago. It also urged them to enhance African economic co-operation and, by giving full play to the spirit of collective self-reliance, jointly strive to build Africa into a prosperous and powerful continent.

In its four resolutions on the Middle East and Afro-Arab co-operation, the summit reaffirmed all-out support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people led by their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the restoration of their national rights, particularly their right to return to their homeland, to exercise self-determination and to establish an independent sovereign state. The summit condemned Israel's persistent policies of annexation and Judaization of the city of Jerusalem, and called on African and Arab countries to find ways and means to improve Afro-Arab co-operation.

### Afghanistan

## Soviet Union in a Quagmire

**M**ORE than six months have passed since the Soviet Union started its invasion of Afghanistan. The move is costing much more manpower and materials than it originally expected.

The Soviet authorities once thought that they could swallow Afghanistan in one gulp and use it as a springboard for

The initial agreements reached at the summit for settling the long-term differences concerning Western Sahara and Chad are encouraging signs of the African countries' desire to resolve differences and strengthen unity.

From this summit conference one can see that despite the disputes between some African countries, the main trend on the continent remains that of united struggle to the end against imperialism, colonialism and foreign interference. We are convinced that the difficulties and differences confronting the African countries are transient in nature. The documents and resolutions adopted at the conference, and the role the O.A.U. and its member states have played and are playing in mediating the contradictions and disputes in Africa, fully prove that the African countries and people have the ability to preserve the peace and security of their continent, make Africa prosperous and strong and contribute much to world peace, progress and development, provided they close their ranks and give full play to their solidarity and co-operation and free themselves from external interference.

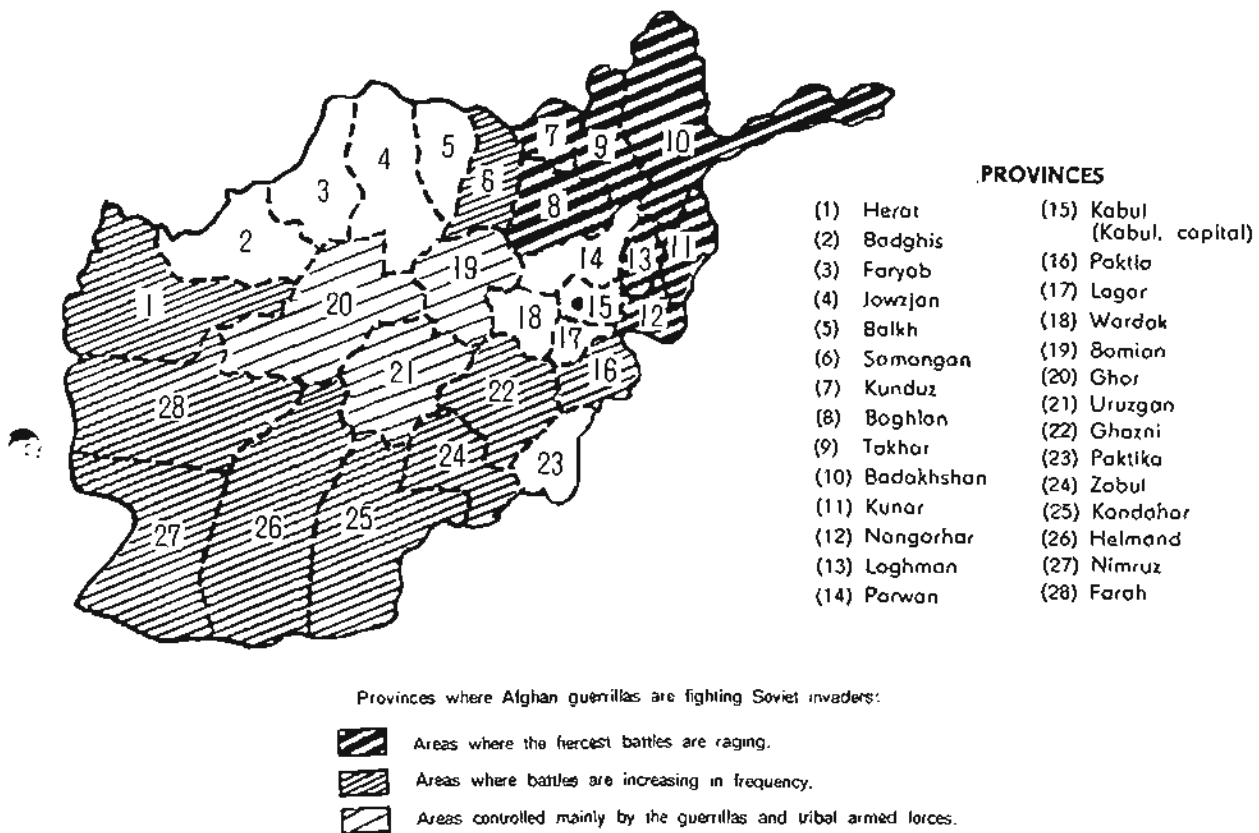
— "Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 7

further expansion in South Asia and the Gulf area. However, Afghanistan did not knuckle under to the Soviet Union: on the contrary, it has become the Soviet invaders' graveyard.

Guerrilla War Gains Momentum. Since the Soviet Union invaded their country, the Af-



## SKETCH MAP OF THE MILITARY SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN



Afghan people have been steadily strengthening armed resistance and guerrilla warfare has been expanding both in scope and scale. According to reports, there are now 300,000 guerrillas. Through their close ties with the people, the guerrilla forces have access to food, shelter and information about the enemy. Guerrilla warfare has erupted in most of the 28 provinces of Afghanistan, with the fiercest battles in the northeast. In the east and southeast, armed clashes are frequent. Except for a few counties, the two provinces of Uruzgan and Ghor in central Afghanistan are, by and large, under the control of the guerrillas or various tribal armed forces. Using flexible strategy and tactics, the guerrillas have been wiping out the

enemy's effectives and inflicting heavy losses on them again and again. Besides, they block highways, attack enemy sentry posts, ambush enemy tanks and armoured cars, and even launch forays deep in the enemy's rear, dealing out severe punishment to both the Karmal forces and Soviet troops.

**Moscow in Trouble.** The morale of the Moscow-controlled Afghan troops is flagging under the heavy attacks of the Afghan guerrillas; some have deserted and some have defected in groups to the guerrillas, bringing along their arms and materials. It is reported that due to casualties, desertion or defection, the troops have shrunk to 20,000 from 100,000 a year ago.

In this situation, the Soviet invaders and the Karmal regime are pressganging the Afghan people on all sides. In order to collect cannon-fodder, they have increased the soldiers' pay to nine times what it was originally, and yet few volunteer for service. They had to widen the draft to include doctors, engineers, teachers, university students and other people with academic degrees.

The Soviet troops themselves are also growing more and more war-weary. Desertion and defection from their own ranks to the guerrillas are frequent. The Soviet authorities have had to replace their soldiers from Central Asia with recruits from the Volga region.

**Karmal Regime Isolated.** Fighting in conjunction with the guerrillas, people in Kabul and other cities have risen up in revolt against the Soviet invaders. Badly battered by the Afghan people, the Karmal regime is riddled with increasingly acute internal strife, and sharp conflicts have developed between civilian officials and military officers in the regime, and also between two groups within the People's Democratic Party (Karmal's "Flag Faction" and Amin's "People Faction"). The regime is reported to have only 50,000 supporters, all members of the "Flag Faction." This number is indeed paltry as compared with Afghanistan's

total population of some 20 million. Karmal is isolated and unpopular, living in solitude, his position no better than that of a prisoner confined to his headquarters by the Soviet invaders.

The present situation in Afghanistan shows that the Soviet Union will not pull out its troops, nor will the Afghan people accept the Soviet military occupation. They are determined to fight to the end. The Soviet invaders will inevitably get bogged down deeper and deeper in the mire from which they cannot extricate themselves.

— Gui Tongchang

## Another Kampuchean Event Must Be Prevented

THE recent Vietnamese invasion of Thailand reminds the world of what happened some 18 months ago when Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea.

• Before the Vietnamese troops launched all-out aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities sent Pham Van Dong on a tour of the ASEAN countries, during which he pledged that Viet Nam would not invade Kam-

puchea. This time, before penetrating into Thailand, Hanoi sent Nguyen Co Thach to assure Thailand that its sovereignty and territorial integrity would not be encroached upon, and to express Hanoi's willingness to carry on "dialogue" with the ASEAN countries.

• Before Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh declared on December 13,

1978, that Viet Nam could capture Phnom Penh within 24 hours if it liked (Phnom Penh was captured by the Vietnamese troops on January 7, 1979). Before the recent invasion of Thailand, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach declared on June 21 that it would be easy for Viet Nam to fight its way into Thailand if it wanted to (the Vietnamese troops invaded Thailand on June 23).

• In 1978, when the Vietnamese troops were already deep in the areas of Fish Hook and Parrot's Beak in eastern Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities declared that Kampuchea had invaded Viet Nam. This time, when the Vietnamese troops had already intruded into Thailand, Nguyen Co Thach declared that Thailand had "deliberately provoked hostilities," and that "Thai troops had entered Kampuchean territory."

These parallels are not accidental. The logic of Viet Nam in pursuing regional hegemonism is first to make a pledge, then to commit aggression and deny what it has done.

**Excuses That Arouse Vigilance.** Viet Nam, while denying that it had invaded Thailand, put forward certain rationalizations which merit attention.

The boundary is yet to be delimited. Nguyen Co Thach said that the Vietnamese troops moved into Thailand "accidentally," because "the border is not very clear at the Thai-Cambodian frontier," and since the boundary line is not clear, it is not known to whom the territory belongs.

What an absurdity! A boundary which is clear to Thailand and Democratic Kampuchea is not considered clear by Viet



A Thai soldier guards the border.



Nam. In November 1975, Thailand and Kampuchea reached an agreement on mutual respect for sovereignty and the status quo of their boundary. What right has Viet Nam to say that the Thai-Kampuchean frontier is to be delimited? Apparently the Vietnamese authorities who claim to be overlords of the "Indochinese federation" take the Thai-Kampuchean boundary for the Thai-Vietnamese boundary. If the boundary at the Thai-Kampuchean frontier is not clear as Nguyen Co Thach asserted, why did he repeat again and again that the Vietnamese troops did not move into Thailand? This only serves to warn people that the Vietnamese authorities can invade other countries at any time under the pretext that the border is not clear.

**The refugee problem.** The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea caused hundreds of thousands of the Kampuchean people to abandon their homes to seek safety in Thailand. The Thai Government responded by setting up reception centres in its border areas, delivering relief to the refugees and thus taking up the heavy burden imposed by the influx of homeless people. This humanitarianism was highly commended by the international community. The Thai Government and the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, at the request of many Kampuchean refugees for an early return to their homes, recently worked out a plan of voluntary repatriation for them. This measure, too, was highly commendable. However, the Vietnamese troops, when they invaded Thailand, attacked and set fire to the refugee camps, killing or wounding hundreds of the occupants. Nguyen Co Thach

said on June 26 that the Vietnamese troops would continue to intercept the refugees on their way home across the Thai-Kampuchean border. This amounts to saying that Viet Nam will continue to invade Thailand by exploiting the refugee problem.

These assertions are made by Viet Nam to serve as excuses for its recent invasion of Thailand and also to prepare the ground for more border conflicts and large-scale aggression in the future. By resorting to arms and capitalizing on the refugee problem, Viet Nam hopes Thailand will be compelled to recognize the legitimacy of the puppet Phnom Penh regime and to accede to the Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea as a fait accompli. When this is achieved, further steps would be taken to catch other ASEAN countries in the trap set by Moscow and Hanoi.

**A Link in the Chain of Global Strategy.** The fact that Hanoi's lightning attack on Kampuchea went unchecked enabled Viet Nam, backed by the Soviet Union, to place Kampuchea under full occupation, thus causing incalculable calamities for Southeast Asia and the world as a whole. The pattern of events was similar in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The events in Kampuchea and Afghanistan are not a local or a regional occurrence, but an important link in the chain of the Soviet Union's global strategy.

Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and Vo Nguyen Giap hurriedly paid a visit to Moscow recently. People still remember that soon after Le Duan had visited Moscow in 1978, Viet Nam began invading Kampuchea. They are now waiting to see what

news emanates from Moscow this time. But one thing is certain: Moscow and Hanoi may play new tricks, but their goal will remain the same. Hanoi, in seeking its own hegemony over Southeast Asia while serving as the Soviet hegemonists' hatchetman there, will not limit itself to Kampuchea.

It is essential for the world's people to sharpen their vigilance. The Kampuchean event must not be repeated in Thailand, effective support must be accorded the Kampuchean and Thai peoples in their struggle against aggression, and every effort must be made to frustrate the Vietnamese authorities' expansionist acts and political tricks.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

### China Opposes Changing Status of Jerusalem

**CHINESE** Representative Zhou Nan declared at the U.N. Security Council meeting on June 27 that Israeli actions to change the status and character of Jerusalem are completely illegal and null and void.

He pointed out that the question of Jerusalem was an important component of the whole Middle East issue. Any solution to the Middle East question should embody the following three aspects: Withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination and to establish their own state; and a comprehensive and just solution.

## Hanoi Helps Moscow Increase Military Might in S.E. Asia

**P**EACE and stability in Southeast Asia are gravely threatened as the Soviet Union beefs up its military strength in the region with the assistance of Hanoi, which is bent on tying itself to Moscow and pursuing regional hegemony.

**Military Aid.** Since 1978, Moscow has given Hanoi more military aid. Today it spends 3 million U.S. dollars a day to finance and support Hanoi's aggression against Kampuchea and provides it with up-to-date military hardware. It has equipped Viet Nam with some 50 Tu-16 bombers, 150 Mig fighters of various types, 10 warships and 2 submarines.

The estimated 5,000-8,000 Soviet military advisers and specialists in Viet Nam ensure Moscow's complete control over the Vietnamese army, navy and air force.

Soviet technicians are helping Viet Nam build air bases in Phnom Penh, Battambang, Siem Reap and Kompong Chhnang in Kampuchea, and Phong Saly and Sam Neua in Laos. They are also building a naval base in Kampuchea's Kompong Som and have set up numerous SAM-3 and SAM-2 missile bases and missile-launching sites in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

**Soviet Bases.** With the projection of its armed forces into the region, Moscow has turned Indochina into its forward base for infiltration and expansion into Southeast Asia.

The huge, up-to-date military bases in Cam Ranh, Da Nang, Tan Son Nhut and Bien Hoa,

which the United States built during the Viet Nam war, have been turned into Soviet naval or air bases. Since last summer, Soviet warships and submarines frequently sail in and out of Cam Ranh and Da Nang and, with the stationing of submarine tenders and repair vessels in Cam Ranh since the beginning of the year, Soviet nuclear-powered submarines armed with cruise missiles are, for the first time, permanently stationed east of the Strait of Malacca.

The Japanese Defence Agency has revealed that after sending Tu-95 long-range electronic reconnaissance planes to Viet Nam last year, the Soviet Union this year has sent Tu-95F anti-submarine patrol planes to that country.

**Apprehension.** The growing Soviet military presence in Southeast Asia has alarmed the countries in that region. Thai

papers have reported that aerial reconnaissance confirmed that the SAM-2 missiles widely deployed in Kampuchea are aimed at Thailand. Reports from other parts of Southeast Asia show that Soviet aircraft based in Viet Nam have repeatedly violated Philippine air space and that more Soviet warships have sailed through the Strait of Malacca this year than ever before. There are as many as 30 Soviet warships operating in the South China Sea this year when last year there were only 12 to 18.

Having obtained bases in Viet Nam, the Soviet Union has greatly increased its military strength in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Soviet Pacific Fleet has advanced more than 2,000 nautical miles southward.

The Malaysian Defence Minister has said that his country views with serious concern Soviet manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean and the presence of Soviet submarines in the Strait of Malacca.

— Li Xinhua



Forward base.

Cartoon by Fang Cheng



## A Foolish Decision

AT the time when the Vietnamese authorities have exposed more clearly than ever their aggressive and expansionist ambition by sending troops over the border to invade Thailand, the Indian Government has suddenly announced its recognition of the Vietnamese-installed Heng Samrin puppet regime and its decision to establish diplomatic relations with that regime which most countries shun. This is a foolish decision that completely discredits the Indian Government internationally.

The Heng Samrin regime is the public enemy of the Kampuchean people, a lackey kept by the Vietnamese authorities to use in its aggression against Kampuchea, to rig up an "Indochina federation" and to push into Southeast Asia. Recognition of that regime set up single-handedly by the Vietnamese aggressors means conferring recognition on Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea and support for the Vietnamese authorities' act of aggression and expansion. Countries that love peace and uphold justice have consistently refused to recognize that illegitimate regime despite all the blandishments and ploys of the Vietnamese authorities and their Soviet supporter to win legitimacy for that regime internationally. The recent ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Conference in Kuala Lumpur reaffirmed ASEAN's just and consistent stand of recognizing the Government of Democratic

Kampuchea and rejecting the Heng Samrin quisling regime. This shows how unpopular hegemonic policies of aggression and expansion are with the people of the world today.

India is an influential country in South Asia and in Asia as a whole. It is a member state of the non-aligned movement and co-initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. With the Soviet Union's armed invasion of Afghanistan and the hegemonists already close outside its gates, the Indian Government should be drawing lessons from what has happened to Afghanistan; it should oppose all acts of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and encroachment upon other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity, and uphold the norms governing international relations and support the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression and expansion. However, the Indian Government has chosen not to do so. Instead, it has recognized the Heng Samrin regime to boost the arrogance of the Vietnamese aggressors, quite content to side with a puppet regime. This perverseness does not redound to its honour. This decision of the Indian Government has evoked strong reaction abroad. The ASEAN countries have one after another expressed their regret and stressed that India's action cannot shake their stand vis-a-vis Kampuchea.

The Indian Government's recognition of the Heng Samrin

regime is clearly connected with the 1,600 million dollars' worth of military hardware which the Soviet Union recently promised India. As the saying goes, "If you accept someone's money, you do something for him." With the Soviet Union giving it this huge quantity of weapons, the Indian Government is repaying Moscow and the Vietnamese authorities by conferring recognition on the Heng Samrin regime. This move has shifted India's stand away from non-alignment and consciously or unconsciously put itself on the side of the aggressors. India's short-sightedness will ultimately bring it to grief.

How the Kampuchean situation develops, of course, is not dependent on whether India does or does not recognize the Heng Samrin regime, but upon the struggle being waged by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and its people against the Vietnamese aggressors. Although the struggle will be tortuous and protracted, victory will certainly belong to the Kampuchean people so long as they unite in struggle. The Chinese people consistently and firmly support the Kampuchean people, in the past, at present and in the days to come. Democratic Kampuchea has friends all over Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. Soviet weapons and the Heng Samrin regime have not brought the Vietnamese authorities victory in Kampuchea as they have expected. Can recognition of the Heng Samrin regime by the Indian Government free the Vietnamese authorities from their plight in Kampuchea?

— "Renmin Ribao"  
commentary, July 9

# Strive to Improve Party Style of Work

"Renmin Ribao" Editorial (July 1)

TODAY is the 59th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Our Party has, in its course of advance in the last 59 years, achieved brilliant successes and experienced serious setbacks. Each setback taught us a lesson and we summed up experience from it and corrected our mistakes, thus turning defeat into new victory. Our Party had ended the ten-year tumult and, in the last three years or so, has cleared up what was confused and put things to rights; it is now leading the people of the whole country to work hard to build a modernized, powerful socialist China.

## Raising the Party's Militancy

To do the work well in modernizing the country and to shoulder the various arduous tasks we are facing, it is necessary to improve Party leadership so as to strengthen Party leadership, raise the Party's militancy and enhance the Party's prestige among the people. This is self-evident. Where, then, does the prestige of the Party come from? The prestige of the Party depends on the correctness of its line and policies, which reflect objective reality and are in the people's interests. It also comes from the Party's good style of work and the vanguard and exemplary role of the Party members. In the past, the Party achieved victories and en-

Huang Shucheng (middle), Party secretary of a coal mine in Shandong Province, inspecting safety conditions.



joyed high prestige among the Chinese people mainly by relying on these prerequisites. But during the ten-year tumult, all these were discarded and the prestige of the Party fell steeply.

Since the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party has fostered correct ideological, political and organizational lines which are warmly supported by the masses. But the thorough implementation of a correct line can be guaranteed only by a good Party style of work at various levels of Party organizations and by the vanguard and exemplary role of the Party members. The Party's excellent traditions and style are now gradually being revived. For example, the practice of evaluating comrades in a realistic way and of making policies by proceeding from the actual situation has been restored and carried forward quite well.

However, it must be noticed that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four has by no means been eliminated — far from it. Speaking as a whole, our Party's good traditions and style of long historical standing have not yet been restored — not by far. We must have an appropriate estimation of this. The Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life (see *Beijing Review*, No. 14) adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee were laid down for this very purpose. We must study the Guiding Principles in the spirit of the rectification campaign, check our actions in the light of the principles, correct our mistakes while studying the principles, and use our own actions to raise the Party's prestige and militancy.

## Giving Play to Our Country's Strong Points

Nowadays, everyone is talking about giving play to strong points. What are the strong points of our country? Our country cannot be compared with some others in respect to economic development and scientific and technological progress. But we excel them in other respects, especially in our social system. What is our most significant advantage? We have a



Feng Rulun, a Party member, is an outstanding worker of the Guangzhou No. 1 Knitwear Mill.

Marxist Party which has experienced twists and turns and undergone all kinds of tests.

Under the leadership of this great Party, the outlook and morality of our society as a whole as well as the unity of the Chinese people and their strong will to work hard to build up the country make up China's most valuable spiritual wealth. It was by relying on this advantage that the Party has led the people in overcoming numerous difficulties in material conditions, including those in early post-liberation days and in the early 60s, and in winning magnificent victories. Now this advantage which was lost in the ten-year tumult is being gradually restored.

To overcome the various difficulties in economic construction, we need not only correct lines and principles, but especially the restoration and development of this advantage. Quite a few comrades, especially young ones, fail to understand this. They see only that the modernization level of many countries is much higher than our country's, that their material wealth far exceeds ours. They have misgivings and even become pessimistic, for they see only our inferiority in these respects. They are not aware that the good traditions and style which our Party fostered under very difficult conditions are our most precious advantage and valuable treasure. To give play to this advantage does not need huge funds or waiting for a long time. So long as we really work hard with one mind, it won't take long to restore

the glorious traditions and good style of our Party. We must have faith in this.

### Resisting the Influence of Feudal Ideology

Some comrades attribute the bad style of work now existing in the Party to the fact that we still have difficulties materially. This is not true. Not only are our present material conditions far, far better than in the days when the Red Army crossed the snowy mountains and the marshes during the Long March, but they are much better than in the early post-liberation days. Then why isn't the Party's style as good as it was in those years? The fundamental cause lies in the fact that our Party has changed from an oppressed Party into one in power. As a result of this change, the Party is liable to become divorced from the people, and various non-proletarian ideas will emerge to corrupt our Party.

On the eve of the nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong admonished the whole Party: "With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." Unfortunately, this meaningful admonition has proved all too true.

Following the successful completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and the great successes in the smooth fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), arrogance and the tendency of loving to hear praise and disliking criticism grew and the Party began to be divorced from the people. Counter-revolutionary conspirators like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company struck at the Party leadership with sugar-coated bullets; bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, reinforced by deep-rooted feudal ideas, flooded the Party, causing grave damage to the Party's fine traditions and style. This was a catastrophe for our most precious advantage. Herein lies the fundamental cause for the Chinese people's suffering during the decade 1966-76. Therefore, in rectifying our Party style, we must resist not only the influence of such ultra-egoistic bourgeois



ideas as profit-seeking and profiteering at the expense of others but also the influence of feudal ideology.

China lived under feudalism for several thousand years and the People's Republic was born out of a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. Feudal ideology has profound and extensive influence on every aspect of society and life and on the Party as well. Feudal practices include: the system of life tenure for cadres, the attitude that "what I say goes," patriarchal behaviour, the cult of personality, bureaucracy, factionalism, seeking privilege and nepotism. Some of these evils can be seen also in capitalist society, but in China, they often bear the mark of feudalism. We must use what is stated in the Guiding Principles and the draft of the new Party constitution as an ideological weapon to continuously eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four and resist the influence of non-proletarian ideology of every description.

### "Begin With Myself"

At present, quite a few leading bodies and leading members of the Party have set good examples by their own actions. While studying the Guiding Principles and draft of the new Party constitution, they make criticism and self-criticism in the light of actual conditions and solve their own problems and those in their units in a down-to-earth way. This is a good beginning. Some people do not have enough confidence that we can bring about the four modernizations. Actually this implies lack of confidence in our ability to rectify the Party style well. Ideological and political work is of

Qian Chuhan (1st, right), former director and now an adviser of the coal industry department of Anhui Province, discussing mechanized production with his colleagues.



course necessary in resolving this, but more important is to rectify the Party style well. A good Party style will make the ideological and political work easy, and the prestige of the Party will rise naturally as a result. This is the most crucial measure for raising the Party's prestige.

While viewing our Party, the people naturally "listen to what it says" and, more important, "look at what it does." As far as each Party member is concerned, he or she must adopt a "begin-with-myself" approach and should not wait passively for others to take the initiative. But, speaking of the Party as a whole, the leading cadres must "begin with themselves" and play an exemplary role.

### Realizing Socialist Democracy

Supervision by the masses inside and outside the Party is necessary in carrying out the Guiding Principles and rectifying Party style. This calls for giving increased play to democracy inside the Party and democracy among the people. What we describe as the profound influence of feudal ideology in Chinese society includes the lack of democratic spirit. We need not only modernization but also democratization. We must practise real, all-round democracy, that is, socialist democracy, which the bourgeoisie can never possibly do. Only such democracy can prevent the Party from degenerating, prevent China from changing colour politically and prevent servants of the people from lording it over the people. We have already taken big steps in strengthening democracy inside and outside the Party and in guaranteeing democracy through rules and systems. We will stick to the road of socialist democracy.

The Chinese Communist Party's attitude towards itself is that "one divides into two." It has good points and also weak points, a bright side and also a dark one. But the bright side is sure to triumph over the dark side. The chronicle for 1978-80 of the Party shows that it has been changing year by year with the bright side growing and the dark side diminishing, with upright force growing and evil trends declining. We are fully confident that the future of our Party and state will become even brighter. All Party members who are determined on reforming, who have ideals and integrity, must pluck up their revolutionary spirit and work hard to promote a good Party style and raise the Party's prestige and militancy.

*(Subheads are ours.)*

## Social Effects of Literature and Art

The social effects of literary and art works have always been a subject of controversy in our country and during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution this issue reached the height of confusion. Since the question was brought up anew last October at the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, the press here has organized lively discussions in connection with the problems which literary and artistic creation faces today. The gist of the arguments follows. — Ed.

### Is It Necessary to Take Social Effects Into Consideration?

ONE point of view holds that a writer produces things for people to read and his work is bound to impress and influence them. He is duty-bound to take into consideration the social effects of his writings. This is because once published, they are no longer his private property but wealth belonging to society as a whole. When he undertakes to write something, a writer serving socialism should first ask himself a number of questions: In observing a social phenomenon, what attitude should he take — that of the master of a proletarian society, or the attitude of a cold onlooker, fault-finding and full of complaints? From what standpoint is he to provide answers to social problems — one based on the proletarian world outlook or on a non-proletarian world outlook? What he is to offer — fine, healthy spiritual nourishment that will elevate the spiritual world of the masses, or coarse, vulgar stuff to suit the shallow tastes of the petty? Is he to sing the praises of dauntless courage, or is he to portray and spread sentiments of disappointment and pessimism that undermine people's morale?

Another point of view sees it differently, that is, a writer cannot be held responsible for the social effects produced by his works and it is well nigh impossible for him to consider the social effects before he starts on his work.

A third viewpoint maintains that the social effects of literature and art are brought on by various factors, and while a writer should not shirk his responsibility towards society for what he has produced, his readers or the audience must also not try to lay the after-effects at his

door, ignoring the inner factors and various social causes. When a book is published or a programme staged, it will reach people of different eras, different classes, different places and different experiences, transcending time and space. And the readership of a particular book or the audience of a particular programme will run into many thousands. How is it possible to hold a writer, a book, or a theatrical programme fully responsible for the behaviour of readers or audiences?

### Yardstick for Assessing Social Effects

Many comrades are of the opinion that the social effects of a particular literary piece cannot be measured by the immediate reaction to it or by its box-office receipts, but have to be examined over a fairly long period of time. The most important criterion is to see if it promotes the modernization drive, political stability and unity, the establishment of a good social atmosphere, and the elevation of the people's socialist consciousness, especially that of young people. Literature and art cannot be detached from politics; they exert a fairly strong influence on the trend of thought of the people at large, the young people in particular, and have a lot to do with social order.

Some comrades, however, believe that the social effects of a piece of literature or art can only be judged by the social practice of the people. The effects are good when the piece of work has played a positive role in social practice. Anything that helps the masses acquire a correct view of life and improve life, anything that helps propel history forward and, artistically reaches a wholesome aesthetic standard, is good. Otherwise, it is not good. In appraising the social effects of a piece of literature or art, we should note its general trend. If it is in the main good for the masses, it should be approved. Lin Biao and the gang of four, too, talked about the social effects of literature and art, but then the effects they had in mind promoted nothing but their own private interests. They, a handful of wildly ambitious careerists, judged the effects by their subjective feelings.

There were also shortcomings and mistakes in the approach to the social effects of literature



and art in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966. The viewpoint once prevailed that literature and art must without exception be subordinated to politics. Under the sway of this idea, some comrades tended to first consider whether what they were about to produce would conform to a particular political slogan or a particular policy statement, instead of thinking of the actual part the piece of work might be able to play in the life of the masses. The result: Some of our literary and artistic creations were gravely divorced from the masses.

Some comrades do not think it right to measure the social effects of a piece of literary or artistic work by the assessment of one particular individual. Precedents in cultural history supply evidence that an extemporary, premature judgment will not go far and it is even worse if the judgment is made on the basis of someone's likes and dislikes or on a report from some particular source. The most reliable way is to leave the piece of work in question to society and the public, to be tested in the passage of time and examined in practice.

Other comrades hold that the examination of the social effects of literary and artistic works is a rather complex matter. A certain literary or artistic piece of work may evoke different responses in different periods of time, from different readerships, different audiences. But it does not follow that the social effects of the works of literature and art are unfathomable

and therefore a writer or an artist does not have to think of the social effects his work will produce. Whether the social effects of a book are good or bad can be tested in social practice, and be made a subject for popular discussion and evaluation. There naturally are a few works which, for various reasons, are looked on differently by people belonging to different social strata with different political and ideological inclinations and for some time no unified opinion on them can be formed. But there is nothing strange about that; it can be resolved gradually in the course of social practice, through the normal channels of literary and artistic review and discussion.

### The Approach to Social Effects

Many comrades maintain that literary works produce both artistic effects and political and ideological effects. It is by moulding typical artistic images, by appealing to people's sentiments and invoking spiritual strength that literature and art succeed in moving people, enlightening them and educating them, thereby producing a certain social influence and playing a role in social affairs. As for what view one should have regarding the social effects of literature and art, there are three different opinions on this subject.

One says literature and art, while exerting an imperceptible influence on the public, also have an immediate, active impact. After Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*) came out, the book actually



Left: Famous artist Huang Zhou travels a lot to familiarize himself with life in Xiaojiang and other places and has produced many traditional Chinese paintings with a peculiar style of his own. He is seen here making a sketch of a local fruit grower. Right: Jiang Zifeng (left), deputy head of a workshop in a Tianjin factory, engages in literary pursuits in his spare time. His "Factory Director Qiao Goes to Work" won the first place in the rating of the nation's best short stories for 1979.



evoked a concerted response from some impressionable youth who in their dejection were driven to drown themselves. In China there was a film, *Flying Dagger Hua*, about the life of an acrobatic performer in the old society; after it was shown, many teenagers and younger children took up dagger-throwing and went in for it in a big way. This happening is still very much alive in people's memory. Lately, for a short time, films about sex and murder have been showing in some places in our country; some people, on stage or in novels, have glamorized power and money or presented scenes of out-and-out indecency. This cannot but become a contributing factor in fomenting social disorder.

Another viewpoint opposes excessive exaggeration of the influence of literature and art as inappropriately laying certain social problems at the door of literary works, equating the problems with the social effects of these works.

A third opinion holds that the social effects of a literary work are connected with the literary attributes of the work, and even more, with weightier social problems than the book itself touches on. The complexity of society and readership determines that the social effects of a literary work are not a simple affair. The higher its artistic level and the stronger the social reaction, the more complex is the situation. Take *A Dream of Red Mansions* for instance. It is the consensus of statesmen, historians, economists, artists and educators of our time that this novel deserves to be called an "encyclopaedia" of Chinese feudal society.

As far as the positive aspects of its social effects are concerned, the merits of this novel have not yet been fully enumerated. On the other hand, in the 200-odd years following its appearance, among the readers in succeeding generations countless numbers of boys and girls were fascinated and spellbound by it, some starving themselves to death, others running away from their families, some going out of their way to look sickly in the way "Cousin Lin" does, still others intent on becoming a ranking official and getting rich, ready to act like Jia Yucun in the novel... Are these not part of the social effects of the novel? We now have a modern play *Save the Girl* (see *Beijing Review*, No. 4) about how a teacher educates a student who has been led astray, how the teacher helps her break away from a group of hoodlums, reform herself and embark on a road of new life. This play has been universally acknowledged as a fine one, but certainly there are also some young people who simply ape the hoodlums' way of life in the play and prefer to use the kind of language of the roughs on the stage. Why should the play be held responsible for this? So there is also the question of guiding the public, promoting practical and realistic discussions, to help people appreciate literature and art in a healthy and more sophisticated way.

### The Social Effects of Literary Works Produced In Recent Years

There are different opinions concerning the social effects some literary works produced in recent years.



Left: A song and dance ensemble of the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province entertaining people of a Dai village. Right: Liu Zhixia (right), a well-known novelist, chatting with a fisherman on an island.

One body of opinion considers that the literary world in our country has in the last three years and more restored the fine tradition of linking literary creation with practice, that writers have formed closer ties with the people, most of them have a stronger sense of responsibility towards society and have produced large numbers of good works, and their achievements are great. The impact of literary works on the masses has been strong, something unheard of in the last 30 years. Many works have achieved a great deal in exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the gang of four, in sweeping away their pernicious influence, in enhancing the public's political consciousness, in cultivating higher ethical concerns and in helping to bring up a new type of people in socialist society. But there are also some works which are defective in one way or another, with not very good, or even bad social effects. One major cause of this is the failure of writers to break away completely from the ideological influence of ultra-Leftism. Another cause is that some writers see life only from a particular angle, one-sidedly; they lack a serious attitude and a scientific spirit but have the courage to explore and work out something new, so that some of their artistic delineations do not conform to the actual situation in real life. There is no need to make a fuss about this. We should avoid exaggerating this situation, thereby denying our

achievements in literature and art, but we must at the same time face up in a realistic way to the problems that are there.

The second viewpoint, while affirming the achievements we have made in literature and art, is concerned about the problems that exist today. Some authors are keen on plots that are fantastic or even weird and scenes that dishearten people or are filled with horror. In some works, there are cases of blood-curdling murder, degeneration, depression, and savagery as if the more of this the author included, the "bolder" and "more realistic" he would appear. Criticism of bureaucracy or privilege seeking, it goes without saying, is one major topic in our literature and art. In some works, however, these have been excessively dwelt on as incurable afflictions, hopeless cases. In some films some tricks of foreign film-makers are copied mechanically to the point where fist-fighting of an exotic style and unhealthy tendencies are luridly pictured to regale Chinese audiences. Music in some of our films is meticulously patterned after the rhythm of some foreign songs, as if with this, "something novel" has been achieved. Such films cannot play a positive part in arousing the people's militant spirit, in kindling the flame of hope in their hearts, in edifying their minds and in encouraging them to march forward towards the four modernizations. □

## What to Uphold and What To Oppose in Economic Work



*A very important guiding principle in economic construction is to do what is possible. But for many years this was not the case. One grave fault in China's economic work over a number of years was that we exaggerated the role of one's subjective initiative, considered only the needs without regard to our ability to accomplish our aims, and blindly went in for high targets and high speed, with the result that there was more haste but less speed. This was because of the influence of ultra-Leftist ideas. From May 26 to June 26, "Renmin Ribao" published five editorials dealing with this problem. The*

*major points of the first four were summarized in an "Events and Trends" item in our issue No. 26. Following is a slightly abridged translation of the fifth editorial, summing up the principle of doing what is possible. — Ed.*

THE Chinese people now know full well the importance of the guiding principle of doing what is possible, after experiencing enormous sufferings over the last 20-30 years through failing to implement this principle in economic construction. What should we uphold, prevent and oppose if this guiding principle is to be

really applied to all aspects of our economic work? Here are a few of the major principles.

**We must uphold the principle of relying mainly on ourselves and using foreign assistance as subsidiary.** It is absolutely wrong and extremely harmful to wall the country off from the rest of the world. Today, when we are striving to accomplish the arduous tasks of bringing about the four modernizations, we would be committing a very grave error, letting slip an excellent opportunity and adversely affecting our socialist construction, if we fail to make the fullest use of the favourable international conditions to advance our modernization programme. But, we would also be committing a gross error if we do not base ourselves on self-reliance. It is simply impossible for China, a big country with more than 900 million people, to depend on others for everything, from providing daily essentials to achieving socialist modernization, because that is unreliable and, to be precise, impossible.

In making use of foreign funds, equipment, and scientific and technological achievements, we must realistically weigh our ability to pay, our ability to make the ancillary equipment and our ability to "digest." We must also carefully study the question as to how much help they may give to developing our national economy, whether there are side-effects and whether they can become a burden. We must never do what some comrades would like to: borrow and buy from abroad whatever is not available at home — funds, materials and equipment. They fix their eyes on foreign countries and stretch out their hands towards foreign countries. This way of thinking and doing things is actually abandoning the principle of relying mainly on ourselves.

Take the use of foreign funds for example. According to international experience, a proper ratio must be established between the amount of foreign funds imported into a country and its ability to earn foreign exchange from exports. If the proper ratio is exceeded, one will neither be able to get the foreign loan nor be able to repay when the debt is due after getting the loan. As for the introduction of advanced technologies, large, repeated imports of complete sets of equipment cannot be digested readily and do not help raise our technological level and our ability to produce. Moreover, they are unfavourable to exploiting our advantage by engaging in labour-intensive processes. We must never be subjective and arbitrary in our attitude towards this question,

for we have already been made to suffer a great deal through acting blindly and rashly.

**We should adhere to the principle of giving priority to production over capital construction, to simple reproduction over expanded reproduction.** If this sequence in line with the Marxist theory of reproduction is violated in allocating funds and materials, attempting to concentrate on capital construction at the expense of production and on expanded reproduction at the cost of simple reproduction and "pulling down a wall in the east for bricks to build a wall in the west," it would be tantamount to "cutting off one's flesh to feed oneself." If production cannot be smoothly developed and if people's lives cannot be gradually improved, socialist production and construction will be off the mark. In some places today, while attention is on building new factories and on capital construction, little heed is being paid to fully utilizing existing ones and bringing out their potentials, introducing innovations and making transformations. There is even the irrational phenomenon of "existing factories starving for work, while new ones are still in the process of being built." This must be prevented and firmly corrected.

**We must uphold the principle of keeping production targets commensurate with the supply of fuel, power, raw and semi-finished materials.** In drawing up plans, we must take everything into account, be active and prudent and leave some leeway to make certain that the plans can be overfulfilled so that people really feel there is something in it for them to work for. We are resolutely against impossibly high production targets because that will only encourage padding figures and bring real disasters. At present, with energy falling short of demand, we must, in making production plans, especially those for the heavy industry, take the availability of fuel and power into full consideration and increase production while making every effort to economize on energy.

**We must keep to a reasonable accumulation rate, scale capital construction to our financial and material strength, "concentrate a superior force to fight a battle of annihilation," that is, complete a batch of factories, put them into production before starting on another batch.** This will help turn out products and recover investments at an earlier date, raise the level of technology faster and help to consolidate and enlarge investment results. We are resolutely against overhigh accumula-



tion rates, against straining for simultaneous development on all fronts, making no distinctions in importance and urgency and over-extending the whole front. Of course, "to concentrate our force to fight a battle of annihilation" does not mean limiting ourselves to undertaking only a few important projects. It means, while giving priority to key projects, to make overall proportionate arrangements between major projects and minor ones, between the principal projects and ancillary projects as well as between productive constructions and non-productive constructions.

**We should persist in improving the people's livelihood step by step on the basis of expanding production so that the broad masses can get real material benefits in such daily essentials as food, clothing, shelter and transport.** Only thus will the enthusiasm of the masses grow and construction proceed faster. We should firmly oppose the practice of paying attention only to accumulation and neglecting consumption. Of course, those who one-sidedly talk about improving people's livelihood without regard to developing production are also wrong.

**We should adhere to the principle of achieving an overall balance in finance, credit, foreign exchange and material and effecting a balance in each of these fields and keeping the market and the people's livelihood stable.** We should do as much as our funds can afford to. How much should be spent on production and construction will depend on how much means of production we have on hand; and how much should be spent on improving the people's livelihood will be determined by the amount of consumer goods. We must not try engaging in construction and improving the people's livelihood through running financial deficits or printing more banknotes.

Of course, deficits may occur and we may have to now and again draw on some goods from our stocks (this does not include over-stocked goods) when our subjective wishes do not conform to objective reality, and if sometimes our calculations are inaccurate and if sometimes we come across unexpected difficulties. This is hard to avoid. But following this principle we must adhere to achieving an overall balance in finance, credit, foreign exchange and material and effecting a balance in each of these fields. On this, there must not be the slightest vacillation.

The above can be summed up into one sentence, that is, **on the basis of doing things according to our abilities, we should ensure that**

**the national economy develops in a planned and proportionate way.** We will not be able to achieve our aims if we pursue high speed and set high targets in a subjectivist way. Sometimes an over-high target is set to be fulfilled at high speed but in the end it fails and results in great losses. In our work, we must be prudent and follow the principle of leaving adequate leeway. Only when we do things according to our abilities and engage in economic construction in a proportionate way can we achieve genuine high speed.

Objective law is independent of man's will. If we fail to do things according to our abilities and to develop the economy in a proportionate way, if we go only after speed and indulge in wishful thinking, the result can only be contrary to what we expect. Today, when we are implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy, we stress that readjustment is the decisive factor and that restructuring, consolidation and improvement should serve readjustment; we are against the idea of wanting only to start building and not wanting readjustment.

Doing what is possible is not a passive policy, but a positive policy. Firmly implementing the guiding principle of doing what is possible will enable us to successfully gain mastery in economic work and achieve what we set out to do.

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 26

### How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

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

"c" (ts), a consonant, as "ts" in its; and

"e" (e), a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;

"i" (i), a vowel, two pronunciations:

1) as in eat

2) as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;

"j" (ch), a consonant, as in jeep;

- "q" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;

"r" (j), a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;

"u" (u), a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German unlauded "u" in "Muenchen";

"x" (hs), a consonant, as "sh" in she;

"z" (ts, tz), a consonant, as in zero; and

"zh" (ch), a consonant, as "j" in jump.

### ● **Legal Advisory Office**

A woman teacher made a special trip from northeast China's Anshan to the Beijing Legal Advisory Office to consult it about her son who was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for robbery. The lawyer assigned to study the case later told her the verdict returned by the Anshan court was fair. "I am not disappointed. It was worth my while to come. For the last three years I have been saying the court verdict was unfair, but I don't feel so now," said the teacher when she finished hearing the lawyer's explanation. The Beijing Legal Advisory Office receives an average of 30 inquiries a day. Sometimes they get as many as 100.

From January 1 up to the end of May, the office received 3,136 persons asking for legal advice, drafted 218 legal papers on request and defended 304 cases.

Yao Keming of the Beijing Higher People's Court said, half of the 900 criminal cases handled by Beijing's courts at various levels in the first four months of this year were defended by lawyers, the rest were defended by the accused themselves or by their relatives. Minors, the blind and the deaf and mule facing charges were provided with legal defence, so were those indicted for offences carrying the death sentence. Yao Keming remarked that "the presence of lawyers at courts has helped prevent miscarriages of justice and the courts arrive at better verdicts."

He Yi, a 22-year-old worker was charged with armed robbery.

His lawyer, Pan Shiming, asked the court for a lighter sentence on the grounds that his client was merely an accomplice in an attempted robbery and that he had surrendered himself to the police. The court took cognizance of the lawyer's plea and sentenced the accused to five years imprisonment.

While discussing the responsibility of lawyers to defend the accused, 51-year-old woman lawyer Wu Zhaoling said, "Defending the accused is also enforcing the law."

The rate charged for one court appearance by a lawyer is 20 to 30 yuan, for a legal inquiry half a yuan, and the drafting of a legal paper one to two yuan. The fees go to the state, which in turn pays the lawyers a regular wage.

Big efforts are being made to train more lawyers. The Beijing, Xinan, Xibei and Huadong Institutes of Political Science and Law have been reopened; and law faculties of the China People's University, Beijing University and Jilin University

have resumed teaching, while nine other universities have set up law faculties. The country is enrolling 2,400 law students this autumn.

China in 1957 had 2,800 lawyers and 800 legal advisory offices, but that year, during the struggle against Rightists, defence for the accused was criticized and the lawyers were forced to change their vocation.

Then in 1978, the Fifth National People's Congress decided that the legal system should be strengthened, and lawyers' associations and legal advisory offices were set up first in Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin. There are now nearly 200 such offices in the country with more to be established soon.

### ● **Attractive Huangshan**

New shops and two hotels have been opened in the Huangshan Mountain to meet tourist needs. There are now enough accommodations for 3,000 visitors, ranging from high-quality villas to tourist-class hotels.



Sea of clouds over Huangshan Mt.

## People in the News

Guo Song has been singing for 30 years and is a popular singer, especially with audiences in northeast China.

When Guo Song was a boy, he was attracted by northeast folk songs and the *er ren zhuan* form, a song-and-dance duel popular in the northeast. He also liked Beijing opera. He took singing lessons from various well-known northeast folk singers and familiarized himself with the various folk song styles of the northeast. Guo Song studied famous Beijing opera masters, going to their performances and listening critically to their recordings. He also studied other forms of local operas and folk music. This knowledge enabled him to develop his own style of singing.

The singer is also a keen student of Western music. During his six performance tours abroad, he tried to learn as much as possible about the culture of those countries for he believes in the principle of making foreign things serve China. "We can learn profitably from foreign vocal music to improve our traditional vocal music," Guo says.

About 200 songs based on northeast folk songs have been written either individually by Guo Song or collectively with his participation. He sings these songs, eulogizing the Party and the motherland, the new people and new things which have emerged in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce or education. He sings of the people of Hezhe, Daur, Oroqen and Ewenki nationalities, and love songs. His more popular songs are *Wusuli Boat Song*, *New Street Vendor* and *Brighter Will Be the Road as You Walk On*.



praises on Huangshan, but one must visit Huangshan in person to really appreciate the clouds, the pines, the rocks, the hot spring and other marvelous views.

### ● *Lassoing Horses*

Every year when summer comes round, the herdsmen of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region meet to hold their spectacular horse-lassoing shows. These meets are small, local affairs, but are eagerly looked forward to by herdsmen and their families. They come riding to the meet in their holiday best to see the horsemen demonstrate their skill with the lariat.

Recently, in the livestock-raising Hadenghushao Production Brigade 50 horsemen took part in a demonstration. A single rider leaped on his horse, lariat swinging, and dashed into a herd of unruly horses and neatly lassoed one. Several husky fellows pinned the horse to the ground and trimmed its tail and mane. It was all over within minutes. Then another rider demonstrated his skill, with everyone around cheering and applauding.

These horse-lassoing and mane trimming meets are a traditional thing with horse-riding Mongolian people.

They meet to display their superb riding skills, too. Riders would leap off galloping horses and mount them again, lasso a bronco at a full gallop, hang clinging under the horse and so on. They also compete with each other to see who can rope, trim and brand a wild horse the quickest, and in breaking a bucking bronco.

After the show everyone sits down to talk over a cup of tea with milk or liquor while watching wrestling matches.

Twice as many coaches now link Huangshan with Nanjing, Hangzhou and Wuhu respectively.

The famous Chinese traveller Xu Xiake (1586-1641) declared that Huangshan Mt. in Anhui Province was lovelier than all the other mountains he had visited.

Huangshan has 72 rocky peaks of wondrous shapes, all standing more than 1,400 metres above sea level. The Lianhua, Kuangming and Tiandu Peaks are above 1,800 metres and almost all visitors want to climb the last, but it is not easy to cover the perilous 1.5-kilometre steep path to the top. Though there are steps cut into the stone, the climb is so steep that it is more like climbing up a ladder. Near the peak is a smooth slippery 100-metre stretch like a razor-back allow-

ing only one person to pass at a time. But the daring is well rewarded by the view it affords.

Lianhua Peak, the highest of all Huangshan peaks, is surrounded by small peaks. A huge stone on the summit of the nearby Lianxin Peak is frequently wreathed in swirling mists and billowing clouds and it looks like a boat cleaving through misty sea.

The ever-changing cloud displays on Huangshan are another great attraction and the best views are obtained on the Yuping Peak.

The gnarled contorted pines on the peaks and slopes, the hot spring below Ziyun Peak and the many strange-shaped rocks attract visitors at home and abroad. Poets and painters over the centuries have showered



## THEATRE

## Peasant Amateurs

The curtain parted to reveal a stage full of lotus flowers swaying above large green leaves. When the lights changed, the flowers metamorphosed into a gaudy 15-metre-long dragon lit up by electric lights and the leaves have turned into clouds. The four-legged dragon soared, dived, writhed and danced sinuously after a constantly moving "pearl."

This was the 300-year-old lotus dragon dance presented by a team from Zhejiang Province on the opening night of the Peasants' Theatrical Festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture. The dragon dancers were from Tianping Production Brigade, Changxing County, on the southern shore of Taihu Lake. Their particular dragon dance is distinctively different to those of other parts of the province.

Tan Xiaoming who manipulated the head of the dragon is a production team leader and the next important performer, moving the tail, is another production team leader.

With improved farm production, the peasants are living better and the rich cultural life of the countryside is being rapidly revived. Traditional songs and dances, operas and instrumental music are flourishing again and this festival was organized to promote this revival.

There were some 270 peasant artists from 11 provinces, one municipality and one autonomous region at the 11-day festival, where 33 of the 47 items performed won Ministry of Culture awards. Most of the works were by young villagers and

urban school-leavers who have settled in the countryside.

Among the more interesting items are: Three dances, *Sending Shoes to Soldiers*, *Red Mountain Flowers*, and *Meeting the Bridegroom*, created and presented by the delegation from Hunan Province. There are the folk-song operetta *Lovers' Pavilion*, written by Li Rongmin, a 25-year-old production team leader, and the song *More Work, Less Meetings* from Hubei Province, poking fun at a village Party secretary who is always away attending meetings. The short local opera *Pulling Down the Wall* from Shaanxi Province deals with a quarrel between a senior village cadre and a young cadre who live in the same courtyard. They had erected a wall in the courtyard to separate their houses during the strife-torn years of the Cultural Revolution. The wall was pulled down after the gang of four was thrown out and people began making friends again. This theme was very adroitly handled, better than many professional writers. The story could be told of many villages in real life.

On opening night at the theatre of the Beijing Workers' Club, one of the best in the capital, were Zhou Yang and Zhu Muzhi, deputy heads of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-ministers of culture and leading members of the Trade Union Federation, the Communist Youth League and Women's Federation. Wan Li and Wang Renzhong, Members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. attended the closing perform-



From the dance "Meeting the Bridegroom."

ances on June 11 and posed for photos with all the performers.

## MUSIC SCHOOL

Central Conservatory  
— 30 Years Old

China's first woman conductor 51-year-old Zheng Xiaoying, speaking on behalf of her alumni, congratulated the Central Conservatory of Music on its 30th anniversary. "May all the seeds sown by our alma mater flower and bear fruit, may all musicians serve our Chinese people better," she said.

Zheng Xiaoying was a medical student until she went to the liberated areas in 1948 and joined a cultural troupe there.

She graduated from the conservatory in the 1950s and then studied three years in Moscow in the early 1960s, where she once conducted the opera *La Tosca*. Since then, she has conducted in performances of the Italian opera *La Traviata*, the Chinese opera *Ayikuli* and the



Zheng Xiaoying conducting.

Japanese opera *Crane*, as well as symphonic works of Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Liszt and Chinese composers such as He Luding and Li Huanzhi.

Other graduates at the meeting were the composer Wu Zuqiang, the pianist Liu Shikun and the *pipa* soloist Liu Dehai.

The conservatory started with four departments in Tianjin 30 years ago. Today it has 704 faculty members and 583 students, with eight departments — composition, conducting, musicology, national instrument, wind and string instruments, piano, vocal music and opera, offering some 30 specialities. The youngest pupil is ten-year-old Lu Siqing, studying violin in its primary school, and the oldest is Yao Xueyan, in his forties, taking an advanced course in conducting.

The conservatory follows the principle of giving those studying Western music a general understanding of traditional Chinese music and instruments and those specializing in traditional music a general understanding of Western music and instruments.

The 3,000 students who have

graduated from the conservatory in the past 30 years are nuclear members of various music institutions. In the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, 41 of the 120 members studied in the department of wind and string instruments, including Sheng Zhongguo, one of China's leading violinists. The conservatory has also compiled many textbooks on national music, such as a history of Chinese music, a history of modern Chinese music, and a guide on national wind and string instruments as well as books on acoustics. Teachers and students of the conservatory have produced many musical works, ranging from operas, dance dramas to instrumental music, and these now form part of the repertoires of many orchestras and troupes in China.

Despite the conservatory being shut down for eight years, it has rapidly made good the lost time and the standards are now on a par with those of earlier years. In 1977 its primary and middle schools were reopened. That year, the conservatory enrolled some 300 talented students out of 17,000 young applicants.

## BOOKS

### Unfettered by Stereotypes

Essays on Chinese Economic  
History

《中国经济史论丛》

By Fu Zhufu;

Published by Sanlian Bookstore;  
580,000 words in two volumes;  
Renminbi 2.65 yuan.

This collection which consists of 12 essays on Chinese and two on foreign economic history is the result of decades of research by Fu Zhufu, a specialist on Chinese economic history. In it he gives a systematic analysis of some of the major questions concerning ancient Chinese economic history, such as the periodization of slave and feudal societies, the nature of the land systems, industry and commerce and the monetary economy and the role of ancient cities.

Without neglecting the categories common to all social development, the writer concentrates on the unique features of the Chinese society, as shown for instance in the development of ancient China's economy, and thus, has brought forth some ideas quite different from the accepted norm.

His view on the division of periods in ancient Chinese history is rather original. Many historians have held that the slave society ended with the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (770-256 B.C.) or the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.), or even the Three Kingdoms (220-280 A.D.), and that feudal society ended with the Opium War of 1840. In his *Era of the Slave System*, Guo Moruo, the noted historian, believed that

slave society ended in the years marking off the Spring and Autumn Period from the Warring States Period (c. 5th century B.C.).

Fu Zhufu, however, gives a different interpretation: To him, the Yin Dynasty (c. 1600-1100 B.C.) was a slave society, the Western Zhou Dynasty (c. 1066-771 B.C.) a feudal society, while the period after the Eastern Zhou Dynasty — extending over 2,000 years — was a "deformed feudal system" characterized by the economy of landlord ownership.

Fu Zhufu holds that the slave system was not fully developed in China and never reached maturity as in Greece and Rome. The Yin society was one of ownership of both land and slaves by the class. Because of the extremely primitive methods of farming, these clans were semi-nomadic, always seeking new arable land. Here the author gives a new explanation as to why the Yin people had to move frequently from place to place, and negates such arguments as that the Yins had "to flee from outside invasion," "to flee floods" or that, during the Yin Dynasty, China was "a nomadic state."

He considers that in its nature, function and form of organization, the nine-square (*jing tian*) system\* of the Western Zhou Dynasty was more or less similar to the manorial system in medieval Europe. Therefore he considers that Western Zhou Dynasty was typical of feudal society in China. The breakup of the nine-square system and the emergence of private ownership of land during the Spring and Autumn Period (770-475 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.)

indicated the collapse of the typical feudal system.

In the 2,000 years and more after the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the landlord economy was the main economic form in China's society — a social system which Fu describes as a "deformed feudal system" — different from both typical feudal society and from capitalist society, and as being "the genesis of the under-developed social economy" in China.

This "deformed feudal system" brought about the steady concentration of land ownership on the one hand and fragmentation of cultivated plots on the other. This was how the small-peasant economy was formed, amid cruel exploitation and rule by the landlord class. The small-peasant economy itself limited the development of production: exploitation by the ruling class further deprived the masses of peasants of the power to expand production. As a result, the social economy remained stagnant. This system of exploitation by the landlords, which was a kind of ceaseless feudal plunder, could never develop into capitalism. That was why the society did not go through a qualitative change for over 2,000 years.

The ancient Chinese cities and their economic features are discussed in two essays. The author compares the ancient cities of China with those of Europe — their origin, how they were run, relations between the establishment of cities and feudal rank, the setting up of markets and the control established over industry and commerce.

Fu Zhufu notes that whereas, under the feudal system in Europe, the cities were free cities which the feudal manors

could not directly control, in China, the ancient cities were the nerve centres from which the feudal ruling class issued and enforced orders and decrees. So, as far as the feudal system was concerned, development of European cities was a centrifugal force which led to the disintegration of the feudal economic structure and the emergence of capitalism. In China, development of cities was a centripetal force which led to the consolidation of the entire feudal economic structure.

The historian also devotes much space to the monetary economy of ancient China, investigating the relationship between monetary and commodity economies, between the land system and usurious capital. In his view, China's monetary economy, which was highly developed and had a deep impact on the national economy as a whole, dates back to ancient times. This is another major feature of ancient Chinese economic history. The use of money was recorded in some of the very ancient books. But, Fu believes, the monetary economy had its beginnings towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. With the rapid development of commodity economy in the Warring States Period, the monetary economy, like a powerful flood, disrupted the old land system and the buying and selling of land gave rise to private land ownership. Hence, the emergence of a landlord class and the formation of a "deformed feudal system" in China.

\* This refers to the land ownership system where one large square was divided into nine small ones (like the Chinese character 井), the eight outer ones being allocated to serfs who had to cultivate the central one for the serf-owner.





## LETTERS FROM READERS

### Seeking Truth From Facts

It's very interesting to read the articles and news reports on the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi and other relevant articles dealing with his life and meritorious deeds. They have exposed and refuted all the charges against him. From the article "Restore True Qualities of Mao Zedong Thought" in No. 21, we see that it was not easy for the Chinese Communist Party to openly redress the wrongs done to him, because he had been criticized for many years and the people might not understand or might even oppose his rehabilitation. But a Communist Party is ready to take all risks in order to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. This shows that the Chinese Communists are fair, selfless and trustworthy. If the Chinese Communist Party leadership intended to restore capitalism, it would not have done so.

**Heinz-Gunter Foerster**  
Bielefeld, W. Germany

I have read with interest the articles on the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, particularly the article "Restore True Qualities of Mao Zedong Thought" in No. 21. It quoted Lenin's statement: "... Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it," but I think you have not followed this method. You have explained at great length how the mistakes were made, but neglected the most important thing: How could they have happened? It seems to me that the article appeals to the sentiments rather than to the intellect.

Why was it so easy at that time to persuade the Party members and the people to believe that Liu Shaoqi was counter-revolutionary? Like many progressives throughout the world, I also believed then that he was guilty.

It is now necessary for you to explain the reasons of this historical phenomenon. This naturally implies a revision of the so-called "revisionism." But who is the "revisionist"? And what has he "revised"?

In my opinion, the answer can be found in Liu Shaoqi's work *On Inner-Party Struggle* written in 1941. The second chapter of this book dealt with the specific conditions for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the various tendencies in inner-Party struggle. I hope the text will be published again.

**Michel David**  
Beijing, China

### Is There Competition in Socialist Economy?

Several articles in No. 22 of *Beijing Review* discussed the role competition can and should play in a socialist economy. It is obvious that there are two different views on the question of competition. One holds that China's economy brooks no competition, while the other stands for competition within the framework of socialist public ownership, with the planned economy as the principal factor and the market economy supplementary to it. I think this is correct. If practice could prove that competition would bring better results, then it should be given more scope to play its role.

On the other hand, we shouldn't give a wrong description of the essence of competition. The view expressed by Zhu Jiaming in the article "Competition Means Progress" is not entirely correct, because competition is only a means serving a given purpose in economy.

His view that competition played a progressive role in history is also not entirely right, because what embodied progress then was capitalist ownership.

**Hartmut Dietrich**  
Göttingen, W. Germany

I like very much the articles under the general title "Should There Be Competition in Socialist Economy?" in No. 22. This is because I run a small business enterprise and whenever I mentioned competition, many people tried to convince me that my viewpoint would have no place in a socialist society and that I

might even lose my job, which of course I don't believe.

**Christfan LeDuc**  
Paris, France

### Foreign Technology

I have a question about the relationship between importing foreign technology and division of labour. China is importing more and more foreign techniques. This will bring with it the great danger of the capitalist division of labour. Therefore, you should not merely import such equipment and carry out production the capitalist way. But you should make analyses and renovations. I think this is a matter of principle in importing foreign technology.

**Andreas Muller**  
Basel, Switzerland

### Soviet Expansionism Should Not Be Underestimated

I have been concentrating on the articles about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. About a month ago a U.S. news correspondent of Columbia Broadcasting System incorporated went into Afghanistan with the Afghan patriots. The Soviet Union's absurd claim of "outside interference" was proven to be a lie when Soviet helicopter gunships could be seen patrolling the countryside, and also there were not any foreign troops there. Only the Afghan patriots were fighting the Soviets.

Nobody should underestimate the Soviet hegemonists. After receiving world condemnation for their expansionist policies and food embargoes, their will to achieve world hegemony remains undestroyed at the cost of starving their own people.

**Gregory Currier**  
Union City, Calif., U.S.A.

### Reports on International Questions

It is of great interest to read your reports on international questions which you have covered in a consistent way. This is also an achievement of your weekly.

The column "Letters From Readers" has also attracted my attention. It is good and honest of you to publish on many occasions letters of criticism.

**Adolfo Mora**  
Bogota, Colombia

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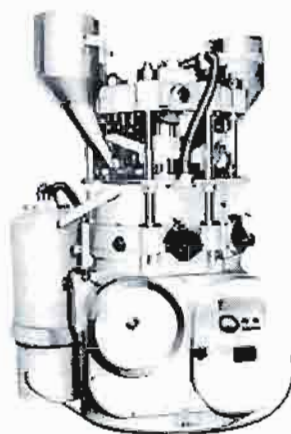
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