

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Regional Autonomy for National Minorities
- Policy of Religious Freedom
- Nuclear-Armed Soviet Sub's Intrusion Into Swedish Waters



## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### National Regional Autonomy

Regional autonomy for the national minorities is an important feature of New China's administrative setup as well as a basic policy for solving China's national question. Ulanhu, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, explains the whys and wherefores of this policy and sums up the achievements and lessons gained in the course of implementing it (p. 15).

### Religion in China

A theoretical article by a researcher explains why the freedom of religious belief is a fundamental policy in socialist China (p. 21).

A brief account of the five main religions in China (p. 23).

### Symposium on Lu Xun

A resume of some of the papers delivered at a nine-day symposium on Lu Xun, a great writer, thinker and revolutionary (p. 25).

### Soviet Sub's Intrusion Into Swedish Waters

The intrusion of a nuclear-armed Soviet submarine on a spy mission in the vicinity of a Swedish naval base has exploded Brezhnev's glib talk about Moscow's goodwill for peace and respect for neutrality. An analysis by *Renmin Ribao* Commentator (p. 10).

### Academic Degrees

The system of awarding academic degrees now being put into effect will go a long way to encouraging people to become

socialist-oriented specialists (p. 7).

### Opera Festival

Ten operas in traditional styles and with contemporary themes were staged during an opera festival in Beijing last month. Reflecting life today and depicting characters with socialist consciousness, they help educate the people in working-class ideology (p. 30).



Three Dai women.  
Photo by Xin Hua

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## The Middle East Question

Where does the crux of the Middle East question lie?

The major reasons why the Middle East question remains unsolved are: contention between the superpowers for the oil resources and important strategic points in that area as well as the expansionist policy of Israel. Israel's obduracy cannot be separated from the United States' unwise policy of bias towards Israel, disregard of the national aspirations of the 100 million Arab people and refusal to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The proposal to first solve the Palestinian question and then settle the Arab-Israeli dispute peacefully put forward by Saudi Arabia has received the attention of an increasing number of countries.

In early October, it was reported that the United States was "interested" in the proposal, and it appeared as if the United States was seeking a realistic way to solve the Middle East question. But when the Begin clique issued warnings and threats, the United States changed its tune and said that the Saudi proposal could not be a plan for peace.

The Soviet Union took advantage of US vacillation. About a fortnight ago, the Soviet Union was still attacking the Saudi proposal, but later it suddenly changed its attitude and said that the proposal could serve as a basis for the settlement of the Middle East question. It is quite clear that the Soviet Union wants to have a hand in the Middle East peace talks.

To solve the Middle East question, it is necessary to force Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, restore the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to establish their own country. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole

legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should take part in an overall just settlement of the Middle East question.

The Middle East question is complicated. It can be solved, not by depending on this or that superpower, but by relying on the unity and struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab states and peoples.

— *International Editor Mu Youlin*

## Technical Transformation

**Now that you have slashed capital construction projects, how will you expand reproduction?**

To develop industry and enable it to maintain a certain rate of growth, expanded reproduction is of primary importance.

In the past we paid attention to capital construction, investing heavily in new projects and building new factories. But we neglected making full use of existing enterprises which have great potentialities. Hence we failed to achieve the desired economic results.

During the period of readjusting the national economy, the scale of capital construction is reduced and, apart from developing energy resources, transport and communications and other key enterprises, no new projects will be undertaken. Expanded reproduction will rely mainly on the technical transformation of existing enterprises and the renovation of equipment.

Technical transformation is carried out with the aim of

saving energy, raising the quality and increasing the variety of products, and reducing the consumption of raw materials. The waste of energy is quite serious in our country. An important reason is that our techniques and equipment are backward. The consumption of energy is high, while utility rate is only about 30 per cent. For instance, old fashioned cars and buses are still in use while new ones which save gasoline cannot be manufactured. This situation must be remedied as soon as possible.

In order to carry out technical transformation and renovate the equipment, the machine-building industry must be transformed in the first place. Our machine-building industry has made rapid progress in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic. There are now 100,000 such enterprises throughout the country and their annual output value amounts to 120,000 million yuan, occupying a very important place in the nation's industry as a whole. However, for

# LETTERS

## Third World

The international section is extremely informative and useful for many of us. Keep it precise and to the point. One suggestion: Try to cover the movements in the third world—especially workers' movements and resistance movements against imperialist oppression and exploitation—in more depth. Feature articles on the important movements might be highly educational to many.

**George Johnson**  
New York City, USA

## China's Unification

I realize now that China is a powerful nation, whereas I often heard in the past that China did not have enough rice to feed its people. I expect China will continue to be strong and the Chinese people full of confidence.

I hope Taiwan and the mainland will reunite. China must be unified; the past forgotten.

**Enrique de Margorta**  
Bilboa, Spain

## Reforming Criminals

The article on reforming criminals in the February 23rd issue (No. 8) was of interest to me because my country, the United States of America, has such a se-

vere problem that we cannot correct. It would seem that you are doing something very constructive in China in this regard, and I sincerely congratulate you on your worthwhile efforts and success.

**Janet M. Ross**  
Kissimmee, Florida, USA

## Literary Criticism

Unhealthy tendencies in the literary and art circles have been criticized recently in China. Bai Hua's name has been mentioned several times.

Bai Hua's film script *Unrequited Love* is being criticized. Articles in *Beijing Review* concerning the recent literary criticism have been good and reliable. But, the specific content of *Unrequited Love* has not been published. If you can give a synopsis of this work, I will appreciate it.

**Martin Lotscher**  
Basel, Switzerland

The article in *Beijing Review* (issue No. 42) analysing the ideological errors and artistic failures of the film script *Unrequited Love* was welcome and necessary. Until then, although there had been many reports in the press of criticisms and even forums being held, most *Beijing Review* readers in the West had not known the script's plot or what was wrong with it.

It would have been better if a short summary and analysis of the plot had been published at

the beginning. This would have minimized the "confusion and misunderstanding" referred to.

Even now there are many points most readers do not know, e.g., has the film been shown and, if so, what has been the audience reaction, to what extent have Bai Hua and Peng Ning accepted the criticisms? Readers in the West expect such details to be made available in controversies so that we can make an informed judgment, after allowing for the fact that our own mass media often give distorted accounts.

**Alan Paterson**  
London, UK

We printed "On the Film Script 'Unrequited Love'" in the "Opinion Digest" column (issue No. 42). This article was excerpted from a "Wenyi Bao" (*Literary Gazette*) critique and includes a synopsis.

Bai Hua has stated that this article is well-written. The criticism "appeals to reason in a comradely way and is therefore quite convincing." He pledged to ponder over it.

Comrade Bai Hua recently made a self-criticism at a Party meeting at the Wuhan Military Command, where he works. "It was with a warm-hearted feeling that the leaders of the Party Central Committee criticized me," he said, "in the hope that I would keep to the stand of the Party and not deviate from the Party leadership." — Ed.

a long time in the past, it mainly served capital construction and the expansion of production capability. Changes will be made during the period of readjustment, so that it will mainly serve the technical transformation of the national economy.

In the course of effecting the technical transformation of various branches of the national economy, a vast market will be provided for the machine-building industry. The technical transformation of the machine-building industry itself will provide advanced equipment for

the various branches of the national economy.

Technical transformation will be carried out in a planned and systematic way. Outdated equipment will be renovated and replaced by stages and in groups according to a plan. We will also change the old ways of doing things. For instance, outdated equipment from the large enterprises will not be used in the small enterprises, but will be used to make steel instead. The backward equipment in the warehouses will be scrapped and sent to the furnaces.

In the next 5 to 10 years, energetic efforts will be made to develop the energy industry and transport and communications (including port facilities). At the same time, the technical transformation and renovation of equipment of existing enterprises will also be given top priority. We will continue to import advanced technology and equipment from abroad, and various forms of co-operation with other countries in this field will be undertaken.

— Economic Editor  
Wang Dacheng

## POLITICAL

**Rectify the Party Style  
Of Work**

An article entitled "Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Rectifying the Party Style of Work" was published in issue No. 21 of *Hongqi*, a theoretical journal sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The article consists of excerpts from the speeches and reports made since 1977 by Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee. It is divided into four parts: (1) Completely and accurately grasp and apply Mao Zedong Thought. (2) adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, (3) restore and carry forward the Party's fine traditions and style of work, and (4) carry out criticism and self-criticism, and strictly observe discipline.

In the same issue, the journal published an article by its editorial department entitled "Strive to Bring About a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Party Style of Work." The article pointed out that Deng's expositions have played a significant guiding role in the political life of the Party and state and constitute an ideological weapon for Party building in the new period.

The article listed the main contents of the Party's fine traditions and style of work as follows: seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses, carrying out criticism and self-criticism in earnest, serving the people wholeheartedly, and being

modest, prudent and hard working.

The article went on to say that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978, the style of work of a considerable number of Party members and Party cadres, leading cadres in particular, has improved markedly. However, "viewed from the situation as a whole, the Party style of work has not taken a basic turn for the better, and restoring and developing the Party's fine traditions and style of work is still an urgent and important fighting task." As an illustration, the article listed the following malpractices to be overcome by Party members and Party cadres: the tendency of bourgeois liberalization which departs from the socialist road and Party leadership, the bureaucratic style of handling in an irresponsible manner tasks entrusted by the Party and the people, departmentalism which looks after partial interests at the expense of overall interests, activities under the guise of "representing the interests of the people" which are detrimental to state interests, taking advantage of one's position and power to seek personal gain in violation of state law and discipline, anarchism and ultra-individualism.

The article explained the causes of the emergence of these malpractices. During the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), it said, the organism of the Chinese Communist Party was greatly damaged and the Party style of work was practically thrown overboard. At the same time, remnants of feudal ideology and bourgeois ideas left over from the old society are still exerting their influence.

The corruption of bourgeois ideas from abroad is bringing pressure to bear on the Chinese society. All these find their expressions within the Party.

Manifestations of this unhealthy Party style show that there are defects in the system of Party leadership and weak links in the various trades and professions. To rectify this unhealthy style of work, it is necessary to improve the system of Party leadership and regulations governing work in the various departments.

The article said in conclusion: "We have every reason to believe that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we will certainly be able to bring about a fundamental change in the Party style of work and build our Party and make it better than ever before."

## ECONOMIC

**Public Ownership of Land**

The public ownership of land will never be changed in China.

This was reaffirmed by Hu Yaobang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, during his recent inspection tour of the countryside in northeast China's Liaoning Province. He said that land, mountains and rivers will always be owned by the public and not by individuals. This will never be changed. Another thing that will not be changed, he added, is the system of responsibility in production.

In China's rural areas, the land of a production team is collectively owned by the team and cannot be sold or rented out. Such land includes the small

plots and mountain slopes for the commune members' private use as well as the land on which their houses are built.

To arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants, various forms of responsibility system in production have been put into force in the past few years. This only involves a reform in the management of the collective economy and the methods of distribution and in no way means a change in land ownership.

The forms of responsibility in production vary under different conditions. In areas where the production level is low, the form usually adopted is individual households working on a piece of land under a contract. They have the right to use the land but do not own it, and they are responsible for protecting the land and other collective property. This is a form of decentralized management under the socialist public ownership.

Public ownership of land is reaffirmed today because in the process of implementing the responsibility system, illegal

activities encroaching upon land ownership have taken place in some places. In the Zhifang Commune of Shandong Province's Jiexiang County, five peasants secretly sold 0.3 hectare of the collective's land and some houses last August for 29,525 yuan. When this was later discovered, the commune leadership declared that the transaction was illegal and all those who were involved were criticized at a commune members' meeting. The sale of land is prohibited. Violations of this law are seriously dealt with.

### High-Quality Products Awarded

Good quality and low cost are the hallmarks of a going concern.

This remark was made by Vice-Premier Wan Li in his speech at the "quality month" prize-giving ceremony held recently in Beijing.

Beginning from 1978, September has been designated as the "quality month" when an emulation drive is launched

across the country to help raise the quality of products and improve the management of enterprises. A special committee in charge of the work of appraisal has been set up by the state. The prize-giving ceremony marks the climax of a month of activities, during which awards are given to the best products.

This year, 270 industrial products were awarded gold or silver medals, four capital construction projects and three construction enterprises won awards for their high engineering quality and 17 handicraft articles won gold or silver cups. In addition, 206 quality-control teams were also given awards for their fine work in checking the quality of products.

In his speech at the prize-awarding ceremony, Wan Li also made the following points:

— The purpose of production is to meet the increasing material and cultural needs of the people. The people need industrial products that are durable, low-priced and of good quality. Enterprises which fail to meet these demands are not serving the people wholeheartedly;

— Rely on the workers and staff and treat them as masters of the enterprises. Only in this way can the quality of the products be raised, the cost reduced and good economic results achieved;

— The leadership of every enterprise should work diligently and take effective measures to solve problems affecting the quality of products or projects, learn modestly so as to master the advanced technology and experiences of foreign countries and popularize effective quality-control methods.



TV sets produced by the Shanghai No. 18 Radio Factory have a good market at home.

## Exporting Patent Technology

While importing advanced technology from foreign countries, China has begun to export patent technology. A number of contracts and agreements have been signed with some developed capitalist countries for transferring Chinese technical know-how.

The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company in Beijing has signed an agreement this year with a British company on transferring the technical know-how of blast furnace powdered coal injection. To save coke in steel-making, the established practice abroad is to spray oil into the furnace. Beginning from the early 1960s, the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company has adopted the method of injecting powdered coal into the blast furnace. This technology has been steadily improved over the last two decades and now one ton of powdered coal is used instead of 0.8 ton of coke.

The company has also, in the form of technical exchange and co-operation, transferred the technique of dome combustion hot blast stove to a company in Luxembourg. An agreement concluded between the two sides stipulates that while the Chinese side transfers the know-how free of charge, the Luxembourg company will in return transfer the bell-less top technique to China gratis. The advantages of the dome combustion hot blast stove are: it occupies a relatively small space, saves on investment, raises wind temperature and lowers coke consumption.

Last year the China Seeds Company signed an agreement to transfer the technology of breeding hybrid rice to an

American company. The technology was introduced to the United States and trial-planting shows that the Chinese hybrid rice is high in output and resistant to alkaline and wind and high temperature. This year it is being grown on an enlarged area.

With the adoption of the open-door policy, China's exchanges with foreign countries in the scientific and technological field have steadily expanded. Statistics show that in the three years 1978-80, these exchanges cover more than 6,300 items. Many of the imported techniques have been adopted and popularized in China.

## EDUCATIONAL

### Academic Degrees

A system of awarding academic degrees will be put into effect step by step in China. The Academic Degrees Committee which is in charge of the work, was set up last year in accordance with a decision adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Premier Zhao Ziyang recently expressed his appreciation for the work done by the committee. He commented: "We will soon have people with doctor, master and bachelor degrees trained by ourselves. It will be a great event in the history of China's education and scientific development."

Since the founding of the committee, it has done a great deal of work; including:

— Establishing relevant organizations to lead this work.

— Discussing and drafting documents on the enforcement of regulations on academic degrees.

— Setting up an appraisal board which is sub-divided according to the following 10 disciplines: philosophy, economics, law, education, literature, history, science, engineering, agronomy and medicine.

— Examining and re-examining the units which will have the authority to confer for the first time China's own doctor and master degrees. Last August, the appraisal board, after thorough group discussions and secret ballots, authorized 1,143 instructors of different specialties in 805 units to tutor doctoral degree candidates and 2,957 units to confer master degrees.

To encourage people to become specialists through self-study, the regulations on academic degrees stipulate that those who have acquired an academic level equivalent to that of postgraduates may apply for doctor or master degrees.

In awarding degrees, three principles will be followed:

1) Socialist orientation. The institution of the degrees system is aimed at training highly qualified people who are both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient. Candidates for the degrees must not only be competent academically but also be prepared ideologically to serve the cause of socialism and the people.

2) Integrating theory with practice. Apart from attaining the required academic standard both in basic theory and in special knowledge in their own

fields, candidates must have the capability of solving practical problems.

3) Quality first. Academic degrees will be awarded to those worthy of the title; they should not be conferred haphazardly.

The degrees system is an important but not the only method of encouraging people to become specialists. To acknowledge the creative contributions of workers, peasants and intellectuals, regulations on conferring other titles of honour, such as model teachers and advanced workers, will be worked out in the future.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Delegation of Yugoslav League of Communists

A delegation from the Yugoslav League of Communists led by Dobroslav Culafic, Secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League, paid a week-long (November 5-11) friendship visit to China.

Hu Yaobang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met with the Yugoslav guests on November 7. Hu Yaobang said that the relations between the two Parties have been good in recent years and that, besides good political relations, they should have close economic co-operation. He added that only thus can the friendship between the two sides be further strengthened and expanded. "There is no problem in terms of political relations between the two Parties. The principle guiding the relations between us is to respect and learn from each other," he stressed.

Chairman Hu praised the independent policy followed by the Yugoslav League of Communists in domestic and international activities. He said: "The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party admires the struggle waged by the Yugoslav League of Communists and has full confidence in its political stand."

Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian gave a banquet in honour of the delegation and held talks with Culafic. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the all-round development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two Parties and countries and pledged to work for the further growth of these relations.

Culafic said that the talks and co-operation between the Parties of Yugoslavia and China are based on equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual respect. They are not directed against the legitimate interests of any other Party or country. He said that the 12th Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, scheduled to be held next year, aims at reflecting the continuity of Tito's policies and the formulation of a policy for the further development of our country on the basis of socialist autonomy.

### News in Brief

**Memorial Meeting for Samuel Rosen.** A friend of the Chinese people and a well-known American otologist, Samuel Rosen died of ruptured abdominal aortic aneurysm on November 5 in Beijing at the age of 84 while visiting China.

Dr. Rosen was a professor emeritus of otolaryngology at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and Medical Centre and senior consultant at the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary.

His wife Helen Rosen was at his hospital bedside at the time of his death. During his illness, he was visited by Vice-Premier Huang Hua and leading Chinese doctors and foreigners in China.

Dr. Rosen collected medical supplies which he sent to the Communist-led liberated area during China's War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45).

A memorial meeting was held on November 10. Vice-Premier Huang Hua delivered a memorial speech. He praised Dr. Rosen for having devoted his whole life to the progress of medical science and worked and studied tirelessly to alleviate and remove the pain of his patients and benefit the people. He noted that Dr. Rosen had followed with warm interest the development of the Chinese people's liberation cause, confident that all the sufferings and humiliation to which the Chinese people had been subjected would be ended. He paid tribute to Dr. Rosen for his firm belief in the great historical significance of promoting mutual understanding and friendship between the people of China and the United States.

The American ambassador and others also spoke at the meeting.

**Fei Xiaotong to Receive Huxley-Memorial Medal.** China's best-known anthropologist Dr. Fei Xiaotong will receive the Thomas H. Huxley Memorial Medal awarded by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in London on November 18.

The Thomas H. Huxley Memorial Medal was first awarded in 1900 in memory of the great British naturalist. It is the highest academic honour in the field of anthropology. Dr. Fei Xiaotong is the first Chinese scholar to be so honoured.



## Realities and Lies

**T**HE Soviet submarine carrying nuclear weapons which penetrated a restricted military zone in Sweden has been escorted out to international waters by ships of the Swedish navy. This grave incident, this flagrant flouting of international norms, this deliberate violation of the territorial waters of another country has shown up clearly the Soviet Union's hegemonist character and drawn strong condemnation and protests from the people of Sweden, other European countries and the press. The incident is considered closed, but the issues it raised deserve deep thinking.

Even while the Soviet submarine was illegally inside Swedish territorial waters, the official Soviet news agency TASS on November 2 released the full text of Brezhnev's interview with a correspondent of the West German weekly, *Der Spiegel*. This voluminous text was a fulsome statement about Soviet "sincerity" in "really" trying to avert a nuclear holocaust in Europe and the building of a "lasting peace" in Europe. It was full of seductive sounds about peace, disarmament, co-operation, faith, detente and so on. It appeared to be almost a collection of all the peace lyrics the Soviet Union has been singing so loudly recently. It portrayed the Soviet Union as a kind and gentle angel of peace. Brezhnev said at one point: "The name of your journal is *Der Spiegel* (Mirror). Let it mirror the true prospects," and he also stated: "It is quite natural that

words must be followed up and confirmed by facts."

Now, we have on the one hand, a Soviet submarine intruding into a neighbouring country, and on the other, the mellifluous words of this Soviet leader. If fact and the statement are juxtaposed, it is not hard to see the Soviet Union's, this superpower's, real intent and it should help open many eyes.

### Who Is Threatening Whom?

In his interview, Brezhnev tried to persuade the people of Europe to believe that the Soviet military presence in Europe is harmless, that "the Soviet Union is a threat to no one and has no intention of attacking anyone." According to Brezhnev, Western Europe has the Soviet Union "encircled with military bases."

What are the facts? Sweden is a neutral country, not a member of any military alliance and has only very limited military forces. It does not in the least pose a threat to the Soviet Union. Despite this, a Soviet submarine has boldly penetrated deep into Swedish territorial waters. If this action of the Soviet Union's is not considered a threat to Sweden, what is it? In actual fact, the Soviet Union has more than once carried out military intelligence activities against its northern neighbours in Europe, only this time it has been caught red-handed and has no way of getting itself off the hook. If the Soviet Union is really not threatening or about to attack anyone and really respects the sovereignty

of neighbouring countries, then why does it engage in such nefarious activities?

The Soviet Union has always considered the Baltic as its inland sea and has time and again made a big show of strength in the Baltic. Not very long ago, it assembled an armada of warships in the Baltic and conducted military manoeuvres on an unprecedented scale. If this is not a naked threat, what is it? The Soviet Union today has amassed more tanks and artillery than Western Europe, has deployed more than 250 medium-range nuclear SS-20 missiles on the flanks of Western Europe, in the Middle East, on the coast of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Western Europe, however, has not yet deployed a single missile equivalent to the Soviet SS-20, and has no military bases to mount an attack on the Soviet Union from behind or the flanks. So, isn't it all very clear who is threatening whom and who is encircling whom?

### Non-Nuclear Nordic Zone

Brezhnev solemnly pledged the European countries that if they renounce the production and acquisition and do not have nuclear weapons on their territory, the Soviet Union will not use nuclear weapons against them. He drew as an example, the establishment of "a non-nuclear zone in Northern Europe." It would enable the "participants in this non-nuclear zone to feel even more secure," he claimed.

What are the facts? Sweden, a neutral country, has neither produced nor deployed nuclear weapons on its territory. This should answer Brezhnev's con-

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## Soviet Submarine Incident

ON the night of October 27, a Soviet Whisky-137 submarine ran aground during illegal reconnaissance operations inside Sweden's restricted military zone outside the Karlskrona naval base. The submarine was discovered the following day by Sweden. The submarine's presence is another example of the Soviet Union's habitual and wanton infringement of the sovereignty of other countries. A stern note of protest was handed to the Soviet Ambassador by the Swedish Foreign Minister on November 5. The note said that the grounded Soviet submarine in the Karlskrona Archipelago probably had one or more nuclear warheads on board. The investigation showed that it was "practically certain that uranium 238 was present on board the submarine aforeship."

After the submarine was discovered, the Soviet Union had put pressure on Sweden in an attempt to quickly gloss over the incident. The Soviet submarine was finally escorted out by Swedish navy ships to the open sea on November 6.

The fleet in Murmansk is the largest of the Soviet fleets and the naval base is stocked with all kinds of nuclear weapons. Soviet submarines are constantly moving about in the Baltic Sea and not long ago Moscow sent an aircraft carrier into Nordic waters to intimidate other countries and it also held large-scale military manoeuvres.

Soviet warships operating in the Baltic are part of the Soviet global strategy. In September and October last year, Soviet war vessels had even stayed three weeks in waters off the archipelago south of Stockholm for intimidatory purposes.

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ditions. However, a Soviet submarine, with nuclear arms, stealthily penetrated into Swedish territorial waters for nefarious purposes. What security is there to speak of for the countries of Northern Europe? The Soviet Union has time and again declared that it "respects the good-neighbourly relations" with its northern neighbours and will never threaten them with nuclear weapons. Now, have facts not proven that once the hegemonists think it is necessary, promises can be forgotten, agreements can be dumped? So how can anyone believe that the Soviet Union is "really and sincerely" desirous of safeguarding peace?

Soviet actions have laid bare Brezhnev's lies. As the *Bonner Rundschau* said: Brezhnev's farcical interview has once again proved that Moscow's tactic is, to sing about peace

as it sheds crocodile tears and adds a menacing note to the tune. Moscow is still hoping to nibble away a bite at a time the West's territory. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the continued Soviet threat against Poland, Soviet attempts to pressure the third world as well as the Soviet submarine running aground on the coast of Sweden, are these not something else again?

### Neutrality?

Of course, there are some in Europe who are afraid of war and want peace, innocently seeking consolation in the peace ditties the Soviet Union sings. Under tremendous military pressure from the Soviet Union, they propose that the small and medium-sized countries should unilaterally disarm to spur the big powers to follow. They think that when all nuclear weapons are removed from Western Europe, the superpowers will be

weakened and thus eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. They vainly hope to place themselves outside the two military blocs, steer a middle-of-the-road course and maintain stability and peace in Europe. The beaching of the Soviet submarine deep inside Swedish waters should jolt them out of their reverie. Facts have proved that the Soviet hegemonists will not spare even a neutral country like Sweden and is even less likely to spare other West European countries. For some years, the West has tried to soften the Soviet Union by adopting a self-restraining policy, and the result has been the Soviet Union capitalizing on it to push ahead with its arms expansion, tilting the balance of forces in its favour. Now, if Europe becomes neutral, unilaterally disarms and so on, to woo Soviet goodwill, this is playing right into the hands of the Soviet Union, which wants to take over Europe without firing a shot. The Soviet submarine incident in neutral Sweden shows that what the Soviet Union is after is not neutrality at all, but the West European countries to knuckle down to Soviet hegemony, allow it to control them and become its instrument to contend with the United States.

Brezhnev's deceptive words and the fact that a Soviet submarine has penetrated into Swedish territorial waters, is, in fact, telling the world that the sweet words of the Soviet Union must not be taken at face value, that the threat posed by the Soviet Union must not be taken too lightly. Clearly, this is a salutary lesson for those in Western Europe who seek peace and security.

— "Kenmin Ribao" Commentator, Nov. 10. *Subheads are ours.* — Ed.

## OPEC Oil Price Unanimity

**T**HE oil ministers of the 13 OPEC member countries on October 29 reached a consensus on unifying their oil prices. The decision was made to safeguard the interest of the OPEC member countries with present supplies outstripping requirement and oil prices falling.

In the first half of this year, OPEC countries produced 594.795 million tons, 114 million tons less than in the same period of last year, a decrease of 16 per cent. OPEC countries produced 48 per cent of the world output in 1979 and 41 per cent this year, the lowest point reached in 10 years. Britain, Mexico and other non-OPEC member countries produced 14 million tons more in the first half of 1981, but it still left the world output 6.5 per cent lower in the first half of this year than in the corresponding period of 1980.

Despite less oil produced, a "glut" has appeared earlier this year and is still growing, 2 to 3 million barrels surplus a day, and sometimes climbing to 4 million barrels a day.

**Why Oil Glut?** A factor contributing to the oil surplus is the declining economies of the United States and the West European countries. The United States, the world's largest oil-consuming country, has been running into economic difficulties since January. In Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and other major European countries, production is stagnating and their economies are on a downslide. Oil consumption in the 21 Western indus-

trial countries belonging to the International Energy Agency dropped 7 per cent in 1980 and it will fall 3.4 per cent this year.

Another factor contributing to an oil glut is that the Western countries have been storing large quantities of petroleum since the summer of 1980. The storage facilities of the Western oil companies are full, with 750 million barrels above normal levels. The US Government has built up its strategic oil store to 200 million barrels by October 1 according to schedule. To meet the threat of further price hikes in oil by the OPEC countries, Western oil companies have been storing oil in oil tankers after their land storage facilities were filled up. By September 1 this year, the total oil stock was 31 million tons, which the Western oil monopolies are drawing on at 1.2 million barrels a day. The European Economic Community and Japan are reported to have sufficient oil for about four months at current levels of consumption.

A third factor behind the oil glut is that Saudi Arabia, the biggest oil exporter, has raised its oil production by a big margin, producing 10.3 million barrels per day the past year or so and exporting its oil at only \$32 per barrel. Saudi Arabia produces about half the output of OPEC countries.

**Eradicate Differences and Strengthen Unity.** The oil surplus has put OPEC countries in a very difficult position since it was formed in 1960. The Western oil-producing countries

and the international oil monopolies have been taking steps to force many of the OPEC member countries to lower their oil prices. Last June, Britain and Norway lowered their low-sulphur North Sea oil from \$40 to \$35.75 per barrel to bring pressure on Libya, Nigeria and Algeria, who were exporting their low-sulphur oil at \$40 a barrel. This was followed by the international oil monopolies stopping imports of high-price crude from Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Kuwait and Iran by not renewing contracts or unilaterally tearing up contracts. Exports fell off and these oil-producing countries have had to cut output down drastically.

Many OPEC countries have been calling repeatedly for a coordinated stance, eliminating their differences and achieving a consensus on prices to overcome the difficulties they have run into.

The extraordinary ministerial conference of OPEC countries held in Geneva has done this. OPEC countries have agreed to unify their oil prices by raising the official price of marker crude (Arabian light crude oil) from the present \$32 per barrel to \$34. Libya and Algeria will lower their high-quality oil from \$41 per barrel to \$38. This puts an end to the confusion in the world oil market which has lasted for three years and the Western oil monopolies from profiting further at others' expense.

This is an important step taken by OPEC, and it will greatly help to restore, consol-

idate and strengthen OPEC's position and functions in the world oil market. And it will also have a big impact on the world's economy.

— *Jiang Hong*

## South Asia

### Regional Co-operation

**F**OREIGN secretaries of seven South Asian countries met again on November 2-4, this time in Nepal, to have further discussions about regional co-operation. They unanimously approved the report made by the five study groups and made the five into working groups. The meeting also decided to expand the scope of co-operation and worked out a process for constantly strengthening unity and co-operation. It is a heartening sign to see the seven South Asian countries strengthening their unity and co-operation.

All these countries are developing countries adhering to a non-aligned policy and have been through similar experiences and now face a common task. Unity and co-operation among them conforms to the aspirations of their peoples and also to their national interests.

Regional co-operation is particularly important for these and other developing countries. Most of them had been oppressed and plundered for a long time by imperialists and colonialists and today they are fettered by the old international economic order, which is holding back their economic development. They urgently want to see the establishment of a new international economic order. In the process of destroying the old and establishing the new, it is very important for them to enhance their co-operation, improve mutual understanding, achieve greater solidarity, help supply each other's needs and learn from other's strong points to offset their own weaknesses.

It will help them to make progress and attain prosperity and play a greater role in international affairs.

Differences and misunderstandings, of course, do exist among the South Asian countries. These have their historical causes, and they must not be allowed to hinder their unity and co-operation. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan directly threatens the security and the independence of these countries of South Asia. Under these circumstances, they have every

### Saudi Proposal

## US and Soviet Contention In the Middle East

**T**HE proposal for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict put forward on August 7 by Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd has been favourably received or approved by the Palestine Liberation Organization, various Arab and other countries and the European Community.

### US Attitude Changes

The US Government has said that it "welcomes some points in the plan" and that other points in the plan "would be best left to negotiation." Reagan said that "the most significant part is the fact that they (the Saudis) recognized Israel as a nation to be negotiated with." His Secretary of State conceded that some aspects of the Saudi eight-point plan were "encouraging."

reason to seek common ground while reserving differences and to strengthen unity. Facts prove that if there is sincerity and consultations are held on the basis of equality, tolerance and understanding, co-operation on the basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and mutual benefit can be enhanced.

Regional co-operation in South Asia has just begun in some economic fields. But this is a good beginning. As an old Chinese saying has it: "A thousand-li journey is started by taking the first step." Regional co-operation is in accord with the times and it will grow. It will contribute to the peace and stability of South Asia and the rest of Asia.

— *"Renmin Ribao" commentary*

But even these guarded statements drew Israeli ire. The Israeli ambassador to Washington lodged a protest and Begin sent a letter to Reagan claiming that the Saudi plan was aimed at "eliminating Israel," that it "endangered the Middle East peace process" and was harmful to US-Israeli strategic relations. On November 3 the Israeli parliament approved a government resolution rejecting the Saudi proposal.

This Israeli outcry led Reagan to tell visiting King Hussein of Jordan that the United States was not losing interest in the Camp David peace process. After the Reagan-Hussein talks, a senior US official told reporters that the two sides did not discuss the Saudi plan and that "the United States neither

agreed with nor opposed this plan."

### Begin's Intransigence

A major point in the Saudi proposal was the Saudi demand that Israel abandon its policy of aggression and expansion while recognizing Israel's existence. It is this point that has attracted Reagan. The *New York Times* on November 2-pointed out that Begin's charge that the Saudi proposal was to "eliminate" Israel, was actually meant to stop restoring the border as it was before 1967. This was the issue that the Camp David peace talks did not solve.

### Change of Soviet Attitude

On October 27, Brezhnev had assailed the Saudi proposal by innuendo, declaring that it was an effort to "satisfy the appetite of imperialism." But seeing the dissatisfaction and censure of the Arab countries, the Soviet leader suddenly changed his attitude towards the proposal and quietly notified the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, that the Soviet Union considered the Saudi proposal a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem.

Why has the Soviet Union changed its attitude? To seek hegemonism in this important region. The Soviet Union has not been reconciled to its exclusion from the Middle East peace process and has always desired to return to the area. When Arafat visited the Soviet Union at the end of October, Brezhnev specifically mentioned Soviet participation when he spoke of the proposal for an international conference. Now that the Soviet Union has given its "support" to



Tel Aviv demonstration against Begin's belligerent foreign policy.

the Saudi proposal, its objective is very clear, it is attempting to take advantage of the weak point in US Middle East policy and undermine US influence in the area. Thus, the Soviet Union can win political kudos. Its goal is still to take part again in the Middle East peace talks.

Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries have expressed hope that the Soviet Union would support the Saudi proposal and get involved in the settlement of the Middle East question. This shows their dissatisfaction with US policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is no wonder that the United States stresses boycotting Soviet involvement in

the Middle East; but it has actually provided an opportunity for Soviet penetration and expansion.

After the death of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a new round of competition in the Middle East political arena. The United States has strengthened its military co-operation with some Arab countries, but up to now it has not realized that until it basically changes its pro-Israeli policy, it cannot prevent Soviet penetration and expansion in the Middle East.

— Ren Yan

## Turkey's Open Policy Towards Middle East Countries

**A**LTHOUGH the Republic of Turkey is a neighbour of the Islamic Middle East coun-

tries and most of its population are Moslems, its relations with its Islamic neighbours has for

years not been close. In international affairs, it has been a member of NATO first and then a member of the Islamic world. But the situation is changing. Since the military takeover in September 1980, the Turkish Government has pursued an open policy towards the Middle East and has taken many effective steps to strengthen its relations with the Middle East countries.

### Effective Steps

The Turkish Government has moved to a pro-Arab stance on Middle East issue, believing that the key to stability in the Middle East is the settlement of the issues of Palestine and Jerusalem. It supports the Palestinian people's endeavours to recover their lost territory and establish an independent state. It has condemned the Israeli attack on Beirut and the Israeli bombing of Iraq's Osirak nuclear facilities. It also has downgraded the level of its diplomatic relations with Israel to the lowest degree. It has moved to co-ordinate action in foreign affairs with the Islamic countries and for the first time a Turkish Premier attended the Islamic summit in Saudi Arabia last February. Turkey has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and holds that the security of the Middle East is the responsibility of the countries in this region and is against any big power stationing troops there. Turkish economic and trade relations with the Middle East countries have also expanded.

In pursuing its open policy towards the Middle East, the Turkish Government has treated all the countries in this region even-handedly and maintained good relations with all, treating "moderates" like Saudi Arabia and "radicals" like

Libya alike. The Turkish Government has also taken a neutral stand in the Iran-Iraq war and enlarged trade relations with both during the fighting. It has worked to develop normal relations with Egypt. All that Turkey has done helps the Middle East countries to resolve their differences, strengthen their unity and is conducive to the peace and stability of this region.

### Reasons of Change

This major change in Turkish foreign policy emerged because of many factors in the external and internal situation, political and economic. The overthrow of the Shah of Iran and the United States' helplessness, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the weak response to this by the West made Turkey realize that it cannot rely on others to safeguard its own security. The Soviet thrust south and the escalating turbulence in the Gulf and Middle East made Turkey aware of the grave threat it is confronted with. Observing the trend among Gulf countries to close their ranks and the power they have demonstrated, Turkey sees that developing friendly and co-operative relations with the Gulf countries is an important move to safeguard its own security.

The Turkish Government also has been prompted to adopt its present Mideast policy for economic reasons. There is a large gap between the Turkish economic level of development and that of the European Economic Community member states of NATO. Apart from being able to get a little more assistance, Turkey is unfavourably placed in its economic relations with the EEC. In recent years many European countries have stopped the flow of migrant work-

ers and exports from Turkey because of stagnating economies. This has forced Turkey to find other avenues for its exports. So what is more natural than to turn to the rich, oil-producing countries in the Middle East, which rely on foreign workers to build their large-scale projects. Furthermore, Turkey imports 15 million tons of oil a year from the Middle East countries and this cuts deeply into Turkey's limited foreign exchange. And the oil the Middle East countries sell to friendly countries at favourable prices is an added attraction for Turkey.

### Initial Results

Turkey has benefited much from its new open policy towards the Middle East. Keeping up good relations with the Middle East countries allows Turkey to play a mediatory role in disputes among the Middle East countries, enhances its political status in the Middle East political arena, and brings many economic benefits.

Turkey is expected to import close to 20 million tons of oil from the Middle East countries and its trade with these countries has risen rapidly. For example, Turkish exports to Mideast countries reached 586 million US dollars in the first five months of this year, a 248 per cent leap compared to the corresponding period of last year.

There are already 335 Turkish companies building large projects under contract in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq and other Middle East countries. By year's end Turkey will have 10 billion US dollars worth of contracts in these countries and some 200,000 Turkish workers there to do the job.

— Ma Shikun

# National Regional Autonomy

by Ulanhu

- National regional autonomy — the basic policy for solving China's national question.
- Achievements and lessons in instituting this policy.

AT the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949, delegates from all nationalities decided to establish a united People's Republic of China and to adopt as a state policy the practice of national regional autonomy in minority nationality areas.

This policy has led to the establishment of national autonomous areas in places that are inhabited by minority nationalities. These autonomous areas are within the indivisible territory of China and under the unified leadership of the supreme state organ. Administrations have been set up, composed mainly of personnel from the minority nationalities through which autonomy is exercised. According to the general state principles and policies and in light of the actual conditions of their own nationalities and localities, they independently work out their concrete principles and policies and handle their own affairs. Thus while following the principle of democratic centralism, they fully exercise their autonomous rights. The introduction of national regional autonomy helps safeguard the common rights and interests of all Chinese and the specific rights and interests of the minority nationalities.

## Reasons for National Regional Autonomy

The relations between the various nationalities in China have the following characteristics which provide the basis for the practice of national regional autonomy:

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This is an abridged translation of an article by Ulanhu, a Mongolian, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

(1). The long-standing existence of a unified country with centralized state power constitutes the historical basis for this policy. Such a state was first formed in the Qin Dynasty (c 221-206 B.C.). Although it was impossible to completely eradicate feudal separatist tendencies and China had been divided and reunited on many occasions over the 2,000 years from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), still the unification of the country has been the main trend. China was founded by the various nationalities; the minority nationalities have been invariably inward-oriented when free from outside interference. Even the ruling classes of the frontier minority nationalities, after becoming masters of the Central Plains, inevitably considered themselves to belong to China proper, a more advanced nation. In the last few centuries, the unification of the country has become irreversible.

(2). The situation in which many nationalities have lived together in compact communities, coexisted and depended on each other provides a favourable condition for the implementation of national regional autonomy. Historically, the various nationalities of China moved frequently from place to place and inhabited each other's areas. This practice gradually gave rise to a situation in which some nationalities lived in homogeneous communities of various sizes, or settled in isolated areas. But many immigrated to each other's territories and co-inhabited one area. Economically, they established a relationship of coexistence and interdependence. Under these circumstances, it was inappropriate to establish separate national states. However, national autonomous areas of various types could be established so that each minority nationality could exercise its rights as masters of its own nationality in managing its affairs. These national autonomous areas were established in localities inhabited by minority nationalities, taking into account the relations



Tibetan geologist Qiangba Xirao.

between nationalities, the conditions for economic development, and historical facts.

(3). The nature of Chinese society and the international situation since the Opium War in 1840 determined that national union was a prerequisite for national liberation and unification of the state was the prerequisite for national freedom. Contemporary China was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country subjected to aggression by several imperialist countries: the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation was the contradiction which played the primary role in contemporary Chinese society. If the various nationalities in China each had gone its own way and remained unconcerned for each other, China would have been carved up and annexed by the imperialists. Only when they were united could they defeat their common enemy and win the struggle for national liberation. After victory was won in the national-liberation struggle against imperialism, especially after the Kuomintang's reactionary rule was overthrown and the People's Republic of China was founded, the people of all nationalities became the masters of the country. Since then, it has remained necessary for the various Chinese nationalities to defend the unity of the country so as to protect national independence and to cope with the imperialist and hegemonist plots of infiltration,

subversion and aggression, and division. In order to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival, bring about prosperity for all the nationalities, and build China into a modern, powerful socialist country, the people of all nationalities in the country uphold unification and oppose division.

(4). Correct leadership of a united proletarian party constitutes the central force in the practice of national regional autonomy in a unified country. In contemporary China's minority nationality areas, there were national movements of various political inclinations, but they all failed. All possible ways have been sought and all possible methods have been tried; the results prove that only the proletarian party was able to shoulder the tasks of leading the various nationalities in China to liberation, helping the minority nationalities obtain the right of managing their own affairs on the basis of equality, and guiding them on to the socialist road. In the history of the Chinese national-liberation movement, it was not the political parties of any other classes, but the Chinese Communist Party, a proletarian party, which first put forward and persistently adhered to the programme of national liberation, including the policy on national regional autonomy. It therefore won the trust and support of the people of various nationalities. Like hundreds of streams flowing into the sea, the revolutionaries of all nationalities converged under the banner of the Chinese Communist Party. Correct Party programme, firm organization, high prestige and the Party's cadres from various nationalities became the central force in promoting the practice of national regional autonomy in New China.

(5). The protracted common revolutionary struggles of the people of various nationalities created the political basis for the practice of national regional autonomy. The revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party has always been the common cause of all the nationalities in China. Under the leadership of the Party, the national democratic united front was formed. In the protracted revolutionary struggles, the Party sowed the seeds of revolution, trained minority cadres, launched armed struggle, and established red political power in many minority nationality areas. During the Liberation War period (1946-49), most of the nationalities were involved in the mighty torrent of revolution and were united as one people with one heart and one mind, thereby laying a



solid political basis for the practice of national regional autonomy.

(6). The unevenness of the distribution of natural resources and economic development shows that the practice of national regional autonomy in a unified country provides an important guarantee for achieving common prosperity for all nationalities. It has been ascertained that there are 55 minority nationalities in China. But the population of minority nationalities accounts for only 6 per cent of the population, while their area constitutes between 50 and 60 per cent of the whole country. Much of the minority nationality areas is covered with dense forests or lush pastures and underground there are valuable resources. However, the level of economic development in these areas is generally lower than in those inhabited by the Hans. The modernization of the minority nationality areas is an organic component of the modernization programme of the whole country. The modernization drive in the minority nationality areas has state financial aid and technical help from the Han areas while the modernization of the Han nationality areas depends on resources from the minority nationality localities. Therefore, viewed from the perspective of the socialist cause, unity between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities brings benefits while division would be disadvantageous to all.

In summary, our practice of national regional autonomy is determined by both historical

and contemporary conditions, actuated by both internal and external causes, based on both political and economic conditions, and required by both the revolution and construction. The practice of national regional autonomy is the culmination of a historical trend and is in conformity with China's specific conditions and the will of its people.

### Effects

Victory in the people's revolutionary war has led to increased equality and unity between nationalities. The introduction of national regional autonomy has yielded positive results throughout the country.

Five autonomous regions, 29 autonomous prefectures and 75 autonomous counties (or banners) have been established in China. The following advantages of the policy of national regional autonomy have been demonstrated:

(1). The practice of national regional autonomy helps combine the centralization and unification of the country with the independence and equality of nationalities.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the fundamental change in the relations between the various nationalities. Since then, China's minority nationalities have cast off the yoke of national oppression imposed on them during the Kuomintang rule. They for the first time have taken part in running state affairs as equals, and, together with the Hans, have established a socialist relationship of equality and mutual assistance.

Ours is a country of unity and co-operation between nationalities. The Hans and the minority nationalities are represented in the National People's Congress, the supreme organ of state power, in which they discuss state affairs. This is unparalleled in Chinese history. The state grants the minority nationalities the right to act as masters in running local affairs through the practice of national regional auton-



Designers at the Guiyang Nationality Commodity Factory discussing the composition of a silk batik.



Young Uyghur teacher tutoring a student.

omy. That is a great event that has ever happened in thousands of years.

The practice of national regional autonomy means letting local cadres of the nationality concerned manage their own affairs. These cadres should faithfully carry out the Party and state principles and policies, maintain close ties with local people, and understand the characteristics and psychology of the minority nationality. So long as we conscientiously practise national regional autonomy, and train, rely on, and boldly use minority cadres, we can change national suspicion into national trust, and estrangement between nationalities into unity. The autonomous organs of national autonomous areas are an important link between the government and the minority peoples. Genuine centralization and unity can be realized only on the basis of equality and independence among all the nationalities.

(2). The practice of national regional autonomy helps integrate the general principles and policies of the Party and state with the specific conditions in the minority nationality areas.

There are vast differences in the characteristics of China's various nationalities. Before democratic reform, some minority nationalities were very similar to the Hans; others had serf, slave or primitive communal systems. To help these nationalities at different stages of social development embark on the common socialist

road, we must not view the successful experiences in the Han and other nationality areas as universally applicable, much less should we use a big stick to drive others into the paradise, as was opposed by Lenin. They must be allowed to adopt methods and steps suited to their own conditions. Only by this practice can we achieve the result of reaching the same goal through different routes.

The practice of national regional autonomy calls for adherence to dialectics. Guided by the general principles and policies of the Party and state, the minority nationalities should make steady progress and move on to the socialist road in accordance with the methods and steps suited to their own conditions. For instance, in the Dai nationality areas of Dehong and Xishuangbanna in southwest China's Yunnan Province, agrarian reform was carried out through consultation and the system of feudal lords was abolished. In some Tibetan nationality areas, a policy of redemption was adopted towards serf-owners when the serfs were liberated. In certain minority nationality areas where the primitive communal system existed in greater or lesser degrees and where class polarization was not serious, democratic reform was conducted not as a movement but by developing the economy and culture in combination with socialist transformation so as gradually to accomplish some of the tasks in the democratic reform. These practices were all successful.

Similar experiences were also gained in Inner Mongolia. In the winter of 1947, the pastoral areas of Zhaowuda League carried out democratic reform by mechanically applying the methods used in the Han nationality agricultural areas which resulted in the loss of large numbers of animals. The Party and government leadership of Inner Mongolia corrected this mistake and in the light of the characteristics of the pastoral areas of the Mongolian nationality, abolished the privileges of nobles and at the same time adopted the "three don'ts and two benefit" policy. That is, don't organize struggle against the big herd-owners, don't distribute their livestock, don't differentiate classes; benefit both the herdsmen and herd-owners while giving assistance to the poor herdsmen. This policy eradicated the feudal exploitative system and sped up the development of animal husbandry. Later on, in the course of socialist transformation, Party and state leadership in Inner Mongolia continued to pay attention to the characteristics of the local nationalities. Towards livestock producers' co-operation,

they adopted the principle of "consistent policy, flexible methods and long-term implementation." As for the socialist transformation of herd-ownership, a buying-out policy was adopted and the joint state-private pastures were set up. These correct practices are the result of the implementation of the Party's policy of national regional autonomy.

(3). The practice of national regional autonomy helps unite the richness and greatness of China with the prosperity of all nationalities.

In our construction, we cannot copy capitalism, maintain or even expand the differences between nationalities in the level of economic development. We must take the socialist road so as gradually to narrow and eliminate these differences. Otherwise, we will no longer be Communists who uphold thorough national equality. Our national regional autonomy is a good system of both political co-operation and economic and cultural co-operation between nationalities. A unified state can give help to minority nationalities in developing their economy and culture, and can organize mutual aid among them. Seriously carrying out national regional autonomy enables us to give play to the positive factors in the minority nationality areas, especially to the people themselves. This will play a tremendous role in promoting the country's socialist construction.

The practice of national regional autonomy is the way to develop a rich and mighty country and prosperity for all its nationalities.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, socialist construction has made advances in various national autonomous areas. The total output value of industry, agriculture and animal husbandry in the national autonomous areas in 1979 was 10.26 times that of 1949. Compared with 1952, the enrolment of students of minority nationalities in 1979 was up 13.9-fold in universities, 24.16-fold in middle schools, and 6-fold in primary schools. These achievements would have been unobtainable without the policy of national regional autonomy.

(4). The policy of national regional autonomy helps combine the feelings of the people of various nationalities for the unification of the motherland with their feeling for their own nationality.

Whether the relationship between nationalities is good or bad has always been an important factor affecting the political stability in our country, the tranquillity of the frontier areas, and the strength of our national defence. Eighty to ninety per cent of China's vast frontier lands are inhabited by minority peoples. So long as national regional autonomy is seriously carried out, people of the minority nationalities will firmly believe that they are masters of both their own homelands and of the whole country. They love the motherland and their own nationality. The Mongolians and the other nationalities in Inner Mongolia are defending the northern border of the motherland; in Xinjiang the Uygurs and other nationalities are guarding the western gate; the Tibetans and other nationalities in Tibet are contributing to the defence of the motherland's southwestern frontier; and the Zhuangs and other nationalities have been heroic in repulsing Vietnamese aggression. In summary, scores of fraternal nationalities, together with the People's Liberation Army, are defending China, and form an iron bastion. Those minority nationalities which were driven into remote places and thickly forested mountains by the reactionary ruling classes and were facing extinction before liberation gained a new life and re-established their own societies after 1949. Even the Oroqen nationality which had only 2,000 people in the early post-liberation days has carried out national regional autonomy. They have immensely increased their sense of pride as masters of the country and the sense of pride in their



Mongolians making boots for holiday attire.

nationalities which have a long history and a bright future.

In the final analysis, the superiority of national regional autonomy lies in the fact that it enables the various nationalities both to take their own proper places and to work together and help each other in times of difficulties.

### Lessons

Owing to our lack of experience and in particular the influence of the "Left" mistaken line, we have also made errors in work. After the socialist transformation was completed in the main, the relationship between nationalities was essentially one between the labouring people of different ethnic groups. But for a long period, it was mistakenly stressed that "the problem of nationality is, in essence, a problem of class." This confused the distinction between the national question and the class question and distinction between contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. It inappropriately led to a movement against local nationalism. Local nationalism and Han chauvinism alike are contradictions among the people which should be overcome. In the movement against local nationalism, however, local nationalism was treated as a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Moreover, some legitimate national feelings and normal differences in work were regarded as manifestations of local nationalism and were wrongly criticized and struggled against. Many minority nationality cadres, intellectuals and personages in upper circles were harmed. The mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle on the question of nationality was especially serious during the "cultural revolution," and at that time the numerous cadres and masses of the minority nationalities suffered. The mistake in nationality work was manifested in our inadequate respect for the minority nationalities' autonomous rights. For a time the contradiction of training cadres in autonomous organs from among the minority peoples and imbuing them with communist ideals was not properly solved, and the powers and functions of autonomous organs were treated the same as those of other local governments. As a result, the policy of national regional autonomy was not truly carried out and some autonomous rights laid down explicitly in the Constitution were ignored.

During the "cultural revolution," the two counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and

Jiang Qing spread national prejudice and created national disputes; they slanderously charged that the Party's policy of national regional autonomy was "creating splits." Through these years, we saw with distress that the relationship between nationalities deteriorated and that national regional autonomy existed in name only. A disaster had befallen the minority and the Han people.

Representing the will of the people of all nationalities, our Party smashed these two counter-revolutionary cliques and boldly exposed and overcame the obstruction from the "Left" mistakes in our nationality work. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978, in the efforts to set things right, the Party and state reaffirmed the policy of national regional autonomy and other nationality policies which had been proved correct in practice and often checked on their implementation. Huge subsidies were granted to national autonomous areas by the state every year to help them develop their economies and culture. In 1979 special meetings were called by the Party to study and improve nationality work. After the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee was set up in 1980, it paid great attention to this work, especially to the implementation of national regional autonomy. The Party Central Committee made a major policy-decision\* on the questions of Tibet. Its basic content also is applicable to other national autonomous areas. This major policy received a warm response from the people of all nationalities. In less than one year, the situation in Tibet had improved more than anticipated. Using this decision as a basis and in the light of the characteristics and local conditions of the nationalities, other national autonomous areas considered and adopted measures to further strengthen their work. They carried out the policy on nationalities and thus achieved marked results. People of all nationalities are pleased to see that national regional autonomy is being rapidly and successfully implemented again after years of stagnation and retrogression. □

\* It includes the full exercise of regional autonomous rights under the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee; implementing the policy of rehabilitation; lightening the people's burden; adopting a flexible policy suited to the specific conditions of Tibet so as to rapidly develop its economy; correctly carrying out the Party's policy on cadres of minority nationalities; and strengthening unity between Tibetan and Han cadres.

# On Freedom of Religion

by Lei Zhenchang

CHINA is a socialist country and the Communist Party advocates atheism, then why is it necessary to follow the policy of religious freedom?

True, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology of our Party and state. While opposed to the idealist world outlook of the various religious faiths, Marxism, which is materialism through-and-through, also endeavours to gradually emancipate the masses who are under the influence of religion from its bonds. A fundamental principle of materialism, and also a fundamental principle of Marxism, is to oppose theism. But the existence of religion derives not just from economic reasons but from man's cognition as well. It is unrealistic to consider that religion will quickly and automatically die out with the development of science, technology and economic construction. This is why it is necessary to set principles and policies which make for the correct handling of religious matters, including the policy of religious freedom.

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## A Fundamental Policy

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The basic policy of our Party and government in handling questions of religion is to guarantee the freedom of religious belief, as stipulated in the Constitution. According to this policy, every citizen in the country enjoys freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion; freedom to believe in this or that religion; freedom to believe in this or that denomination or sect of a religion; freedom to believe in religion now and not to believe in it later, and the freedom not to believe in religion now and to believe in it some time later. Men and women of the clerical profession have the freedom to propagate theism at places for religious worship, and atheists have the freedom to propagate atheism.

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The author is a researcher on the staff of the Research Institute of Religion.

Citizens of the People's Republic of China, whether believing in religion or not, regardless of which religion is adopted, are, as the Constitution says, duty-bound to love the motherland, work for socialism and support the Communist Party leadership. This means, for the time being, working with one mind and in unity for the four modernizations under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, to build the country into a modern, powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and a highly developed civilization.

It is exactly for this reason that there must be an explicit provision governing religious activities, namely, that religion is not permitted to violate the Constitution and law, nor are exploitation and oppression in the name of religion permitted. Religious organizations are not allowed to accept donations from foreign religious bodies. In other words, as far as religious circles are concerned, they must be patriotic and confine themselves to personal belief.

This policy of freedom of religious belief has been worked out on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism, of a scientific analysis of religion and in the light of the specific conditions in our country.

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## The Origin of Religion

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According to in-depth scientific studies of religion as a social phenomenon and an analysis of the role of man's cognition and other social causes for the emergence and existence of religion, Marxism holds that religion is a product of natural and social oppression, a world outlook that has come about under certain historical conditions due to man's lack of understanding of the objective laws of nature, society and human beings. As long as man is not powerful enough to resist and overcome oppression by natural and social forces — which is the main reason for the rise and existence of religion — religion cannot possibly disappear.



The Honorary President of the China Buddhist Association, Bainqen Erdini Qoigyil Gyaincain, addressing monks, nuns, pilgrims and lay Buddhists in Shanxi.

Of course, religion is not eternal. Once the system of exploitation is done away with, religion will find its influence weakening with the development of production, the flourishing of science and technology, the betterment of people's material and cultural well-being, the enlightening of their minds and the raising of their cognition to a higher plane, and it will eventually die out. But this will take a long historical period. As long as religion is in existence, there will be people believing in it—this is an objective fact. In present-day China, a considerable number of people are religious believers. We should respect this objective fact and proceed from this reality in working out our policies.

Next, religious belief is mainly a matter of the mind, of cognition. Problems which are ideological in nature can be resolved only by persuasion, by enhancing one's ideological consciousness; any attempt to ban religious belief or "eliminate" religion by administrative order will fail. Historically, there have been quite a few people, in China as well as in other countries, who for various reasons tried to suppress religion through the use of high-handed methods. These, for a very short period, may have curbed religion, but in the final analysis, they only served to incite religious fanaticism and further its development—a thing contrary to what was desired. Engels, for one, sternly

denounced attempts to "wipe out" religion, describing it as a form of stupidity which worked "in the service of God." Therefore, as long as there are people who believe in religion, the state should respect it and permit freedom of religious belief.

### Common Interest

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of religious believers are the working people, differing with Marxists in world outlook and with other non-religious people in matters of cognition. But this does not prevent

them from having the common economic interest and the same political orientation with the other people. As Marxists see it, this common economic interest and the same political orientation are far more significant than differences in faith. In fact, there have not been many religious disputes among the Chinese people, nor have there been any nationwide clashes between different religious sects—either in the period of the new democratic revolution or in the period of socialism.

The great majority of religious people in our country are in favour of socialism and support Communist Party leadership. This is especially so at the present moment when the drive for the four modernizations to turn our country into a prosperous and powerful socialist country represents the ardent wish not only of non-religious people but of religious-believers as well. Implementation of the policy of religious freedom will further arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses who have religious faith to work with the rest of the population for the four modernizations.

We must also note that China is a multinational country with many kinds of religious followers. Here, religion is often linked up with the customs, habits and historical development of certain minority peoples. We have, for instance, the Hui, Uygur and Kazakh peo-



Chinese and foreign Moslems gathered at a mosque in Beijing to celebrate the Id-ul-fitr (Festival of Fast-Breaking).

ple and seven other nationalities who believe in Islam; the Tibetan, Mongolian, Dai, Yugur and other people who believe in Buddhism (including Lamaism); and the Miao, Yao, Yi and other nationalities among whom Christianity is quite influential. This being the case, while we should not identify nationality with religion, we should take note of the close connection between nationality and religion. Carrying out the policy of freedom of religious belief will greatly facilitate a correct resolution of the national question, help strengthen national unity, and consolidate and develop this big Chinese family of nationalities.

Finally, religion is not only a kind of ideology, it is also a social force not to be overlooked in international political life. Religious believers now make up 61 per cent of the world's population. China's policy of freedom of religion is very beneficial to the promotion of friendly intercourse and cultural exchange between ourselves and the people of other lands.

This is why the policy of freedom of religious belief is followed by our Party and government. This is certainly not an expedient but a long-term basic policy for handling religious matters.

## For Your Reference

### China's Religions

**B**UDDHISM, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism are the main religions in China. The first three have a long history in China and have had influence on Chinese cultural development and customs.

#### Buddhism

Buddhism was transmitted to China's northwest from India as early as the 3rd century BC and spread to areas populated by the Han nationality around the 1st century A.D. It

became popular after the 4th century and, with the support of the feudal emperors, became the most influential religion in China, reaching its peak during the Sui and Tang Dynasties (6th-10th centuries).

Before liberation many Chinese believed in Buddhism. It is estimated that there were about 500,000 monks and nuns and 50,000 Buddhist temples in 1949.

In 1953, the first Buddhist congress was held and the China Buddhist Association was founded. A number of well-known Buddhist temples such as Beijing's Guangji Temple, Hangzhou's Lingyin Temple and the Zuglakang (Jokhan) Monastery in Tibet were put under the protection of the government. Famous Buddhist art such as the Dunhuang murals

and the Longmen Grottoes have been designated as national treasures and special organs have been set up to oversee their preservation and conduct research.

Since liberation, Chinese Buddhists have established relations with Buddhist organizations and individuals in more than 20 countries and have sent delegations to attend world conferences on religion.

### Daoism

Daoism (Taoism), an indigenous religion of the Han nationality, originated around the 2nd century A.D. Zhang Daoling is credited as its founder, Lao Zi (Li Er) is regarded as its master and his work, *Dao De Jing* (classic of the way of power) is its main doctrine.

In feudal China, Daoism developed into a strong religious force comparable to Buddhism. It began to decline in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and on the eve of liberation there were about 20,000 Daoist temples and some 40,000 believers.

After liberation, people of various Daoist schools came together to found the China Daoist Association in Beijing in April 1957. During the last 30 years, special efforts have been made to preserve and protect the main Daoist temples, such as the one in the Qingcheng Mountains of Sichuan Province and the one in the Wudang Mountains of Hubei Province.

### Islam

Islam came to China around 651 AD with the large numbers of Islamic scholars, disciples, voyagers and merchants who travelled here by land and sea from West Asia and North Africa. They built mosques in some Chinese cities and towns.

Islam was primarily embraced by the Hui, Uygur, Kazakh and seven other nationalities. Right after liberation estimates placed the number of Moslems in China at around 10 million.

After the founding of New China, the country's Moslems, along with those of other faiths, were guaranteed the right to believe in religion. In May 1953, the first Islamic congress was held in Beijing and the China Islamic Association was formally established, with corresponding, local associations set up

around the country. Since liberation, Chinese Islamic circles have organized 11 pilgrimages to Mecca and sent delegates to many world conferences. There have also been frequent mutual visits between the Chinese Moslems and friendly Islamic organizations and personages in many other countries.

### Catholicism

Catholicism was formally introduced into China in 1582, during the Ming Dynasty. It began to develop after the Opium War in 1840, and by 1949 there were about 3 million Catholics, according to the church's records.

A Catholic congress was held in Beijing in July 1957, which announced the founding of the China Patriotic Catholic Association. Resolutions adopted at the congress stipulated that the Chinese Catholic Church should thoroughly change its status of being controlled by the Vatican, as was the case in old China, and manage the church independently.

### Protestantism

Protestantism was first brought to China in 1807, though it initially had very little influence. Missionaries poured into China in the 1830s and particularly after the Opium War. On the eve of liberation, there were about 700,000 Protestants of Chinese nationality.

After the founding of New China, Protestants all over the country opposed the foreign control of the church. In July 1950, Wu Yaozong and others in patriotic Protestant circles issued a declaration, calling upon Chinese Protestants to eliminate the influence of imperialism in their denominations. In addition, they asserted that the church should manage its own affairs, be able to support itself and propagate its religious tenets by itself. Chinese Protestants throughout the country supported this declaration. A national Protestant congress was held in July 1954, at which the Three-Self Patriotic Committee of Protestant Churches of China was founded.

In the last 30 years or so, Chinese Protestants have established friendly relations with many Christian organizations and personages abroad and have attended several world conferences on Christianity. □



# A Review of Recent Studies Of Lu Xun

by Our Correspondent Ling Yang

**A** PART from other activities, the 100th anniversary of Lu Xun's birthday was recently commemorated during a nine-day Beijing symposium.

The impressive affair was sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the China Lu Xun Research Society. It attracted 170 scholars and a number of Lu Xun admirers. It was highlighted by the presentation of outstanding papers devoted to various aspects of Lu Xun's work.

The symposium, which generated considerable enthusiasm, resulted from Lu Xun's unprecedented stature. Those in attendance generally agreed that Lu Xun, who died in 1936, was the most outstanding literary figure as well as a great revolutionary in the history of modern China. Their consensus was that the depth and breadth of his writings constitute an invaluable resource for scholars and literary connoisseurs.

## Initial Acclaim

Lu Xun, who enjoyed widespread public acclaim through his literary creation activity, emerged as a significant writer in 1918 when he published *A Madman's Diary*. The story was written in the newly developed vernacular style and it constituted a powerful attack on feudalism.

*The True Story of Ah Q*, which was published in 1923, attracted additional attention to Lu Xun. It is generally considered to be one of the most important modern Chinese works ever written. This is primarily due to the fact that, together with *A Madman's Diary*, it built up the foundation of realism in modern Chinese literature.

Lu Xun was a prolific writer and he produced numerous essays, short stories and prose poems. In addition to being an inspirational political thinker, he was also unusually creative. Fifty of the 170 papers delivered at the symposium were devoted to the creative dimensions of his work.

The papers delivered by Chen Yong and Tang Tao, both of whom are highly respected



Lu Xun in his study.  
Woodcut by Li Yital

literary critics, attracted considerable attention. They focused on both the realistic and romantic characteristics of Lu Xun's stories. Professor Wang Yao's paper, which was based on the book *Old Stories Retold*, touched on issues which have not been addressed in China for many years.

Professor Wang initially pointed out the manner in which the stories included in the collection is based on ancient myths, legends as well as historical facts. He suggested that Lu Xun's capability in vividly portraying people in ancient times arose from his profound understanding of the spiritual dimensions of the period which produced them.

After having made this point, Professor Wang called attention to those episodes in the stories with allusions to life in contemporary China. By virtue of these, the stories become more soul-stirring and convincing, making it possible for the spirit of the nation's history to be maintained and passed on to our times.

In recent years, Lu Xun's prose poems have

attracted significant scholarly attention. Newly discovered materials indicate that he began writing them in 1919. The 23 selections included in *Wild Grass*, which was published in 1927, are generally considered to be some of the best prose poems written in China during the modern era. They have attracted acclaim from poets, scholars and the general public.

Five of the papers delivered at the symposium focused on the symbolic dimensions of the prose poems in *Wild Grass*. Although each of the papers took a different approach, they all attracted considerable attention. One of the five was presented by a lecturer from Beijing University. Many of those in attendance were particularly impressed by the manner in which he analysed the significance and value of the collection as it relates to the historical development of modern Chinese prose poem writing.

An associate professor from Lanzhou University in northwest China delivered a paper on the historical factors which influenced Lu Xun's prose poems. She devoted specific attention to the character of Lu Xun's thoughts, feelings and experience at the time he wrote the selections included in *Wild Grass*. This paper was also favourably received.

### Daggers and Javelins

During the latter stage of his life, Lu Xun devoted primary attention to the production of essays, which he called "daggers and javelins." He used these political works to attack the evil practices of society and to expose reactionaries and imperialists. The essays, which also constitute a major attack on feudalism, have been published in 16 volumes. They address a wide variety of topics on many aspects of Chinese history and society, particularly on the country's political life in the 20s and 30s.

At least 11 papers read at the symposium studied the ideological content, artistic style, method of presentation as well as historical background of these essays. A commonly held view at the symposium is that not to understand these essays is not to understand Lu Xun. Viewed from this angle, the research done in the past is still far from enough.

Lu Xun's thoughts about the reformation of China's national character received considerable attention during the symposium. About 16 papers were devoted to this topic. One author suggested that Lu Xun frequently discussed it with one of his classmates, Xu Shoushang, while he was studying in Japan during the early part of the century.



An illustration of a scene from  
"The True Story of Ah Q."

Woodcut by Zhao Yannian

Lu Xun was particularly interested in questions pertaining to the ideal human nature and those things which he considered to be shortcomings in China's national character. His life-long investigation of these issues was devoted to overcoming those characteristics which he considered spiritual weaknesses. Although until recent years few people addressed themselves to the significance of Lu Xun's concern with such matters, today they are considered necessary.

The term "national character," for example, is generally considered to be an important reflection of a nation's spirit. In China today considerable effort is regularly devoted to shaping national character in ways designed to arouse the people and motivate them to discard the influence of outdated ideologies and habits.

Several of the papers delivered at the symposium focused on the manner in which Lu Xun used literature to promote reforms in China's national character. Their authors suggested that he sought to stimulate the soul of the Chinese people with his stories, poems and essays. They shared the belief that Lu Xun's short stories about unfortunate people were designed to unmask maladies and "expose the diseases and draw attention to them so that society might be cured."

Lu Xun frequently suggested that this aspect of his work was integral to his commitment to social change.

"Literature," he wrote, "is the spark of fire from the national spirit, and the torch that lights our way forward."

Although 50 years have passed since he wrote those words, people have become increasingly conscious of their significance. His words and writings continue to serve as beacons for writers and artists committed to social responsibility and the enrichment of socialist literature and art.

### Multiple Contributions

Many people have suggested that Lu Xun's writings constitute "a mirror of Chinese society." This assertion was made on numerous occasions during the symposium by those seeking to evaluate the breadth of his legacy. In addition to his best known short stories, prose poems and essays, Lu Xun reviewed the literature of other countries, translated many famous literary works into Chinese and blazed a path for those interested in the comparative study of literature and art. He also attached great importance

A page from the picture-story book "Regret for the Past," one of Lu Xun's works.  
Drawn by Yao Youxin



to folk operas, showed concern for the reformation of old operas, supported the growth of modern drama, propounded a theory of folk literature and skilfully practised calligraphy.

Because of the incredible breadth of Lu Xun's interest and talent, the papers delivered at the symposium were rich in their variety. This proved particularly pleasing to those in attendance. Two young researchers attracted a great deal of attention when they presented papers on their recently published work dealing with Lu Xun's philosophical and aesthetic thinking. Liu Zaifu, 40, who is the first person in China to address this aspect of Lu Xun's work, made several interesting observations.

Several papers were devoted to Lu Xun's relationship to the Chinese Communist Party. One of them, "Lu Xun and the Party," was delivered by a scholar from Shanghai. He suggested that the Great October Revolution of 1917 had a profound impact on Lu Xun's thinking. During the years after that historic event, Lu Xun escalated his attacks on feudalism and imperialism.

Five delegates from China's minority nationalities delivered papers at the symposium. One of them, Tohti Baki, a 58-year-old translator from the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, has done a great deal of work on Lu Xun. In 1958, he translated portions of Lu Xun's *Call to Arms* and *Wandering* into Uygur under the pen name Artixi. He has also translated eight other works by Lu Xun into Uygur.

Tohti Baki told his listeners that many of Xinjiang's educated people keep copies of Lu Xun's works on their desks. He also said that some of Lu Xun's philosophical epigrams have been incorporated into Uygur.

Lu Xun has attracted an increasing amount of attention in China and the rest of the world during recent years. This is right and proper because his vision remains as important today as it was when he was alive. Two months before his death, he wrote a phrase which poignantly conveyed the breadth of his compassion and concern for all human beings: "All that infinite space, those innumerable people, were linked in some way to me."

The consensus at the symposium was that Lu Xun has emerged as a figure who transcends literature. During the nine days, he was repeatedly referred to as a standard-bearer for China on its entire cultural front, a great thinker and an exemplary revolutionary. How true. □

## Initiators of CPC-KMT Co-operation

**I**N 1922, after the Chinese bourgeois revolution suffered repeated setbacks, Sun Yat-sen was unclear about how to proceed. At this crucial juncture the Chinese Communists raised some suggestions and offered to help. On August 23 Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the Party, accompanied by Lin Boqu (later a Member of the Party Political Bureau), made a special trip to Shanghai to meet with Sun Yat-sen. These two men, having long been admirers of each other, felt like old friends though this was their first meeting. Sun Yat-sen, who had earlier read "Victory of Bolshevism," an essay written by Li Dazhao in 1918, agreed with this viewpoint of Li Dazhao's: "The 1917 Russian Revolution is not only a sign of change in the Russian people's feelings, but also an indication of the new psychology of the world's people in the 20th century." Sun Yat-sen and Li Dazhao discussed in detail a wide range of topics, including Communist-Kuomintang co-operation, and reached a consensus. With the Communists' support, Sun Yat-sen became more confident and had high hopes in the Chinese revolution. A few days after this meeting, under the auspices of Sun Yat-sen, Li Dazhao joined the Kuomintang.

Co-operation with the Communist Party did not come smoothly. Some people within the Kuomintang were strongly against Communist-Kuomintang co-operation and tried to prevent it, but Sun Yat-sen was determined to take this step forward. They spread a rumour: "The Communist Party plans to take advantage of Communist-

Kuomintang co-operation to overthrow Sun Yat-sen." Sun Yat-sen personally refuted these lies. He said, "If you fear the Communist Party and oppose reorganization, you may withdraw from the Kuomintang!"

Some others who disagreed with the policy of co-operation went to see Soong Ching Ling. They tried to persuade her to oppose Sun Yat-sen's action, but this attempt failed too and Soong Ching Ling sternly rebuked them.

In November 1923, Sun Yat-sen published a declaration on the reorganization of the Kuomintang and a draft of the party programme. In December, he delivered three speeches to Kuomintang members expressing his determination to reorganize the Kuomintang and learn from Soviet Russia. Before the convocation of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, Sun Yat-sen decided to organize a provisional central committee which was composed of Liao

Zhongkai, Tan Pingshan (a Communist Party member) and seven others and was charged with the work of reorganization.

The Chinese Communist Party maintained that in order to overthrow imperialist and feudal rule, the proletariat must unite all classes, parties, organizations and individuals that could be united to form a broad revolutionary united front. At the Third National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Guangzhou in 1923, the central topic was the formation of a united front with the Kuomintang. The congress adopted the principles and policies for co-operation with the Kuomintang.

On January 20, 1924, the Kuomintang's First National Congress which formalized CPC-KMT co-operation was held in Guangzhou. Li Dazhao, Lin Boqu, Mao Zedong, Qu Qiubai, Li Weihan and other Communists attended this historic congress. Li Dazhao was a member of the five-person presidium. Sun Yat-sen, premier of the government, chaired the congress and delivered the opening address. He reviewed lessons drawn from the setbacks following the 1911 Revolution. He emphasized his determination to reorganize the Kuomintang and revamp the government.

The "Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang" was adopted. It subsequently became the common programme for



CPC-KMT co-operation.

The formation of the united front as a result of this co-operation marked a new advance in the Chinese dem-

ocratic revolution.

(Excerpts from "Wen Hui Bao," October 5, 1981)

## Sun Yat-sen and Lenin

SUN Yat-sen and Lenin were contemporaries, but they never met. As Sun Yat-sen expressed it, though they were thousands of miles apart, their hearts beat in unison.

After the 1911 Revolution broke out, Lenin wrote: "One quarter of the world's population has passed, so to say, from torpor to enlightenment, movement, and struggle." He highly praised Dr. Sun Yat-sen as "a revolutionary democrat, endowed with nobility and heroism."

Though the Qing Dynasty had been overthrown by the 1911 Revolution, the anticipated goal of the revolution had not been achieved and Sun Yat-sen was feeling low. The salvos of the Russian October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China, and hope to Sun Yat-sen. Immediately he sent greetings to Lenin: "The Chinese revolutionary party extends deep respects to the arduous struggle waged by your revolutionary party and expresses the hope that the Chinese and Russian revolutionary parties will unite in a common struggle."

Influenced by the October Revolution and with the support of the Chinese Communist Party, Sun Yat-sen put forward the three great policies of "alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers." Among the people sent by Lenin's government to assist Sun Yat-

sen was M.M. Borodin who served as a special adviser to the Kuomintang. Sun Yat-sen declared, "The revolution of today must follow Russia's example."

When the news of Lenin's death reached Sun Yat-sen, he sent his condolences to Moscow and ordered government institutions in Guangzhou to fly all flags at half-mast. At the memorial meeting for Lenin, Sun Yat-sen wrote this elegy: "A Friend and Teacher of the Chinese People." He also praised

Lenin as "a contributor to, sage of, and model for the revolution."

Sun Yat-sen died in Beijing in 1925. When he was critically ill, he proclaimed, "Comrades, please continue my cause! Follow the example of Russia!" He dictated "My Posthumous Letter to the Soviet Union," which reads: "Dear Comrades, at this moment when I have to bid farewell to you, I would like to express my fervent hope that the day will soon break and the Soviet Union, will, as our good friend and ally, welcome the birth of a strong and independent China. The two countries will join hands to win victory in the fight for freedom for the world's oppressed nations."

(Excerpts from "Gongren Ribao" [Workers' Daily], October 8 1981)

## A Great Man's Last Words to Family

ON March 12, 1925, Dr. Sun Yat-sen left his last words on family affairs. It reads, "Because I have bent myself to state affairs, I can no longer manage my property. I leave everything, including my books and house, to my wife Soong Ching Ling as a token of memory. My children have grown up and stood on their own. I hope that they will maintain self-respect and carry out my ideals. This is my desire."

"Everything" was only 2,000 books and periodicals and a five-room house.

There is a story about how Sun Yat-sen acquired this house. In 1917, Dr. Sun lived in Shanghai. One day, four overseas

Chinese from the United States came to see him. When they saw that Dr. Sun's residence (which was rented) was in disrepair, they were startled. Dr. Sun, a man engaged in earth-shaking activities, did not even have a house to call his own. They decided to buy him one.

A few days later, after the four overseas Chinese had collected money, they bought a furnished house for Dr. Sun Yat-sen: No. 29 Moliai Road in Shanghai (now No. 7 Xiangshan Road). At first, Dr. Sun refused to accept it. Later, however, he relented and moved into this house.

(Excerpts from "Xin Shiqi" [New Period], issue 9, 1981)

## THEATRE

## Operas on Contemporary Themes

A national modern-theme opera festival was staged in Beijing from October 7 to 22 by the Ministry of Culture. Ten operas in eight traditional styles were selected for the festival from 70 new operas put on in various localities since spring 1980.

Vice-Minister of Culture Wu Xue stated in his speech at the closing ceremony. "Operas on

the relationship between Cai Jiu and Granny Lin over the last 15 years. Cai Jiu, a brigade leader, is forced during the "cultural revolution" to implement the policy of "cutting off capitalist tails." He clubs to death all of Granny Lin's ducks as duck-raising is considered a capitalist tendency. In 1979, he recognizes his error and tries to make up with Granny Lin. At first she refuses to accept his apologies, but when he buys some ducklings for her to compensate for those he had killed, she recognizes his sincerity and forgives him. This

ment made it clear: "Particular attention must be paid to the local operas and folk operettas, which are simple and lively in form and reflect modern life. These are easily understood by the masses." Since then, the playwrights and opera singers have written and staged numerous operas on modern topics while continuing to present a selection of excellent classical operas. (Some new works on historical themes have also been staged.) *Chaoyanggou village*, a *yuju* opera about a city girl who settles in the countryside, and *Hong Sao*, a Beijing opera depicting how a woman in a mountainous area rescues a wounded soldier, are splendid examples. In 1964, a number of these operas were brought to Beijing for a national modern-theme Beijing opera festival.

These operas were banned from the stage in the tumultuous years of 1966 to 1976. Only eight model theatrical works were allowed; audiences became bored.

In the last few years, numerous operas on historical themes have been restaged. In addition, new operas, like the 10 presented at the recent festival, which reflect modern life while preserving traditional styles, have been developed. These operas are extremely popular. *The Fourth Daughter* staged in September last year in Sichuan's Zigong had a 90 per cent box-office gross and about 20 per cent higher than a traditional opera piece. *Smashing a Bowl* has been staged for more than 300 times, thus becoming the most widely performed *huaiju* opera ever.



A scene from "Smashing a Bowl."

contemporary themes can reflect life realistically, portray new characters with socialist consciousness and educate people in working-class ideology. Operas on traditional themes are lacking in these respects." He encouraged writers to create more operas along modern story lines.

*Cai Jiu Compensates for the Ducks*, a *hanju* opera, is performed in local dialect with music in the traditional style but its theme is contemporary. It depicts the ups and downs in

play vividly portrays the reconciliation after the "cultural revolution" and the implementation of the new rural policy.

Operas on contemporary themes were once tried on by Beijing opera singers Mei Lanfang and Zhou Xinfang and others in the revolutionary base areas in the 30s and 40s. But these operas were widely staged and well received by audiences only after the founding of New China in 1949. In May 1951, the People's Govern-

The 10 operas presented at the national festival were: *Bailongkou*, a *qingqiang* opera from Shaanxi; *A Girl of a Neighbouring Country*, a Beijing opera from Fujian; *Eternal Spirit*, a Beijing opera from Wuhan; *The Fourth Daughter*, a *chuanju* opera from Sichuan; *A "Thief" in a Policeman's House*, a *pingju* opera from Heilongjiang; *A Typical Family*, a *huadeng* opera from Guizhou; *Cai Jiu Compensates for the Ducks*, a *hanju* opera from Hubei; *Accountant Xique and Secretary Mei*, a *caicha* opera from Jiangxi; and *A Word Is Worth a Thousand Ounces of Gold and Smashing a Bowl*, two *huaiju* operas from Jiangsu.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

### Magnetic Door in Epang Palace

It is well known that there was a luxurious Epang Palace in Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.). Writers and poets have written numerous passages describing this palace. However, they have all neglected one thing: Its magnetic door which was a pioneering work of science.

According to *Sanfu Huangtu* which recorded the architectural anecdotes of Xianyang and Changan in Qin and Han Dynasties. "Epang Palace had a magnetic door and those who bore weapons were forbidden." In Tang Dynasty, Zhang Shoujie's *Historical Justice* said that "there was a magnetic door in the Epang Palace and it was in the north of the palace." The *Prefecture and County Annals of Yuanhe Period* in the Tang Dynasty

said: "The Qin magnetic door was 15 *li* southeast of Xianyang. It was the north gate of the Epang Palace. It was built of magnetite. When those who wore armour came to the door, they were attracted by the magnetism and could not pass."

梁山宮始皇幸梁山  
信宮亦曰咸陽宮  
興樂宮秦始皇造漢修飾之周回二十餘里漢太后  
常居之  
阿房宮亦曰阿城惠文王造宮未成而亡始皇廣其  
宮規版三百餘里離宮別館彌山跨谷輦道相屬關  
道通驪山八百餘里表南山之顛以爲闕落樊川以  
爲池作阿房殿殿東西五十步南北五十丈上可坐  
萬人下建五丈殿以木構爲梁列礎石爲門橫刃者  
止之殿前殿後殿左右殿前後殿左右殿前後殿左右  
下兵聚之咸陽宮以爲鑄鐵高三丈鐘小者皆千石

A line from "Sanfu Huangtu":  
"Epang Palace had a magnetic door  
and those who bore weapons were  
forbidden."

The appearance of the Epang magnetic door as a defence mechanism was partially a result of an assassination attempt on Qin Shi Huang, first emperor of the Qin Dynasty.

Before the unification of China by Qin Shi Huang, Jing Ke attempted to assassinate him, but he was found out by the emperor. At that time, "officials at the imperial court cannot bring any arms with them," whereas the armed palace guards "cannot enter the court without orders from the emperor." As there was not enough time to call the guards, the palace physician threw his drug satchel at Jing Ke, the would-be assassin, and others fought bare-handed with him. This gave the emperor an opportunity to draw his sword and kill the attacker.

This assassination attempt increased Qin Shi Huang's vigilance. The law that officials at the imperial court "cannot bring any arms with them" could not be altered, so the danger that an unauthorized armed person might sneak into the palace still existed. In 212 B.C., the emperor ordered that a magnetic door be designed for the Epang Palace which was then under construction. It was a huge door made of magnetite, which is often magnetic and is a raw material used in iron-smelting. *Lu's Almanac* which was written before the establishment of the Qin empire recorded that "lodestone can attract iron." The magnetic door of the Epang Palace and the development of the smelting industry demonstrate the advances in science and production in ancient China.

When the Qin empire collapsed, the Epang Palace was burnt down. The recorded magnetic door was nowhere to be found. Today all that remains of the palace is a man-made plateau, seven metres high and about 1,000 metres long. The site is in Epang village on the western outskirts of Xi'an and is protected as one of China's important cultural relics.





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