

No. 21 May 25, 1981

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

**Soong Ching Ling
Named
PRC Honorary Chairman**

**Report From
Tibet**

**Conflict
Sharpens in
Lebanon**



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Soong Ching Ling Receives High Honour

The renowned Chinese patriot, veteran revolutionary and woman leader is made Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic and admitted into the Chinese Communist Party. She is critically ill and medical personnel are doing all they can to save her life (p. 5).

New Economic Forms in China

A noted economist reports on the results of his investigations — the many new economic forms that have appeared in the last few years; their functions and advantages; problems they have raised as well as some theoretical questions (pp. 15-18).

Changes in Tibet

An on-the-spot report. The achievements since its peaceful

liberation in 1951, particularly the changes over the past year following the implementation of new policies introduced in spring 1980 (pp. 19-25). Also, a review of a new book about Tibet (pp. 29-30).

Mugabe in China

Zimbabwean Prime Minister's successful visit to Beijing reflects the friendship and mutual support between China and African countries. Important statements by Chinese leaders on questions related to Africa (pp. 8-9).

Conflict Sharpens in Lebanon

Analysis of the critical Lebanese situation: imminent head-on conflict between Syria and Israel threatens to engulf the whole region in war. Situation complicated by superpower attempts to intervene for their own selfish aims (pp. 10-11).

Mitterrand Voted into Power

Why the French Socialist leader won and the challenges he faces (p. 11).

Japan-U.S. Talks

Beijing Review news analyst comments on the results of the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to the United States, how common strategic interests play down contradictions between these two partners (pp. 12-13).



"Morning" pictures a young teacher welcoming the dawn of a new day.

Woodcut by Tibetan artists Xiangqiu Kema and Renzhen Langjia

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CONTENTS

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS	3-4
Literary Criticism — Literary Editor Xin Xiangrong	
The Employment Question — Economic Editor Wang Dacheng	
LETTERS	4
EVENTS & TRENDS	5-9
Soong Ching Ling Receives Title of Honorary State Chairman	

Democratic Parties Enrol New Members	
Rural Housing Boom	
New Regulations on Firearms Control	
Prime Minister Mugabe Visits China	
Chinese Leaders on African Situation	
China-Thailand	

INTERNATIONAL 10-14

Escalating Conflict in Lebanon — Ren Wenhui	
Chinese Vice-Premier on Lebanon	
A Big Event in France — Zhai Xiangqian	
Soviet Threat and NATO Meeting — Ji Lun	
Japan-U.S. Summit — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	
Developments in the Horn of Africa — Zhong Wen	
Telling the Truth Unintentionally — Xinhua Correspondent Dong Ping	

ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

Newly Emerging Economic Forms — He Jianzhang	15
Report From Tibet: New Changes on the Plateau — Our Special Correspondents Xie Bangmin and Jiang Shunzhang	19
Tibet Today (Pictorial)	22-23
OPINION DIGEST	26-27
CULTURE & SCIENCE	28-29
BOOKS	29-30
HUMOUR IN CHINA	31

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Literary Criticism

Bai Hua's screenplay "Unrequited Love" has been criticized. Does this mean that another "cultural revolution" is in the offing?

It is a common practice to express different opinions on a literary work and to criticize its shortcomings and mistakes in the newspapers. This conforms to the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

Since the smashing of the gang of four, notable progress has been made in literature and art. There has been an upsurge of literary activity and many good works have been produced. It is inevitable, of course, that there are also works with shortcomings and mistakes.

Writers in China are encouraged to emancipate their minds and boldly explore ways of writing more and better literary works in line with the principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom. If a writer should, in the course of doing so, make some mistakes in his works, it is natural that the readers and literary critics will publish comments in the newspapers to help the writer correct his mistakes. When the writer gives careful consideration to these comments, he will be able to raise the ideological and artistic level of his works. This is conducive to the development of literature and art.

Bai Hua is a writer in the army, and some of his works have been well received. The criticism of *Unrequited Love* published in *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) has

attracted the attention of many foreigners and there are rumours about him. The fact is that he is leading a normal life and carrying on his work as usual. Leading comrades of a Wuhan unit of the People's Liberation Army to which Bai Hua belongs have had talks with him and hoped that he would consider these criticisms, sum up his experiences and make full use of his talent to produce more good works. He is now working on plans for a new screenplay.

It is groundless to say that criticism of *Unrequited Love* is

an omen of a second "cultural revolution." The "cultural revolution" brought untold sufferings to the Chinese people, causing the most serious setback China has ever had since the founding of the People's Republic. The withering away of the hundred flowers in the literary garden was only one of the many disastrous results. During those years it was impossible to do literary criticism the way we are doing today.

The leadership and the people have drawn lessons from past bitter experiences. There is every reason to believe that history will not repeat itself.

—Literary Editor Xin Xiangrong

The Employment Question

Will economic readjustment affect employment?

During the current readjustment of the national economy, state enterprises will not be able to recruit many new workers. But readjustment will not give rise to unemployment either, in spite of the fact that investments in capital construction are reduced, some capital construction projects will be postponed and some factories will stop production. Workers and staff members in these enterprises will remain on the payroll while undergoing technical and other training.

Employment is one of the problems China has to solve. As the majority of the population are in the countryside, so the problem is not so acute. Now, with an increase in income, the livelihood of the peasants has generally improved, and there are vast opportunities for a large work force in the

rural areas. In the cities, jobs have to be provided for several million young people every year, but there are many solutions to this problem.

From 1977 to 1980, about 26.6 million people were given jobs, with 1980 accounting for 9 million.

Commerce and the service trades which now fall short of the people's needs will accommodate a large number of people when these trades are developed.

Owing to shortcomings in our work in the past 20 years, the proportion of commercial and service people in the total number of workers dropped by nearly one-third in spite of a big increase in city population. There are now fewer shops than before as a result of amalgamation, and the service trades lag far behind the needs, bringing great inconvenience to

LETTERS

Assessment of Chairman Mao And Mao Zedong Thought

I read again and again the article by Huang Kecheng in your issue No. 17 and bought 10 extra copies for my colleagues to study. Here are my feelings:

1. At the 1959 Lushan Meeting, Mr. Huang Kecheng was dismissed from his Party posts together with Peng Dehuai. After the downfall of the gang of four, Mr. Huang was rehabilitated and resumed his important post in the Party Central Committee. Now he is working hard to restore the Party's prestige. In my country and other countries in the world, such a person would generally be considered unfit to make a fair assessment of the man who once caused his downfall. Yet I was deeply moved by Mr. Huang's completely fair assessment of Chairman Mao.

2. Mr. Huang's exposition and the Chinese people's views affirm that Chairman Mao was a great founder of your Party and New China for helping to build the Red Army, defend the revolutionary base areas and win victory in the revolutionary struggle. Most of our people agree with this too. But Mr. Huang did not give complete explanations of some questions on many people's minds today, for example, what were the results of the "cultural revolu-

tion"? How are they connected with Chairman Mao? Why was the four modernization programme not put forward until 30 years after the founding of New China? Why is China now carrying out economic readjustment?

3. The article stated that Chairman Mao committed two major errors, one during the socialist construction period and the other in his absolute view of class struggle. Many Japanese people share the same viewpoint. But I think it is ambiguous to say Chairman Mao's errors were simply "mistakes committed in his later years." I think the root cause of Chairman Mao's mistakes was his ultra-Left thinking.

Masatoshi Sawada
Hyogo, Japan

I read with great interest your article about the assessment of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought in issue No. 17, 1981. I completely agree with the viewpoints of the author, and they were very timely, in light of various confusing reports published earlier. I have held Chairman Mao Zedong in high esteem for many years and also feel that his merits outweigh his mistakes. This article repudiates the ridiculous rumours that have been spread in the West for some time about "demaofication" and "China's betrayal of Mao." The rebuttal is inspiring. I thank you very much.

Martin Lotscher
Basel, Switzerland

In the future, the development of the tertiary industry, including commerce and the service trades, will take various forms. The government encourages both the collective and individuals to engage in these trades. Last year about 810,000 individuals started their own business in the cities and towns all over the country. The number of people involved and the amount of transactions done are small. What is significant is that more job opportunities are thus created and what these people do is a supplement to the socialist economy.

— Economic Editor Wang
Dacheng

China and the Third World

I think your views on the third world in issue No. 17, 1981, are correct and consistent. Your criticism of Soviet hegemonist policies accurately conforms to the objective situation. I wonder, though, why your analysis ignores the other superpower. In my opinion, the United States does not restrain itself from pursuing expansionist policies either. Look at Latin America!

Dieter Funtmann
Bochum, W. Germany

Comments on "Notes From The Editors"

I think the "Notes From the Editors" column is a great idea. It gives informative, representative summaries of major issues of the day, and is a concise way of clarifying controversies that are of interest to both friends of China abroad and the masses within the country.

Hanson Leung
Alberta, Canada

"Notes From the Editors" surely satisfies a great deal of the readers' need for information. A lot of the questions they asked cover a wide range of information and therefore may be difficult to answer briefly. But I think many of the answers are still a little too long. If they were shorter, it would be possible to deal with one or even two additional questions in the same amount of space.

Tapio Luoma
Vaasa, Finland

The new column "Notes From the Editors" is very opportune because it has clarified many doubts and worries among friends of China in this region of the world. The ruling classes always hinder the people from knowing important things that might damage the interests of the bourgeois ideology. This column provides us with a chance to clarify our worries. I hope the column will be continued and expanded.

Diego F. Penuela S.
Puerto Asis, Colombia

*Your letters are welcome.
Because of space limitations,
we can only print a selection.
Condensations are made for
the sake of brevity or clarity.*
— Ed.

the people who often complain of difficulties in buying food on the market, in making clothes and having haircuts.

Take Beijing for an example. If the proportion of shop attendants and assistants in the catering and other service trades is restored to the level of 1957, there will be jobs for 100,000 people; and if it is raised to the level of 1952, there will be job opportunities for 230,000 people. That means all the 200,000 and more people now waiting for jobs will be employed. Of course this still cannot fully meet the needs of the people, but it shows how big the potential is.

POLITICAL

Soong Ching Ling Receives Title of Honorary State Chairman

On May 15, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress decided to confer the honorific title of Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China on Madame Soong Ching Ling, noted patriot and revolutionary, who is critically ill.

Soong Ching Ling is now Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. In 1949 when the People's Republic was founded, she was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. At the Second and Third National People's Congresses held in 1959 and 1965 respectively, she was successively elected Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China. She has been Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee ever since the Fourth National People's Congress made the decision not to have the post of state chairman in 1975.

Soong Ching Ling devoted her youth to the cause of liberation of the Chinese nation and people alongside the great revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Over the past 70 years she has made outstanding contributions to the revolution and construction of China. She also devoted herself to developing the friendship among peoples of various countries, promoting progressive culture and defending world peace. Therefore, she is respected by people from all walks of life both at home and abroad. Her last public appearance was when she received in Beijing the title and degree of Honorary Doctor of Laws

from the University of Victoria, Canada, not long ago (see *Beijing Review*, No. 20).

Soong Ching Ling contracted chronic lymphatic leukemia



Comrade Soong Ching Ling.

several months ago. The affliction continued to develop in spite of meticulous medical treatment. On the evening of May 14, her condition suddenly took a turn for the worse. Since May 15, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the N.P.C. Standing Committee and the State Council have been making daily announcements to the nation on her illness.

"Call Me 'Comrade Ching Ling.'" According to Soong Ching Ling's repeated applications, the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee on May 15 unanimously adopted the decision to accept her as a full member of the Communist Party of China.

Since the first period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1923, she has unwaveringly upheld Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary new Three People's Principles and firmly stood by the Chinese Communist Party during the difficult and arduous struggles of the protracted Chinese revolution. She has always been a very close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese Communist Party.

For many years she has wanted to join the Chinese Communist Party. The Party, on its part, has always looked upon her as a proletarian vanguard fighter. She formally tendered her application to join the Party in 1958 when Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai called on her in Shanghai. Liu Shaoqi said to her: "In view of the present situation, you would play a greater role in the revolution if you stay outside the Party for the time being."

From then on till the start of the "cultural revolution" in 1966, leading members of the Party Central Committee always kept her informed in advance of all important Party affairs and sought her opinion. On her part, she has all along set demands on herself in accordance with the requirements for a Party member.

During her illness, Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders went to see her. When Deng Yingchao, widow of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, addressed her as "Vice-Chair-

man Soong," she said feelingly: "Please don't call me vice-chairman, call me 'Comrade Ching Ling.'"

Democratic Parties Enrol New Members

The various democratic parties in China have recruited 5,253 new members over the past year. This is the first time since 1957 that so many new members were enrolled by them.

In addition to the Communist Party, there are eight other political parties in China. All being members of the united front, these democratic parties have the right to decide their own political and organizational affairs and carry out their work independently.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang mainly comprises patriots who are former members of the Kuomintang. As most of them are advanced in years, new members therefore are needed. Over the past year it enrolled 1,200 new members, including Zhao Zili, former deputy commander of the Kuomintang's 5th "pacification" zone and commander of its 4th army corps and now a member of the National Committee of

the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.). Another newly enrolled member is Shang Chuan Dao, former mayor of Changchun under the Kuomintang government.

Composed mainly of intellectuals, the China Democratic League, the Jiusan (September 3) Society, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and the China Association for Promoting Democracy have enrolled a number of professors, teachers, artists, scientists and technicians as well as doctors.

The China Democratic National Construction Association mainly recruits former industrialists and businessmen, and the China Zhi Gong Dang (party for public interests) enrolls returned overseas Chinese. The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, which recruits Taiwanese living on the mainland, has enrolled many new members, and its branch committees have increased from four to eleven.

China's democratic parties were once primarily made up of members from the national bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie and their intellec-

tuals; politically, they reflected the demands and interests of these people. In China today, the capitalist class is non-existent and there has been a fundamental change in the social classes. Thus the democratic parties have become political unions of socialist working people and patriots.

In the course of the Chinese revolution, these democratic parties have co-operated and fought together with the Communist Party and have become the latter's close friends. In 1956, the Chinese Communist Party put forward the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" with respect to its relations with the democratic parties. During the 10 years of the "cultural revolution," however, these parties were forced to suspend activities. In 1979, all the eight democratic parties held their national congresses in Beijing. Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., reaffirmed that the above-mentioned principle will remain unchanged for a long time to come.

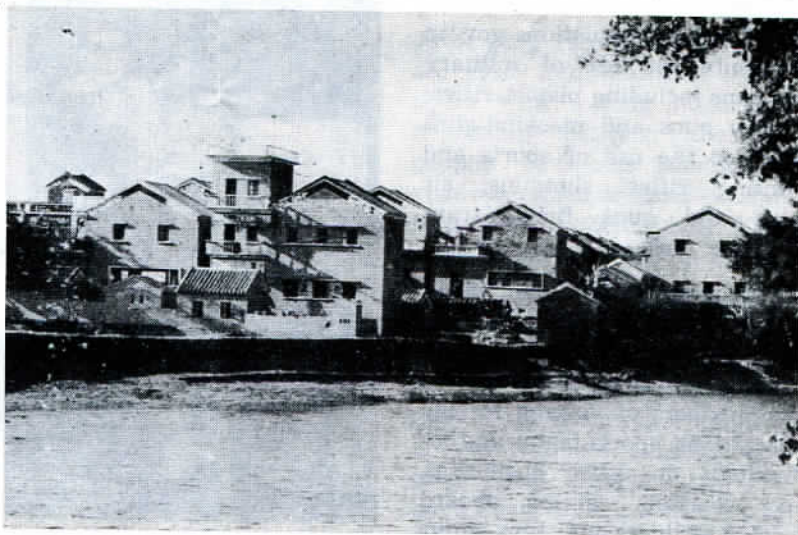
Zhou Moren, a professor at the Chongqing Architectural Engineering Institute who had just been admitted into the Jiusan Society, said that this society is an organization of socialist, not bourgeois, intellectuals and that his joining the organization will help him render better service to the socialist modernization programme.

Famous *pipa* player Liu Dehai who had joined the Democratic League said that this would give him more opportunities to learn from veteran intellectuals and make more contributions to the development of the national arts.



A tea party welcoming new members held by the Beijing municipal committee of the China Democratic League on December 12, 1980.

Members of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (one of the people's mass organizations and a member unit of the C.P.P.C.C.) recently forwarded to the Party Central Committee and the State Council a 178-item written suggestion on the readjustment of the national economy. These valuable suggestions are being considered by the departments concerned.



In a production brigade in Guangdong Province's Nanhai County, over 90 per cent of its peasants have moved into new houses.

ECONOMIC

Rural Housing Boom

It's a tradition among Chinese peasants to build houses when they have money to spare. In the last few years, there has been a housing boom in the rural areas in the wake of a general improvement in the peasants' standard of living. This is a tangible result of the Party's new economic policies which have greatly encouraged the peasants to increase their income through collective production and household sideline occupations.

Last year, about 5 million peasant families throughout the country built new houses or rebuilt old ones which, together with houses built for public use by the people's communes or production brigades, made up a total floor space of 300 million square metres, as against 200 million square metres in each of the two previous years.

New houses have been built not only in the prosperous areas but also in those remote places which used to be rather poor. In the arid, disaster-ridden

rural areas of northwest China's Gansu Province, for instance, more than 6.2 million square metres of new housing were built in 1980, a record year in local history.

Houses in China's countryside are usually owned by the peasants themselves and are tax free. In many areas, they are built with the assistance of the local production brigades according to a unified plan drawn up by the village authorities. Recently, since the new houses have taken up some of the arable land, the government has issued a circular urging the peasants to build their houses on the wasteland and by the hillside or on the site of old houses.

To help the peasants, the state planning departments last year allocated 100,000 tons of steel products, 900,000 standard cases of glass and a sizable quantity of cement products for the rural areas. This year such supplies will be increased by a big margin. To make up for the shortage of timber, some provinces have produced concrete structural parts as substi-

tutes, to the delight of the peasants.

A national contest of rural housing designs is being held. The purpose is to help the peasants build houses that are economical, cozy and of practical use.

SOCIAL

New Regulations on Firearms Control

The Ministry of Public Security recently promulgated China's new regulations on firearms control.

The regulations stipulate that all civilian use of weapons must be authorized by the state. No institution or individual is allowed to hold, purchase or sell firearms and ammunition or to privately manufacture, repair or assemble weapons. The tightening of weapons control is aimed at protecting state interests and the security of the people's lives and property and safeguarding social order.

Being more concrete than before and covering a wider range of firearms to be put under control, the new regulations govern not only the use of military weapons including pistols, rifles, tommy guns and machine-guns but also the use of sports and hunting rifles, shotguns, air guns and guns firing tranquillizer darts.

The regulations also cover weapons carried by staff members of foreign embassies and charges d'affaires offices in China, members of visiting foreign delegations, sports teams and individuals on other businesses, and weapons carried aboard foreign airliners and ships entering China.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Prime Minister Mugabe Visits China

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe paid a five-day official visit to China (May 12-17) at the invitation of the Chinese Government. This was the first visit by the head of the Government of Zimbabwe since its independence last year.

The leaders of China and Zimbabwe held sincere and friendly talks on ways to further develop the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and on other questions of common concern. They had identical views on many questions. Both sides expressed the hope to strengthen political and economic co-operation.

Victory of Zimbabwean People. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe, the Government of Zimbabwe has since independence energetically pro-



Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

moted racial reconciliation and defended national unity, actively restored and developed the national economy and steadily improved the livelihood of the people. Externally, it has pursued a policy of peace and non-alignment, maintained friendly relations with its neighbouring countries, opposed the racist policy of South Africa and supported the just struggle of the people in Namibia and South Africa. Zimbabwe has achieved significant successes in the short span of a year. The Chinese side expressed appreciation of these wise and realistic policies which are in conformity with the conditions of Zimbabwe.

Mutual Support. Mugabe briefed the Chinese leaders on Zimbabwe's internal and external policies and the problems facing his country. Referring to Chinese assistance, he said that Zimbabwe had in its hour of need received from China generous assistance without any strings attached. The Zimbabwean people, in their struggle for freedom, had derived inspiration from the Chinese rev-

olution ideologically and militarily. He thanked the Chinese people for their political, military and moral support to the Zimbabwean people's struggle for independence.

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that China's aid to the Zimbabwean people's struggle for national independence was limited and that the independence of Zimbabwe was won by the Zimbabwean people mainly through their own struggle. Zhao Ziyang added that it is China's consistent view that assistance is always mutual. The victory of the Zimbabwean people is also a support to China. It is the policy of the Chinese Government to continue co-operation between the two countries. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, support the Zimbabwean people in their efforts to consolidate their independence, build up their country and develop their economy.

A cultural agreement and a trade agreement between China and Zimbabwe were signed in Beijing on May 14.

Chinese Leaders on African Situation

During his visit to China, Prime Minister Mugabe met with Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang on separate occasions. The two sides discussed the situation in Africa.

Zhao Ziyang said that an independent Africa is playing an ever greater role in world affairs, particularly in the just cause of opposing power politics and safeguarding world peace. He pointed out that the racist regime of South Africa, with the connivance of the imperialists, is continuing its desperate struggle and strengthening the system of apartheid. The hegemonists, on their part, are trying hard to meddle in African affairs and interfere in the internal affairs of African countries. The African countries and people are thus confronted with arduous struggles. "However," he added, "times have changed. The African countries are combating foreign aggression and interference, consolidating their political independence and sovereignty and striving for economic independence and self-reliance. This is an irresistible historical current

which no force on earth can stem."

Zhao Ziyang reiterated that China would never have any direct or indirect political, economic or trade relations with South Africa. That China has trade relations with South Africa is pure rumour spread by those with ulterior motives.

Hu Yaobang praised the brilliant contributions made by Africa to human progress and civilization. He noted that before the 1950s, there were only three independent African states, but now 50 countries on the African continent have gained independence. He said that the African people have scored great victories in their struggles, and that they have now entered the new period of safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing national economy and bringing benefits to the people. Over the past three decades, he added, the Chinese people have closely followed the African people's struggles. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and people will always stand on the side of the African people, he stressed.

China-Thailand

Deng Xiaoping Meets Thai Princess. Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn from Thailand recently in Beijing.

During the meeting, Deng said that there is no dispute but only friendship between China and Thailand. He expressed

the hope that there will be more exchange visits between the leaders and people of the two countries.

Princess Sirindhorn said that she had come to see how the Chinese people work together to build up their country. She said that there was much to learn from China.

Both China and Thailand are

developing countries, and they are close and amicable neighbours with a long history of friendship between the two peoples. Princess Sirindhorn's visit has added another brilliant page to the history of Sino-Thai friendship.

Princess Sirindhorn came to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. During her stay in Beijing, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Deng Yingchao and Premier Zhao Ziyang met with her on separate occasions.

Thailand Supreme Commander in Beijing. China will continue to work with Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries, as well as peace-loving people the world over, for a fair settlement of the Kampuchean issue and for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Geng Biao made this statement on May 16 at a banquet held in honour of General Serm Nanakorn, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Thailand. He also praised Thailand's stand of firm opposition to the Vietnamese armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

In his toast, General Serm Nanakorn said that at present, the ASEAN countries are making every effort to stabilize the regional situation through peaceful means. "The constructive help and support of the People's Republic of China to the ASEAN countries are important for safeguarding peace in the region," he added.

Premier Zhao Ziyang met with the Thai Commander on May 18.

Escalating Conflict in Lebanon

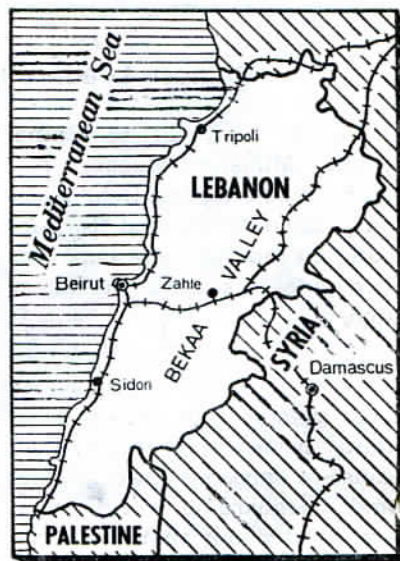
THE Syrian-Israeli confrontation over Syria's deployment of surface-to-air missiles in central Lebanon has pushed the complicated Lebanese situation to a new and more dangerous stage which threatens to engulf the entire region in war.

Early fighting in April between the all-Syrian Arab peace-keeping force and the Lebanese Christian Phalangist militia focused on control of the Bekaa Valley in central-eastern Lebanon. Syria has long considered control of this area important to its security; efforts by Israel-backed Christian troops to extend their control over the city of Zahle on the Beirut-Damascus highway was thus seen by Syria as a direct threat to communication lines with its troops in Beirut (see issue No. 18, 1981). After weeks of shelling and heavy shooting, Syrian forces captured a strategic point near Zahle which ensures its control of the Bekaa Valley. This led to the second phase of the Lebanese conflict.

Missile Crisis

On April 28, Israeli fighter jets flew deep into central Lebanon and shot down two Syrian helicopters. Syria promptly responded by moving several batteries of Soviet-made Sam-6 and Sam-2 anti-aircraft missiles into the Bekaa Valley. Israel, which has long dominated Lebanese air space, protested that the Syrian action was a threat to Israeli security; if the missiles are not withdrawn, Israel has warned, it will send in forces to destroy them.

Syria has defended the missile deployment as a defensive move and its legitimate right. The Syrian peace-keeping force was requested by the Lebanese Government at the end of its 1975-76 civil war and authorized by an Arab summit conference in 1976. Syria therefore refuses to remove its missiles from Lebanon. Both countries are now busy massing troops, tanks and artillery along Lebanon's border areas. Syria has reportedly increased its troop strength in



Lebanon to 30,000 soldiers, while more than 200 Israeli armoured vehicles have moved into areas of southern Lebanon under the control of the pro-Israel Haddad Christian militia.

Intense Diplomacy

The new crisis was quickly followed by anxious urgings of restraint from the West. U.S. special envoy Philip Habib was dispatched to Syria, Lebanon and Israel to help work out a solution. Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Georgy Korniyenko was also sent on an official visit to Damascus, making this the first time since the 1973 Middle East war that both superpowers have directly involved themselves in Lebanese affairs at the same time.

The United States has given rather contradictory signals concerning Lebanon in the last two months. Out of its global strategy of countering Soviet expansionism in the Middle East, Washington does not want to see an escalation of the Lebanese conflict which might give the Soviet Union an excuse to intervene. It has therefore

Chinese Vice-Premier on Lebanon

The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the development of the situation in Lebanon and deeply sympathize with the sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, said Chinese Vice-Premier Ji Pengfei to Lebanese Ambassador Elie J. Boustany when they met in Beijing on May 12.

"The Chinese Government strongly condemns the Israeli authorities for their latest moves of aggression and expansion against Lebanon, and resolutely supports Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity," Ji Pengfei said.

"We sincerely hope that the situation in Lebanon will soon be stabilized. This is in the interest of the Lebanese, Palestinian and all Arab peoples, as well as conducive to peace in the Middle East and throughout the world," Ji Pengfei said.

called on the Soviets to use their influence with Syria to help defuse the volatile situation. On the other hand, the United States has claimed that Israeli attacks against Palestinian guerrillas in southern Lebanon are "justifiable," a position which has encouraged Israeli aggression in the area.

The Soviet Union has undoubtedly seen the Lebanese crisis as an opportunity to extend its influence in the Middle East. Since the signing of the Camp David Accords almost three years ago, Moscow has been completely excluded from the Middle East peace talks. There is evidence that it is now trying to change this situation by

tempting Washington into a package solution to the Lebanese and Middle East problems.

Most of the Arab countries, in contrast, want to eliminate superpower rivalry in the region and end the Lebanese crisis through collective efforts within the Arab world. The fundamental task in the Middle East, they feel, is to stop Israeli provocation and aggression and reach a just settlement of the Palestinian issue. Only then can Lebanon's independence and sovereignty, as well as peace and stability in the Middle East, be preserved.

—Ren Wenhui

A Big Event in France

FRANCOIS Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist Party, won the French presidential election with 52 per cent of the votes on May 10. He becomes the first Socialist president since the founding of the Fifth Republic in 1958. This is a major event in the political life of France and will have its impact on West European politics.

The prestige of the Socialist Party has been steadily going up in the last few years and its re-emergence as a power in the political field is not accidental. It reflects the present turbulent international situation and the worsening French economy, strong popular dissatisfaction with the present setup and the desire for change. In his campaign, Mitterrand offered "another policy," laying emphasis on solving unemployment, "transforming the tax system," "improving work conditions," "shortening working hours," "increasing social welfare" and so on. This platform won the support of many of the workers, the middle stratum

and the medium and small owners. During the televised debate, Giscard d'Estaing admitted that his opponent could ride to power on the French citizens' desire for change.

Mitterrand's victory could not have happened without support from other parties.

Chirac announced after his defeat in the first round of voting that he would support Giscard d'Estaing in the second round, but did not ask his supporters to follow his example. The press said that Chirac's "negative support" did not help Giscard d'Estaing at all. Some senior Gaullists said they would support Mitterrand, and many Gaullists did vote for Mitterrand in the second round. Some French papers said that the Gaullists may have thought that becoming the chief opposition party in the French parliament would help to build up their forces.

After the "Union of the Left" composing of the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party fell apart in 1978, rela-

tions between the two parties have been deteriorating and the French Communist Party has been growing weaker. It picked up only 15.34 per cent of the votes in the first round, the lowest since 1945.

The breaking up of the "Union of the Left" and the defeat of the French Communist Party have helped the Socialist Party, because a big number of communist voters turned to give their support to the Socialist Party. Some centrist forces were also influenced to cast their votes for Mitterrand when they were persuaded that Mitterrand would not have a government with Communist participation.

In addition to the above, Mitterrand also managed to win the support of some small parties and uncommitted voters. All these ultimately helped to put Mitterrand ahead in the presidential election.

Mitterrand who will assume office in the latter half of this month repeatedly declared in his election campaign that he would establish a transitional government upon election, immediately dissolve parliament and hold parliamentary elections to build up a pro-Socialist majority. Many think that the formation of a new government and the forthcoming general elections will be fiercely contested by all political forces in France.

The new government will face formidable challenges at home and abroad. To bring about the new economic changes it proposes is no easy task. This is partly because of the current economic recession in the West. Developments in political and economic situation in France are going to be closely followed at home and abroad.

—Zhai Xiangqian

Soviet Threat and NATO Meeting

THE NATO Council spring meeting in Rome on May 4-5 has helped improve relations between the United States and its allies in dealing with the Soviet Union.

In December 1979, the foreign and defence ministers of the NATO member states agreed in Brussels that a total of 572 Cruise and Pershing II missiles should be deployed in Western Europe as from 1983 to counter the Soviet SS-20 missiles and Backfire bombers already deployed. At the same time they asked Moscow to start talks on the reduction of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe.

Two weeks later, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Some time later the Polish crisis broke out and the SALT II agreements marking the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were shelved and preliminary talks between Washington and Moscow in Geneva on the reduction of theatre nuclear weapons were suspended.

Basic Agreement, 'Small Disagreements

Western Europe and the United States are in full agreement in dealing with Soviet expansionism. But there are small differences over what steps to take and in approach. For example, on the issue of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe the United States firmly wants to deploy new missiles, while its allies are a little hesitant, afraid that U.S. missiles on their territory would invite a Soviet retaliatory nuclear attack. The United States also wants the West European countries to

spend more on boosting their conventional forces, but most West European countries are finding it hard to maintain a 3 per cent increase a year for military defence because they are having trouble with their economies. As to "detente," some officials of the Reagan administration have publicly declared that "detente" is a failure. Some politicians in Western Europe, however, aver that "detente" is beneficial and have asked for a dialogue with the Soviet Union. West German Chancellor Schmidt has said that the United States should resume disarmament talks with the Soviet Union, otherwise it could find its relations with West Germany less than smooth.

Co-ordinating Western Moves

To smooth out the differences, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig held full consultations with U.S. allies at the meeting and then announced that the United States was going to resume negotiations with the Soviet Union on the reduction of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe. At the same time, he stressed that the NATO countries should uphold the 1979

December decision to deploy Cruise and Pershing II missiles. His announcement was favourably received at the meeting. The final communique at the end of the two-day meeting said that while NATO rejected the Soviet proposal on a moratorium on the deployment of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe, it welcomed the intention of the United States to start up negotiations with the Soviet Union on the reduction of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe within this year. In the communique, the Soviet Union was asked to stop its military build-up, to stop resorting to arms and making threats and to stop fomenting trouble and exploiting crises in the third world. The communique condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and warned that "Poland must be left free to resolve its own problems."

The Soviet news agency, TASS, attacked the United States for "exercising its political pressure" to strong-arm its allies into agreeing to deploy U.S. missiles in Western Europe. It also declared that the United States' agreement to negotiate with Moscow was merely a meaningless gesture.

— Ji Lun

Japan-U.S. Summit

WHEN Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and President Ronald Reagan met in Washington on May 7 and 8, they didn't waste time going over little aches and pains troubling Japan-United States relations, but sought common ground on major issues from an overall strategic point of view.

The talks showed they held identical views on many international questions. They reaffirmed their position that Soviet troops must be withdrawn from Afghanistan and problems in Poland should be resolved without external interference. They agreed that an early settlement of the Kampu-

clean issue through an international conference based on the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly was necessary. They also agreed to continue to expand co-operative relations with the People's Republic of China and support ASEAN solidarity.

In the joint communique delivered after their talks, the two leaders explicitly expressed "concern" over the Soviet military buildup and the Soviet expansion in the third world, and stressed the importance of the Japan-United States alliance in this context. Recent Soviet expansionist moves are seen as endangering U.S. strategic interests in the world and posing a threat to Japan's life-lines, its overseas markets and territorial security. Both countries feel closer co-operation is needed to meet the present danger.

In their talks, both sides acknowledged the desirability of an appropriate division of roles between Japan and the United States on defence matters to ensure peace and stability in Asia. Prime Minister Suzuki made it clear that Japan will seek within the limits allowed by its Constitution to make ever greater efforts to improve its defence capabilities in Japanese territory and its surrounding sea and air space and to help reduce the financial burden of U.S. forces in Japan. He said after the meeting that Japan's Constitution defines the Japanese defence periphery as several hundred nautical miles around the country and in terms of sea lanes, 1,000 nautical miles. The United States, which has been asking Japan for years to provide "a credible defence" of its own territory and considers Japan's role in regional defence as extremely important, has been encouraging Japan to increase defence spending and

take up more responsibility in regional defence.

What has emerged from the Suzuki-Reagan talks is that Japanese-U.S. views on defence have moved closer to each other.

Economic relations between Japan and the United States have always been very close, but marred by sporadic spats. Suzuki had complained in a TV speech before his visit about a lack of advanced consultation prior to the United States' lifting of the grain embargo on the Soviet Union. Reagan admitted that he had only informed Japan before taking action and indicated that the United States in future would consult with Japan on issues of importance and there would be "full consultations" between the two about problems of major concern to both countries.

Contradictions between Japan and the United States cannot be solved through one summit meeting. Officials of both sides in charge of defence are to meet in June for further talks when there will be the inevitable haggling as specific steps are

worked out. In Japan, the government will be severely tried over the issues of sharing defence responsibilities and increasing the defence budget. Reports say that some Japanese politicians have already expressed dissatisfaction with the word "alliance" which was used for the first time in the joint communique to describe present Japan-United States relations. On May 16, Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito announced his resignation accepting responsibility for the confusion over the wording of the joint communique.

The two countries are at present embroiled in a trade war, and Japan's restricting its car exports to the United States will not fundamentally alter the situation. But both Japan and the United States are united over the need to meet the threat posed by the Soviet Union. Settling their differences on the basis of their common strategic interests will benefit both countries.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

Developments in the Horn of Africa

SINCE the Somali-Ethiopian conflict of 1977-78 in the Ogaden region, relations between the two countries—and throughout the Horn of Africa—have been strained. In the last few months, however, hopeful signs of a reconciliation appeared. Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre has



made two public statements calling for a summit conference of east African countries, including Ethiopia, to discuss regional disputes and the issue of foreign military bases. In addition, President Hassan Gouled Aptidon of the Republic of Djibouti, another state in the Horn of Africa, recently visited Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the Sudan and reportedly mediated over disputes between Somalia and its neighbours. He, too, has proposed a meeting between the heads of state of the five nations in the Horn, all of whom have agreed on the need

for joint efforts to realize peace and stability in the region.

This renewed interest in friendly contacts and improved relations is an encouraging sign indeed, and certainly in the interest of the people of these countries. But the task is not without certain stumbling blocks. Historical contradictions, such as tribal and territorial disputes, as well as intense contention in the area by outside forces complicate the situation considerably. Furthermore, worries have been raised by Ethiopia's response to a recent gesture of conciliation by President Siad of Somalia. Reports say a Somali emissary was dispatched to the capital of Ethiopia last February to meet with Ethiopian officials, as previously arranged; when he arrived, however, the meeting was suddenly cancelled, apparently because of pressure from the Soviet Union.

It is well known in the Horn of Africa that ever since the Soviet Union was expelled from Somalia in 1977, it has tried to subvert the Somali Government, use Ethiopian and South Yemeni influence to draw Djibouti to its side, and thus create a

pro-Soviet confederation in the Red Sea area. Though Moscow has not openly opposed the recent warming of relations among the five countries of the Horn, it has been suspected of engaging in disruptive clandestine activities: one such manoeuvre has been to exploit the territorial disputes between Somalia and its two larger neighbours, Ethiopia and Kenya, to sow discord among the three and prevent a rapprochement.

The United States, France and other Western nations have been exerting pressure in the opposite direction. They support the idea of a five-state summit conference and have tried to persuade Ethiopia and Kenya to compromise in their disputes with Somalia. Their hope is that Ethiopia will gradually be won over by those countries friendly to the West and vigilant towards the Soviet Union, thereby containing Soviet influence in the area. Ethiopia has responded favourably by encouraging Western investment in the country and requesting Western aid. Such developments cannot but frustrate Soviet designs in the Horn.

— *Zhong Wen*

Telling the Truth Unintentionally

THE Soviet Union tells the world with a straight face that Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan on December 27, 1979 "at the invitation of the Afghan Government." Now Mr. Babrak Karmal himself, the man Moscow installed in Kabul, has come out with a statement to give Moscow the lie.

According to a Reuter report from New Delhi on May 4, Karmal told an Indian journal-

ist that "there was no question of Amin's invitation at all" as the Amin government was "illegal."

If it wasn't Amin who had invited the Soviet troops into Afghanistan as Karmal claims, then, who did? This is what Karmal has to say: "Some 10 days before December 27, 1979, we requested Russia to send a limited number of army units" and "the Soviet Union accepted

the request of the legal leadership of this country and sent troops."

What is this "legal leadership" he refers to? Before Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan, Karmal was already a deposed deputy prime minister and a former Afghan ambassador to Czechoslovakia living in obscurity inside the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union launched its armed invasion Karmal was not a member of the Afghan Government. If by "legal leadership" Karmal means himself and his friends, the title "legal leadership" is certainly bestowed on him either by the Soviet Union or by Karmal himself.

While the Soviet Union insists that its troops had moved into Afghanistan "at the invitation of the Afghan Government," it has yet to clarify which "Afghan Government" it actually was. It has been playing a semantic game all along. Moscow has tried to convince the world that Amin was among the hosts who had "extended the invitation." But would Amin call in the Soviet troops to topple himself and put an end to his own life? Hardly likely.

So Mr. Babrak Karmal has had to come out to fill out the flawed Soviet claim and say that Soviet troops had gone into Afghanistan on the invitation of some "legitimate leadership" and not that of the Amin government. Too clever. Karmal's leadership was not "legitimate" in the first place. Therefore, his statement to the Indian journalist provides additional proof that the Soviet dispatch of troops to Afghanistan was an uninvited act of aggression.

— *Xinhua Correspondent
Dong Ping*

Newly Emerging Economic Forms

by He Jianzhang

Since China adopted a more realistic and flexible economic policy in 1979, some new economic forms have appeared. What are their functions? Why are they allowed to exist?

IN order to study the various new economic forms which have appeared in the past two years, a few of my colleagues and I recently gathered some relevant materials and went to Shanghai and Guangdong Province to investigate. The following is a brief introduction of this new development and my opinions of it.

New Economic Forms

Apart from the originally existing state and collective enterprises, the following economic forms have gradually appeared:

(1) Joint ventures between state and collective enterprises;

(2) Joint ventures between state enterprises and individuals;

(3) Joint ventures between collective enterprises and individuals;

(4) Enterprises set up with funds pooled by individuals;

(5) Enterprises run by individuals;

(6) Joint ventures using Chinese and foreign investments;

(7) Enterprises set up by overseas Chinese and industrialists and businessmen from Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao); and

(8) Enterprises set up with foreign investments.

Now I would like to give some examples of each of these newly emerging economic forms (except 6, 7 and 8, which belong to another economic category).

Joint Ventures Between State and Collective Enterprises. The China Nanjing Radio Company, an integrated electronics complex, was formed with 38 factories and research institutes, of which 10 are state enterprises. With a total workforce of more than 30,000, the company organizes its production according to the principle of specialization and co-ordination

and practises independent business accounting. After the state plan is fulfilled, the company may produce other goods to meet the needs of the market.

Joint Ventures Between State Enterprises and Individuals. The bureau of commerce in Lushan County of Henan Province raised idle funds in society by floating shares to set up stores, commercial warehouses, clothes manufacturing factories and other units. With each share worth 100 yuan, a wide range of people including office workers, factory workers, town residents and rural commune members, bought shares. In all, the shares amounted to some 58,000 yuan. In the first month of operation, these enterprises had a turnover of 140,000 yuan and earned a net profit of 8,800 yuan. Thirty per cent of the profit will be paid to investors as dividends.

Another example is Fuyang City in Anhui Province. The city wanted to develop its light industry and handicrafts, but it was hampered by a lack of funds. Local authorities issued shares and encouraged factories, stores, urban neighbourhoods, rural communes and production brigades, individual staff members, workers and commune members to buy them. In a few days, they raised 2.7 million yuan. With this money, they have undertaken or are going to undertake a dozen projects, including a flour mill and a briquet factory. They also plan to build jointly with organizations both inside and outside the province some 60 projects, including a carpet mill, a vitamin C factory and a sheepskin tannery. The investors may receive a dividend or secure employment for a relative or friend at the factory. Those who wish neither of these may receive an interest 10 per cent above that given on savings accounts.

In addition, the state enterprises may also encourage their workers and staff members to invest in factories by buying shares. For instance, the Mudanjiang Coal Machinery Plant

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The joint efforts of a state-owned industrial tool factory and a collectively owned enterprise in Shenyang have resulted in a marked increase in output.

set up a limited-liability furniture company by using unused machinery and work time normally frittered away after the regular work had been completed. Seventy per cent of the net profit goes to the company's accumulation fund, 5 per cent is put aside as reserves and the remaining 25 per cent covers dividends for directors, investors and workers and staff members.

Joint Ventures Between Collective Enterprises and Individuals. The Harbin Steel and Wood Furniture Factory is a collective enterprise with a workforce of about 500 men. The factory leadership encouraged its workers and staff members to buy shares in the factory. Each share is worth 100 yuan. The dividends are distributed at the end of the year according to the size of the profits. In the case of no profit, the principal is guaranteed. Another example is the Kangji commune of Qingzhen County in Guizhou Province. The commune has set up an agriculture-industry-commerce complex by selling shares to production brigades and teams as well as individual commune members. With each share also for 100 yuan, it pooled a total of 1.2 million yuan. The complex turns 10 per cent of its profit over to the commune, keeps 20 per cent as reserve fund and distributes the remaining 70 per cent in dividends.

Enterprises Set Up With Money Pooled by Individuals. In the town of Miancheng in Chaoyang County, Guangdong Province, 20 job-waiting youths put together 5,000 yuan to set up an electrical repairing shop. They often go around the countryside to repair diesel engines and generators for communes and production teams. In Jiamusi City of Heilongjiang Province, 60 youths pooled nearly 20,000 yuan of their own money to set up a "limited-liability

company" of comprehensive processing and commercial services. Each share sells for 50 yuan and its dividends are distributed at the end of the year.

Enterprises Run by Individuals. After the People's Republic was founded in 1949, undue emphasis was put on the transition of the ownership of the means of production to the ownership by the whole people, which led to a policy of restricting and eliminating the urban individual economy. Even so, 2 million individually owned industrial and commercial units still remained in 1965. But this number was again drastically reduced in the "cultural revolution" starting in 1966, as the individual economy was considered a "tail of capitalism." By 1978, only 150,000 were left. Over the past two years, these units have gradually been restored and developed, growing to nearly one million by 1980. Some are run by individuals, others are managed by a husband and wife team or an entire family. One or two apprentices are taken in by some highly technical household enterprises.

Functions

Though the new economic forms in various places have only been in existence for a short time, they play a positive role in revitalizing the entire economic life and promoting the country's economic development. Their important functions are:

(1) Helpful in making full use of idle funds.

The funds now being utilized mainly come from industrial enterprises and institutions, individual workers and staff members, commune members, urban residents, former industrialists and businessmen and overseas Chinese. Idle funds can be fully utilized and more job opportunities created by allowing the existence of these various economic forms, especially by allowing people to invest in shares and to work in the enterprises. This also increases the number of commercial and service centres and the social wealth. Thus, it is a worthwhile endeavour which accomplishes a number of goals.

(2) Beneficial to bringing into play the special knowledge of technical and managerial personnel who have been idle.

In Shanghai, more than 1,100 former industrialists and businessmen pooled funds to

set up the Aiguo (Patriotic) Construction Company and 100 of them took on such jobs as general manager, deputy general managers, advisers or plant directors of the company and its subordinate enterprises.

(3) Helpful in making full use of local resources and developing sideline occupations and handicrafts.

There is a large surplus of labour in Tailu commune of Lianjiang County, Fujian Province. Starting in 1979, some people there voluntarily pooled funds to buy motorized boats and fishing nets. Within a short span of several months, the number of motorized boats in the commune increased to 50 and a special fishing team was formed. Since last October, the team has caught 500 tons of fish.

(4) Helpful to providing employment for people waiting for jobs in the cities and towns.

Enterprises and service trades in the new economic forms play an important role in broadening the scope of production and providing more jobs. Experiences in past years have proved that it is difficult for the state alone to solve the employment problem.

(5) Favourable to activating the national economy, facilitating the people's livelihood and increasing the wealth of the society.

All the new economic forms have a common characteristic: They decide their own lines of operation according to the principle of "making good the omissions and deficiencies" of the state and collective sectors of the economy. So, their emergence is a supplement to

our socialist economic life. They not only increase the number of commercial and service centres to facilitate the people's livelihood, but also turn out some products which are in great demand. Some also help the state to increase its foreign exchange earnings.

(6) Beneficial to carrying out fair competition to promote reform in the system of economic management and the operation of enterprises.

The new economic forms have many special characteristics in terms of their management and operation. In order for their products to sell well on the market, they must constantly study the relations between production, supply and marketing. At the same time because how well the enterprises are managed is closely connected with the material interests of their workers and staff members, everything they do must be carefully calculated. They must save as much as possible on expenditures and simplify their administrative structures.

For instance, in the 12 co-operatives set up in Dandong City with funds pooled by 472 individuals, all the leading members take part in production and the relationship between them and the workers is excellent. There are 235 workers and staff members in Minsheng Plastic Articles Workshop in Shantou City, but there are only five administrative personnel.

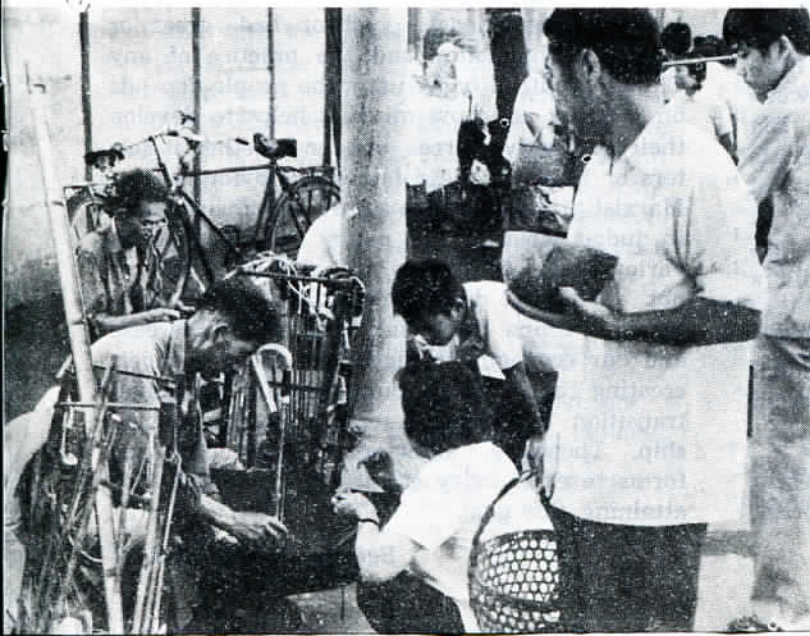
The work spirit of enterprises in the new economic forms is high and the management practices flexible. As their workers' enthusiasm for production is good and they are always trying to make advances, the enterprises develop fairly quickly. On the other hand, because these enterprises compete with state enterprises, they play a positive role in helping the latter overcome their bureaucratic styles of management and promote the current reform in economic management.

A Few Theoretical Questions

Will the existence and development of these various types of economic elements and management methods lead to a capitalist restoration?

Not in my opinion. This is because the overwhelming part of the means of production and commodities is in the hands of the state.

Roadside repairing services in Shanghai are welcomed by the public.



In addition, the collective economy, which is a supplement to the state sector, also occupies a large share. Together, the state and collective sectors constitute more than 95 per cent of our economy and they play a dominant role. Joint ventures between the state (or collectives) and individuals, including those using Chinese and foreign investments, and enterprises set up with money pooled by individuals as well as individual enterprises, serve as complements to the socialist economy; they can never exert a great influence on the entire national economy.

Some people believe that it is a step backward to allow the various economic forms, especially the private sectors, to exist.

It has to be acknowledged that they do constitute a step backward from an economy which has only one form of ownership—the socialist public economy. But, what is wrong with taking a step backward after our national economy was aversely affected by the too early elimination of various economic forms? The retrogression is completely necessary and will ensure a more rapid advance in the future. We all know Lenin was correct when he retreated from war communism to the New Economic Policy. Because the productive forces determine the relations of production according to a basic theory of Marxism, socialism can only be realized when the productive forces are highly developed.

In China's countryside, the natural economy occupies the dominant position now. Of all the agricultural products, the marketable portion is less than 50 per cent, and in the case of grain, less than 25 per cent. In all the cities, except Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou and some other big ones, large-scale socialized production has not been fully developed. What is more, China has a vast territory. Its economic development in various places is far from balanced and there is a great difference between Shanghai and Qinghai, Xinjiang or Tibet. Big and modern mechanized production exists alongside with semi-mechanized production and extensive manual labour. That is to say, at present, the productive forces in China are many-tiered, and we must, therefore, build a many-tiered socialist economic structure, i.e., an economy which includes various economic sectors, ranging from the state to the individual economy, with socialist public ownership occupying the dominant position.

Practice has proved that, at the present stage of development of the productive forces,

it is extremely difficult for the state to take care of everything in society—production, living and employment. For many years, people suffered many inconveniences because the state had insufficient funds, social production was developing slowly and the commercial units and service shops were inadequate. At the same time, huge numbers of people have been waiting for employment. It is under such circumstances that these economic forms have emerged.

Of course, their emergence will lead to some new contradictions. For instance, as some localities slackened their efforts to adhere to unified planning and centralized management practices, there have been some cases of overlapping construction projects and blind production. There has also been the improper setting up of many small enterprises which use agricultural and sideline products as raw materials. Hence the situation of small enterprises competing with big factories for raw materials and power; irrational distribution of industries and low economic results. This situation adversely affects the readjustment of the national economy.

In addition, there also appeared the capitalist practice of mixing shoddy products with good ones and putting profit-making first. Some enterprises even did poor work, used inferior materials, evaded taxes and engaged in speculation. However, so long as the departments concerned strengthen their control and work out effective policies, regulations and systems, these contradictions will gradually be alleviated. Taking all these advantages and disadvantages into consideration, it is still necessary to develop these various economic forms.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." Obviously, this Marxist principle is also a yardstick for us today to judge whether the policy of allowing the various economic forms to exist is correct or not. With the development of the productive forces in China, the social products will increase and our economic strength will grow stronger, creating the material foundation for a gradual transition to complete socialist public ownership. Therefore, allowing various economic forms to exist today creates the conditions for attaining this goal. □

Report From Tibet

New Changes on the Plateau



by Our Special Correspondents
Bangmin
and Jiang Shao

ON May 23, 1951, Tibet was peacefully liberated. On this day 30 years ago, the Central People's Government and the then local government of Tibet signed a 17-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. This event frustrated the plot of the imperialists who had for a long time tried to split Tibet from China, and marked the return of Tibet to the embrace of the motherland.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government and with the brotherly help of people in other parts of the country, great changes have taken place in Tibet over the past three decades. The following data and statistics, which we recently obtained from the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, provide convincing evidence of the remarkable achievements made by the Tibetan people in this period.

	1952	1980
Total output of grain	155,000 tons	505,000 tons
Total output of rapeseed	1,780 tons	40,750 tons
Domestic animals	9.74 million head	23.5 million head
Electricity	10,000-20,000 kwh	175 million kwh

Retail sales	23.27 million yuan	238 million yuan
Population (including Tibetan and other minority peoples)	1.15 million	over 1.7 million

Before liberation, apart from a mint and a small hydropower station, there was no industry to speak of. Now Tibet has more than 200 industrial and mining enterprises, including power generation, coal mining, metallurgy, machine-building, textile, building materials and light industry. In the past, the whole region had only two poor motor roads in Lhasa, which were less than five kilometres. Now, a highway network centring around Lhasa, Xigaze, Qamdo and Nagqu has been built. The total highway length in the autonomous region has reached 21,000 kilometres, so that now 98 per cent of the counties and 76 per cent of the districts are accessible to motor vehicles. In addition, there is air service from Lhasa to Chengdu, Lanzhou and Xian.

In old Tibet, commerce had made little headway, and foreign goods monopolized what market there was. Now state-run stores and



Students of the Tibetan language department at the Tibet Teachers College.

supply and marketing co-ops can be found wherever there are communities, and business in urban and rural fairs is brisk.

Education and public health have also developed greatly in the last 30 years. Now the autonomous region has four institutes of higher learning, some 70 middle schools and secondary technical schools as well as more than 6,000 primary schools. A large number of Tibetan young people have been sent to study in universities and colleges in Beijing and other parts of the country. A contingent of engineers, agro-technicians, doctors, professors, journalists, editors, writers, artists and scientific and technological personnel has been trained. For instance, among these people with various kinds of special knowledge, there are over 6,600 medical workers in the autonomous region, over 50 per cent of them Tibetans.

With the development of economic construction, the ranks of Tibetan cadres have grown. At present, the total number of Tibetan and other minority nationality cadres has exceeded 27,000 (including all Party and government cadres and people of all specialities working full time for the state), making up 52.8 per cent of all the cadres in the autonomous region. And 44.75 per cent of the cadres above county level are Tibetans or people of other minority nationalities.

Lawudare Tudandanda, now Vice-Chairman of the Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, who had for

a time served as senior secretary to the 14th Dalai, put it well: "No ruling class in any period of the history of Tibet could bring us prosperity like this!" His statement is an accurate evaluation of what has been achieved in Tibet.

1980 — A Historical Turning Point

During the 10 catastrophic years of 1966-76, socialist construction on various fronts in Tibet was seriously undermined. In the first few years after the toppling of the gang of four, the situation in Tibet failed to undergo a fundamental change for the better due to the remnant influence of the "Left" deviationist line. In the spring of 1980, the Party Central Committee issued important directives concerning work in Tibet. Later, Hu Yaobang and Wan Li, leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, went to Tibet on an inspection tour and put forward six major measures (see box) for eliminating poverty, bringing prosperity and building a socialist new Tibet. This has opened a new chapter in the local history.

Inspiring changes have already taken place in the short period of only one year as a result of implementing the Party Central Committee's directives, especially those which called for the full exercise of regional autonomy and the adoption of a flexible economic policy.

Last year, outstanding results were achieved in the region's agriculture, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and traditional handicrafts. The income of the peasants and herdsmen has generally increased and the people's livelihood has improved greatly. The following are the latest figures released by the statistical departments.

1980 Percentage Increases Over 1979

Total output of grain	19
Rapeseed	35
Domestic animals	1.6
Collective sidelines	6.7
Total output value of handicrafts	21
Per-capita cash income	25
Per-capita food grain	30.9

Flexible Policies

During the 10 disastrous years, diversified economy and sideline production were condemned as "tails of capitalism." This was carried so far as to discourage people, who

lost confidence in their future. Last year, in addition to the relaxation of control in economic matters, the Party Central Committee adopted specific policies towards Tibet favourable to its recuperation and lightening the people's burden. The announcement brought a feeling of relief, but inevitably some Tibetan people still had misgivings.

In the past year, they have seen with their own eyes how frame-ups and wrongs were being redressed, case after case, and how a series of new policies were being put into effect. Without delay, plots of land for private use have increased to 23,300 hectares, accounting for 10.3 per cent of the cultivated land in Tibet. Livestock for personal needs have grown to 3.48 million head, accounting for 15 per cent of the total animals. The Tibetan peasants' and herdsmen's livelihood has improved rapidly. Around the end of last year when income from production was tallied, new policies were put into effect, stressing less accumulation and more distribution, more pay for more work, and dispensing rewards and penalties according to quality of work. Besides, people were exempted from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes and state prescribed purchases of farm and animal products. Obviously, the Party was



With more stress on national handicrafts, the Lhasa Carpet Factory is expanding production.

carrying out its commitments; seeing this, the Tibetan peasants and herdsmen regained their confidence in the future.

In 1969 Yangji, a woman member of the Paggor People's Commune, Nyemo County, was falsely labelled an agent of the feudal lord and had all her property confiscated with the

Six Major Measures

1. Full scope must be given to exercising the rights of regional national autonomy under the unified leadership of the central authorities. Policies and regulations not suited to Tibetan conditions may be modified or not carried out, and those not beneficial to national unity or the development of production may not be implemented.

2. As the Tibet Autonomous Region is still hard up at present, a policy of recuperation should be carried out and the burden of the masses reduced. Tibet will be exempted for a few years from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes and state prescribed purchases of farm and animal products.

3. Specific and flexible policies suitable to conditions in Tibet must be carried out in all fields of economic work. In accordance with the wishes of the local people and the natural conditions, the power of decision by the production teams should be fully respected. Various forms of the responsibility system in production should be carried out well and the policy to each according to his work should be implemented in earnest. The initiative of the peasants and herdsmen should

be brought into full play. The peasants themselves may decide what to grow and no interference should be allowed. Production teams cover an unmanageably large area should be reduced in size. Peasants should be given larger plots of land for personal needs and allowed to raise more domestic animals of their own.

4. The funds allocated by the state to Tibet should be used to boost agricultural production and animal husbandry, and to raise the living standards of the Tibetan people. Although up till now more funds have been allocated by the state for use in Tibet than in any other provinces or autonomous regions, they will be further increased in the days to come.

5. Culture, education and science in Tibet should be energetically revived and developed in keeping with socialist orientation.

6. The Party's policy on cadres of minority nationalities has to be correctly carried out and great efforts must be made to strengthen the unity between Han and Tibetan cadres. Within the next two or three years, Tibetans should make up more than two-thirds of the total number of cadres in Tibet.

TIBET TODAY

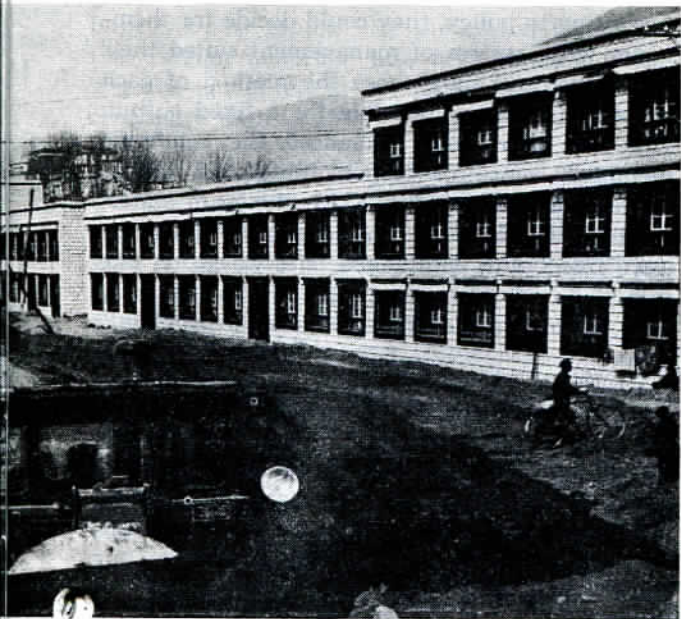


A commune pasture in the Ngari Prefecture.



Life has improved for Tibetan peasants as a result of the last year's bumper harvest. They are now in high spirits.

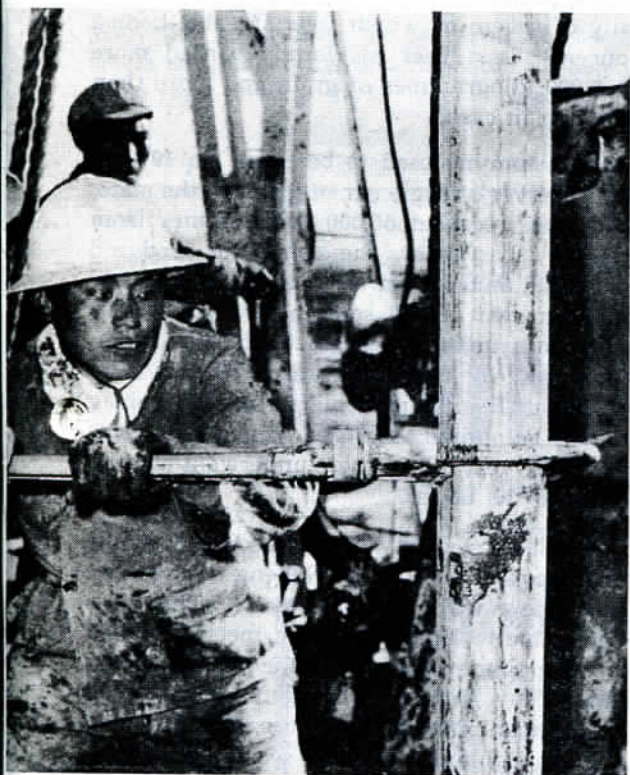




Newly built Tibetan-type apartment buildings in Lhasa.



Two of the new occupants hang a "hada" on the cross-beam as a good-luck symbol.



Tibet's rich endowment of terrestrial heat is being tapped for generating electricity. Tibetan drillers working on a megathermal well near Lhasa.



A lama in the Trashiilhunpo Monastery in Xigaze lighting a sacred lamp. Tibetans now enjoy freedom of religious belief. They can believe, or not believe, in religion.

exception of a dilapidated two-room house she and her family were living in. Last year, the government announced her rehabilitation, compensated her for her losses and built her a four-room house. She was deeply moved by this. "During those difficult times. I really did not feel like living any more," she said. "Now, the Party's policies are so good that I want to go on living and working for years, and to do my share in building a new Tibet!"

The third team in the Risuo People's Commune, Gyangze County, had never before gathered in more than 150 tons of grain. Last year, it made plans for a total output of 175 tons, and set production quotas for several groups. It was decided that all the above-quota yields would be given to the groups as bonuses. As it turned out, production reached 355 tons. Would the decision on bonuses be carried out? While the team cadres hesitated, the masses could only adopt a wait-and-see attitude. The secretary of the Xigaze Prefecture Party committee, Duojuicairang, happened to come by on an inspection tour and stated clearly that whatever portion of the output was over and above the quota set should be distributed among the commune members according to the original decision.

Last year, the ninth team of the Qupu People's Commune, Quxu County, drew up a plan for the next four or five years according to which there would be an average of two milch cows and four or five sheep for each person, plus 18 kilogrammes of butter, 35 kilogrammes of meat, 420 kilogrammes of grain yearly.



Traditional Tibetan medicine is being used in clinical practice. Gonggapincuo, an old doctor and deputy director of the Hospital of Tibetan Medicine, studies medical works in his own language.

According to policy, they could decide for themselves what system of management suited their conditions, and they chose the method of each household being responsible for a fixed output. This has enormously enhanced the commune members' sense of responsibility and labour enthusiasm. In the first year, the team almost reached its targets. The commune members were filled with confidence. "If we go on like this," one of them remarked, "we'll be quite well off in three or five years — no problem!"

Life Is Getting Better

When grain was shared out at the end of last year, we saw quite a few peasants standing in a quandary beside their huge piles of grain. "We've never had so much grain in our lives!" they said. "Now where are we going to store it!"

Gesang, a member of the Bainag People's Commune, Dagze County, has a storeroom with 14 square metres of floor space. It is now full of grain except for a passage just wide enough for a single person to squeeze through. He has a family of seven, of whom four are able-bodied labourers. Last year his family earned more than 5,000 kilogrammes of grain and more than 1,000 yuan in cash.

The commune used to be poor. In 1979, it did not deliver a single ear of grain to the state, but instead, received 55,000 kilogrammes from the state. Last year, the commune produced 3.4 times as much grain as in the previous year and of its own accord sold more than 200,000 kilogrammes to the state. According to statistics put out by the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, poor places like the Bainag commune accounted for 10 per cent of the communes. Last year, all of them underwent a sharp change for the better.

Cirenlamu is Party branch secretary of the Gyerba People's Commune, Nedong County. At an interview with us, she said: "This time when I came to Lhasa to attend meetings I had many shopping errands to do for my fellow villagers. They gave me several thousand yuan to help them buy leather shoes, blankets and lots of other things." Deputy secretary Suolang of the Party branch of the Nyaimai People's Commune, Lhunze County, also told us: "My commune has only 200 households. Last year, the members bought 18 radio sets, 5 sewing machines, 12 wrist watches, 484 woollen blankets, and 28 woollen rugs. Thirty-nine families

built 128 new rooms." By the end of last year, the Tibetan peasants' and herdsmen's savings deposits amounted to 104 million yuan, 14 per cent more than in 1979.

Tudengjiayang, a cadre of the Gazhong People's Commune, Doilungdegen County, told us an interesting story: Around the end of last year, he learnt that his family would be given 3,500 kilogrammes of grain. But his wife did not believe it, and they made a bet. She lost, for when the grain was distributed they got 3,900 kilogrammes. His wife became worried again, fearing that they couldn't afford to pay for so much grain. When the final accounting was done, they not only had earned enough to pay for the grain, but in addition, received 900 yuan in cash. This time his wife, money in hand, was too moved to say a word.

When the distribution was about to be made last year, the commune organized its members to discuss where the year's good harvest came from. They concluded: The Party's good policies, their own efforts and favourable weather. Cangjue, a 62-year-old woman, pointed out: "In the past, we prayed for a good harvest every year, but regardless, we were struck by disasters and hailstorms just the same. When you come right down to it, in order to lead a happy



Tea cultivation has been introduced to Tibet to provide the local people with more tea, which is an indispensable daily necessity. Tibetan women picking tea leaves at a cultivation centre.

life, we must rely on the Party and on socialism in addition to our industrious labour."

Last year, the state exempted Tibet of grain sales to the state. The Tibetan people, however, were willing to sell their surplus to the state. Up to the end of last February, they have sold the state 41,000 tons of grain at negotiated prices. □

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IT is important for socialist literature and art to portray a new-type of people who have emerged under socialism. While literary themes adopted by the writers should be diverse and not restricted, the times and the people demand priority be given to portraying new people with the characteristics of our socialist era.

Now, we are at the start of a new historical period — a turning point when the new is replacing the old. The socialist cause, after the setback of the tumultuous “cultural revolution,” has begun to march forward again. However, the contradictions between new and old, between advanced and backward and between the bright and dark aspects continue to manifest themselves in society. We must correctly and deeply understand them, distinguish their appearance from their essence, have a grasp of their past, present and future developments in order to condense them into bright artistic images. In this way, the true features of the new period can be properly portrayed.

We cannot indulge in merely

exposing the seamy side of society, just like we should not solely praise the bright aspects — something we once asked for in the past. We should not avoid or cover up the dark side; socialist literature and art must criticize old phenomena. But, we must also pay attention to

(1799-1850), Turgenev (1818-83) and Cao Xueqin (c. 1715-64) possessed the features of the new people of their times. Progressive writers in different social circumstances and of different classes strive to reflect the orientation of historical development and the progres-

Portraying New Socialist People

new things which are positive, bright and advanced. We should portray the struggles between the new and the old and between brightness and darkness as well as the historical inevitability of light overcoming darkness. Therefore, portraying new socialist people — representatives of our period — is crucial in correctly portraying our new era.

During every historical epoch, there are people who represent progress and reflect the nature of their time. If they can be shaped into lifelike literary characters, their portrayal often will have a strong impact on contemporary readers. The main characters depicted by such great writers as Balzac

sive trends of their times in their characters.

We are now living in an era vastly different from past ones. The new socialist person has come into being at a time of momentous changes; the system of private ownership is being buried and its influence on human spirit is being eradicated. The new people are by no means perfect, each has his own shortcomings and personalities, but their roots are among the people and they are in the vanguard of the people and represent the orientation of advance of the new socialist era.

(Excerpts from “Zuopin Yu Zhengming” [Works and Discussions], No. 5, 1981.)

TERTIARY INDUSTRY AND MARXISM

TERTIARY industries have expanded rapidly in the capitalist countries since the 1930s, especially after World War II. In Western economics and economic statistics, industries are often classified into the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. The tertiary industry is mainly composed of the service trades, including transportation, communications,

power, gas and water, commercial services, scientific research, education, journalism, information, recreation and tourism.

In the last few decades, tertiary industries have significantly expanded in the developed capitalist countries. They employ more people and comprise a larger percentage of the GNP than the totals of the primary and secondary industries.

In the tertiary industry, science and education, which promote the progress of the whole society and economy, developed especially fast. Some experts estimate that in the 21st century, education will rank first among the tertiary industries.

The fast growth of the tertiary industry poses a new topic of discussion among Marxist theorists.

First, in the traditional Marxist theory of reproduction, production is generally divided into two large departments — means of production and means of subsistence. The division is made on the basis of material production, excluding spiritual and intellectual production. However, the Marxist view holds that value is created not only by manual labour but also by mental labour. Therefore, a new department may be added to the theory of reproduction — the third department, which is comprised of intellectual production or information production and services. Studying its role in social production will be a theoretical problem of great significance.

Secondly, the rapid growth of the tertiary industry will inevitably cause a rapid increase in the number of intellectuals in the ranks of the working class as a whole. In the United States, the proportion of white collar workers to blue collar workers is 5:4. With the exception of a small number of high-level managing personnel and scientists, the gap in living standards between the white collar workers and the blue collar workers is narrowing.

It is essential for Marxist par-

ties in various countries to strengthen their work among the intellectuals. In our future socialist construction, the proportion of intellectuals will increase, becoming an ever more important component of the working class.

The emergence of this new economic phenomenon will exert a profound influence on the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution.

(Excerpts from an article in "Renmin Ribao," April 6, 1981.)

Pre-School Education

FROM the first day a baby comes into the world, the question of education becomes an important matter.

When a baby begins to have sensations, he begins to establish a relation with the outside world; that is to say, images of the outside world begin to leave an impression on him. As time passes, these images internalize, help form the child's character and disposition and determine his intelligence as compared with that of other children.

We cannot deny that physiologically, newborn babies display differences in their cerebral organs, nor can we say that differences in mental ability will not occur as children grow up. However, differences in intelligence are determined mainly by the later education they re-

ceive. Of course, education in the early stages does not mean communicating with them in words, but stimulating their sense organs, such as putting some colourful or bright objects over their beds or letting them hear music.

Many research results prove the importance of early education. But there are still many problems concerning pre-school education, which should be studied. These problems include: To what extent can a child's intelligence develop at different stages of his growth? What methods should we adopt to enhance a child's knowledge and ability to think? How wide can the gap between the intelligence of different children be? How can the innate ability of children be fully tapped and how can a child's strong points be cultivated to the fullest extent? Generally speaking, we should study and make use of the laws governing the mental growth of children.

Therefore, it is necessary to develop a new science of education in China under the name of "Educational Engineering."

(Excerpts from Beijing's "Zhongguo Fenu" [Women in China].)



MUSIC

New Symphonic Compositions

During the 10-year "cultural revolution," Western symphonies were labelled as "revisionist trash" in China. World famous classical compositions and popular Chinese symphonies were unreasonably criticized and forbidden. With no way to develop, the national symphony was thus in a state of virtual ruin by the time of the gang of four's downfall in 1976. A year later, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the death of Beethoven, the symphony orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society gave its first performance of the Fifth Symphony in many years. Since then, performances of both foreign and domestic compositions have become increasingly common and vigorous activity has taken place in the realm of symphonic music.

Some of the fruits of this burst of creative energy were enjoyed by Beijing audiences last March when the Central Philharmonic Society gave a concert of four new symphonies by Chinese composers. Performed with the instruments and structure of the Western symphony orchestra, the compositions are richly imbued with the style and spirit of China.

Yesterday is the first part of a serial symphony (followed by *Today* and *Tomorrow Morning*), based on a classical Chinese melody. Its low dismal prelude and gradual buildup in strength and tempo portrays the hope, resolution and confidence of those who have suffered past misery.

For many centuries, the clean, fragrant blossom of the plum

tree has been a favourite subject of Chinese artists, a traditional symbol of purity and nobility. *Plum Blossom* is the modern symphonic tribute to this classic motif. Adapted by a woman composer from a tune originally plucked on an ancient stringed instrument, the new symphony is deeper and richer than its predecessor, while preserving its unique national flavour.

A short symphony commemorates the late Premier Zhou Enlai and the heroes of the Tian An Men incident of 1976. *Song of the Sea*, a composition depicting the life of fishermen, is impressive for its skilful synthesis of classic and modern artistic styles.

While learning enthusiastically from foreign symphonies and visiting artists from abroad, China's composers, conductors and musicians have primarily sought to develop their own style based on traditional and modern Chinese themes. The Central Philharmonic Society orchestra, for example, rehearsed a new Chinese symphony every 10 days last year, in addition to its already busy schedule.

ANCIENT ART

Early Cultural Relics

The Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang in northwest China's Gansu Province have long been thought to house the earliest existing Buddhist stone carvings in China. Newly discovered relief sculptures in Jiangsu Province, however, have been judged by specialists to date back nearly 2,000 years to the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.), 200 years earlier than those at Dunhuang.



One of the oldest Buddhist sculptures in China.

One hundred and ten bas-reliefs and other stone carvings were found last year along the cliffs of Kongwang Hill, 2.5 kilometres south of the coastal city of Lianyungang. Most are images of the Buddha in various positions, tinted red or bluish grey by the natural colour of the rock. Other sculptures portray bodhisattvas, disciples, guardians and followers. The largest carving is 1.54 metres tall, the smallest only 10 cm. Three large figures in costumes of the Han nationality were also found, probably objects of worship by Daoists.

A large stone statue of an elephant was discovered 70 metres east of the Buddhist sculptures. With a height of 2.6 metres, length of 4.8 metres and width of 3.5 metres, it is thought to be the largest remaining stone animal figure of the Han Dynasty. All of the newly discovered carvings are expected to aid in the study of Buddhist history and art in China.

Of additional interest are a



Part of the stone carving remains.

number of wall carvings which have also been found near Lian-yungang. They depict life in ancient Chinese tribal society and were recently dated at over 3,000 years old. Etched into the side of a smooth, black cliff are crude images of crops, faces of animals and men, geometric figures and designs of the sun. On the ground in front of the carvings are three large stones which archaeologists feel may have been imputed with natural powers and worshipped by local inhabitants. These relics are proving of some value to researchers of Chinese archaeology, ethnology, and primitive art history.

SOLAR ENERGY

Harnessing the Sun

On the high plateaus and grasslands of Qinghai Province, where the sun shines more than 3,000 hours a year, solar heat is being used to serve the energy needs of production and the local population. An office building in the Quanji commune is one of the many new projects in the area now tapping this clean, safe and plentiful energy alternative.

The technology involved in heating this building is quite simple. Its south wall is painted black and covered with glass. The sun heats the space between the wall and the glass and warm air currents enter the building through holes in the top of the wall. The air circulates inside the offices and returns through holes in the bottom of the south wall. During the coldest winter days of January, the temperature in the building is maintained at a comfortable 10-20 degree centigrade; coal, a scarce resource in this region, is no longer needed to heat the offices. The building is also equipped with silicon solar cells and a wind-driven generator which supply much of its electricity needs.

The vast highlands of northwest China hold a great potential for developing solar energy in this country. Qinghai Province is now capturing solar power for various uses in animal husbandry, agriculture and railway transportation. It has also recently set up factories producing solar stoves, heaters, lamps and appliances powered by silicon solar batteries.

Books

Regional Autonomy Of Nationalities

Tibet: No Longer Mediaeval
(English edition)

Edited by Jin Zhou,

Text by Zhu Li,

Published by Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1981, 176 pp.,

Distributed by Guoji Shudian, P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China,

Hardback: Renminbi 12.70 yuan,

Paperback: Renminbi 11.55 yuan,

Soon available in French, German, Spanish and Hindi, in paperback only.

The value of this book lies in two factors — it is a Chinese report on the "roof of the world," a region under the contention of major powers for some centuries, and it presents up-to-date information, beautifully illustrated — all within the covers of one volume. Though, as the author points out, "Tibet today remains poor and undeveloped, and the people continue to lead a hard life," this is a relative statement, and few people in the world today dispute the fact that Tibet has made an astonishing jump from an intolerable feudal-serf society into the beginnings of a new life. Nor do they dispute China's claim that "any attempts to change the present course of Tibet will be futile" (the book's last sentence).

Tibet: No Longer Mediaeval does not pretend to be a definitive and scholarly study, but it does offer insights into the autonomous region's historical background, coming down justifiably hard on the role of imperialist Russia, the British and

Tibet's rulers, many of whom fled into exile when their armed rebellion failed in 1959.

Three steps in Tibet's transformation are laid out—the years from 1951 to 1959 under an agreement between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government aiming at peaceful liberation, the democratic reform that followed the suppression of the 1959 rebellion during which the serf system was uprooted, and the beginnings of socialist transformation after the area became the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965. Autonomy was introduced gradually, an increasing number of Tibetan leaders were trained, and local economy, Tibetan culture and language began to be put in first place.

Though much of this progress was set back during the disastrous period of the gang of four, the damage is now being repaired. A 1980 decision of the Chinese Communist Party calls, correctly enough, for "the full exercise of regional autonomy," and adds "under the unified leadership of the central authorities." This, it is stated, includes the right to modify or reject any policies or directives "not suited to Tibet." The decision also calls for the easing of control in economic matters, and an attempt to improve the Tibetans' living standards.

Tibet: No Longer Mediaeval, which includes the last five years after the fall of the gang of four in 1976, outlines the training of Tibetan leaders, efforts to introduce socialist forms, agricultural progress, growing industry and transport, the development of art, education and health—with a look at Lhasa today and a polemic on the united front and the role of the army.

In these times, when much of

the world suffers the agonizing wrench of racial strife, China's policy on national minorities offers a real possibility of harmony within a state's borders. This policy consists mainly of the equality of all nationalities, autonomy for minority peoples living compact enough to exercise it, respect for local languages and customs, and the training of national minority leaders.



Over 70 per cent of Tibet's farmland is from 3,000 to 4,000 metres above sea level, weather is capricious and sometimes disastrous. Yet, with irrigation (today over 60 per cent of the land), the dwindling of superstition and the increasing use of science and machinery, the region is gradually approaching self-sufficiency. The wrong emphasis in agriculture in the past is being corrected, such as the promotion of wheat growing when barley, beans and oil crops are better suited to conditions on the high plateau.

Old Tibet had no industry at all. (The author points out that, although Tibetans knew the wheel, they used it only for prayer-wheels.) Today Tibet has over 200 small and medium industries. Most of the technique for running these came from other parts of China,

but a growing number of Tibetan workers and engineers are taking over. Four main highways and two airlines serve Tibet. An interesting contrast lies in today's two-and-a-half-hour air flight from Sichuan Province to Lhasa—it used to take several months by caravan!

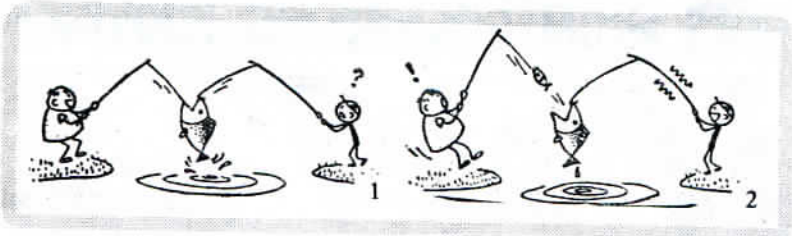
Apart from the 10-year "cultural revolution" period, Tibetan art, education and health services have progressed well. Education is not yet universal but there are several thousand primary and middle schools, vocational institutes and colleges. Free medical service is now available in virtually every corner of the region.

The author includes a chapter on the united front—which calls for unifying all forces possible for progress, and a final chapter on the role of the army—which points to its political, educational and construction work while conveying the message that Tibet is safe from any further foreign or domestic interference. Here is a real effort to convince exiled Tibetans to return, a declaration that Tibet "is an inalienable part of China" (which scarcely anyone denies today), and a warning to would-be disrupters that Tibet's present situation "has come to stay."

More and more foreign visitors are going to Lhasa and nearby locations. This a good sign, for it means that the present book can be taken at face value, though reports on Tibet are sometimes hung between what is factually so and what the authors believe or would like to say. I think, *Tibet: No Longer Mediaeval* presents facts—enough to give readers a fair picture of a Tibet that has undoubtedly leaped out of a miserable society into the beginnings of a new and better one.

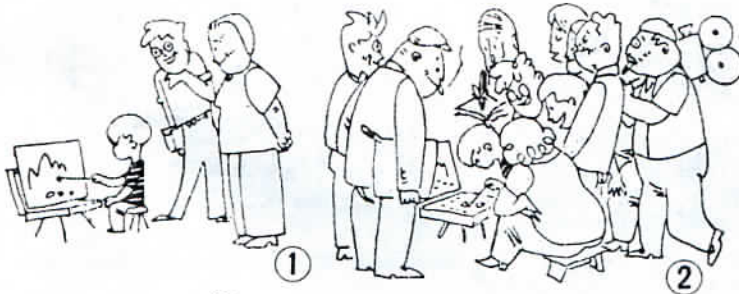
—Robert C. Friend

Humour In China



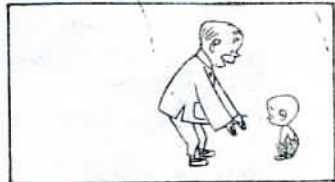
Father and son.

- Pan Shunqi



Child prodigy

- Chen Shubing



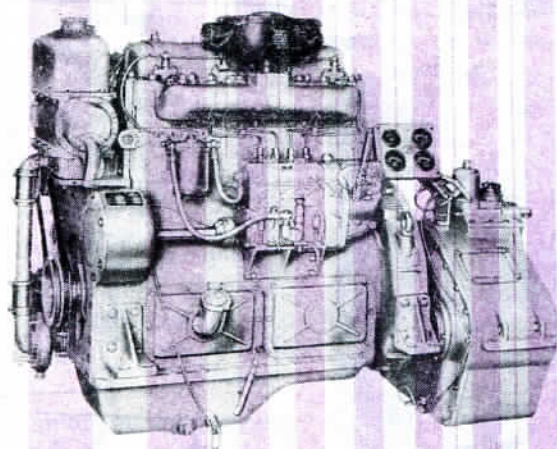
Life's first steps

- Liu Xiaqing

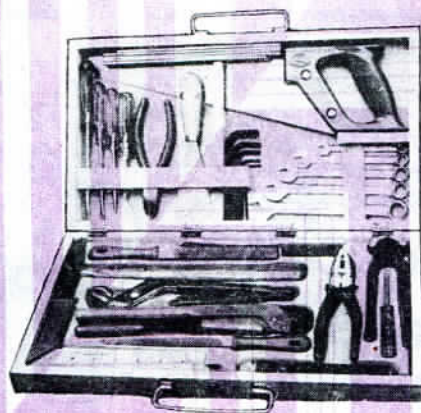


- Shen Pei

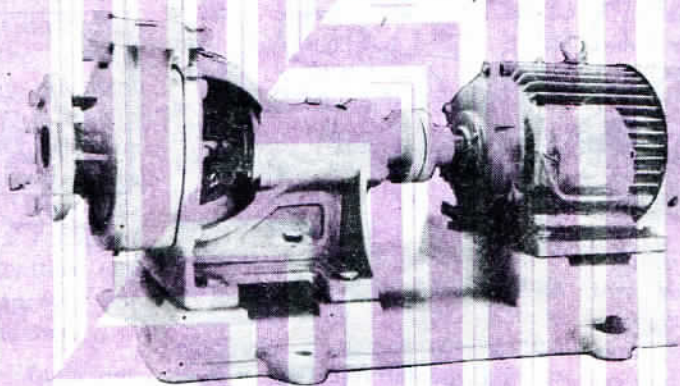
A WIDE RANGE OF HEAVY DUTY MACHINERY AND DURABLE HAND TOOLS FROM GUANGDONG PROVINCE



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