

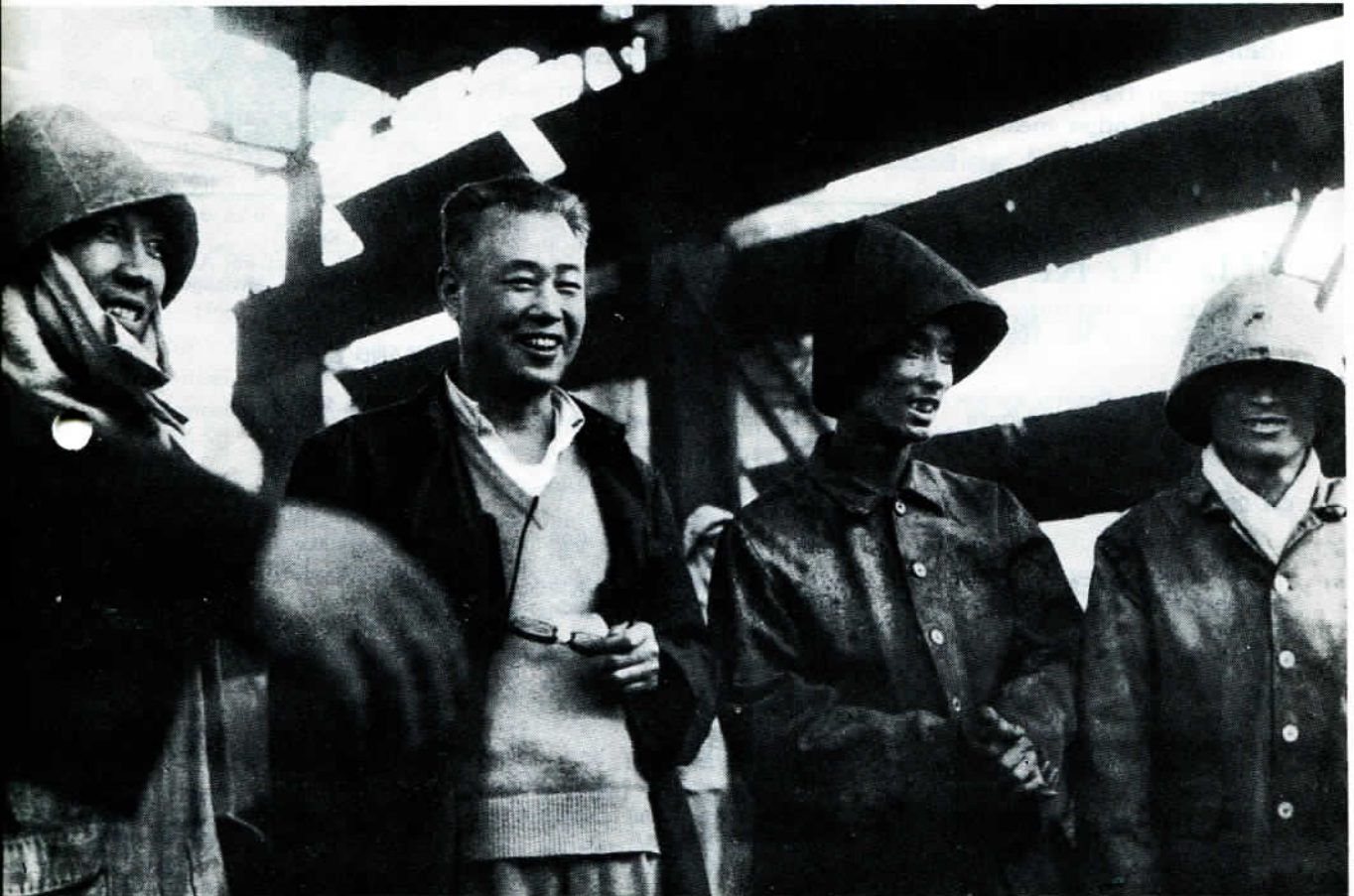
BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

- Hua Guofeng's Speech (main points)
- Zhao Ziyang—New Premier
- Other Important Resolutions



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

N.P.C. Ends Session

Hua Guofeng made an important speech, outlining achievements over the past year and listing five major tasks for 1980 and 1981 (p. 4); the session decided on the appointment of Zhao Ziyang as Premier and adopted other important resolutions (p. 3); four new laws were enacted (p. 6).

Handicraft Industry

Does the handicraft industry have a place on China's modernization programme? A special feature in this issue explains why, in this age of modern technology and equipment, the handicraft industry still has an important role to play (p. 16).

Changes in Rural Areas

Reform in the system of distribution and other measures to

ease economic control have brought great changes to China's countryside. A notable example is Fengyang County in Anhui Province, where grain output last year topped 220,000 tons, a 49 per cent increase over 1978 (p. 7).

U.S. Nuclear Strategy

Taking a firmer stance towards Soviet challenges, the U.S. has disclosed its intention to adopt a "countervailing strategy" of attacking military targets rather than on cities. The move is decried by the Soviet Union but welcomed in Western Europe (p. 10).

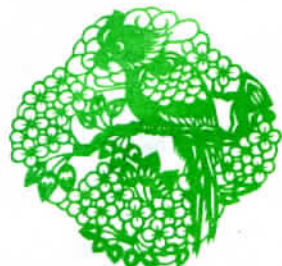
Polish Workers' Strikes

The strikes which have led to a major Party and government reshuffle have by and large

ended, with agreements reached between the workers and the government. The impact of the strikes, however, will be far-reaching (p. 11).

Refuting the Vietnamese Memorandum

Viet Nam has issued a memorandum in late August in a futile attempt to drive a wedge between China and Southeast Asian countries and lure Thailand to recognize the Viet Nam-installed puppet regime in Kampuchea. Its spurious arguments are refuted by our news analyst (p. 12).



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COVER: Zhao Ziyang (second
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Plant in Sichuan Province
(1977).

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POLITICAL

National People's Congress Ends Session

The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress closed on September 10 in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

Throughout the 12-day session, a lively and democratic atmosphere prevailed, and the deputies made criticisms and self-criticisms, conscientiously exercised their rights and spoke out freely, reflecting the ideas and requests of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all nationalities in the country, as well as those of the officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao), overseas Chinese and patriotic personages. They frankly made criticisms and raised questions and suggestions concerning the work of the government. Leading personnel of the departments concerned under the State Council answered these questions and gave explanations. Thus the people's deputies fully exercised their right of supervision over the government.

The session accomplished the following tasks:

— Examined Premier Hua Guofeng's speech and made changes in the leading personnel of the state;

— Examined the reports on the arrangements for the national economic plans, the state

budget and the final state accounts submitted by the State Council; examined the reports on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and adopted corresponding resolutions;

— Adopted a resolution to amend Article 45 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, namely, the deletion of the provision to speak out freely, air views ful-

ly, hold great debates and write big-character posters;

— Adopted the revised Marriage Law, Nationality Law, Income Tax Law on Joint Ventures With Chinese and Foreign Investment and Individual Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China;

— Adopted a resolution on the revision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the setting up of a committee for revising the Constitution, and approved the composition of the committee.

Reshuffle of State Leading Personnel

Entrusted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hua Guofeng explained the proposed changes in the leading members of the State Council.

After deliberations, the session decided to make the following changes:

— Chairman Hua Guofeng of the C.P.C. Central Committee will no longer hold the post of Premier of the State Council;

— Zhao Ziyang is now Premier of the State Council;

— Deng Xiaoping, Li Xian-nian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian and Wang Zhen who are advanced in age will no longer hold the posts of Vice-Premiers of the State Council;

— Wang Renzhong, who has taken up an important post in

the Party, also will give up his Vice-Premiership;

— Chen Yonggui was relieved of his post as Vice-Premier upon his own request;

— The session decided on the appointment of Yang Jingren, Zhang Aiping and Huang Hua as Vice-Premiers of the State Council;

— The session approved the resignation of Nie Rongzhen, Liu Bocheng, Zhang Dingcheng, Cai Chang and Zhou Jianren as Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, and elected Peng Chong, Xi Zhongxun, Su Yu, Yang Shangkun and Bain-qen Erdini Qoigy Gyalncain as additional Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Premier Hua Guofeng's Speech

Hua Guofeng delivered a two-hour-long speech on the work of the government at a plenary meeting on September 7. He outlined China's achievements in the political, economic, scientific, educational and other fields as well as in foreign affairs over the past year. He pointed out that the main tasks for 1980 and 1981 are to continue to develop the present favourable situation and carry on the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy and, on the basis obtaining at present, push forward in a better way the modernization programme in accordance with the plan submitted to this session by the State Council.

Hua listed the following five major tasks of the government for 1980 and 1981:

- (1) Draw up a long-term programme;
- (2) Carry on with the structural reform of economic management;
- (3) Eliminate bureaucracy and improving government work;
- (4) Strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system;
- (5) Ensure that the leading government personnel at all levels are younger, more educated and professionally proficient.

Hua stressed that, in mapping out a long-term programme, the following questions must be properly solved:

- The pernicious influence of ultra-Left thought must be eliminated. We must act in a down-to-earth way in accordance with the objective laws of socialist society, proceed from reality and do what is within

our capability, so that the draft outline of the new ten-year programme will as far as possible be drawn up on a scientific and practical basis;

- Improve the people's living standards, this is the basic purpose of the long-term programme;

- Special attention must be paid to the exploitation of intellectual resources and efforts made to develop scientific and educational undertakings;

- Family planning should be incorporated into the long-term programme. Population growth must be compatible with the growth of material production;

- The mass line is the essential method by which the long-term programme is to be drawn up.

On the structural reform of economic management, Hua

outlined the general orientation for the reform as follows:

- Transform the over-centralized system of management by the state (both central and local authorities) and expand the decision-making power of enterprises and the power of their workers to participate in management;

- Transform the unitary regulation through planning into regulation through planning combined with regulation by the market;

- Transform management relying mainly on administrative organs and methods into management relying mainly on economic agencies as well as on economic and legal methods.

On eliminating bureaucracy and improving the government work, Hua listed the serious defects and faults that exist in the present administrative system: Over-concentration of

Biography of Zhao Ziyang

Born in 1919 in Huaxian County, Henan Province, Zhao Ziyang joined the Communist Youth League in March 1932 and the Communist Party in February 1938. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he served as a county Party secretary and a prefectural Party secretary in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan anti-Japanese base area. During the War of Liberation he was made deputy secretary of the Tongbai area Party committee.

In 1951, he went to Guangdong Province to lead the land reform there. Later, he served as deputy secretary of the South China Sub-bureau of the Party Central Committee, and as Secretary and First Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. He became Secretary of the Inner Mongolian Regional Party Committee in 1971 and later returned to Guangdong Province to become Secretary and later First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee. After 1975, he served as First Secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, First Political Commissar of the Chengdu Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

He was elected a Member of the 10th and 11th Party Central Committee and an Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the 11th Party Central Committee. He was elected a Member of the Political Bureau at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and a Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee.

The texts or excerpts of Hua Guofeng's speech and other important N.P.C. documents will be published in our coming issues.

power, confusion with regard to the limits of power and responsibility, the incompatibility of the present cadre system with the requirements of socialist construction, overstaffing, over-
 ping, etc. He suggested that the following measures to eliminate bureaucracy be taken:

— Under the centralized leadership of the state, enterprises and undertakings should have the necessary power to make independent decisions concerning management and operation;

— The functions and duties of each administrative organ and its subordinate units and individuals should be clearly defined by administrative statutes;

— Efforts should be made to improve the cadre system;

— Establish and perfect a system of inspection and supervision.

On strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, Hua said that as the fundamental charter of the state, the present Constitution contains a number of provisions which have flaws or are not well-defined. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has proposed that this session consider and begin overall revision of the Constitution to reflect the interests of the people of all

nationalities more fully in the new historical period and meet the requirements of the socialist modernization drive.

He stated that in order to ensure the rule of law and strengthen legislative and judicial work, it is necessary, first of all, to enact laws that are more perfect than what we have now; in particular, much work should be done with regard to legislative work in economic affairs. Government organs at all levels must resolutely ensure the enforcement of those laws, statutes and orders which have been promulgated. We must see to it that the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts exercise their respective duties and authority independently, free from any form of illegal interference by any administrative organs, mass organizations or individuals. He stressed that cadres, senior cadres in particular, must set an example in observing discipline and abiding by the law, and must never think that they can flout laws and discipline because they have power in their hands or because they

have performed meritorious services in the past.

On leading government personnel at all levels becoming younger, more educated and professionally proficient, Hua said that this has a direct bearing on the continuation and stability of the government's correct leadership and on the success or failure of the modernization programme. He called on the government organs at all levels to resolutely select and promote to leading posts a large number of cadres who firmly adhere to the Party's line, and are professionally competent and in the prime of life in line with the guidelines repeatedly emphasized by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

He said that responsibility for the important task of selecting and training young and middle-aged cadres rested especially with the older cadres. He pointed out that necessary conditions must be created to help large numbers of government functionaries to acquire and raise the level of general and specialized knowledge essential for



A peasant deputy from Shanxi Province speaking at a panel discussion.

the four modernizations, such as setting up regular vocational schools or training classes for cadres at work or off duty.

Hua stated that the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the strong pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and faithful defender of the socialist motherland and modernization drive. National defence should be strengthened, and the people's governments at all levels and people of all nationalities should cherish and care for their own army, and make concerted efforts to build this army of ours into an impregnable wall defending our country.

Hua Guofeng also stressed in

his speech that energetic efforts must be made to bring about the early return of Taiwan to the motherland and accomplish our lofty cause of reunifying the motherland.

China's modernization needs a peaceful international environment over a long period, Hua Guofeng pointed out. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan in their just struggle against aggression and will, as always, firmly stand together with the people of the world and make unremitting efforts to combat hegemonism and safeguard world peace.

Report on the Work of N.P.C. Standing Committee

In his report on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at a plenary meeting on September 2, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Peng Zhen said that the main task of the Standing Committee in the past year was to strengthen legislative work and improve socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

This included:

— Reaffirming that all laws and decrees adopted since the founding of New China remain effective except for those contrary to the Constitution, laws and decrees adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress and its Standing Committee;

— Adoption of a decision on

the question of direct elections at the county level;

— Adoption of a resolution on measures to enforce the Law of Criminal Procedure, and the provisional regulations governing the work of lawyers;

— Strengthening legislative work in the economic field;

— Drafting the civil law and the civil procedural law. Legislative work for national autonomous areas is in progress.

In his report Peng Zhen gave explanations on the marriage law (revised draft), the nationality law (draft), the draft law of taxation on the income of joint ventures and the draft law of taxation on individual income, which had been submitted to the congress for approval.

Four New Laws

The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China has laid down new provisions on the marriage age, divorce and others.

The old marriage law, made public in 1950, stipulated that a marriage can be contracted only after the man has reached 20 years of age and the woman

18 years of age. The new law has raised the legal age for marriage by two years both for the man and the woman. It also stipulates that in cases of complete alienation of mutual affection, and when mediation has failed, a divorce should be granted.

The Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China defines nationality on the principle of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*, and clearly stipulates that no dual nationality is recognized for any Chinese national.

The Income Tax Law Joint Ventures With Chinese and Foreign Investment of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the income tax rate is fixed at 30 per cent and, with the local surtax, it will total 33 per cent. A newly established joint venture scheduled to operate for a period of ten years and more may be exempted from income tax in the first profit-making year and allowed a 50 per cent reduction in the second and third years.

The Individual Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China stipulates that individual income tax shall be levied on any person whose monthly wages or salaries exceed 800 yuan. That part in excess of 800 yuan shall be taxed. Individual income tax shall be levied on the income gained within or outside China by any individual residing in this country for one year or more. For non-residents or individuals residing in China for less than one year, individual income tax shall be levied only on the income gained within China.

Closing Speech

Ye Jianying delivered the closing speech on the afternoon of September 10. He attached great importance to Comrade Hua Guofeng's speech delivered earlier at the session and praised it as being imbued with a deep sense of responsibility to the people and the spirit of seeking truth from facts both in summing up the past work and in explaining matters of major importance to the state that need to be solved in the future. This, Ye said, shows that our government has faith in the people, relies on them and is capable of leading the whole nation in overcoming all difficulties and steadily carrying forward the four modernizations.

Referring to changes in the leading personnel of the state, Ye Jianying said that this is a major step taken in reforming the system of state leadership and is of great significance to the cause of modernizing the country.

Ye paid high tribute to the five veteran leading comrades of the Party who had relinquished their concurrent posts as Vice-Premiers of the State Council. He said that they are all long-tested and outstanding proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and enjoy high prestige among the people of the whole country. Now they are advanced in age and will no longer serve concurrently as Vice-Premiers. This will enable them to concentrate their energy and attention on considering major Party and state policies.

The session decided to accept the requests of several veteran comrades to resign their posts as Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National Peo-

ple's Congress. They are also long-tested proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, Ye noted. Some of them are among the founders of the People's Republic and have made enormous contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. Now through their action, they have set a fine example to the whole nation in the present endeavour to reform the system of state leadership, abolish the practice of life-long tenure in leading posts, and lower the average age of the leadership, with a view to raising the efficiency of the leading apparatus of the state and the government. He proposed that all the deputies rise and applaud as a tribute to these veterans and as an expression of gratitude for their meritorious service.

Ye Jianying urged that the deputies should, after the session, popularize the guidelines of this session among the people of the whole country. He added: We believe that the implementation of the decisions adopted at the session will give powerful impetus to the endeavour to accomplish the four modernizations.

We will reform not only the structure of economic management, but also the system of state leadership and the cadre system, Ye added. We will carry on and defend our modernization programme. We hope the people of all nationalities in the country will rally still more closely round the Party and the government, hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and make new contributions to the fulfilment of the tasks set forth at this session, to the

reunification of the motherland and the consolidation of national defence, and to the progress of the great cause of the four modernizations.

ECONOMIC

State Purchases of Grain Reduced

The Chinese Government reduced its grain purchase quotas by 2.75 million tons for those areas which suffered from crop failure or a drop in income for the year from April 1979 to March 1980.

This was a major step aimed at reducing the peasants' burden and improving their standard of living. Prior to this, the state had raised the purchasing prices of farm products by a big margin and allocated more funds and materials in aid of agricultural production.

As a result of these and other new economic policies for the rural areas, the increase in grain output for 1978 and 1979 over 1977 added up to 49 million tons, while state grain purchases in the same period increased only by 8 million tons. The remaining amount of over 40 million tons was left in the hands of the peasants at their own disposal. The burden of those production teams having difficulty in meeting state purchasing quotas has all been reduced.

Output, Reward, Responsibility

Great changes have taken place in Fengyang County, once a famine-ridden place in east China's Anhui Province. The people there used to flee their native villages and drift to other

places to beg or to sing ballads and perform on the streets for a living. Things have taken a turn for the better since liberation, particularly since last year, and the people there are living a settled and happy life, with ample food and clothing, as the Chinese people describe it.

This has happened not because of the favourable weather or improved production conditions, but because of a reform in the system of distribution.

This reform is called the system of responsibility in production which gives rewards according to output; in the words of the local peasants, it is called "*da bao gan*," which means the production groups assuming full responsibility for the fulfilment of production plans. Through the reform the peasants are now aware of the close relationship between the results of their labour and the improvement of their livelihood, thereby enhancing their labour enthusiasm and concern for the entire process of production.

As in most other parts of the country, Fengyang County has adopted the system of three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. Usually, each production team has 30-40 households with about 200 people. In the past, the responsibility to make arrangements for the allocation of manpower, the assigning of production tasks and the awarding of work-points lay with the team leader. Distribution was made at the end of the year according to the work-points earned by each member after deductions were made for the agricultural tax in kind, state purchasing quotas and various

kinds of reserves by the collective. But as the production team had a fairly large area under its administration and because the management system was far from perfect, the work-points awarded often did not reflect the quality of the work done; neither did the commune members show much concern for production work in the team. So it was quite common that the commune members went to work but did not put their efforts into it and yet they got the same pay whether they had done good work or not.

Under the new system, the production team is divided into several groups, each embracing five or six households with 30-50 people, of whom about a dozen are able-bodied people. The group which cultivates about four hectares of land signs contracts for fixed quotas with the production team, that is to say, it assumes full responsibility for carrying out the production plan and, after handing over to the state a certain amount of grain as agricultural tax, fulfilling its quotas of grain to be sold to the state and contributing its share to various collective reserves, it may distribute what is left among its members according to the principle of more pay for more work and of giving bonuses if the production quota is overfulfilled. The land, draught animals and farm tools are still owned by the production team and divided among the groups for use. As for agricultural machinery and water conservancy facilities, they are still under the unified management of the team. This system of responsibility is conducive to strengthening the management and, more important, it helps the commune members realize that the amount of income they get is inseparably linked with the results of

labour of the group to which they belong. Thus, their enthusiasm in production has been greatly enhanced.

In the first year when this system was put into force, the peasants in the county carried out intensive and meticulous farming, overcame a serious drought and gathered two bumper harvests — in summer and in autumn. In 1979 the county's total grain output topped 220,000 tons, a 49 per cent increase over that of 1978. This figure was 20 per cent more than that of 1977 which was a record year. As for the oil-bearing crops, the output was almost four times as much as in 1977. What the peasants received from taking part in collective labour, from cultivating their own small plots of land and from household sideline occupations added up to 350 kilogrammes of grain and 150 yuan in cash each, a big increase over the past.

At present, over 80 per cent of the production teams in China's rural areas have adopted various types of responsibility system in production. Among them 25 per cent have followed the system similar to that of the Fengyang County — with the production groups assuming full responsibility and giving rewards according to output. Conspicuous results have been achieved, with an increase in both output and income, particularly so with production teams whose management was poor in the past. In sparsely populated, remote mountainous areas not suitable for collective production, the system of individual households assuming full responsibility is being tried out.

The aforesaid system, with the production groups or households assuming full responsibility, is quite different from individual farming. It is characterized by division of

labour and co-ordination in the organization of labour power, and it is suited to the present level of productive forces in the rural areas as well as the management level of the cadres.

As early as in the period of the agricultural co-operative movement (1952-56), the system of responsibility in production was practised in many places and it promoted the development of agricultural production. But under the influence of ultra-Left thought which held sway after the people's communes were set up in 1958 and stressed one-sidedly large-scale and high-level public ownership, this system was banned as a "capitalistic tendency." Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, people have emancipated their minds and freed themselves from the shackles of the ultra-Left mentality. In 1979, the decisions adopted by the Party Central Committee to accelerate agricultural development reiterated the necessity to establish a strict system of responsibility in production and earnestly carry out the policy of distribution according to work. Practice over the past year has proved that this decision conforms to the actual conditions in China's countryside and is welcomed by the hundreds of millions of peasants.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Zhao Ziyang Meets Hoang Van Hoan and Truong Nhu Tang

September 2 was the 35th anniversary of Viet Nam's National Day. On that day Zhao

Ziyang, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met with Hoang Van Hoan and Truong Nhu Tang and extended warm greetings to the heroic Vietnamese people. Zhao then gave a dinner in honour of the Vietnamese guests.

Hoang Van Hoan said: "Today is a day of great significance for the Vietnamese people. But our people are unhappy, because Le Duan and company have betrayed the will of President Ho Chi Minh." He wished the Vietnamese people victory in their second revolution, and expressed the hope that the friendship between Viet Nam and China, nurtured by President Ho and Chairman Mao, would remain evergreen.

Truong Nhu Tang is the former Minister of Justice of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. He and his wife left Viet Nam in September of last year and arrived in France in March this year. He arrived in Beijing recently from Paris. (See p. 14 for his press conference in Beijing.)

Japanese Foreign Minister in Beijing

Bilateral relations between China and Japan have steadily developed in recent years, thanks to the joint efforts of the two governments and peoples. This has played a positive role to promoting the national economy of the two countries and safeguarding peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific regions.

This was an appraisal made by Foreign Minister Huang Hua in his speech at the banquet he gave in honour of Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito.

After his tour of Thailand, Burma, Pakistan and India, Masayoshi Ito paid a visit to China on September 2-4. During his stay in Beijing, Chinese leaders Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Gu Mu as well as Foreign Minister Huang Hua met him on separate occasions. Hua Guofeng briefed him on the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and on the changes in China's leadership. He assured the Japanese Prime Minister that "although we will make major changes, our policy of promoting friendship with Japan will not change."

On behalf of the Chinese Government, Hua Guofeng invited Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki to visit China at an appropriate time. He and Ito also exchanged views on the situation in Southeast Asia and South Asia and on other major international issues.

During his meeting with Ito, Deng Xiaoping told him that China would firmly carry on its present domestic and foreign policies. He expressed his appreciation of the new Japanese cabinet's present foreign policy.

Foreign Minister Ito said that he will make continued efforts to promote the friendly relations between the two countries.



U.S. Nuclear Strategy Shift

THE Carter administration in early August announced a revised nuclear strategy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, putting the stress on destroying Soviet military and political-command targets rather than on obliterating Soviet cities. The shift in policy appeared in the form of a document known as Presidential Directive 59. U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown said on August 17 that this "countervailing strategy" was not a major break with past policies, only "an evolutionary development."

Describing this "countervailing strategy," Brown said that the U.S. policy was designed to enhance deterrence of any Soviet action that could lead to a nuclear war by making clear that "we have both capabilities and plans for use of our forces, if deterrence fails. That means that no plausible outcome of such a war could be a victory for the U.S.S.R." He made it clear that it was crucial that the United States must be able to respond in kind to a Soviet attack. A strike against a U.S. missile site, for example, would be answered by a U.S. counter-blow against a Soviet military target. U.S. nuclear strategy, however, "remains one of deterrence" consistently followed by the United States, said the American Defence Secretary. But the adjusted strategy will enhance deterrence of any Soviet action that could lead to nuclear war, several U.S. papers say, because it gives the President of the United States more options and is much more flexible than the former one of mutually assured destruction of each other's cities.

Carter's Presidential Directive 59 was made public just as the U.S. presidential election campaign enters its decisive stage. So, apparently, it is not accidental. Republican presidential candidate Reagan, Carter's rival, had declared in June that if he were elected he would adopt James Schlesinger's concept of attacking military targets. Many people think that the new nuclear strategy that Carter so hastily announced, the "countervailing strategy" of attacking military targets, is actually a preemptive strike against Reagan.

There Are Changes. Development and endorsement of the "countervailing strategy" point to changes in the Carter administration's nuclear strategy against the Soviet Union.

(1) In envisaging a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war, the Carter administration had at first denied the likelihood of a "limited nuclear war," holding that once nuclear weapons are used, a limited war would escalate into an all-out war, which "would destroy both the United States and the Soviet Union." Today, the U.S. administration is stressing that the United States must make the fullest preparations to give itself more flexible options to fight a longer, limited nuclear war, lasting weeks and even months. It hopes that this would allow advanced nuclear technology to offset the Soviet numerical superiority in conventional forces. This is reflected in Brown's recent statement that he would not rule out the possibility of the United States being the first to use in a controlled way battlefield nuclear

weapons to counter a massive conventional invasion.

(2) In the use of nuclear weapons, the Carter administration had for a time put its faith in the belief that the Soviet Union could be deterred if the United States still had enough nuclear forces to destroy half of the Soviet industry and a quarter of its population in a retaliatory counterattack (also called "second strike") after sustaining a sudden nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. In other words, the Soviet Union would have second thoughts before deciding to launch a nuclear war if its own big cities were held in hostage. The modified nuclear strategy stressing strikes at Soviet command centres, strategic weapons and national defence industry rather than at Soviet cities is meant to weaken the actual combat capability of the Soviets.

(3) The Carter administration had started off pushing for nuclear strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union and putting the building up of its nuclear forces on the backburner, with the mistaken idea that Moscow would slow down its efforts to swell its nuclear arsenal. The U.S. killed research and manufacture of the B-1 strategic bomber, held back research and development of its MX mobile intercontinental guided missile and production of the neutron bomb. This has been changed by the relentless buildup of Soviet strategic forces and the rapid improvement in the accuracy of Moscow's nuclear warheads. The Carter administration has now decided to speed up the development of such strategic offensive weapons as the MX missile and strategic cruise missile, strength-

en its civilian defence and to renew efforts to improve its anti-missile and anti-aircraft systems. The strategy today is based on the vastly more accurate MX missiles. The Presidential Directives 53 and 58 disclosed on August 12 call for improved U.S. underground and air command headquarters and a better wartime communication network to ensure uninterrupted command during a nuclear war.

Choices. The nuclear strategy of the United States has in the past undergone many changes. They have many names, but essentially they fall into two schools. One is the "mutual deterrence" school, or strategy of mutually assured destruction, which the Defence Secretary McNamara of the Kennedy administration in the 1960s represented. The other school of thought is the revised "counter-vailing strategy" of today, originally put forward by former Pentagon chief Schlesinger. The first is based on "deterrence," the other has actual combat in mind, "war-fighting" in Soviet military literature, and which charges that the "deterrence theory" was based on the erroneous assumption that the Soviet Union was also following the same strategy.

Facts have now proved that the Soviet Union pursues a relentless "war-fighting" nuclear policy that bends all efforts to achieve nuclear supremacy over the United States and is geared to fight various kinds of nuclear wars. When the United States had a clear-cut superiority over the Soviet Union in nuclear capability, threatening massive retaliation or "deterrence" more or less worked. But in recent years, Soviet nuclear capability has achieved vast and rapid development, attaining strategic

parity with the United States and in some areas surpassing that of the United States. As a result of these developments, the "deterrent concept" is now shown to be essentially flawed. The growth of Soviet might is more and more menacing the vital interests of the United States and even its very future. Voices inside America calling for counter-measures grew more vocal, particularly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This has forced the U.S. Government to take a firmer stance towards the Soviet challenge. U.S. National Security Adviser Brzezinski said on August 8 that the revised U.S. nuclear strategy was an effort to create a situation in which

the United States is not faced with the choice of apocalypse or giving in.

The new U.S. nuclear strategy caused quite a stir inside the country and abroad. The Soviet media described the Carter administration's decision as "madness," "maniacal" and "nuclear blackmail," and as following a policy of "confrontation" against the Soviet Union. Western Europe, however, welcomed the American decision and viewed it as reflecting the same trends in many Western countries and helping to ease West European apprehension over the credibility of the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

— Wu Chu

Poland

A Strike of Far-Reaching Impact

BY and large, the wave of strikes by the Polish workers has ended, with agreements reached between the Polish Government and the integrated strike committees of Szczecin and Gdansk. The strikes were ignited by the July 1 meat price hike and have led to a major Party and government reshuffle. The impact of the strikes on the economic and political development of Poland is going to be large and long.

Cause. Workers of three factories in Warsaw, including the Ursus Tractor Plant, and in Lublin were the first to down tools. Strikes later spread to other parts of the country and by mid-August, workers in the coastal cities of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot in the north had entered the struggle and set up integrated strike committees. Then political demands, namely, free trade unions, were added to the initial economic demands and Poland was swept by another massive protest.

The two-month strike was nationwide and involved some 300,000 workers in the ship-building, metallurgical, textile and machine-building industries and in the ports and public transport departments. The scale and impact are much greater than the two big strikes in the 1970s.

An indicator of the profound significance of the recent strikes was provided by former First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Gierek, when he pointed out on August 24 that economic and political reforms must be introduced rapidly to ameliorate the unhappy state of affairs in Poland. He was relieved of his post on September 5 because of "serious illness" and Stanislaw Kania took his place. Kania said at the 6th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party that the seriousness of the country's economic situation was much graver than he had thought.



Lenin Shipyard strikers in Gdansk at a meeting.

In the early 1970s, Poland made fairly rapid headway in its economy and living standards improved perceptibly. But in the latter half of the last decade, the imbalances in the national economy became more glaring. Foreign trade slumped and its foreign debts overran its ability to repay. Six consecutive poor harvests added to the country's burdens. All this sent the economy spiralling down and brought on acute shortages. The strikes grew directly out of the "grave political and economic crises." The Polish authorities agreed in the early stage of the strike to a rise in wages and to other economic demands, but the workers were not satisfied. Only after the major Party and government reshuffle and concessions were made to the workers' political demands that the wave of strikes subsided.

Foreign observers noted that the salient feature of this spate of strikes is that both the workers and the Polish authorities have shown remarkable restraint. The workers have stayed in their places of work and not spilled out into the streets.

Pickets were organized and the situation was calm and orderly. There was no violence. The authorities did not resort to repression but talked with the workers. The Polish public strongly favoured appropriate measures to handle the work stoppages. When the talks between the government and the strike committees at one stage seemed to be getting nowhere, people in all walks of life urged both sides to exercise tolerance and understanding and to solve this domestic problem by themselves. This frame of mind is understandable. On August 27, *Trybuna Ludu's* Commentator Ryszard Wojna, Member of the Central Committee, warned that "if this movement is not stopped, it could lead to a catastrophe of incalculable proportion," be-

cause of the country's geographic situation.

After several meetings, not smooth going all the way, agreements were finally reached. Polish opinion is that this fully shows that the Polish people are fully capable of solving their own problems.

Soviet Reaction. What was the Soviet attitude towards the Polish strikes? After 50 days of silence, TASS and *Pravda* began running commentaries about "anti-socialist elements." In an article by one Alexei Petrov published in *Pravda* on September 1, the striking Polish workers were described as "anti-socialist elements" trying to "avail themselves of the complicated situation in the country to aggravate both political and economic difficulties." These remarks are very reminiscent of those preceding the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The strikes have apparently come to an end, but their impact is going to be profoundly felt. The chief editor of the Polish weekly *Polityka* pointed out that Poland was entering a new era in which the workers will obviously exert a greater influence on the rulers and "be strict judges of all measures we take." The world is now watching what changes will appear in Poland.

— Fang Xuan

The Vietnamese Memorandum

THE Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued a memorandum on August 26 "to explain the truth about the current tension in Southeast Asia and to propose appropriate means of settling this situation." It has done neither. What it has

attempted to do is to drive a wedge between China and Southeast Asian countries, particularly between China and Thailand, and to entice Thailand into recognizing the Viet Nam-installed puppet regime in Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese memorandum alleges that China supports Thailand in the hope of getting Thailand to fight Viet Nam "to the last Thai," just as China had supported Viet Nam in the hope of getting Viet Nam to fight the United States "to the last Vietnamese." Could the Vietnamese authorities be trying to get the Thai people to forget that it is Vietnamese regulars who are stationed along the Kampuchean-Thai border and who have already made a sortie into Thailand earlier this year? It is a clumsy attempt to sow discord between China and Thailand by a country hostile to both.

China was selected for abuse by the memorandum. This surprises no one. What is surprising is that the Vietnamese memorandum asserts that China is responsible for sabotaging peace and stability in Southeast Asia "since the early 1940s." The People's Republic of China was founded in October 1949.

The current tension in Southeast Asia arises from the Moscow-backed Vietnamese in-



The aggressor with feet of clay.

Cartoon by Miao Di

vasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese threat to Thailand and immoderate Vietnamese ambitions. The world knows this, which is why the 1979 U.N. resolution demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea was passed by an overwhelming majority. This is also the reason why most countries firmly oppose anyone trying to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its lawful seat in the United Nations. And this is the way to ease tension in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese memorandum, however, claims that peace and stability in S.E. Asia can be maintained and the tension along the Kampuchean-Thai border eased only if the ASEAN countries accept the Vietnamese "four-point proposal." They must respect the "legitimate interest" of the three Indochinese countries if the sovereignty and security of members of ASEAN are to be guaranteed, declares the memorandum. In other words, the Vietnamese authorities are saying that if the ASEAN countries accept the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, their sovereignty and security will be guaranteed. The "legitimate interest" is actually a Vietnamese euphemism for Vietnamese ambitions to dominate S.E. Asia. "Illegitimate interest" would be more appropriate because on what grounds can Viet Nam claim to speak for the other two countries?

Viet Nam is concentrating troops along the Kampuchean-Thai border and attacking the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea. As it escalates its armed threat against Thailand it is trying at the same time to create the impression that its puppet in Phnom Penh is firmly in control of all Kampuchea. The memorandum and the "four-point proposal" Viet

Nam has trotted out again are designed to push Thailand into giving de facto recognition to the Phnom Penh puppet regime before the 35th U.N. General Assembly starts, or, at least, stop Democratic Kampuchea from taking its seat in that international body as it has done for years, being the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

The Heng Samrin regime is just a shaky signboard put up by Hanoi to cover up its armed invasion of Kampuchea. The government forces of Democratic Kampuchea the Vietnamese are trying to wipe out simply refuse to stop resisting the aggressors, but keep on recovering lost territory. The legitimate government of Kampuchea controls one-fifth of the territory and a quarter of the population, and most of the world recognizes it as the Government of Kampuchea. It must be seen that the Soviet Union is using Viet Nam to further its influence in Southeast Asia and the struggle of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese occupation is a component of the global struggle against Soviet hegemonism. It is easy to see that adherence to the U.N. resolution demanding that Viet Nam pull its troops out of Kampuchea, unconditionally and without delay, and that backing Democratic Kampuchea's right to sit in the United Nations will help to deter Viet Nam from making further expansionist moves against other countries in the region and help uphold international justice and counter Soviet hegemonism. The Vietnamese memorandum, on the other hand, advocates legitimizing aggression and subverting the U.N. Charter.

— "Beijing Review"
news analyst An Ding

Truong Nhu Tang's Press Conference in Beijing

TRUONG Nhu Tang, former Minister of Justice of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, met more than 30 Chinese journalists in Beijing on September 5. "It was with sorrow and at the risk of my life that I left my motherland for the time being. I did not leave my country for a better, freer life abroad, but to continue the struggle to really emancipate the people of Viet Nam from misery," said Truong Nhu Tang.

"Viet Nam is one of the poorest countries in the world. This is particularly so in south Viet Nam, where life is more miserable. The Le Duan clique style themselves as victors and look down on the people in the south as the defeated. They have put large numbers of people in the south in 'reform camps' or have exiled them to desolate 'new economic zones.' They have pressganged the young people and waged an unjust war for the sake of serving Soviet hegemonism."

"The Hanoi authorities pursue a policy of regional expansionism. They have invaded Kampuchea and Laos in an attempt to set up an 'Indo-chinese federation' and use this to push out further and set up a Southeast Asian group under Hanoi and controlled by the Soviet Union," Truong Nhu Tang told journalists.

He said that the Hanoi authorities had sold out the country's sovereignty and turned Viet Nam into a disguised Soviet military base. There are already

large numbers of Soviet military advisers and "experts" in Viet Nam. "The Soviets are expanding the Cam Ranh base," he went on, "establishing a submarine base and expanding the important Da Nang air base built by the U.S."

Answering questions about the views and reaction of the people of Viet Nam, particularly the people in the south, concerning the current situation, Truong Nhu Tang said: "The people in the south are silent, grimly putting up with the hardships. On the surface they seem to passively accept their lot, but in reality, they are quietly resisting in various ways, refusing to co-operate

with the Hanoi authorities and carry out their policies."

Speaking of his recent meeting in Beijing with Hoang Van Hoan, he said: "We are both Vietnamese sharing a deep concern for our motherland. We exchanged views on the situation in Viet Nam and in the world, about international developments, Sino-Vietnamese friendship and other issues. We share similar views. We are of the opinion that the Hanoi authorities are pursuing an erroneous line serving Soviet hegemonism."

"We must unite all Vietnamese who are against hegemonism. We must overthrow the ruling clique in Hanoi and smash the yoke the Soviet hegemomists have imposed on the people of Viet Nam," he said.

Contrary to Begin's Expectations

THE Guatemalan and Dominican Governments on September 5 issued a joint communique announcing that their embassies would be moved from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. Now all 13 embassies and one consulate-general in the city have moved out or closed. The so-called Israeli "capital" has become the only capital in the world without any embassies.

The expansionist ruling circles of Israel launched an anti-Arab war on the day after they founded their statehood. In the 30 years since then, Israel waged four wars of aggression against the Arabs. Jerusalem is part of the Arab territories Israel grabbed by force. Even though Israel announced that its capital would be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in

1950, the next 30 years only saw a dozen or so embassies and one consulate-general established in Jerusalem.

All the previous Israeli governments had claimed Jerusalem as the "capital" of Israel, but not wishing to defy world public opinion and handicapped by divergent views within its ruling circles, they were wary of legislating the annexation of the holy city. On July 30, however, these concerns no longer prevailed. Beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, the Tel Aviv expansionists headed by Begin made a reckless move in defiance of world opinion and passed a law annexing the entire holy city.

This reactionary act by Israel has aroused world wide resent-

ment and drawn the condemnation of the Security Council of the United Nations and many countries including China. Eleven Arab countries and organization have announced that they will sever all relations with any country recognizing Israel's annexation of the holy city. Venezuela, a member state of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries, was the first country to vacate, moving its embassy out of Jerusalem one day prior to the Israeli annexation of the holy city. In the following month, all the embassies and one consulate-general followed suit.

Tel Aviv's careful calculations have only served to further

isolate itself. The Israeli authorities wanted to make the legislation on the annexation of Jerusalem a fait accompli before the elections in the United States were held and while the talks on Palestinian autonomy between Egypt, Israel and the United States were dragging. But clever people often outfox themselves. Contrary to Begin's expectations, however, foreign embassies in Jerusalem, accounting for only one-third of the total in Israel, have vacated the city though the Begin government has declared Jerusalem to be an "eternal and inseparable capital."

— *Xinhua Correspondent Zhong Dong*

Zimbabwe

Cuts Ties With Unfriendly Neighbour

WHEN Zimbabwe won its independence in April this year, Prime Minister Mugabe announced that his country would maintain neighbourly relations with South Africa. But, he pointed out, Zimbabwe is opposed to the racist policy pursued by Pretoria. His country would not interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa; nor should South Africa interfere in his, he said. It was a sensible and reasonable decision and won popular support at home and abroad.

The South African authorities, however, did not reciprocate. Its diplomatic mission in Salisbury was discovered recruiting hostile elements for Pretoria for subversive operations against Zimbabwe. In July Prime Minister Mugabe quiet-

ly but firmly warned South Africa, but the South African authorities paid no heed. Botha declared truculently that his government would deal with its neighbours as it had done in southern Angola. South African provocations had to be answered, and the Zimbabwean Government on September 3 severed diplomatic ties with Pretoria. What else could Zimbabwe do if it wants to safeguard its national independence and security and counter subversion from South Africa? It was the proper thing to do.

South African hostility towards Zimbabwe is determined by its reactionary apartheid policy. Zimbabwean independence proclaimed the complete bankruptcy of the Rhodesian racist regime and was an enor-

mous encouragement to the Namibian and Azanian people to press the fight against racist rule and for independence. It also showed up the official racist policy of Pretoria in a more glaring light and caused the world to demand louder than ever that South Africa carry out the U.N. resolution calling for independence for the Namibian people. Neighbouring Zimbabwe had set an example, and pressure on South Africa grew to give Namibia independence.

The South African authorities saw the threat to their racist regime and that if the present trend continued the game was up with them. They saw in the Zimbabwean Government an unspoken but real threat to their minority racist rule so they tried to subvert the newly independent Zimbabwe, fomented trouble inside the country and exerted pressure, including armed threats, against Zimbabwe. The racists in South Africa wanted to justify the continued existence of their regime, so they have continued to make trouble for their neighbours. They may make things temporarily more difficult for the national-liberation movements in southern Africa but they cannot check this historical trend, so brilliantly represented by Zimbabwe winning its independence.

— *"Renmin Ribao"*
commentary



Handicraft Industry: Trends of Development

by Our Correspondent Tian Yun

China is pushing on with modernization. According to one interpretation that once held sway, this would mean simply the use of advanced, push-button technology and equipment in all productive activities. It followed that the handicraft industry with its time-honoured tradition would fall by the wayside into oblivion — a point of view which, happily, has been rejected as unrealistic and inadvisable. This special feature explains why. — Ed.

Proceeding From China's Reality

QUICKENING the pace of the four modernizations requires that we proceed from the actual conditions in our country by bringing into full

play our strong points and steering clear of our weaknesses.

China has a population of over 970 million and a territory covering 9.6 million square kilometres. In the last 30-odd years since liberation in 1949 it has built up a more-or-less comprehensive industrial structure comprising many newly developed industrial branches and a relatively sound national economic system. But today, our country is still not affluent and not strong enough. China's per-capita national income averages only a little more than 200 U.S. dollars per annum.

China has a huge reservoir of manpower and rich natural resources which, generally speaking, are its advantages, but its lack of funds and low level of technology and management are disadvantages. Therefore, for a considerable period of time, it should make use of its abundant manpower and rich natural resources to develop more labour-intensive industries rather than those calling for large amounts of funds

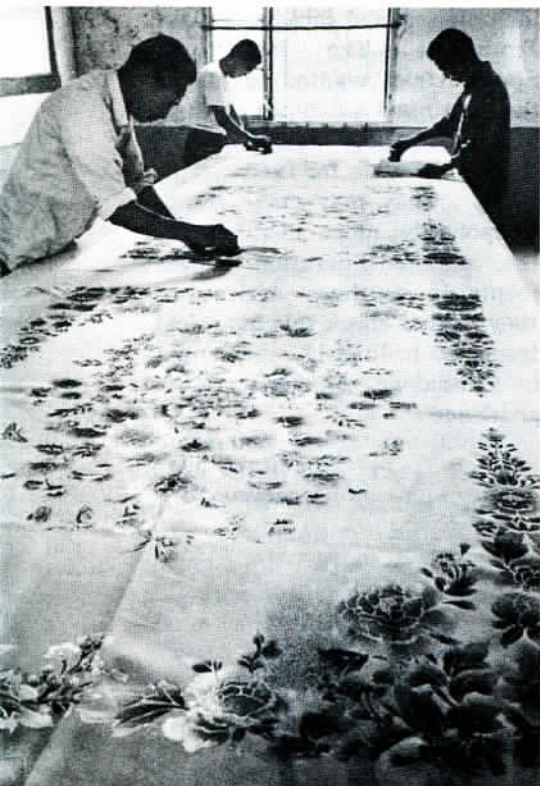
and most advanced technology. This would include the development in a big way of the textile and other light industries and the handicraft industry, including arts and crafts, all of which require little investment, absorb large numbers of workers, accumulate funds quickly and have good prospects for boosting exports. In this way, with funds accumulated bit by bit, with light industry nourishing heavy industry and the handicraft industry playing a supporting role in the development of industries operated by machines, China can gradually enter the ranks of the world's advanced countries. It goes without saying that at the same time, conditions permitting, we should also build some new enterprises equipped with modern facilities and carry out large-scale technological transformation of our existing enterprises wherever possible.

In other words, trades carried on mainly by handwork still have broad prospects of development and can play a big role of their own in the course of the four modernizations.

A Tortuous Course

Handicraft industry in China has a history of several thousand years. Its products, variegated and colourful, have been world famous for centuries.

Old China was backward in production. In the 1930s, modern industry constituted



Satin blanket cover made in east China's Hangzhou is welcomed on the market.

only 10 per cent of its national economy, whereas agriculture and handicraft industry, with the latter all along occupying quite an important position, made up the rest of the economy. Even as late as 1954, the output value of handicraft industry in this country still accounted for about 20 per cent of the nation's total industrial output value.

In old China, it may be recalled, the social status of handicraftsmen was very low. Most of them, with a few apprentices to help, had to work 15 or 16 hours a day under harsh conditions to eke out a bare living. The industry itself, moreover, began to lose ground when there was a great influx of foreign goods after the Opium War of 1840. It had to traverse a tortuous, difficult course in the years that followed. Many handicraftsmen lost their means of livelihood and lived in great misery, wandering about in search of work.

It was only after the country-wide liberation in 1949 that the handicraft industry regained its footing and production developed rapidly. By 1954, the total output value created by the 20 million handicraftsmen in the country had reached 10,460 million yuan, over three times the 1949 figure, which was only 3,240 million yuan.

But production carried on by handicraftsmen on an individual basis remained unstable economically. With backward technology and long working hours, the output value so created was less than one-tenth of that created by modern industry. Under the circumstances, measures were taken by the Party and government to lead our handicraftsmen in the direction of collectivization and modernization. By 1956,

over 90 per cent of them had joined collectively owned production co-operatives.

The co-operative movement greatly stimulated the development of the handicraft industry and its technological transformation. Today, aside from that part of the industry which has grown into modern industry, about 40 per cent of the handicraft establishments developed after the co-operative movement are mechanized as against the 3 per cent in 1956.

An Irreplaceable Role

In the course of modernization, trades carried on mainly by handwork as well as those not highly mechanized are playing a great part in the following ways:

One, they provide the market with a large quantity of footwear and headgear, sundry goods for daily use, odds and ends, stationery, and small or medium-sized farm implements. In repairing, mainte-

nance and other service trades, they directly serve customers in the towns and countryside. As auxiliaries to modern industry, these trades, adjusting themselves to constant market changes, undertake to meet the needs of the masses in various fields. Many of their advantages cannot be replaced by modern industry.

Two, they serve capital construction and industrial production, such as making bricks and tiles, quarrying stones, building or repairing small houses and other similar structures, and manufacturing parts for some minor industries. In these fields, manual operation continues to play a big role.

Three, they produce arts and crafts, many of which will have to be made mainly by hand for a long time to come so that the special characteristics of traditional art with a national flavour can be preserved and developed. Quite a few of these are artifacts known for their



A co-operative in Shandong Province specialized in graphic arts.

SPECIAL FEATURE/HANDICRAFTS

superior workmanship — among them are jade, ivory and wood carvings; cloisonné, carved lacquerware; filigree marquetry; jewelry; rugs; silk flowers; porcelain; pottery; glassware; lace; embroidery; drawn work; pictures or patchwork made of feathers, wheat, straw and other materials; folding fans; Chinese brushes for painting or writing; Chinese ink slabs; bamboo, rattan, palm and straw products, etc. They have found their way to world markets where the demand for many particular kinds well outstrips the supply.

Four, developing production in these trades provides jobs for large numbers of people and speeds up the accumulation of funds and foreign exchange. In our industrial structure, for every 10,000 yuan of fixed assets, one job is available, whereas in arts and crafts, eight permanent jobs are available for fixed assets of the same value, plus about 120 extra workers outside workshop. From 1973 to 1978, the state investment in these trades was 62 million yuan — this was only 2.3 per cent of the funds the trades had sent into the state coffers. The newly added productive capacity in the period reached a value of 2,600 million yuan, 41.9 times as much as the investment made.

Trend of Development

What changes will these trades have to undergo in the process of modernization? This is something that calls for further study. Still, the current government policy gives us some conception of the trend of development in the following principal fields.

One. While different kinds of ownership exist side by side, collective ownership will develop greatly.

At present, there are three kinds of ownership in trades where work is done mainly by hand or where mechanization is not highly developed:

1. Some of the handicraft units are owned by the whole people, that is, they are state enterprises. Under the existing institutions, all the products and profit go to the state which makes appropriations to cover all their expenses. Some of these enterprises are built with state investment; many were formerly joint state-private ventures or handicraft production co-operatives of some magnitude with a considerable accumulation of funds.

2. Most of the handicraft units where work is done mainly by hand are collectively owned. That is, they are enterprises organized by individual handicraftsmen on a voluntary basis and are responsible for their own profits and losses.

3. A very small number of handicraft shops are individually run. In such cases, one per-

son alone, husband-and-wife teams, or family shops with one or two apprentices, engage in production or repairing.

Collective Ownership. For a fairly long period of time to come, collective ownership will be promoted. This decision was made in the light of lessons drawn from experience over the last 30 years. It took China only seven years (1949-56) to complete the socialist transformation of the individual handicraft industry by organizing it into collective enterprises. As we see it now, the process in the last two years of that period was carried out a bit too quickly. Soon afterwards, we tried to eliminate collective ownership altogether; this was wrong. Ignoring the special features of the handicraft industry (its complexity, great variety of products, scattered, flexible work methods, capacity to convenience people), we unrealistically effected the merger of small handicraft co-operatives, "upgraded" them into big collectively owned enterprises, or, worse still, had them undergo a "transition" to state enterprises with unrealistic centralized production and a unified accounting system for



Plastic sandals of the latest fashion made by a collectively owned factory in Ningbo, Zhejiang Province.

handling profits and losses. The result: production of industrial goods for daily use and other miscellaneous articles went down; service trades, including those in repairing, were greatly weakened. This brought many inconveniences to people. We did make some readjustments later on, but they were again dismissed as "capitalist restoration" in the ten years of turmoil beginning in 1966; "upgrading" and "transition" were further popularized with a vengeance.

In fact, urban collective ownership is suited to the productive level of trades which are operated mainly by hand or are not highly mechanized. In Liaoning Province in the northeast for instance, since the latter half of 1979, 88.3 per cent of the enterprises connected with light industry or handicraft industry went back to the old practice of taking care of their own profits and losses, and the result was that they quickly yielded marked economic results. According to statistics from 197 such enterprises, total output value in the first quarter of this year went up by 20.21 per cent over that in the corresponding period of 1979; profit after tax increased by 59.14 per cent; the workers' real income increased by 19.87 per cent.

Individual Economy. Simultaneously, urban individual economy will also be developed to a proper extent. This is because the state-owned and collective-owned economies are not in a position to take over the many services offered by the handicraft trades, such as tailoring, fluffing cotton (for quilted blankets or clothing), family handicrafts, house repairing, catering, barbering, as well as many other trades. Some individual handicraftsmen set up roadside stalls,



A retired couple of Dandong in northeast China operating on their own a hairdresser's shop, whose gross income last July alone amounted to more than 1,000 yuan.

others go up and down the streets and lanes to bring their services to the doorsteps of the local inhabitants. This is convenient for the public, and the tradesmen can put their special abilities to use.

In our country where public ownership of the means of production occupies the dominant position, labour power is no longer a commodity, and the bourgeoisie as a class has been eliminated. So the urban individual economy of today is no longer the same as the small private ownership that existed before. Besides, in respect to their scope of operation, supply of raw and other materials, prices and taxation, these individually operated businesses are under the administration and control of the public sector of the economy and government departments concerned. So they are auxiliary to the socialist economy and its indispensable supplement. People engaged in these trades are themselves labourers with one or two assistants and they mainly live on their own labour. It was wrong for them to have been criticized

and denounced in the past as going the "capitalist" way.

Two. Joint ventures of all kinds will make headway with the view to increasing economic results.

Guided by state plans, joint operation may be formed between enterprises according to the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit; the same may be done by units in the town with units in the countryside. When a factory forms a tie of fixed co-ordination with a rural commune, production brigade or team, the latter undertakes to process goods for the former and is paid for it; a factory may entrust a qualified commune, production brigade or team with the task of producing things which it formerly produced itself so that it can free itself to take up experiments in the manufacture of new products; the party in the countryside may provide a factory with buildings and manpower, while the latter on its part contributes technology, managerial personnel, funds and equipment; or both sides will equally contri-

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bute whatever is needed. There will also be organized joint operation between places producing raw materials and places processing them. This will ensure the supply of raw materials for the areas processing them and help the raw material producing areas build up their own ability to process things and raise the technological level.

Because these trades do not need very big factory buildings or complex equipment, such joint ventures develop very rapidly. For instance, the arts and crafts industry throughout the country now employs half a million people, but those outside the factories processing things for them number 5.2 million. The workers are especially concentrated in places where traditional goods are produced. Changshu in Jiangsu Province is famous for its lace, the making of which is a major household sideline occupation in the county's rural areas. About 150,000 people are engaged in this work, and their designs number more than 8,000. Drawn-work is very popular in areas around Chaozhou and Shantou, Guangdong Province,

with one million women involved in it, 60 per cent of whom are able to draw threads according to various patterns. These women generally work at home in their spare time.

Three. Hand operation will continue to coexist for a long time with semi-mechanization and mechanization. Trades with a concentration of manpower will be greatly expanded.

Expanding trades with a concentration of manpower mainly refers to trades which call for meticulous and intensive labour, produce for a wide market, and have a reliable supply of raw and other materials. These include arts and crafts, clothing, food, footwear, hats, leather products, goods for daily use, household pottery, stationery, furniture, fur and its products, construction and building materials.

Expanding trades involving a concentration of manpower, however, does not mean dropping plans for mechanization, still less does it mean making little or no effort to reduce labour intensity and improve working conditions. In a cer-

tain sense, expansion of these trades by absorbing fairly large numbers of workers with the use of a relatively small investment and accelerating the accumulation of funds and foreign exchange is aimed at technological transformation and increasing our ability to import technology. To this end, any handicraft work that can be replaced by machinery should gradually progress towards mechanization and automation. As to products marked for delicate and meticulous craftsmanship, such as those in the field of arts and crafts, although some parts of the work-process may be mechanized, the main job, especially the part involving artistic effort, will continue to be handled by manual labour. Thus, even when our country has achieved modernization, it will be impossible for machinery to totally replace manual labour — there will be continued, prolonged coexistence between hand labour, semi-mechanization, mechanization and automation.

There is a viewpoint which equates manual labour or work in a trade which is not highly mechanized with that in "sweat shops." This is a prejudice left behind by history. Thousands upon thousands of small workshops in old China were sweat shops. Today, in New China, working conditions in these trades, as a whole, are still not very good. But with the development of the economy, working conditions will be improved and heavy, monotonous physical labour will be reduced. In that case, workers engaged in manual labour will find their situation not worse than that of workers operating giant machines. On the contrary, their work probably provides more scope for imagination and originality.



A timber processing plant jointly run by a woodwork factory in Shenyang and a forestry bureau in Heilongjiang Province.



The painted porcelain works in Shantou, Guangdong Province, employing a large number of workers, produces articles for export.

Tianjin Rugs

IN the process of modernization, the handicraft industry will find it has a big part to play. Tianjin's rug-making industry which has developed by leaps and bounds is a case in point.

Tianjin has a long history of rug-making. As early as 1895, Tianjin rugs won the highest award at an international exposition in St. Louis in the United States. The eye-catching Great Wall tapestry (50 square metres) now decorating the U.N. headquarters was made in Tianjin.

Hand-made rugs from Tianjin, a seaport to the southeast of Beijing, are very popular on both the home and overseas markets because of their superb workmanship, attractive patterns and durability. Since liberation new patterns and va-

rieties have been added. Since 1972, notwithstanding the fact that output has been going up at an average rate of 8.4 per cent every year, output still lags behind the growing demand.

Will the handwork in rug-making eventually be replaced by machinery? Practically all the carpet-makers, engineers, factory heads and researchers in carpet-making give the same answer: No.

The Tradition

This is a summary of their 30 years of practical experience. After liberation in 1949, rug-making, which for many years had been on the decline, was restored and developed. In 1956, scattered, individual small workshops were turned into socialized co-operatives. This paved the way for the use of

machines. But, in an effort to preserve the traditional technology and national flavour of hand-made Tianjin rugs, machines are used only in certain minor operations in the process in order to raise quality and reduce labour intensity. The principal operations, such as weaving, shearing and so on are still done by hand.

These call for very delicate handwork, involving creative artistic effort. A group of four weavers sitting in a row in front of a loom form beautiful designs bit by bit according to a pattern. Shearers make the designs on the rug stand out more distinctly and attractively. After chemical treatment the surface of the rug feels soft and elastic, and looks as glossy as silk.

Hand-made rugs are put out in great variety and many sizes. They may be square or round in shape, in both large or small sizes and made to order or according to a specified design. In the No. 2 Carpet Factory, 53-year-old veteran rug-maker Xu Yonglin is now weaving a tapestry with the portrait of the wife of the president of a certain country. Tianjin tapestries of a unique style were first made in the 1960s. They come in a great variety of patterns and are meticulously made. Those woven after traditional Chinese paintings and oil paintings have graphic images in bright colours.

Obviously it would be most difficult to use machinery to replace such delicate handwork.

Co-operation

But will handwork hold back the development of production? One satisfactory way to solve this problem is to make full use of our abundant



At a workshop in a carpet-making factory.

manpower by developing processing outside the factories and establishing firms run jointly by industrial enterprises and rural communes.

In May this year, Hezhuang Production Brigade on the outskirts of Tianjin set up a carpet-processing station. The No. 2 Carpet Factory in the city dispatched five experienced workers (each with 15 to 22 years' experience in weaving rugs) to pass on their skills to 40 apprentices. Processing stations connected with the No. 2 factory provided 1,500 people with jobs in the first few months of this year, most of them rural commune members and young city dwellers waiting for jobs.

The No. 2 factory is the biggest of the 11 rug-making enterprises in Tianjin. Its predecessor was a co-operative team organized by four old workers in 1949, which later developed into a larger co-operative by combining with many small workshops. It is still collectively owned. Since 1958, the factory has been expanded six times with an added floor space of 13,000 square metres while its workers and

staff members have grown to 2,000. Because its products enjoy a brisk sale, processing by outsiders began in 1971. This made it possible for the factory to boost its output in a sustained way without increasing new factory buildings or employing more workers.

The rug-making trade in Tianjin employs altogether 11,000 regular factory workers, but they are greatly outnumbered by people on the outside who do part of the processing. The processing stations connected with the No. 2 and No. 3 factories alone have several thousand workers and spread from the outskirts of Tianjin to villages in Hebei Province and farther down to rural Shandong.

Four rug-weaving joint enterprises were established in Tianjin last June. Three of them were operated by the municipal carpet company in association with suburban farms or people's communes; the fourth was run jointly by the No. 5 Carpet Factory and a commune on the outskirts of the city. The industrial units are in charge of technological matters, management and

special equipment, while their rural partners contribute land, factory buildings and manpower. Both sides are responsible for raising the needed funds and have an equal share in profits. Factory buildings for these four joint enterprises are under construction, some having already gone into production.

Tianjin is seeking joint operation with wool-producing areas in the northwest to ensure the supply of raw materials. In the second half of 1980, Tianjin undertakes to provide Qinghai Province with enough foreign exchange to import six sets of spinning equipment. In return, Qinghai, beginning in 1982, is to make use of its top-quality sheep's wool to produce 500 tons of yarn every year. Half of this will be used to make rugs locally in Qinghai for Tianjin to export, and the other half, as raw materials, will be shipped to Tianjin's own rug-making industry. Beginning in 1983, Qinghai is



Handicraft Artist Chen Zhanguai (first right) showing his apprentices how.

to repay Tianjin's foreign currency loan in Renminbi within three years.

More Rugs Made in Tianjin

Year	Output (in sq.m.)
1949	6,475
1956	233,365
1966	134,563
1977	342,029
1978	392,847
1979	469,724
1980	580,000 (estimated)

Passing On Skills

Handicraftsmen in old China did their utmost to keep their highly developed skills a secret for fear that wider knowledge of these skills would deprive them of their means of livelihood. With the completion of socialist transformation of the individually operated handicraft industry, such misgivings have been dispelled and the problem has been solved once and for all. At present, with the rapid development of the carpet-making industry, the masters' skills are being passed down to newcomers and popularized.

The No. 3 Carpet Factory now has 1,320 people on its payroll, mostly experienced workers, including handicraft artist Chen Zhangui, 45, a carpet weaver who learnt his trade after liberation. He started as a 15-year-old apprentice in New China. The workshop-owner was no longer in a position to maltreat his employees as before, but at the same time he had little desire to share his skills with anyone else. So Chen had to "steal the skills" from the owner after work by scrutinizing his master's unfinished

product in order to find out where and how the master had excelled.

Through years of diligent study and painstaking practice, Chen acquired a high degree of speed and skill. He became entirely absorbed in the art of rug-making, and spent most of his spare time observing the characteristics of the actual things on which the carpet designs were based. To acquaint himself with the features of a pine tree, for instance, he had spent no one knows how many holidays in a park, fixing his gaze on it, spellbound. To depict water surface in different ways, he played in the water and went fishing to observe the shape of ripples and waves. He is unique and very artistic in the way he can transfer on to a tapestry what he has observed in nature. He is a national labour model and in 1979 was awarded the distinguished title of Handicraft Artists together with 33 others.

Encouraged by the honours conferred on him by the state and the public, and with sad reminiscences of how he had to "steal skills" from his master, he now enthusiastically passes on his skills to the young apprentices. Early this year he chose four of them,

and agreed to pass on his know-how and skills to them without reservation. The factory authorities sponsored a big ceremony for his group and two other similar ones to mark the new master-apprentice relations.

Many other forms of training are being adopted by these factories. A carpet-making vocational school which enrolled 250 middle school graduates this summer has set up a three-year course for training skilled workers.

New Designs

Tianjin has a large contingent of carpet and tapestry designers. Each factory has dozens of them. Eight of the ten people in the design research section under the carpet research institute are college graduates. A huge number of designers are engaged in artistic creation in their spare time while attending systematic study courses.

Over the years, these people have collected and created a large number of designs. Some incorporate the national flavour of the Han, Tibetan, Mongolian or Uygur designs, or the artistic features peculiar to Buddhism and Islam; some assimilate the special motifs of 18th century West European



Tapestry designer
Liu Jiafu.

architecture. Every three months the carpet company organizes a new designs exhibition where more artistic creations are encouraged and promoted. At the most recent exhibition, more than 100 new designs were on display and as many as 50 of them have been approved and are being used as patterns for new carpets.

Designers of the research institute also tour the country to inspect various old carpets which are being preserved and to study the art of sculpture and painting of the past so that they can turn out new, classic carpet designs. These include:

Designs from bronze ritual objects. These artistically record nature and society as our ancestors saw them as well as scenes of life and labour in ancient times from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties down to the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods, that is, between the 14th and 3rd centuries B.C. There are also designs based on motifs on these objects, done in a terse style characterized by primitive simplicity.

Human figure motifs. These are derived from ancient stone and brick carvings, based on Qin and Han mythology (between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.) and that of the succeeding dynasties. They picture scenes of the daily life in those days together with emblems of that period.

Bird and flower motifs. The designs are based on the detailed bird and flower paintings of the Song Dynasty between the 10th and 13th centuries.

Brocade and embroidery designs. Ideas are taken from the brocade and embroidery designs as well as the ancient carpet designs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (14th century to the late 19th century).

Fabrics with these designs are in great demand on the world market and orders keep coming in.

Some of the designers were once rug-makers themselves. The patterns they have designed meet the technical requirements in weaving and are welcomed by the workers. Liu Jiafu, 24, of the No. 2 Carpet Factory was one such designer. A lover of painting since childhood, he started carpet designing in 1959 when he was also studying the art of engraving and New Year Pictures. In 1974, in collaboration with his colleague Li Linpan and a number of other old artisans, Liu designed the Great Wall tapestry for the United Na-

tions building in New York. He is now working on the design for a tapestry picturing the Three Gorges on the Changjiang (Yangtze).

Tianjin has ticked off carpet making as one of its key trades to be further developed.

Many other handicrafts elsewhere in the country are being restored and developed. As early as 1956, the late Chairman Mao Zedong showed his far-sightedness when he made the following remarks: "Mind you, don't let our fine handicraft products be discarded. The kitchen knives and scissors of Pock-Marked Wang and Zhang Xiaoquan must not be discarded, no, not even ten thousand years from now. Anything good and characteristically Chinese that has been discarded must be restored and even improved." (*Speed Up the Socialist Transformation of Handicrafts.*)

Bright Prospects for Arts and Crafts

As envisaged by some artisans

Liu Shouben (inside-bottle painter of Beijing, 37):

Last October I visited Washington, New York and San Francisco to take part in a Chinese products exposition where I performed inside-bottle painting on the spot. American friends there were fascinated by my drawings of human figures and landscapes on transparent snuff-boxes smaller in size than an egg. There were many admirers as well as eager buyers. One of them said: "Fantastic! You should open a school for this here." An American asked me to do an

inside-bottle portrait. Since my return home, I have received many orders from abroad for inside-bottle portrait paintings.

This makes me see the broad prospects for inside-bottle painting and my thoughts have been soaring on the wings of imagination. Last year I was admitted as a member of the World Snuff-Box Association. Our contacts with colleagues abroad will help us promote academic exchange and develop the art of inside-bottle painting.

Jin Shiquan (handicraft artist of Beijing, an expert on bending

do something for the four modernizations — and an indispensable one at that. As to my age, I could have retired 10 years ago. But as you can see, I'm still sound as a bell, how can I stay at home doing nothing when everybody in the trade is busy with an export drive? These years I've gone on working as before and training apprentices to boot. In my opinion, we must never give up our traditional arts and crafts. Of course, there should be innovations, more variety, better quality — all this calls for greater efforts.

Huang Fa (of Tianjin, the only living artisan specialized in carving flowers on furniture):

Nowadays people want to buy furniture that is beautiful as well as practical. Demand for wardrobes decorated with carved flowers, for instance, is simply unlimited. I am now over 60 and hope to pass on my skills to young people. Last year, we opened up a training class in carving flowers on wood for 20 apprentices. It's supported by both the company and my factory. Isn't that just great? With years of experience behind me, I have also drawn more than 200 carved flower designs. This year another 30 people have been enrolled. If we keep on training people this

way, I'm sure there will be successors to this trade.

Li Xuying (on the staff of the Tianjin Arts and Crafts Research Institute):

Last year I took part in the effort to recover lost or extinct arts and crafts and to collect objets d'art by amateur artists. Before long we had collected 1,507 objects of 47 different varieties. From them 820 pieces by 256 artists were displayed at an exhibition held early this year.

Some old artisans have gone back to fashioning dough figurines, each in his own style. Production of these artistic toys had been interrupted for years. Artisan Sun Guangxin, 61, who has already retired, is now busy filling a rush order from Japan, and has had to ask his relatives to help out. The order calls for 1,000 sets of dough figurines based on the historical episode *King Ba Bids Farewell to His Concubine* and the legend *King Monkey Beats Up a Divinity*.

A great deal of interest has arisen in making objects of materials never used before. Zhang Jiaye, 38, who works at the Ninghe County Bureau of Foreign Trade, specializes in making carvings out of tree-stumps. He has an individual



Liu Shouben.

delicate metal strips in the art of cloisonné enamelling*):

I became an apprentice in this trade at 12. I'm now 70. In the old society I had ambivalent feelings about cloisonné. I like it because it is artistic and you have to keep learning as long as you're in the trade, because there are no limits to what you should study; I hated it because when we could not sell our products, we had to leave the trade and do something else to keep the wolf from the door. Before I joined a cloisonné co-operative in 1955, for instance, I had been selling soybean milk at a roadside stall for 10 years.

Now things are entirely different. Our cloisonné products sell like hot cakes on the world market. I would say this trade I am engaged in can certainly

* Cloisonné (*Jing Tai Lan* in Chinese). This Chinese name is derived from *Jing Tai*, the reigning title of the Ming Emperor Dai Zong (1450-57). During that period cloisonné was widely produced. A copper object is first shaped, then fine copper strips bent to the outline of a design are soldered to the surface and the resulting cellular spaces are filled with vitreous enamel paste, usually blue (hence the word *lan*, meaning blue). The product is then fired and polished. It can be a vase, a tray, a set with match box, cigarette container and ash tray, a desk lamp, a dish for sweets, or a trophy cup and so on.



Jin Shiquan and apprentices.



Jing Chunhua and his swallow kites.

style and a variety of new ideas. A young peasant of Jixian County carves peach stones and is known for his production of the 12 animals in the Chinese "horoscope" (rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar). They are such a novelty, with interesting connotations, that he is also receiving orders from foreign firms.

Kites made by more than 100 kite buffs, while taking over the old tradition, represent a new development in theme, structure, modelling and colouring. Jing Chunhua, a 55-year-old factory worker, after more than a decade of experiments in his spare time, has created 12 kite swallows in a row. They drift in the wind with life-like flying motions without bumping into each other. Once when he was flying these kites, a flock of real swallows, attracted by them, flew over to join them.

Handicrafts like these, collected and now on display, will be reproduced in limited quantities for the home and foreign markets.

Zhao Junji (manager, Beijing Special Arts & Crafts Company):

Beijing is an ancient capital city with a long history of cultural achievements. Famous artisans of succeeding dynasties gathered in the city bringing together the best and most exquisite craftsmanship from all parts of the country and producing a great variety of ob-

jects d'art. Even today, there are still a large number of famous artists, including handicraft artists, aging artisans, and archaeologists here in this city playing an important role in inheriting and carrying forward the traditions of Chinese arts and crafts.

To develop Beijing's arts and crafts, its municipal government has recently set up a general company of this industry, which, together with the city's import and export company, formed a joint committee handling the production and export of arts and crafts. The committee will also provide better management over specialized production, help improve the techniques, and undertake to increase the variety and quality of the products. Its aim is to promote the production and export of Chinese arts and crafts. □

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● **Buried Forests Discovered**

An immense primeval forest, buried for centuries under tons of sand and sediment, has recently been discovered by peasants of Sanshui County digging an irrigation project in the Zhujiang (Pearl) River delta of Guangdong Province in south China.

The forest is 3 to 20 metres below ground level in two layers. According to scientists from the Guangzhou Geography Institute, the area was submerged by the sea around 30,000 years ago, and again around 2,000 years ago. Each time the waters receded, the forest of pines and red pines was left buried under several layers of sediment. Though the leaves have rotted, most of the trees are upright, and their wood can still be used today to make furniture, the scientists said.

A study of the area seems to indicate that such forests extend almost the entire Zhujiang River delta.

● **New Hotel Opens in Zhuoxian**

A new, traditional Chinese-style hotel has recently begun receiving tourists in Zhuoxian County, a new tourist centre southwest of Beijing which opened this year.

Zhuoxian is located in Hebei Province, about a 90 minutes' drive from the centre of Beijing. It was an ancient battlefield in the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) and has ancient sites and relics of interest to both Chinese and foreign tourists. In addition, the Western Tombs of the Qing Dynasty



The new tourist hotel in Zhuoxian.

(1644-1911) emperors are located about 60 kilometres west of the county seat, while 60 kilometres to the east is the beautiful and richly endowed Baiyangdian Lake.

The hotel is built in the ancient Chinese courtyard style, but has all the comforts of modern facilities. Each of the 44 double rooms has a bath, air-conditioning, carpets, built-in wardrobes and central heating.

The hotel also has a service centre with a lounge, dining room, bar, craft and curio shop, bank and post office. The dining-room can serve 150 guests. Guangdong and Sichuan cuisines are served, as well as local dishes. Two Xianggang (Hongkong) chefs have been engaged to cook Western-style dishes and pastries.

● **An Ordinary Citizen In a Courtyard**

In the courtyard which she shares with 18 other families,

Lei Jieqiong is praised by her neighbours as "an ordinary citizen in the courtyard." She attends all meetings held by the neighbourhood committee, and follows its direction like all of the other citizens in the community. When it is her turn to collect the water and electricity payments from the other families in the courtyard, she does so willingly and conscientiously.

She and the five other members of her family live in rooms the total floor space of which is a little larger than a family of the same size in the neighbourhood. Lei Jieqiong has no special privileges and always does her share of work for the group.

Lei Jieqiong is a vice-mayor of Beijing. She is also a professor of international political science at Beijing University, vice-chairman of the National Women's Federation, a member of the Commission for Legal Af-

People in the News



A retired Shanghai woman **Zhao Qiyun** and her husband recently gave 30,000 yuan of their personal savings accumulated over a period of more than 30 years to the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Association to promote scientific research and contribute to China's four modernizations effort.

Zhao Qiyun went to work as a bookkeeper in the Shanghai Shenxin No. 1 Textile Mill (now the Shanghai No. 21 Cotton Mill) in 1946. In those days, she saw with her own eyes how hard it was for workers to find jobs and live secure lives. But she saw great changes take place in the new society after liberation, and she, too, wanted to make a contribution to New China. So she made up her mind very early to live a frugal life, save as much as she could and donate the money to a worthwhile cause some day. She retired in 1961.

Over the years, Zhao Qiyun and her husband worked very hard. They had no children, so they were able to save a lot. Inspired by the late Premier Zhou Enlai's call to modernization at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress, she was more determined to use her savings to contribute to the country's four modernizations programme. After the gang of four was overthrown in 1976, her husband was rehabilitated and got all of the back pay which had been suspended.

The couple made two efforts to donate their savings. When it was discovered that the money was their entire life savings, they were refused. Finally, in March this year, Zhao Qiyun and her husband read in a newspaper about the Constitution of the Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China. The article mentioned the origin of the association's financial resources, and stated that funds might be provided by "donations from organizations and private individuals." The couple went down to the Shanghai association and were finally allowed to make their contribution. The hope they had cherished for 30 years came true at last.

fairs of the National People's Congress, and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

She is a long-standing, proven leader of the people, and is always kept very busy with her work. Yet Lei Jieqiong still manages to have time for a neighbour in need and always makes a point of fulfilling her responsibilities and duties as an ordinary citizen, and for this she is praised by all.

● Folk Songs at the Zhuang Festival

Sings the young man:

Inside the pond, lotuses come to bloom, red, white and lovely they grow;

Thinking of picking one, however, the deep water drives me back again and again.

Sings the young woman in response:

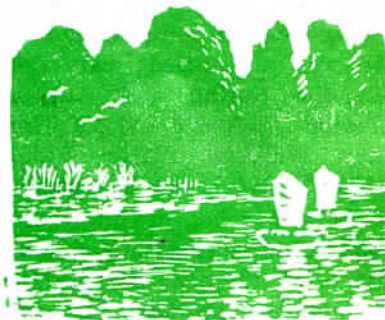
Inside the pond, lotuses are in full bloom, nothing can stop you from picking one of them;

If you are sincere enough, build a bridge or row a boat to get there.

Folk songs like these are a long-established custom at the annual festival held in many areas of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region on the 3rd day of the 3rd month (lunar calendar). This day is a traditional festival occasion among south China's Zhuang minority people, and has been celebrated for over 1,000 years.

The festival always features a lively bazaar, with brisk buying and selling at the many stalls of goods set up by state department stores, supply and marketing co-ops and individual peasants. There is also entertainment on makeshift stages, and recreational activities like basketball and tug-of-war games, as well.

But the highlight of the festival is always the antiphonal folk songs sung by young men and women along the riversides or on the slopes of the hills. Their lyrics are invariably rich in metaphors, jokes and tradition, and express the love to each other and hopes for a bright future that young people share. There are also folk songs by middle-aged and older people which usually take the form of questions and answers about local customs, riddles and folk wisdom. Many of the songs are completely improvised and created by the singers on the spot, and all reflect the unique flavour of the Zhuang people's heritage and tradition.



CARTOON

One-Man Exhibition

Fang Cheng, a noted Chinese cartoonist, held an exhibition at the National Art Gallery in Beijing in August. One hundred and three pieces of art were on display at this first one-man show by a cartoonist since liberation.

Fang Cheng's cartoons are imaginative, witty and satirical. He often uses his brush to comment on unhealthy social tendencies. One drawing on display castigates those enterprises and leading personnel who only pay attention to production and overlook environmental pollution. It shows a man fishing beside a huge plant who catches a fish skeleton. Such social commen-



Fang Cheng demonstrates his techniques to amateur cartoonists.

aries help the drive for the four modernizations.

Fang Cheng is also well-known for his cartoons on international politics. At the exhibition, his cartoon *The Darling in the Great Family* has

attracted much attention. It shows a Vietnamese sitting on the foot of a Russian and nursing a bony baby which is labelled "Puppet Regime of Kampuchea."

Fang Cheng began his career as a political cartoonist in 1935 when he took part in the December 9 student movement, which was protesting the Kuomintang's refusal to resist Japanese aggression. During the demonstration he was stabbed in the back by a reactionary policeman. Then he drew a cartoon of a knife dripping with blood. The caption read: "Chinese knife, whose blood?" He posted the cartoon at the gate of his school to show strong indignation at the reactionary Kuomintang regime which was unwilling to lift a hand against the Japanese but suppressing the patriotic students with a vengeance. This was his first cartoon.

After studying Western techniques, Fang Cheng began in the 1950s to draw cartoons with a Chinese brush and adopt some traditional Chinese painting techniques. He draws inspiration from many traditional Chinese artistic forms, such as Beijing opera, *xiangsheng* (comic dialogue) and ballad singing. Very often he depicts the ancients in mocking the people of today. These cartoons done with a brush not only keep to the Chinese tradition but also are filled with vitality.

A collection of his cartoons is being published by the Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House and will be available by the end of the year.

CULTURAL RELICS

Tomb of Sulu Sultan Repaired

The tomb of the Sultan of Sulu (now part of the Philippines), who died in China in the 15th century, has been repaired by the government to honour the memory of a foreign envoy of friendship.

The tomb is located in the northern suburbs in the city of Dezhou, Shandong Province. There are actually four tombs for the Sultan Paduka Pahala, the Sultaness and two princes who were buried near the tomb of the Sultan. Stone figures of men, sheep, horses and leopards line the road to the site of the grave which is surrounded by pine trees.

Friendly exchanges between the Chinese and Philippine peoples date back to the 3rd century. There were a brisk trade and frequent cultural exchanges between the two countries during the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) Dynasties. During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the Sultanates of Luzon and Sulu in the Philippines established diplomatic relations with China, sending 16 diplomatic envoys to China between 1372 and 1424. The Ming Dynasty Court also dispatched envoys to the Philippines.

In 1417, during the reign of the Ming Emperor Yonglo, Sultan Paduka Pahala came to China with other sultans and their families—an entourage of 340 people in all—and was given a grand reception. The delegation brought gifts of pearls, rubies and other valuables and in return the Ming court presented them with

great quantities of gold, silver, silk and jewelry.

After staying in Beijing for 27 days, the delegation started home. On their way, the Sultan Paduka Pahala was taken ill and died at Dezhou on September 13, 1417. Emperor Yonglo was grieved by the news and ordered a grand funeral befitting a king. The next year Emperor Yonglo personally wrote an inscription for the Sultan's tombstone. A memorial temple was built in front of the tomb.

The Sultanness and her second and third sons and seven members of their entourage remained in China to look after the tomb. The Ming government allotted 238 *mu* (approximately 16 hectares of land) for the site and provided the descendants who stayed in China with favoured treatment. The descendants of the two princes later took Chinese nationality and used the surnames of Wen and An. Several hundred people of this family now live in villages near Dezhou. They have retained their Moslem religion.

The Sultan's grandsons of the 56th generation, 77-year-old

Wen Shouling and 81-year-old An Qingshan, are caretakers for the tomb. They are paid jointly by the local production brigade and the state.

SPORTS

National Middle School Games

The Second National Middle School Games were held in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, from August 16 to 20. One thousand and eight hundred athletes took part. Six girls broke the world students' javelin record of 46.5 metres and one boy bettered the world students' long-jump record.

Guo Qingxian, 16 years old and from Shandong Province, won the title in the girls' javelin event with a throw of 49.32 metres. Li Shufen, who ranked fourth in the javelin event at the Fourth World Middle School Games last June, came in second with a throw of 47.84 metres.

Zheng Zhijia, a 17-year-old school boy from Fujian Province, broke the world students' long-jump record of 7.19 metres with a jump of 7.37

metres. Zheng had won the title in the long-jump event at the Fourth World Middle School Games.

The national games were held to promote sports activities in schools, to encourage students to build up their health and to discover new talent. The standard in the Second National Middle School Games was higher than in the first games for every event except the girls' 100 metres.

Physical training is an important part of the Chinese educational programme which strives to help students develop morally, intellectually and physically. This emphasis on school sports has helped students improve their health as well as their athletic abilities.

In primary and middle schools students on the average spend one hour a day taking part in sports. Two physical education classes and two periods of extracurricular games are arranged every week. Students also do morning and afternoon exercises.

Spare-time sports schools also provide an important training ground. Presently 250,000 boys and girls are enrolled in 2,000 spare-time sports schools in all parts of the country. A great number of the athletes coming out of these schools have won acclaim for the nation in international competitions.

At the 4th World Middle School Games held last June in Turin, Italy, the Chinese competitors established two new world school games records in track and field events and won the boys' and girls' team gymnastics championships and nine of the ten individual gymnastics events.



The four top winners in the javelin event at the Second National Middle School Games.

The Revolution of 1911

The History of the 1911 Revolution (Volume I, in Chinese)

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The 1911 Revolution ended 2,000 years of feudal imperial rule in China. Thus its history is of great significance to the study of modern Chinese history. During the last 30 years more than 30 varieties of documents, monographs and books and over 600 essays were produced on the topic. *The History of the 1911 Revolution* published in three volumes was based on these materials. Zhang Kaiyuan, professor of history at the Huazhong Teachers' College in Wuhan, and Lin Zengping, professor of history at Hunan Teachers' College, are the editors. The contributors include professors, teachers and some workers.

Volume one covers the historical period from 1901 to 1905 when the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement was gathering momentum and spreading to the entire country. It consists of an account of the social background of this revolutionary movement, describing the rise and early development of China's capitalist economy as well as Sun Yat-sen's activities before and after he formed the Society for China's Regeneration (Xing Zhong Hui).

In an effort to clarify the relationship between the leader and the historical movement he led, a good deal of attention is

paid to Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary activities. Sun was born into a poor peasant's family. In 1878 when he was 12, he left his motherland for Honolulu to seek help from his eldest brother. The bourgeois education he received in this new environment inspired him to try to change China. Later he became the political representative of the newborn Chinese national bourgeoisie. In this volume the writers succeed in showing how Sun Yat-sen was a product of his times by analysing the social and historical conditions as well as his own experiences which gave rise to his revolutionary thought.

An interesting aspect in the formation of Sun's political views brought out by several writers is that he was inclined to reformism in his early revolutionary period. This interpretation is substantiated by several of Sun's own writings, particularly by a petition in 1894 to Li Hongzhang, an official in the Qing Dynasty who, as the Governor of Zhili (now Hebei Province) and the Beiyang Minister in charge of economy, diplomacy and military affairs, served as a leader in the Westernization movement but suppressed the revolutionary forces and capitulated to foreign invaders. Though Sun put forward the slogan calling for "the expulsion of the Tartars (Manchus), the recovery of China and the establishment of a republic," when he founded the Society for China's Regeneration in 1894, in fact he was still vacillating between revolution and reformation at that time. Even by 1900, he still had not made his final choice between a democratic republic and a constitutional monarchy.

In analysing the reasons for Sun Yat-sen's hesitation, the writers point out: As a thinker

and politician of China's national bourgeoisie, Sun was definitely limited in his words and deeds by the level of the development of the country's national capitalism and the political inclination of the national bourgeoisie. His formative years coincided with the rise of China's capitalism. At that time, China's national bourgeoisie had not become an independent class force. They could not have a clear-cut revolutionary position, but could only push for reforms in the monarchal system.

This book also gives a detailed account of the role played by the masses of people in this revolution. Constituting the main force of the revolution, the broad masses of workers and peasants dealt a heavy blow against the imperialist forces, brought down the feudal rule of the Qing government and pushed forward the development of the revolutionary situation throughout China. Many nationalities in China, including the Manchus, put forward the revolutionary call for opposing imperialism, feudalism and the Qing government. Because the Qing government was extremely corrupt and incompetent, the Chinese residing abroad often suffered great humiliations and their status was somewhat worse than their compatriots at home. Therefore, most of them were in favour of the anti-Qing democratic revolution and made great contributions in terms of human and financial resources.

The first volume contains some defects. There are inconsistencies in style, the structure is a bit loose and presentation of the background material is too long-winded. Some of the points expounded are not closely linked with the main subject and the contents are not arranged in a balanced way.

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