

# BEIJING REVIEW

- **A TALK TO MUSIC WORKERS**  
(August 24, 1956)  
MAO ZEDONG
- **On China's Electoral Law**



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**COVER:** A leading member of the Chinese Mountaineering Association recently said that China is ready to receive foreign mountaineers who wish to climb to the world's highest peak, Mt. Qomolangma, which is 8,848.13 metres above sea level. (Right): The northern slope of Mt. Qomolangma.  
(Left): Heading for the peak.

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## CHRONICLE

### September 3

• The sports delegation of Taiwan Province to the Fourth National Games scheduled to begin on September 15 was formed in Beijing. The 94-member delegation is made up of 72 Taiwan men and women athletes on the mainland and 22 Taiwan compatriots residing in Japan, the United States, Brazil, West Germany and Xianggang (Hong-kong).

### September 4

• The opening ceremony of the Office of the United Nations Development Programme in China was held in Beijing. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with U.N.D.P. Administrator Mr. F. Bradford Morse and his party.

• The Beijing-Manila air service was inaugurated. The Civil Aviation Administration of China (C.A.A.C.) has two flights a week from Beijing to Manila via Guangzhou. Regular flights between Manila and Beijing were inaugurated by Philipines Airlines last month.

### September 5

• A Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Cui Jen, Chinese Ambassador to Tunisia, attended the 10th National Congress of the Tunisian Destour Socialist Party. This was the first time the Chinese Communist Party sent a delegation to a national congress of the Destour Socialist Party.

### September 7

• While meeting with former British Prime Minister Edward Heath, Premier Hua Guofeng said that China greatly values the development of its relations with the West European countries. He expressed the hope that his forthcoming visit to West European countries will promote mutual understanding, friendship and co-operation.

### September 8

• Chen Xiaoxia, a 17-year-old Chinese girl, won the platform diving event at the 10th World University Games held in Mexico City. Chinese divers had to date also won a silver medal and three bronze medals at the current games.

• The State Council issued state awards for quality. One hundred and seventy-two gold and silver medals were given to quality products, most of which were light industrial goods and textiles.



### 3rd Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Death

In commemoration of the third anniversary of Chairman Mao Zedong's death, *Renmin Ribao* and other leading newspapers on September 9 published pictures showing Chairman Mao with the people and with other Party and state leaders.

These papers also frontpaged a talk by Chairman Mao to music workers in 1956 (see p. 9).

### Rich Summer Harvest

Total grain output in China last summer was more than 64.9 million tons, outstripping that of last year by 5.5 million tons, or an increase of 9.4 per cent. These figures were released by the State Statistical Bureau.

Of the 11 major summer grain-producing provinces and an autonomous region—each with a total output of more than 1.5 million tons—ten produced more than last year. Among them Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Shandong, Henan, Hubei and Sichuan reported an increase in output for the second consecutive year.

China reaps two harvests a year—summer and autumn. Summer grain generally makes up 20 per cent of the country's annual output.

The summer crop is winter wheat. Per-hectare yield of wheat this year was three times that of 1949 and the total output was four times greater. Wheat is the food grain whose

production has increased most rapidly in China.

Delivery of summer grain by the communes to state has met the target. According to figures released by the Ministry of Food, by August 20 about 12.05 million tons of summer grain had been garnered. This is 3 million tons more than that of the same period of last year, or 32.7 per cent more than planned, and is the biggest ever amount of summer grain garnered since liberation in 1949.

There are many factors accounting for the rich harvest last summer. A most important reason is that the Party's policies relating to the countryside are being carried out. These include the protection of the rights of ownership by the communes and their sub-divisions over their products, the increase in the purchasing prices for farm and side-line products and reduction in the prices of industrial products for the countryside. All these measures have greatly heightened the enthusiasm of the peasants for production.

### People's Congress in Tibet

The Second Session of the Third People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region was convened from August 6 to 14 in Lhasa.

In accordance with the organic law adopted by the National People's Congress last summer, the session elected the chairman and vice-chairmen of the standing committee of the regional people's congress, the chairman and vice-chairmen of the people's government of the

region, the president of the higher people's court and the chief procurator of the higher people's procuratorate.

Tian Bao (Sanggyai Yexe), a 62-year-old Tibetan cadre and Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was elected chairman of the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region. He was born in a poor peasant family and was a lama in a monastery when he was a boy. In 1935, he joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and took part in the famous 25,000-li Long March.

Guo Xilan, a 61-year-old cadre of Han nationality, was elected first vice-chairman of the regional people's government. He has been in charge of economic construction in the region since he went there in 1956. Among the other 12 vice-chairmen elected are six Tibetans, including Pasang, a former Tibetan slave girl, and Living Buddha Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai.

The 583 delegates of various nationalities to the session elected Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, who is Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress. Seven of the 11 vice-chairmen are Tibetans. Zi Cheng, a Tibetan, was elected president of the region's higher people's court.

The Second Session of the Third Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of the Tibet Autonomous Region was also held in the first half of August this year. The committee which is chaired by Ren Rong has 297



Pasang (centre), vice-chairman of the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, discussing with technicians ways of improving a farm machine.

members representing ten nationalities.

Like the national committee, the C.P.P.C.C. Tibetan committee is an important organization for promoting democracy and for maintaining ties with the people of various walks of life. Its tasks are to consult the people about the policies, principles, political life and economic construction in the region, to hold discussions and submit suggestions and criticisms in these fields so as to help the local government improve its work.

Five prominent Tibetans have been elected vice-chairmen of the regional committee of the C.P.P.C.C. Among them is 72-year-old Lhawu Dara Tubdain Daintar, secretary-general of the former local government of Tibet. He was arrested in the armed rebellion of 1959 and was released in 1965. This newly elected vice-chairman said: "I'll do my best to maintain the unity of the motherland and work hard for a prosperous new socialist Tibet in the remaining years of my life."

Another new member of the standing committee of the local C.P.P.C.C. committee is Galoin Lhalu Cewang Doje, former commander of the rebel forces

of Tibet, who was arrested in 1959 and released in 1965.

## Gu Mu's Press Conference In Tokyo

At the press conference he gave in Tokyo on September 6, Vice-Premier Gu Mu said: It is the common desire of the two countries to develop Sino-Japanese friendly relations. Given appropriate conditions, China will accept loans from all friendly countries.

Vice-Premier Gu arrived in Japan on September 1 for a 12-day visit at the invitation of the Japanese Government and the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade.

Highlights of his statement at the press conference are as follows:

**China's Political Situation:** "Some friends are worried whether the political situation in China would long remain stable. They fear that another sudden 'violent outburst of political ideology' would drown the present effort for modernization. We think that there is no such possibility. The basic reason is that the Chinese people are against any political

turmoil. They want stability and are determined to push forward the national economy."

**Sino-Japanese Friendship:** "Both our countries want to develop our friendly relations. This friendship is advantageous to the people of both countries and is conducive to the cause of opposing hegemonism and defending world peace." "An economically developed and technologically advanced Japan and a gradually prospering and modernized China working in close co-operation with other friendly countries in the Asia-Pacific region would in a very large measure ensure stability in the East."

**Aim of Readjusting Economy:** The problem that the present economic readjustment would affect China's import of foreign technology and use of foreign capital doesn't exist. China's economic readjustment is for the purpose of quickening the pace of modernization in the coming years, and the import of foreign technology and use of foreign funds are also for the same purpose. The two are not contradictory; in fact, they complement each other.

**The Question of Loans:** The funds needed in China's construction are provided mainly by ourselves while we seek foreign funds as an auxiliary. We will accept loans from all friendly countries as long as China's sovereignty is not impaired and the conditions are appropriate.

**Two Special Districts:** China has decided to set up a special district in Shenzhen near Xianggang (Hongkong) and another at Zhuhai near Aomen (Macao) where compatriots from Xianggang and Aomen or foreign investors may partici-

pate in joint undertakings or run various enterprises independently. We shall take a more open approach towards the administration of these two special districts than in other parts of China.

**Joint Exploitation of Diaoyu Islands:** "China's position on its sovereignty over the Diaoyu and other islands is clear. The Diaoyu and other islands have always been part of Chinese territory. In consideration of the joint exploitation of oil, the issue of sovereignty could be left to be settled by our coming generations. It is to the advantage of both parties to undertake now the joint exploitation of the oil resources there."

## Educated Youths in the Countryside Encouraged

"It is correct for the educated youths to go and settle in the countryside."

Chairman Hua Guofeng said this in Beijing on August 26 when he met representatives of educated youths who have settled in the countryside in more than 20 provinces and autonomous regions.

"For the purpose of the four modernizations and of strengthening national defence," said Chairman Hua, "it is necessary to mobilize educated youths to go and settle in the countryside and the border regions."

China is a big country, he pointed out, and the vast border regions are rich in natural resources but thinly populated. To accomplish the four modernizations, it is necessary to exploit the natural resources and make full use of the land.

As the foundation of the national economy, he stressed, agriculture must be consolidated and developed at a high speed if the modernizations are to be achieved. Industries should not be concentrated in the major cities in the future; efforts should be made to build small towns and cities in the vast countryside and develop industries run by the communes and production brigades so as to gradually narrow the gap between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour.

Chairman Hua noted that among the educated youths who have settled in the countryside, some are engaged in farming, some in forestry work and stock-breeding and some in scientific experiments. In addition, some are workers in industries run by the communes or production brigades and some are engaged in medical work. No matter what you are doing, said Hua Guofeng to the

representatives, there are bright prospects in every field of work in the countryside. You have made notable achievements there, you deserve praise and encouragement.

Since the mid-50s, a number of urban middle school graduates have been mobilized to go and settle in the countryside. The movement reached a peak in the years 1966 to 1969. Figures available early this year show that 17 million middle school graduates have been to the countryside or are still making their contributions there. By their action and example, they have demonstrated that it is honourable to do farm work, they have carried forward the revolutionary tradition of hard work and plain living, and they have disseminated cultural and scientific knowledge in the countryside.

However, it must be admitted that there are many problems resulting from the sabotage of



New housing for workers of a farm on the outskirts of Xiangtan in Hunan Province. Collectively owned, the farm has been set up especially for middle school graduates who have settled in the countryside.

Lin Biao and the gang of four and from the errors and shortcomings that have cropped up over the years. Last winter there emerged among some youngsters in certain localities the erroneous idea of "going back to the cities," as if the movement itself had been a wrong one from the very outset.

In mid-August this year, the leading group under the State Council in charge of affairs concerning educated youths in the countryside called a meeting of their representatives, at which the correctness of the movement was reaffirmed and necessary readjustments were made.

— From now on arrangements will be made for middle school graduates to work both in the cities and in the countryside instead of sending them to the countryside as was done in the past. The state plans this year to provide jobs for 7 million middle school graduates in the cities and towns, while 800,000 will go to work in the countryside.

— For those who go to the countryside, arrangements will be made for them to work on collectively owned farms or bases producing farm and sideline products instead of working as peasants in production brigades as was done before. These farms and bases will not have to pay taxes or hand over their profits to the state until 1985.

— The state will encourage these youths to build satellite towns on the outskirts of cities as well as towns in the countryside with modern facilities.

After the conclusion of the meeting, major newspapers in Beijing gave wide coverage to

the exemplary deeds of these representatives and paid high tribute to the educated youths who have gone to work in the countryside and made contributions to the modernization of agriculture.

## Checking Up on Cadres' Work

The No. 1 Machine Tools Plant in the northeast China city of Qiqihar conducted two tests among its 270 section chiefs towards the end of 1978 and in May this year.

The aim was to check up on their performance of duty, their style of work and efficiency, with the emphasis on the last aspect. They were then classified under four categories according to the results of the tests: (A) outstanding cadres, (B) qualified cadres, (C) cadres who have to improve their work, and (D) unqualified cadres. Four outstanding section chiefs were promoted to higher posts, 12 unqualified ones were allowed to remain at their posts for a period of time to see if they would make any improvement, while 14 other unqualified ones were removed from the leading posts. Cadres in category D might be promoted again if they should give a good account of themselves in the future.

Conducting examinations of this kind among the cadres every six months has at least two advantages: (1) Keeping a tab on the work done so as to promote able people to leading posts and encouraging the capable cadres to strive for higher goal, and (2) impelling the unqualified cadres to make progress.

Ways of improving the cadre system are being tried out in government organizations, cultural departments, factories and enterprises all over China. While reporting the Qiqihar experiment, *Renmin Ribao* published a commentary which said: "Cadres are a decisive factor once the political line is determined. To build China into a powerful and modern socialist country, we need a large number of outstanding cadres who are capable and competent and who work selflessly and have the ability to organize the people and bring their enthusiasm into play."

Rich experience had been accumulated in work regarding cadres and certain rules and regulations had been set up, including a system of testing and assessing cadres. But Lin Biao and the gang of four took advantage of some shortcomings in this system to spread their fallacies, form factions and create confusion. For a period of time, good cadres were not commended and bad ones were not punished, and no distinction was made between them.

The commentary called for more experiments so as to work out a new and better system of checking on the work of the cadres.

## Plans for Development in A Backward Province

The province of Guizhou in southwest China was very backward before liberation in 1949. It had no industry to speak of, the slash-and-burn method was used in farming, and many parts of it were inaccessible. As a folk saying goes: There never were three sunny days in a row, or three square



Commune members in Guizhou tending the saplings.

feet of level land or three taels of silver in the people's hands.

In the last 30 years since the founding of New China, the province has built new railways and highways and developed its own industries. But agriculture still lags behind. Compared with other provinces, Guizhou is one of the backward areas in the country.

Why? Cadres at various levels in the province have this year gone to the mountainous areas and villages to investigate and look for ways of enriching the land. They have found that places with a large area of vegetation, such as trees or bamboos, have good weather, but in places where serious damage was done to the forests, grassy slopes or water resources, the land is poor and strewn with stones, and drought and water-logging are frequent.

It is now clear that the province lags far behind in agriculture because the leadership did not take the actual situation into consideration and draw up plans suited to the local conditions.

There are in Guizhou range upon range of mountains and hills and the climate is damp and mild, neither too cold in winter nor too hot in summer. These conditions which are favourable to tree planting were overlooked in the past. Stress was placed on grain production to the neglect of forestry, animal husbandry and side-lines. In some places, the forests were destroyed to make way for the cultivation of crops, thereby upsetting the ecological equilibrium.

Summing up both positive and negative experiences of the past three decades, the Guizhou provincial Party committee has drawn up a new plan giving equal importance to afforestation and reclamation of the mountainous land on the one hand and river-taming and soil-improvement on the other.

Existing forests are placed under protection, wanton felling is forbidden, and afforestation will be given due attention. Every rural commune will proceed from local conditions and

plant one or two kinds of trees of economic value, such as tung oil, tea oil and palm trees.

- Make full use of the tracts of grassy land to raise more cattle and sheep.

- Gradually raise the multiple-cropping index of the farmland and increase per-hectare output.

## Stress on Secondary Technical Education

What should be the ratio between middle schools of a general nature and secondary technical (or vocational) schools so that secondary school education can better meet the needs of modernization? This is one of the topics currently discussed in Chinese educational circles.

Most of the participants maintain that the development of senior middle schools has been too rapid over the past decade, while the number of secondary technical schools enrolling junior middle school graduates has remained much the same. The two are out of proportion. Figures issued by the State Statistical Bureau last June show that there are now 65.48 million junior and senior middle school students in the country, but only 880,000 in secondary technical schools.

According to statistics for Beijing and Tianjin, the ratio between students in senior middle schools and those in technical schools in both cities in 1965 was roughly one to one. This is considered appropriate. However, investigations made in the first half of this year show that the ratio is now 12 to one in Beijing and five to one in Tianjin.



An agricultural middle school of the Va people in Yunnan.

The same situation prevails in other parts of the country. The development of the national economy needs a great many professionals, but graduates of ordinary senior middle schools usually take two or three years' training before they are qualified for special jobs. Secondary technical schools on the other hand can turn out large numbers of junior and intermediate technicians now urgently needed.

The rapid development of senior middle schools in recent years has spread financial resources thin and aggravated the shortage of qualified teachers. As a result, the quality of education has declined. Moreover, the number of students leaving senior middle schools every year is many times more than the colleges and universities can absorb. This year, for instance, 4 million sat for the college entrance examinations, but only 270,000 to 300,000 will be enrolled.

Measures have been taken in many places to improve the situation. Specialized courses

such as automation technology, electronics, enterprise management and those related to commerce, service trades and tourism have been introduced in many secondary technical or vocational schools, as there is an acute shortage of trained personnel in these fields. In the countryside, agricultural middle schools which were suspended during the Cultural Revolution have been restored in many places.

### Foreign Climbers to Scale Mt. Qomolangma

A West German team and a Japanese team are coming to China to climb Mount Xixabangma and Mount Qomolangma (Mount Jolmo Lungma), the world's highest peak, on separate expeditions next spring.

They are the first foreign teams to be permitted to come to China to attempt the ascent to Mount Xixabangma, 8,012 metres above sea level, and Mount Qomolangma which is 8,848.13 metres above sea level. The protocols on the ascent

were signed by the Chinese Mountaineering Association and the mountaineering organizations of Japan and West Germany.

A leading member of the Chinese Mountaineering Association said that China's object in receiving foreign mountaineers to scale the world's highest peak was to develop sports contacts, enhance understanding between the Chinese people and the people of other countries and exchange mountaineering experience. The Chinese mountaineers were the first to scale Mount Xixabangma in the border area of south Tibet on May 2, 1964 and they twice ascended Mount Qomolangma, southeast of Mount Xixabangma, from its northern slope on May 25, 1960 and on May 27, 1975.

The West German team of seven members will be led by Manfred Abelerin, a member of the Bundestag.

The Japanese team, organized by the Japan Mountaineering Club, the Japanese Mountaineering Association, *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association, will have 30 mountaineers, with Eizaburo Nishbori as its leader. The team plans to survey the route this autumn.





# A TALK TO MUSIC WORKERS

(August 24, 1956)

**MAO ZEDONG**

**T**HE fundamental principles of socialist revolution are the same for all countries. But things are different with respect to minor principles and the forms in which the fundamental principles are manifested. For example, the principles of war are the same, they involve attack and defence, advance and retreat, victory and defeat. But in the waging of war there are differences, and indeed many differences, as to how to attack or how to defend. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the two sides fought to a stalemate along the 38th Parallel. This was a form rarely seen before. Revolution certainly takes a variety of forms. The October Revolution and the Chinese revolution were different in many respects. In the Soviet Union the revolution developed from the cities to the countryside, while in our country it developed from the countryside to the cities.

The fundamental principles of the arts are universal, but their forms of expression should be varied and there should be national forms and national styles. Take the leaves of a tree, at first sight they look much the same, but upon close examination each one is different. There is individuality as well as universality, dissimilarity as well as similarity. This is a law of nature and likewise a law of Marxism. This should also hold for composing music, for song and dance.

To say that things Chinese do not have their own laws is to negate them, and this is wrong. The Chinese language, Chinese music and Chinese painting all have their own laws. Those people who spoke ill of Chinese painting just hadn't made a thorough study of their own

things, and they thought they had to use the methods employed in Western painting. Of course, you can first learn things foreign before moving on to things Chinese. But things Chinese have their own laws. In music you may apply appropriate foreign principles and use foreign musical instruments. But still there must be national characteristics. We must have our own distinctive style, something that is unique.

"Complete Westernization" of the arts has little chance of being accepted. It's better to take Chinese art as the basis and engage in our own creative activity while absorbing some foreign things. You can try all sorts of things now, you can take your pick. You have to learn many things from foreign countries and learn them well. You can thus broaden your horizon. But the Chinese people won't welcome any mechanical transplanting of things foreign into our Chinese art. The case is different with medicine. Western medicine is really effective in curing illness. There is no question of national form in operating on the stomach, removing the appendix or taking aspirin. Nor has the use of Chinese angelica and rhubarb anything to do with national form. But there is a question of form, of national form, in the arts. The arts are inseparable from the customs, feelings and even the language of the people, from the history of the nation. There is a large measure of national conservatism in the arts which can persist for even thousands of years. Ancient art can still be appreciated by later generations.

We should get acquainted with foreign things and read foreign books. That doesn't

mean that Chinese people have to do things in exactly the same way as foreigners, nor does it mean that what is written by a Chinese must read like a translation. For Chinese people our own things should remain primary.

Of course we favour music with a national character. As Chinese we would be in the wrong to do otherwise. But surely we ought not to have the *suona* horn or the *huqin* fiddle in our military bands, just as in the case

of military uniforms, today we wear the present style and not those jackets with the character for "brave" on back and front. That's not the way national styles are cultivated. Musical instruments are tools. Whether a tool is good or bad is of course important, but what is essential is how one uses it. We can make use of foreign musical instruments but must not copy foreign music in our musical composition.

There are 2,700 million people on this earth, and it simply wouldn't do if all were to sing one tune. Every nationality, East or West, should have things of its own. The Western countries have developed capitalism and have played a role in history. Now the attention of the world is gradually turning towards the East. Would it be right for the countries of the East not to create their own things?

We can also produce some works that are neither Chinese nor foreign in style as long as there are people who enjoy them. Some people have advocated complete Westernization, but this can't be done. The fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism ought to be accepted. It is neither reasonable nor advantageous to reject them. In the past the Second International denied these fundamentals, but Lenin refuted their arguments. China also had its "Second International" — Jiang Kanghu's Socialist Party, but it had very little influence.<sup>1</sup> The forms



Chairman Mao giving a report at the Lu Xun Academy of Arts in Yanan in May 1938.

in which the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are manifested in practice should differ from country to country. In China these principles must be integrated with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution. The October Revolution had the national characteristics of a Russian revolution. Socialist in content and national in form — this is the way it is in art as well as in politics. The general principles of Western music must be integrated with Chinese conditions. This will give rise to richer modes of expression.

Chinese bean curd, bean sprouts, preserved eggs and Beijing duck are Chinese specialities and no other country can compare in their production; they can be spread internationally. Cuisine and clothing differ from country to country. What is worn in India is quite different from what is worn in China and is suited to the Indian environment. Chinese people eat with chopsticks while Western people use knives and forks. It wouldn't make sense to say that it is wiser and more scientific to use knives and forks and backward to use chopsticks.

It's always necessary to pay attention to history. A long history has its advantages and disadvantages. The history of the United States is short and perhaps there is some advantage in that, for burdens are lighter and it isn't necessary to remember so many things. We

have a long history, which has its advantages, too. If we were to throw out our old traditions, people would call it traitorous. You can't chop off history even if you want to. There's no getting round it. And yet it is really rather troublesome to look over such a long history.

We must learn scientific principles from foreign countries. And we learn these principles in order to apply them in the study of things Chinese. That's why we ask our doctors trained in Western medicine to study traditional Chinese medicine. We must learn the general principles of both the natural and the social sciences. The composition of water, the fact that man has evolved from the ape — these are the same for all countries. But what about the arts? Chinese music, dancing and painting have their own laws, but we find it hard to explain them because we haven't studied well enough. We should first learn modern things from foreign countries and then use what we have learnt to study things Chinese. If we first study Western medical science, anatomy, pharmacology, etc., and then go on to study traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology, it should be possible for us to grasp things Chinese more quickly. Marx said that it would be easier to understand ancient society if modern society was studied first. This means reversing the sequence, but it saves time.

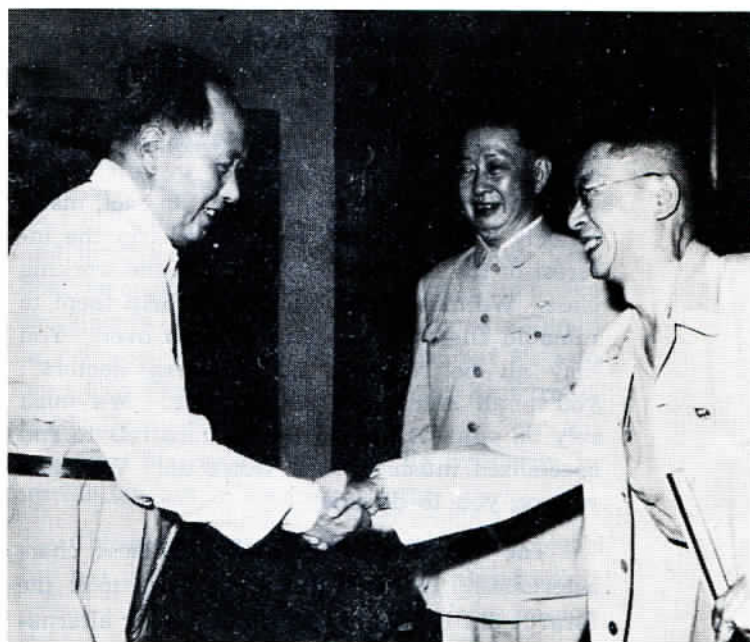
The trouble with handicraft art is that it's hard to attract our artists. They look down on Chinese folk art. There's a problem of interest here. We should try to arouse their interest gradually. They may not be persuaded right away, so we must keep up our efforts over a long period of time.

We must oppose dogmatism. We have suffered from dogmatism politically. Everything was learnt from Russia and was turned into dogma. This resulted in a great defeat; we lost practically everything in the white areas and 90 per cent of the base areas and of the Red Army, and the victory of the revolution was delayed a good many years. And all this because dogmas, rather than realities, were taken as the starting-point. The dogmatists failed to integrate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Although they said that

the Chinese revolution was a democratic revolution, they wanted to overthrow all capitalists. Their approach was wrong; their realm was no longer that of a democratic revolution but that of a socialist revolution. They didn't know the difference. They were wrong in their revolutionary methods and in their handling of inner-Party relations, and as a result, the revolution suffered grave losses. Dogmatism must be opposed. If it isn't, the revolution can't triumph.

If the problems of the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals aren't handled well, the revolutionary cause will be adversely affected. In its treatment of the bourgeoisie China has been different from the Soviet Union. Although China's bourgeoisie and their intellectuals are few in number, they have modern culture and we still need to unite with them. The landlord class also has culture, but it's archaic culture, not modern. They can compose a few classical poems and write some essays in the Tong Cheng style\*, but these are of no use today. Speaking of workers and peasants, the workers have relatively more culture. They have some tech-

\* This was a school of prose in the Qing Dynasty in the last years of the 19th century, so named because the founders of this school were natives of Tong Cheng in east China. Though devoid of content, their works were of great influence at that time. — Tr.



Chairman Mao meeting with writer Lao She (right) and Beijing opera actor Mei Lanfang in 1960.



Chairman Mao talking with representatives attending the national conference on agricultural science and technology and the national conference on medical science (1963).

nical skills but still can't serve as engineers and they fall somewhat short of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals in culture. We can't say the peasants have no culture — intensive farming, the singing of folksongs and dancing are also culture. But the majority of them are illiterate and have no modern culture or technical skills. They can wield hoes and plows but can't use tractors. In terms of modern culture and technology, the bourgeoisie is ahead of the other classes and hence we must unite with them and transform them. Some bourgeois culture is outdated and can't be used, but much of it can. Among musicians, there are many who, in ideology, belong to the bourgeoisie. It was the same with us in the past. But we've changed over. Why can't they do so too? In fact, many already have. Uniting with them is in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the working class. We must unite with them, help them to remould themselves, and win them over. You may all be regarded as "Western doctors"; you've all studied Western music. We must rely on you. Asking old-style minstrels to run specialized music schools won't do. We must rely on you to do this.

The Chinese revolution has Chinese characteristics. The revolution in Russia took the form it did because there was no other alternative. Lenin did think of other ways of dealing with the bourgeoisie.<sup>2</sup> But at the time the bour-

geoisie didn't believe the Bolshevik Party would win, so they put up resistance. What's more, at first the proletariat had no army and there were only 80,000 Party members. Our situation was different from that in the Soviet Union. China was not an imperialist country. We had fought for more than twenty years. We had an army, and two million Party members. And the Chinese national bourgeoisie was also oppressed by imperialism. That's why the Chinese revolution took a different form.

It is only natural that forms of expression should be varied. This applies to the arts as well as to politics. Certainly big countries like China should create things new and original, but these should appeal to the masses. The greater the number of these popular creations the better, and they shouldn't be all of a kind. Otherwise this would lead to stereotypes. In the past stereotyped writing was the fashion for five or six hundred years. It's no good when only one form prevails everywhere. The sameness in women's and men's clothing can't last. With victory in the revolution women have shunned dressing up for a time, and this signifies a change in the general social mood, signifies revolution. This is fine, but it can't last. It's better to have diversity.

National forms may incorporate some foreign elements. There's surely no need to write novels in the old style with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist. But the language and presentation should be Chinese. Lu Xun\* was for a national style. But he also advocated very close translation. Personally, I'm for very close translation of theoretical works because it has the advantage of accuracy.

We should be clear on this fundamental idea: It is also necessary to learn basic principles from the West. To insist that the scalpel must be in the Chinese style is absurd. As far as medicine is concerned, we should use the modern science of the West to study the laws of traditional Chinese medicine so as to develop China's new medicine. The basic principles of music are the same in all countries. But they're put into practice differently, and their forms of expression should vary. Consider the writing of travel diaries. Suppose we go on an excursion

\* Lu Xun (1881—1936), a great Chinese writer. — Tr.

sion to the Western Hills together. The places we visit are the same and yet what each of us writes about them will be different.

It's necessary to learn all that is good in foreign countries. In medicine, for example, we should study bacteriology, biochemistry, anatomy and pathology. It's also necessary to learn all that is good in China. We should pay due attention to things Chinese, otherwise much of our research will serve no purpose. In Chinese history there were a good many things which haven't been passed down. Emperor Ming of the Tang Dynasty was a poor emperor; during the first half of his reign he was up to his job, but in the second half he was a flop. He did understand the arts. He was a director of plays and he knew how to play the drum, but his skills weren't passed down. We must depend on you. You are "Western doctors," but there should be sinification. When you have mastered a certain subject, you should apply it to the study of things Chinese and thus make what you've learnt Chinese.

It's no good if you lose confidence in things Chinese once you've studied things foreign. But this is not to say that you shouldn't learn from foreign countries.

In modern culture, foreign countries are more advanced than we are; this point must be acknowledged. But is it the same for the arts? In some particulars China has its distinctive qualities, while in others foreign countries excel. In novels, foreign countries are ahead, while we have fallen behind. Lu Xun understood things foreign as well as things Chinese,



Chairman Mao with students from Xinjiang studying at the Central Theatrical Institute (1964).

but he didn't look down on things Chinese. Only on Chinese medicine and Beijing opera were his views to some extent incorrect. Chinese medicine couldn't save his father. And he preferred local theatre.

Confucius was an educator and a musician. He ranked music second among the "six courses."

By absorbing the good points of foreign countries, we'll be able to make our own things leap ahead. The Chinese and the foreign should be combined and become an organic whole and there shouldn't be indiscriminate use of things foreign. When we learn the foreign method of making hats, we should use it to make Chinese hats. Useful foreign things should all be learnt and used to improve and develop things Chinese, to create new things unique to China. We can borrow a bit, but what is our own should be primary. We need *Dead Souls*, but we also need *The True Story of Ah Q*. Lu Xun translated *Dead Souls*, *Destruction*, and so on; however, his brilliance didn't lie primarily in translation but in his own creative works.

Chinese culture should be developed. It's bad not to be able to appreciate or play foreign music. It's wrong not to translate foreign works. It's wrong to oppose "foreign devils" as Empress Dowager Ci Xi did. We should learn

from abroad and use what we learn to create things Chinese.

Don't be afraid to perform a little foreign music. Of the "nine categories" and "ten categories" of music of the Sui and Tang Dynasties many came from Central Asia and a few from Korea and India. The playing of foreign music hasn't meant the loss of our own music; our own music has continued to develop. If we can digest foreign music and absorb its strong points, this will be beneficial to us. The indiscriminate rejection and the wholesale absorption of Western culture are both wrong.

We should keep on making things Chinese and not making them foreign. This way your controversy can be resolved. We must oppose dogmatism and conservatism. Neither will do China any good. Studying things foreign isn't equivalent to copying them all. We learn from the ancients to benefit the living, and we learn from foreigners to benefit the Chinese people.

We must study each side well, the Chinese as well as the foreign. Doing two things by half won't do. We've got to take the two half measures and turn them into two wholes.

This isn't the same as taking "Chinese learning as the substance, Western learning for practical use\*." By "learning" we mean the basic principles, which are applicable everywhere and shouldn't be differentiated as "Chinese" or "foreign."

To be neither horse nor ass is also permissible. Mules are neither horses nor asses. The union of horse and ass is bound to change the form; total avoidance of change is impossible. The appearance of China, whether in politics, economy or culture, should change and not remain old-fashioned. But China's characteristics ought to be preserved. We should graft foreign things on to a basic Chinese stock. They should be cross-bred and combined organically.

Western things will also change. Not all things Western are good, and it's only the good that we should take. We ought to critically assimilate useful elements from the West on our own Chinese foundation.

\* This was advocated by a group of feudal bureaucrats of the Qing Dynasty from the 1860s to the 1890s. — *Tr.*

In the assimilation of foreign things, they must be transformed and become Chinese. Lu Xun's novels certainly aren't the same as foreign novels, nor are they the same as ancient Chinese novels. They are contemporary Chinese novels.

You are students of Western things, "Western doctors" so to speak, you are our treasures, and we should pay heed to you and rely on you. It's wrong to exclude those who study foreign things. It must be admitted that what they study is advanced, that the modern West is one step ahead of us. To refuse to admit this and just call them dogmatists won't convince people. Dogmatism must be rectified — but it must be rectified in the manner of "a gentle breeze and mild rain." We should pay heed to them, but at the same time we must persuade them to attach importance to things Chinese and not to seek complete Westernization. We ought to study the strong points of foreign countries and use them to sort out and systematize things Chinese, to create things of our own with a unique national flavour. Only thus can we clarify things and make sure that we don't lose our national confidence.

*(A talk given by Comrade Mao Zedong when he met with leading comrades of the National Association of Musicians on August 24, 1956. This is a record made by those comrades present at the meeting.)*



## NOTES

1. Jiang Kanghu (1883-1954) came from a feudal bureaucratic family in Yiyang County, Jiangxi Province. In his youth he travelled to Japan and Europe and came under the influence of the opportunist ideas of the Second International. After the Revolution of 1911, he engaged in political speculation. Flaunting the banner of socialism, he founded the Chinese Socialist Party in Shanghai. In 1913, it was disbanded. In 1924, in order to ingratiate himself with the northern warlords he reorganized the Chinese Socialist Party which was renamed the New Chinese Social-Democratic Party in the following year. In 1927, when the Northern Expeditionary War was close to victory he had no choice but to dissolve his party. In the War of Resistance Against Japan he went over to the side of the enemy and its puppet regime and thus turned traitor.

2. After the October Revolution Lenin gave consideration to the policy of "redemption" of the

bourgeoisie. For instance, in the essay *Left-Wing Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality* written in May 1918, Lenin said, "We can and ought to employ two methods *simultaneously*. On the one hand, we must ruthlessly suppress the uncultured capitalists who refuse to have anything to do with 'state capitalism' or to consider any form of compromise, and who continue by means of profiteering, by bribing the poor peasants, etc., to hinder the realization of the measures taken by the Soviets. On the other hand, we must use the *method of compromise*, or of buying off the cultured capitalists who agree to 'state capitalism,' who are capable of putting it into practice and who are useful to the proletariat as intelligent and experienced organizers of the *largest* types of enterprises, which actually supply products to tens of millions of people." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 344-5. Lenin's italics.) This idea of Lenin's concerning capitalism was not carried through because civil war broke out and the capitalist class in general resisted the Soviet regime.

# On China's Electoral Law

by Cheng Zihua

**A**DOPTED at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of the People's Republic of China (henceforth to be referred to as the electoral law) is an important piece of legislation guaranteeing that the people, as masters of the country, exercise their right to run the country.

## Continuation and Development

In 1953, the Central People's Government promulgated New China's first electoral law. This was followed by nationwide elections during which people's deputies at all levels were elected to form organs of state power from the central level down. A people's democratic political institution was thus systematically set up on a country-wide scale.

Just when we started socialist modernization and therefore needed to give greater scope to democracy and to put our legal system on a still sounder basis, Lin Biao and the gang of four badly undermined them for ten years. In their bid to seize Party and state leadership,

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they brushed aside the provisions in the Constitution, pushed feudal fascism, trampled underfoot people's democracy and sabotaged the electoral system, bringing untold suffering, both political and economic, to the country and the people. It was in the course of this great

calamity that the masses have come to see all the more profoundly the preciousness of democracy and a legal system. With the overthrow of the gang of four by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we gained the basic guarantee for the restoration and development of the people's democratic system and the building up of our socialist legal system; it has enabled us to work out and develop our socialist electoral system further as well.

The electoral law promulgated in 1953 was drawn up in the light of the realities in our country on the basis of the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of people's political power. Under it, with the exception of a small number of persons who are deprived of these rights according to law, all citizens reaching the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election. The working people's suffrage is not subject to all sorts of restrictions as in the capitalist countries, and so the idea of universal suffrage is fully realized. Under it, each and every elector has only one vote, which fully manifests equal democratic rights for all electors. Under it, the number of deputies for the administrative divisions at various levels is not in proportion to the size of their population: the number of deputies for the cities is greater than that for the countryside and the number of deputies for national minorities is greater than that for the majority people — an inequality that is necessary at the present stage. The cost of elections is to be borne by the state treasury and any one undermining elections will be punished. This provides both the material and legal means to ensure a normal progress of election. An effective democratic form in keeping with actual conditions was also adopted at that time.

Practice in two decades and more confirms that the 1953 electoral law is a good one and its essentials are still workable to this day. While preserving the essentials of the old one, the recently revised and promulgated electoral law is adapted to the need for giving full scope to democracy and improving the legal system for the new period of socialist development.

It is a continuation and development of the 1953 electoral law and has made improvements in the following aspects.

### **Broadening the Scope of Direct Elections To the County Level**

Electors voting directly for deputies of their own choice to form organs of state power at all levels — this is one important aspect of the people's democratic right to run the country as masters. So one important step to be taken towards a fully developed socialist electoral system is to gradually broaden the scope of direct elections. As pointed out by Comrade Zhou Enlai in his 1957 Report on the Work of the Government, "When conditions ripen, direct elections should be extended gradually to the county level and above."

In more than 20 years, China has made a great deal of progress in the political, economic and cultural fields, the political and cultural levels of the masses have gone up considerably and there has been a big improvement in the material conditions of Chinese society. So direct elections should not be confined as in the past to municipalities without administrative districts under them, municipal districts, people's communes and towns; they should be extended in scope. But because Lin Biao and the gang of four had seriously damaged the democratic electoral system, at present we do not have sufficient experience of this kind and it is impossible to introduce direct elections at all levels throughout the country. As to those at the county level, the people are more or less familiar with and understand the local state organs and the personnel working there, so the conditions are present there for direct elections. Thus, the electoral law provides that the scope of direct elections is now broadened to the county (autonomous county) level. This is a step forward in the advance of our electoral system.

Direct election of the organ of state power at the county (autonomous county) level, a measure to meet the needs of the development of the current situation, is of great, immediate significance. Ours is still a country with peasants constituting the overwhelming majority of the population. Agriculture is the foundation of our national economy. Arousing the socialist initiative of the enormous number of peasants will give a powerful impetus to our entire socialist modernization. The organ of state power at the county level is an important link in our system of state power. The people directly electing deputies to the county people's congresses, the people's deputies electing the standing committees of the county people's congresses and the county people's governments, thus forming county organs of state power through direct elections and placing them under the direct supervision of the masses — all this is helpful to perfecting the system of democratic centralism.

It is conceivable that with the organs of state power in the 2,000-odd counties and autonomous counties of the country strengthened on the basis of giving full scope to people's democracy, the socialist initiative of the 800 million peasants will be brought into full play, so that agriculture as well as other undertakings of socialist construction in the counties can advance rapidly.



## The People's Electoral Right Ensured

In regard to the electoral system, we have always advocated paying attention to integrating its democratic essence with a democratic form as near-perfect as possible, the aim being to ensure people the free exercise of their electoral rights. The electoral law, in the spirit of giving full scope to democracy, has included some new provisions on procedure.

- Replacing the system of voting for deputies from the same number of candidates with that of voting from a larger number of candidates. In the past the election of deputies to the people's congresses at all levels was conducted in an "exact number" way (that is, the number of candidates equalled the number of deputies to be elected); this once played a positive role.

In 1978 in some places this practice was changed. For instance, at Chengjiang Commune in suburban Zhongqing, Sichuan Province, the number of deputies to be elected to the commune people's congress was 142. When the voters nominated candidates at the first round, they put 760 names on the list. After three rounds of democratic discussions from the top down and the bottom up, according to the wish of most of the voters, a list of 488 official candidates was worked out and published. This was three times the number of deputies to be elected. The deputies who were finally elected went in on a landslide. People were satisfied with the election, saying that these deputies had their full trust because they had gone through four siftings and were like flowers sorted out from among flowers.

It is after having summed up both positive and negative experiences in many years of elections that the electoral law now stipulates that the number of candidates for deputies to the people's congresses at all levels should be larger than the number to be elected. In direct elections, the number of candidates is to be 50 per cent or 100 per cent larger than the actual number of deputies to be elected; in indirect elections, the number of candidates should be between 20 and 50 per cent larger than the actual number of deputies to be elected.

This provision has the following advantages: The voter has a choice when casting his vote and can choose the ones he likes most. After an election, some candidates are bound to win and others to lose and this will spur the deputies to adopt the viewpoint of the masses more firmly, to answer both to those above and

to the masses, to maintain regular contacts with either the voters in their constituencies or with the units which elect them, and serve the people wholeheartedly.

- Nominating candidates in a fully democratic way is an important link in a successful election. The electoral law says: Nominations of candidates can be made by the Chinese Communist Party, the various democratic parties, people's organizations, or any voter or deputy when seconded by no less than three others; the electoral committee or the presidium of a congress will collect the names of persons nominated by various circles and pass the name list to the voters for repeated discussions; if the number of candidates nominated is too big, the final list may be decided on by a preliminary vote. The official name list of candidates is to be decided on according to the wishes of most of the voters.

The electoral law also stipulates that when nominating some one as a candidate, the nominator must earnestly provide an account of the nominee's qualifications; the various political parties, people's organizations and voters are entitled to use various forms of publicity to support their candidates. These provisions, which help voters to become more fully acquainted with the candidates, are particularly necessary if only the best of them are to be returned.

- Secret ballot. In the early days after liberation, a large number of the voters were illiterate, so local elections in most parts of the country were conducted by a raising of hands. This was quite all right at that time. But as proved by practice at a later date, election by raising hands is far less convenient than voting by secret ballot for the voters to freely exercise their right to vote for someone they really want. The electoral law now provides that all voting shall be conducted by secret ballot, that one may vote for or against someone, or vote for any other voter (not on the name list) or abstain from voting. It also says that the small number of illiterate people and those who are disabled and cannot write may ask somebody else they trust to write on their behalf. In this way, all voters can vote for anybody they like, completely of their own choice.

- The division of constituencies and the mode of election too have been changed. In present-day China, peasants have long ago become members of the people's communes, most voters in the cities and towns have become members of units owned by the whole people

or by a collective, and the neighbourhood organizations are fairly well developed. Whether in the countryside or in cities and towns, the personal interest of the voters is in the main identified with that of the units they belong to. In conformity with Lenin's stand that constituencies should be divided according to production units (factories), the electoral law says that constituencies are to be divided according to production units, undertakings, working units and residential quarters. Practice in elections at the basic level in the past shows: an electoral meeting sometimes may affect production or office work; more often than not, many people cannot attend the meeting at the same time, particularly in cities and towns. In many places there were voting stations but no electoral meetings so that the election would not interfere with production or other work. Under these circumstances the percentage of voters going to the polls was rather large. The electoral law now gives the primary place to setting up polls although it has not ruled out the form of holding mass electoral meetings.

### **The People's Right to Supervise And Recall Deputies**

The right to elect and to be elected, the right to supervise and recall deputies — this is part and parcel of the democratic rights the masses are entitled to exercise. When summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels spoke of the need to prevent government functionaries from changing from "servants of society" into "masters of society." This is a very important issue. Lenin put it even more explicitly: "No elective institution or representative assembly can be regarded as being truly democratic and really representative of the people's will unless the electors' right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised." (*Draft Decree on the Right of Recall.*)

In the years of revolutionary wars and even in the years after the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong had always taught us cadres to act as servants of the people, to serve them wholeheartedly and never to become divorced from the masses. The great majority of our cadres have preserved this style of work, namely, serving the people diligently and sincerely; they have, as laid down in the Constitution, placed themselves under the supervision of the people.

But we must also admit that although rule by feudal classes has long been thoroughly

eliminated in our country, survivals of feudal society — such as autocracy, bureaucratism, prerogative-mindedness and patriarchy — are still very much alive. This was especially so in the days when Lin Biao and the gang of four wreaked havoc, when democracy was stifled, when the legal system was suppressed and our Party's fine traditions were seriously damaged. We must, therefore, by no means ignore the fact that there are certain numbers of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who seek prerogatives by means of the power they have in their hands, who are seriously divorced from the masses and act as panjandrum and bureaucrats riding roughshod over the people. These persons have been seriously debasing the once healthy body of our state, disrupting the flesh-and-blood ties between the government and the people and dampening the masses' socialist initiative. A serious, protracted struggle must be waged against all this.

Legislation has been designed to meet this need. With the summing up of experience, both positive and negative, gained since the founding of the People's Republic, a new chapter has been added to the electoral law on the supervision, recall and by-election of deputies. In this chapter, the law clearly states that the voters or electoral units have the power to supervise and recall their deputies. It also specifies the procedure for the recall of deputies by the people while stipulating that the charge against a deputy should be verified and the deputy to be recalled may appeal at the meeting held for his recall. These ensure that the right to recall shall be exercised strictly in accordance with democratic methods and legal procedure.

The positive significance of this chapter lies in the fact that it spurs on the people's deputies to maintain still closer ties with the masses, to voice the people's opinions and demands, to strengthen the deputies' sense of responsibility, and to faithfully carry out their duties as "servants of society." It will bring into play the role of the masses in supervising the state power and government organs at all levels. It will help overcome bureaucratism and feudal patriarchy. Through exercising the right to recall deputies, it will help foster among the masses a sense of being masters of their own affairs and enhance their position as masters of the state in the socialist system. It will, therefore, further arouse their enthusiasm to take part in running the country.

# New Draft Political Programme

**The main purpose of the political programme is to bring about the great union of the whole nation and the whole people of Kampuchea to fight the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs.**

*At the press conference held in Beijing on September 6, Pich Cheang, Ambassador of Democratic Kampuchea to China, read out a draft of the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea and a statement on the draft programme by Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea.*

*The draft programme reads in full as follows. — Ed.*

## PREAMBLE

At this new stage of our history when the Le Duan clique is practising invasion and aggression against Kampuchea in a most bloody and cruel way in order to swallow up the country and exterminate our race, the main task facing the whole nation and people of Kampuchea is to fight against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, invaders and exterminators so as to totally clear them from our beloved Democratic Kampuchean territory. So, the whole nation and the whole people of Kampuchea, regardless of their differing political tendencies and disagreements, uphold the banner of the great national patriotic and democratic union of Kampuchea and unite together in a large front: The Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea.

The sole sacred condition of this great union of the whole nation and the whole people of Kampuchea is to unite together to wage all forms of struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, swallows of territory and exterminators of race.

## I PURPOSE

To unite in a large national front all the patriotic and democratic forces, at home and abroad, in order to:

1. resolutely fight the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, swallows of territory and exterminators of race, so as to totally eliminate them from Kampuchean territory and overthrow the puppet Heng Samrin, running dog of the Vietnamese aggressors;

2. build up an independent, united, democratic, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

## II POLITICAL PROGRAMME IN ALL FIELDS

### A. DOMESTIC POLICY

#### 1. In the political field

— To unite in a large national front the people of Kampuchea of all nationalities, all the Kampuchean nationals living abroad and all the foreign nationals in Kampuchea who are determined to fight, under all forms, the Vietnamese aggressors in order to totally eliminate them from Kampuchean territory;

— To build up a society in which every citizen enjoys democratic freedom in his occupation as well as in his daily life;

— To guarantee democratic freedom in political life, in spiritual life and in material life;

— To guarantee the freedom to form political parties, various associations and mass organizations;

— To guarantee freedom of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to correspond, freedom to travel and freedom of residency;

— To guarantee parliamentary rule with a national assembly elected by secret,

direct, free and universal vote (the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative will be invited to supervise the first legislative election in order to ensure a free and democratic procedure).

— To enlarge the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and its administrative system at all levels. The representatives of the various political organizations, social strata and the patriotic independent personages who struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs on the basis of the political programme of the Front, are welcomed in the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the administrative system at all levels in accordance with their capability and with their assent.

The Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea greets and supports the activities of every Kampuchean citizen, even though he has not yet come to the Front for various reasons, or whatever his past, provided he wages struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs.

— Any member of the self-defence forces, any soldier and servant of the puppet administrative system who leaves the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs to join the people and come over to the side of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea will be warmly welcomed by the latter. We will forget the past. We hold out our hands and consider all who join us as patriots of the same blood and same flesh as us.

— Towards the Vietnamese aggressor soldiers of all ranks and all categories and their puppets who consent to lay down their arms, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea guarantees their lives and implements a correct policy of clemency and solicitude.

— The same policy of clemency and solicitude is implemented towards prisoners-of-war.

## **2. In the military field**

— To form a national army strong in all fields, whose present task is to fight the Vietnamese aggressors and to liberate the nation, and whose future task will be to ensure the defence of the Kampuchean nation and people;

— On the basis of the principle of the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea, the various patriotic armed forces who fight the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dog Heng Samrin have to adopt a defined programme for common action with the purpose

of fighting the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets in order to win victory.

## **3. In the economic field**

— To build up a national independent economy; to establish economic and trade relations with all countries on the basis of reciprocal benefits;

— To guarantee the right to production and freedom of choosing one's occupation in all fields: agriculture, handicraft, industry, trade;

— All activities of every citizen in the agricultural, handicraft, industrial and trade fields are encouraged, supported and defended. The fruits of all these activities are fully guaranteed;

— Every citizen is to enjoy freedom of work and of carrying on individual or family productive activity. The freedom to carry out any form of production according to one's preference is guaranteed;

— To guarantee and protect the private property of every Kampuchean citizen and of every foreign national in Kampuchea;

— At home, trade exchanges are to be carried out by using the national currency.

## **4. In the social field**

— To ensure material well-being, particularly with regard to food, clothing, housing and medicine, to every citizen;

— To protect and improve the health, especially of children, women, the aged and the disabled;

— To fully grant all kinds of help and support to all the victims of the devastating war waged by the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, swallows of territory and exterminators of race;

— Every citizen is to enjoy the freedom to marry and lead a family life;

— To guarantee equality between men and women in all fields.

## **5. In the fields of culture, science, technology and religion**

— To protect and develop the people's national culture and traditions;

— To totally eradicate illiteracy in Kampuchea;

— To ensure the development of culture, teaching, education, arts, the sciences and various technologies and ensure the right to attend primary, secondary as well as university studies;

— To train the utmost number of specialists in culture, literature, teaching, education, science and national technology;

— To use the advanced science and technology of foreign countries to serve the development of the nation and people of Kampuchea;

— To guarantee freedom of belief and religion.

## B. FOREIGN POLICY

The Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea

— firmly abides by the foreign policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment;

— establishes relations with all countries the world over on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence;

— opposes the setting up of any foreign base in Kampuchea and does not seek to establish bases in other countries;

— strictly respects the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment;

— abides by the policy of solving differences in the world through peaceful means;

— resolutely opposes the use of force to solve such differences.

# Soviet Military Infiltration Into Indochina

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**B**ESIDES supporting Hanoi in invading Kampuchea, dominating Laos and provocations against China, the Soviet Union has stepped up its own military penetration of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea with the intention of gradually turning the whole of Indochina into a military base for expansion in other parts of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region.

Reports indicate that in the first five months of this year alone, the Soviet Union sent, by sea and air, some 74,000 tons of armaments and other military materials to Viet Nam, including dozens of planes, hundreds of tanks and more than 1,000 motor vehicles—double the 1978 amount.

Moscow also sent more than a dozen jumbo transport planes to carry its materials already in Viet Nam to Kampuchea and Laos. To provision the 200,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea, the Soviet Union shipped large quantities of military materials to Kompong Som, a deep-water port in Kampuchea, and an air route from Moscow to Phnom Penh was recently opened. According to Western estimates, the Soviet Union is spending an average of 2.5 million U.S. dollars each day to prop up the Vietnamese authorities.

Moreover, large numbers of Soviet military "advisers," "experts" and "volunteers" have streamed into the region, with more than 5,000

"advisers" in Viet Nam to date. A powerful Soviet "advisers' group" which was set up in the Vietnamese Ministry of Defence has wormed its way into every important department and service in the Vietnamese army. Under the pretext of helping Laos train its military personnel, many Soviet military "advisers" have infiltrated the air, artillery, armoured, engineering and other technical forces and brought the Laotian civil aviation under control. Soviet military "advisers," joining Viet Nam's 200,000 aggressor troops, are now stationed in most key centres in Kampuchea.

At the same time, the Soviet Union has also redoubled its efforts to gain control of the air and naval bases of the three Indochinese countries. Its warships and military planes have begun using Viet Nam's air and naval bases in Cam Ranh, Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang and Haiphong. In Laos, the Soviet Union has established radar stations in ten or so places and is stepping up the construction of air bases in Phong Savane and Seno. In Kampuchea, it has built some radar stations in Battambang and other places. According to Thai military sources, the Vietnamese authorities are turning Kompong Som into a supply base for the Soviet Pacific Fleet.

This move has caused serious uneasiness among the world public, particularly in Asian

countries. *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, a Singapore paper, pointed out that with the three Indochinese countries as its base, the Soviet Union will be a greater threat to other parts of Southeast Asia. The Japanese magazine, *Nation and Politics*, said in an article that the situation on the Indochinese Peninsula at the present time deserved vigilance. If that area was reduced to a Soviet

naval base, the Strait of Malacca would certainly come under its control, as would the South China Sea and the Taiwan Straits. This would mean the Soviet navy's tight control of the sea route from the Middle East to Japan, which would not only pose a tremendous threat to the People's Republic of China, but also have a vital bearing on Japan, the article added.

## Eritrea: Past and Present

IN Eritrea fierce fighting broke out again between the Ethiopian government troops and the Eritrean guerrillas not long ago. Government troops were reported to have launched a large-scale attack in mid-July on Nakfa, Karora and other areas held by the guerrillas. It was the biggest battle since the armed conflict between the two sides started. The Eritrean Liberation Front announced that it counterattacked and carried the day, capturing three Soviet-made T-54 tanks and some light weapons.

### Strategically Important Region

Eritrea is in the northern part of Ethiopia and has about 1,000 kilometres of coastline along the Red Sea. North across the Red Sea are Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Eritrea controls the route from the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean and Massawa is the only deep-water port in the Red Sea. Because of its strategic importance, Eritrea has always been the target of struggle between big powers. In the 1880s, Italy occupied Eritrea's two seaports, Assab and Massawa. And in 1889 King Menelik II of Ethiopia signed a treaty with Italy, handing Eritrea over to Italy. In World War II, Eritrea was under British occupation. After the war, Eritrea, along with other Italian colonies, was the object of many claimants. Its ownership was endlessly debated. Britain proposed that the area inhabited by Islamites be incorporated into the Sudan, which was then under its occupation, and the area inhabited by Christians into Ethiopia. Ethiopia would have none of it, demanding that the whole of Eritrea be incorporated with Ethiopia. The United States backed Ethiopia's demand. The Soviet Union, however, proposed establishing an independent Eritrea. The people of

Eritrea were divided by their nationalities and religious beliefs. Some wanted an independent Eritrea, others wanted to join the Sudan, and still others wanted to join Ethiopia. The problem was submitted to the United Nations for discussion and, in 1950, the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for a constitution, parliament and government for Eritrea, with Ethiopia responsible for Eritrea's national defence and foreign affairs. Ethiopia gradually took direct control over Eritrea, and in 1962 declared that Eritrea was one of its provinces.

### Armed Struggle

In 1961, an armed struggle led by the Eritrean Liberation Front erupted in Eritrea. In the early 1970s, the Front was divided into three factions: the Eritrean Liberation Front—the People's Liberation Force; the Eritrean Liberation Front—the Revolutionary Committee; and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The three factions today have their own armed forces and bases, but their political programmes all call for an independent Eritrea.

The problem of Eritrea is one left over from history, and the Organization of African Unity and various African countries have tried to mediate, but as a result of the intensified contention in the Red Sea region between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, particularly the former's interference in the region, the fighting between Ethiopian government troops and the Eritrean guerrillas have escalated over the years.

### Soviet and Cuban Interference

In the name of "supporting the national-liberation movement," the Soviet Union has al-

ways backed the Eritrean movement for independence. Cuba, after being reduced to a Soviet dependent, also supports the Eritrean guerrillas. As late as February last year, Vice-President Rodriguez of the Council of Ministers of Cuba still declared that Cuba had no intention of interfering in Eritrea. But shortly afterwards the Soviet Union and Cuba changed their attitude vis-a-vis Eritrea and following their interference in Zaire and the Horn of Africa, they openly backed Ethiopian government troops in their offensive against Eritrea.

It is reported that since the second half of last year, Cuban pilots in Soviet-made Mig-21 and Mig-23 planes have carried out many bombing missions against Eritrean forces. Soviet-made T-55 and T-62 tanks are also being employed against Eritrea. Many parts of Eritrea have been devastated by Soviet and Cuban manned planes and artillery. Soviet warships have shelled Eritrean guerrilla bases from the Red Sea. This armed interference has caused enormous losses of lives and property.

The Soviet Union's about-face in its stance on the Eritrean problem was to push ahead with its global strategy. It has been stepping up its aggression and expansion in the Middle East and Africa, plundering strategic materials and grabbing strategic bases there to outflank and encircle Europe. It wants desperately to control the sea routes leading through the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. And the key to completing this strategic deployment is to seize bases on the Red Sea coast. The Soviet Union has always tried very hard to get a foothold in the Red Sea region. When its expansionist activities were frustrated in Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia, Moscow treacherously did an about-face and turned on Eritrea to get new bases on the Red Sea coast. Thus the problem of Eritrea became even more complicated. What the Soviet Union and its Cuban mercenaries have done here has thoroughly exposed themselves as the most dangerous enemy of the people of Africa.

— De Wen

## New Postures of Japanese Diplomacy

**I**N recent months, the Japanese Government has devoted major efforts to developing its "active diplomacy" and "independent diplomacy." According to Japanese public opinion, "the time has come for Japan to develop its international diplomacy."

### Strengthening Relations With the Third World

An important feature of recent Japanese diplomatic activities has been to strengthen relations with third world countries while maintaining its traditional "partnership" with the United States and Western Europe. This year, the government has invited the leaders of Thailand, Senegal, Indonesia and other countries to visit Japan. At the same time, it has sent many government delegations abroad. Last April, Japan took part in the Third Economic Co-operation Conference with the ASEAN countries. Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira participated in the Fifth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) convened in Manila in May. At the end of June, Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda attended the

Enlarged Meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Indonesia. On July 7, the Minister of Trade and Industry Masumi Esaki began his visit to Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. Before Esaki returned home, Foreign Minister Sonoda started his trip to five African countries — Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Tanzania and Kenya. Beginning on August 12, Sonoda went to Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Venezuela, holding talks with state leaders of the six countries on questions of economic and technical co-operation. This is the first time after World War II that the Japanese Government has conducted such diplomatic activities with third world countries in the span of a few months.

### Stressing "Dialogue" and "Co-operation"

Japan has emphasized "dialogue" and "co-operation" with the developing countries, a trend which has been more pronounced since the formation of the Ohira cabinet. It is reported that the Japanese Government's

economic aid to the ASEAN countries reached 7,800 million U.S. dollars by the end of 1977, or 41 per cent of Japan's total foreign aid. At the Third Economic Co-operation Conference last April, Japan declared ASEAN countries a "key region in its foreign aid plan." At the UNCTAD, Prime Minister Ohira emphasized that Japan would further develop its relations with the ASEAN countries. He also said that in rendering economic aid to the ASEAN countries, "training talents" will be regarded as "pivotal," and one million U.S. dollars will be provided as scholarships annually to the five ASEAN countries for ten years. Foreign Minister Sonoda recently stressed: "ASEAN is the foundation of Japan"; "economic relationships will be developed into political relationships." During his visit to the five African countries, Sonoda stressed that Japan and Africa will become "partners working for peace and stability," promised to render more than 43,000 million yen in aid to Tanzania and other countries and explicitly stated Japan did not recognize the Muzorewa regime of Rhodesia. Although it is widely thought in international circles that Japan's diplomacy towards the Middle East countries is directed at obtaining a stable energy supply, Sonoda said at a dinner in honour of the 12 ambassadors of the Middle East countries to Japan on August 6 that Japan's primary object is to prevent the United States and the Soviet Union from using the Middle East as an arena to expand their influence. This demonstrates Japan's gesture of "drawing close to the Arab world."

To strengthen "dialogue" and "co-operation" with the developing countries is an important aspect of the Ohira cabinet's foreign policy. Soon after the cabinet was formed, Prime Minister Ohira and Foreign Minister Sonoda emphasized in their policy speeches last January that in international affairs, Japan would "do what it could to bring into play its economic strength and political influence." While maintaining and strengthening Japan-U.S. relations as the "key of its diplomacy," Japan would make its relations with the Asian countries "one of its most important diplomatic questions," and would "make positive efforts to strengthen friendly relations" with the countries of the Middle East, Africa and Central and South America. Afterwards, Prime Minister Ohira repeatedly declared that Japan "will play its role and fulfil its diplomatic and political duty in a more active way."

## Background

The Japanese Government's diplomatic posture must be considered in terms of Japan's economic and political needs. As the rivalry between the two superpowers sharpens and the instability in the world situation increases, Japan's security and economic development require not only a stable international environment but also the support and co-operation of the third world countries. Prime Minister Ohira stated that the developed and developing countries in the world "are mutually dependent economically." As Japan is a small country which lacks natural resources and whose economic development is restricted by the international surroundings, the third world is the most important region as its source of industrial raw materials, its markets and its outlets for investments. According to Japanese statistics, 53.4 per cent of Japan's total imports and 46.8 per cent of its total exports were with the third world countries last year. Most of the Japanese industrial raw materials come from the developing countries. This shows that gaining the support and co-operation of the third world countries is an important prerequisite for Japanese economic development.

Japan formerly put economy and trade in the first place in its foreign affairs while evading some important international political problems. Its perfunctory attitude aroused dissatisfaction among the third world countries. Last year when Japan failed to be elected to the U.N. Security Council as a non-permanent member, Japanese mass media urged the Japanese Government to reassess its foreign policy and pointed out that in the international political arena the third world countries occupied important positions and had more and more rights to speak. To gain the support of these countries, "the most important thing is to deepen mutual understanding and be on good political, economic and cultural terms with them." Since the seven-nation summit held in Tokyo (June 28-29), Japan has promoted positive relations with the third world countries. Prime Minister Ohira expressed his hope to "foster a peaceful international situation through active diplomatic efforts." According to Japanese public opinion, this demonstrates that for its security and economic development, Japan will struggle hard in the international theatre to make its political power match its economic strength.

— Dong Ming



## U.N. VIENNA CONFERENCE

### A Positive Step

Through the joint efforts of the developing countries headed by the Group of 77, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held in Vienna from August 20 to September 1, approved a programme of action and a number of resolutions and recommendations which enable the U.N. to play a greater role in strengthening the scientific and technological capabilities of the developing countries. This is a positive achievement of the struggle by the developing countries for establishing a new international economic order.

Although science and technology have provided man with unprecedentedly enormous productive forces, many accomplishments in science and technology are regrettably still controlled by a very small number of countries, especially the superpowers. This is due to various historical and social reasons, such as the old, unequal international economic order, the inequitable and irrational terms in the transfer of technology and so on. The country which is singing the siren song of detente the loudest is, in fact, using scientific and technological achievements to engage in a large-scale arms race to win nuclear arms supremacy and world hegemony.

The international monopoly of scientific and technological achievements is one big factor behind the ever-widening gap between the developed and developing countries. While wealth is accumulating at one

end of the spectrum, poverty is growing at the other.

The developed countries, which account for less than one-third of the world's population, control the bulk of scientific and technological capacities and industrial production of the world. The masses of people in the more numerous developing countries are struggling against a hostile environment, plagued by diseases and living in dire want.

To improve the scientific and technological capabilities of the developing countries and thus promote their economic and social progress is a many-sided, complicated process. It is hopeless to expect the industrial countries to voluntarily do away with the monopoly of science and technology and the restrictions in the transfer of technology and provide any substantial scientific and technological fund for the developing countries. The developing countries themselves must rely on their own efforts and create the social and economic conditions necessary for their own development, including greatly expanding education, training more personnel, establishing an appropriate infrastructure for science and technology, formulating policies for science and technology and drawing up development programmes tailored to their particular circumstances. This process, however, cannot be carried out in isolation. It is closely related to existing international circumstances. The developing countries will find it very difficult to achieve any real progress unless international obstacles are removed and the old inter-

national economic order is transformed.

In regard to science and technology, it is important to demolish the monopoly over science and technology and the many unreasonable restrictions holding up the transfer of technology. The transfer of science and technology to developing countries should be done according to the knowledge-sharing principle and on fair and reasonable terms, so that relations between the developed and the developing countries are established on the basis of sincere respect for sovereignty, independence, equality and mutual benefit.

Through the efforts of the developing countries, the Vienna conference has taken an inspiring step towards narrowing the gap in science and technology between the developed and developing countries. But greater efforts are needed before all the resolutions and recommendations can be turned into reality and science and technology can be placed at the service of all the nations of the world.

## LIBYA

### Economic Achievements

Much has been done in developing the national economy and building the country since the overthrow of the monarchy in September 1969. Libya's gross national product has risen from 1,288 million dinars to 5,756 million dinars, an average per capita increase of over 2,000 dinars.

*(Continued on p. 28.)*

## ● *Ceramics Exhibition*

China's biggest ceramics exhibition since liberation in 1949 has opened at Beijing's Palace Museum in the Forbidden City. The 4,600 exhibits of 2,000 varieties are all from Yixing County, a renowned ceramics centre in the eastern province of Jiangsu.

Yixing ceramics retain the original purplish, brownish, greenish or yellowish colour of the local clay from which they are made. Particularly spectacular are the glazed pottery jars, tables and stools of classical designs, glazed flower pots, and dinner and tea sets of different types and shapes.

More than 1,000 teapots of different designs and shapes are on display, including a tea set of 13 pieces by veteran craftsman Gu Jingzhou. Both useful and beautiful, the pieces are exquisitely shaped and show great originality. The teapots made of purple clay preserve

the colour, fragrance and taste of tea much longer than other teapots, particularly in hot weather.

A pair of dark blue flower vases, 2.6 metres in height, are the largest pieces in the exhibition. Decorated with golden dragons, they have been glazed with the reputed Junzhou glaze.

Also on display are the glazed tiles and balustrades that are commonly seen in ancient Chinese architecture, and ceramic machine parts which are acid-, alkali-, or corrosion-proof and can stand high temperatures.

Most of the exhibits are daily use items but some are figures from Chinese legends and historical novels, animals and birds.

Yixing ceramics have a 5,000-year history. The pieces made with purple clay and Junzhou glaze became famous in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The county has 3,000 workers engaged in the ceramics industry, and

produces 60 million pieces of pottery every year, some of which are exported.

## ● *A Unique Family*

There is a family of 8 in Qingan County, Heilongjiang Province. It includes Zhang Guizhi, her husband, her father-in-law, her mother-in-law and her four children. When Zhang Guizhi's father-in-law fell ill, she took good care of him. She also gets along well with her mother-in-law who shares the household chores. The grandparents not only show great affection for their grandchildren, but also bring them up strictly.

Yet there is something very unique about this family — they are not related.

Five years ago when Zhang Guizhi was serving as a staff member in the county's electricity department, she went from house to house collecting charges for electricity and came upon an old couple who had no relatives to support them. The old man was called Wang Fengge; his wife, Jiang Xiaoxia. She talked the problem over with her husband and decided to take the old couple in.

Someone warned Zhang: "You shouldn't take on such a responsibility. After you had got married, you were very busy taking care of your paralysed father-in-law and mother-in-law for eight years. Now that they have passed away, you should relax. Instead, you are taking on the burden of this old couple. Aren't you asking for



Ceramics on display at the Palace Museum.

trouble?" She replied: "I want to do as much for other people as I can while I'm still young. Everyone in the new society is as dear to me as the members of my own family."

Zhang Guizhi also has an adopted brother named Gao Lianxiang. One winter night ten years ago she saw a thinly clad young boy weeping in the street. When she discovered that this homeless young boy could not locate his relatives, she decided to take him in. Later on, Gao did find his relatives, but he still continued to live at Zhang's home. She treated him like a real brother. When Gao grew up and got a job, she helped him find a wife.

### ● **State Farms Reap Good Wheat Harvest**

This year state farms in the northeast and northwest border areas reaped a good wheat harvest.

State farms in the northeastern province of Heilongjiang harvested 1.25 million tons of spring wheat from 870,000 hectares, a 16 per cent increase over last year. State farms in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, northwest China, reaped 475,000 tons of spring and winter wheat from 270,000 hectares, a 7 per cent increase over last year.

Heilongjiang and Xinjiang have vast tracts of land. These state farms were built on wasteland reclaimed by demobilized army men, peasants and educated youth after the founding of New China.

Last spring, half of the spring wheat in Heilongjiang was af-

ected by a dry spell. A number of state farms in Xinjiang were menaced by dry spells and low temperatures in the early spring, followed by big wind and snow storms. The state farms affected in the province and the autonomous region took measures to protect wheat seedlings.

Another factor responsible for the good wheat harvest is that the state farms raised their labour efficiency this year by improving their management and restoring the rational rules and regulations.

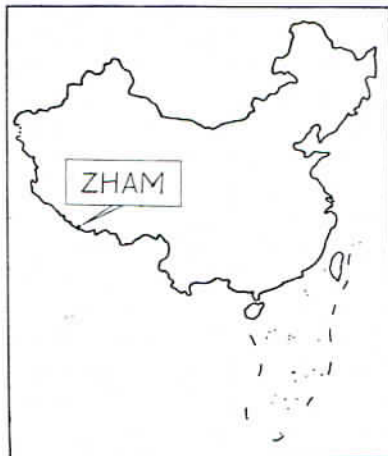
### ● **A Small Border Town — Zham**

In the past very few people would settle in Zham; only wild beasts made their homes in the primeval forests. Now it has become an important trading post between China and Nepal.

Zham in Tibetan means "border." Situated on the south slope of the Himalaya Mountains, Zham had long served as a communication link between Tibet and Nepal. Because many men had passed through its precipitous mountains over the years, a narrow winding trail was blazed and rough wooden bridges were built over its rushing streams.

In the late 50s, things began to change. The Sino-Nepalese Friendship Highway, extending from Zham to Nepal, was completed in 1964. A Sino-Nepalese Friendship Bridge was also built at Zham.

Since then, a customs house, a bank, a post and telecommunication office, a hospital and a friendship guest house have



Sketch map by Shi Yitu

sprung up one after another. A small hydropower station was put into commission this spring and modern automatic telephone exchange equipment will soon be installed.

Now, one can see merchant trucks laden with wool, rice and sugar coming and going between China and Nepal. The Nepalese inhabitants living on the border often exchange their products for articles of daily use with the Zham supply and marketing co-operative or the Chinese inhabitants.

The Zham valley is covered with luxuriant trees and dotted with various wild flowers. Its beauty is enhanced by extraordinary peaks and cliffside springs. Zham's picturesque landscape attracts many Nepalese tourists on their holidays.

### ● **Applying Economic Sanctions Against Himself**

Liu Pin, director of the Tianjin Brewery, fined himself for an error in work. This made the whole brewery sit up. The workers and staff members praised him as a good director in implementing the system of rewards and penalties.

One day, when he was making up the list of products to be sent out of the brewery, he sent by mistake a barrel of specially prepared drink as an ordinary one. Owing to this negligence, there was a loss of three hundred yuan. After it was discovered, Liu Pin, according to the system of rewards and penalties enforced by the brewery, at once wrote out a decision against himself, docking 15 per cent of his one-month wage and his one-month bonus. He announced this decision at a cadre meeting and made a self-criticism.

As Liu is always keen on his work, other leading members

and cadres suggested no fine be imposed because the loss was not very great and there were extenuating circumstances. But Liu said: "The written rules and regulations stipulate that everyone must make up the losses he caused. I am the director of this brewery and should be the first to enforce them. If a leading member does not uphold these rules and regulations, how can we get others to obey them? Why, then, did we establish the system of rewards and penalties?"

Liu's action resulted in greater attention by the workers in enterprise management. A meeting was called by the

brewing shop to draw lessons from it. The meeting made amendments to the system of checking products at both the shop level and the squad level and decided to put clearer marks on the casks of specially made drinks to identify them from ordinary ones. The same mistake has not been repeated.



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*(Continued from p. 25.)*

During the past ten years, the Libyan Government has adopted a series of measures to shake off imperialist control and uproot colonial influences. Libya has a lot of oil, of good quality and not very far below the surface which cuts costs in exploitation. Oil production rose steeply after the first oil well began producing in 1959. Oil output in 1978 topped 130 million tons. Under feudal rule Libya's oil resources were completely controlled by foreign companies and it was not until after the revolution that the country regained control over its resources in a planned and phased way. Since the early 1970s the Libyan Government, upholding the country's interests and rights, has signed agreements with Western oil companies on raising posted oil prices and the tax rate. The National Oil Corporation was set up in 1971 for exporting and marketing oil. The government holds 51 per cent shares in foreign oil companies in Libya.

The Libyan Government has banned unrestrained exploitation by the foreign oil companies for high profits in disregard of the long-term interests of the country and adopted a policy of protecting its oil resources.

At the same time as it is developing its oil industry, Libya is paying attention to developing other industries. In recent years the country has built and put into production 56 factories. More have been completed and started operation on the 10th anniversary of the revolution. The Government of Libya has also laid stress on the development of agriculture. In the 1973-75 development plan 25 per cent of total investments went to developing agriculture. In the 1976-80 development and reformation plan it was 12 per cent.

Libya is making every effort to solve its manpower shortage, inflation and rising cost of living as it develops its national economy.

CHAD

### Withdrawal of French Troops

On September 2, France withdrew 1,000 of its 2,500 troops from Chad as it had announced on August 23. The rest will leave later.

France has had troops stationed in this Central African country even after Chad's independence and French troops have been involved in military conflicts there. All parties concerned in Chad unanimously held that the continuation of a French military presence in Chad was a hindrance to reconciliation and peaceful settlement. So, according to the accord signed in Lagos on August 21 by the leaders of the conflicting parties, France has to withdraw its troops as soon as the transitional government was formed.

The interim committee of the Chad national united transitional government started exercising its power in N'Djamena on September 3.



## SOCIAL SCIENCES

### Sun Yefang's Essays Published

Essays by the noted Chinese economist, Sun Yefang, have recently been published in a collection entitled *Some Theoretical Problems of Socialist Economy*. Sun came under severe attack for his economic views during the Cultural Revolution and was imprisoned for seven years.

The book contains 20 essays and reports on China's political economy since liberation, most of which were written before the Cultural Revolution and are being published for the first time.

Sun raises important practical problems concerning today's socialist economic construction and theoretical ones concerning the socialist political economy. In the late 50s and early 60s, Sun Yefang pointed out certain faults in China's economic system and advocated economic reform. He emphasized that economic dealings should be conducted according to objective economic laws. He opposed the view that regarded the law of value as something conflicting with basic socialist economic laws or a planned, proportionate development of the national economy. Sun advocated that plans and sta-

tistics should be based on the law of value, and that when prices basically correspond to value or production costs, profit should be the comprehensive index for assessing the management of enterprises. He proposed to expand the scope of an enterprise's power and to allow the signing of contracts between suppliers, producers and markets in order to have enterprises carry on their own independent economic accounting.

Because of these views, Sun Yefang was accused of being a revisionist, "putting profits in command" and advocating "enterprise autonomy." He was severely criticized and imprisoned on a charge fabricated by the gang of four. After the downfall of the gang, he was rehabilitated.

The publication of Sun's essays and reports is beneficial to carrying out the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" in the economic field. In the preface Sun expresses his desire for further discussions on these problems so as to uphold truth and correct mistakes, thus giving impetus to the shift of focus of the Party's work on to socialist modernization as well as to the studies on China's economic system and its reform.

Some economic theoretical essays and reports by other leading Chinese economists have also been published, including Deng Liqun's *Law of Commodity Economy and Planning*, Yu Guangyuan's *Problems Concerning Socialist Ownership and the Principle "To Each According to His Work"* and his *On Economic Results of Socialist Production*, and Xue

Muqiao's *Theoretical Problems Concerning Socialist Economy*.

### Religious Research Revived

Chinese scholars are engaged in retranslating the Koran into Chinese for publication and are bringing out a new, improved edition of the Bible in Chinese. They are also doing research on the history of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity in China, of Indian Buddhism and the relations between Buddhists in China and other countries.

As an ideology, religion has had a great influence on China's political, economic, cultural and social life, on relations among the nationalities, as well as on ideological and cultural exchanges with foreign countries.

The late Chairman Mao Zedong and the late Premier Zhou Enlai showed a great deal of concern for research on religion. An institute of research on world religions was set up in 1964, its main tasks being to study the theory, history and scriptures of various religions, as well as the present state of religions in China and other countries, and to collect relevant materials, train personnel for research and publish a journal called *Research on World Religions*. But research work was suspended when Lin Biao and the gang of four were in power.

A meeting to work out plans for doing research on religions was held in Beijing in April 1978. A draft programme was drawn up for 1979-85.

The significance of this work was discussed and academic

exchanges were made at a national conference on research on religion held in Kunming last February. Many papers were submitted and academic reports given. Among them were "The Origin of Mahayana," "The Beginnings of the Theology of Primitive Christianity," "Jesus in History," and "The Historical Background of the Emergence of Islam." These papers and reports will be of help to promoting research on religion.

Research institutes of social sciences and some colleges and universities in various parts of the country are making preparations for the setting up of local research organizations.

The research institute on religion at Nanjing University was founded in January this year. Its forerunner was the Nanjing Union Theological Seminar, and most of its researchers are personages in religious circles. The institute will mainly engage in research on Christianity and train postgraduates. The institute of research on religion affiliated to the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences is mainly engaged in research on Islam. Organizations for research on religion will also be set up in Shanghai, Yunnan, Gansu, Sichuan and other places.

The Institute of Research on World Religions enrolled more

than 20 postgraduates last year. Where conditions permit, other institutes will also take on postgraduates. They will make social investigations, send students abroad for advanced studies and invite foreign experts to give lectures in China to train personnel and raise the level of the specialists in this field.

The philosophy department of Beijing University has since last March given lectures once a month on the fundamentals of religion, the three major world religions, and Daoism which originated in China. Other institutes of higher learning will offer similar courses.

## FILMS

### Colour Documentary Series "China Today"

*Ordinary People, Do You Know This City?* and *Famous Handicrafts*, three documentaries in the *China Today* series and designed for foreign audiences, were released recently.

*Ordinary People* begins with a shot of people in Chinese cities streaming to work on bicycles in the morning. Then the film shows a wide range of Chinese people at work: nurses in Beijing's No. 4 Kindergarten; a woman hairdresser who calls on

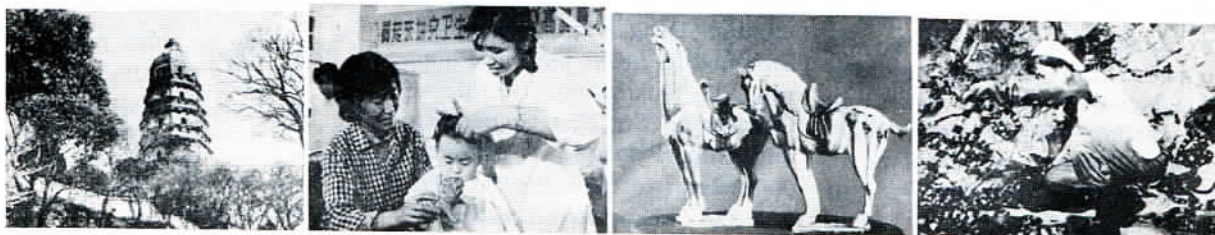
the old and the disabled in their homes; women workers who have raised 100,000 snakes in the city of Wuzhou in Guangxi for the export market; and workers in Changshouzhilu Food Market in Shanghai who cater to more than 8,000 households every day. These ordinary people doing ordinary jobs are assured and confident. They know what they live for.

*Do You Know This City?* describes the garden city of Suzhou in east China. There are beautiful scenes of enchanting gardens, shots showing traditional cuisine and embroideries, both of which are famous at home and abroad.

*Famous Handicrafts* introduces several of China's traditional handicrafts: Wuxi (in Jiangsu Province) clay figures, Liaoning black amber carvings, Yantai (in Shandong Province) straw plaiting and drawnwork, and Luoyang (in Henan Province) reproductions of antiques.

China produces hundreds of kinds of exquisite handicrafts made of materials ranging from down to jade.

Production of the *China Today* series, which began in 1954, had been suspended for some years. It was resumed recently. The series deal with the daily life and customs of the Chinese people, as well as famous Chinese resorts, archaeological dis-



From the *China Today* film series.

coveries, and cultural exchanges with other countries. The films produced in the first half of this year are available in English, French and Spanish.

The Central Newsreels and Documentary Film Studio which produces the series plans to film the lives of the Tibetan people, the primeval forest of Xishuangbanna, Chinese children, and sports in China. These

are scheduled for the second half of this year.

### First Projectionist in Liberated Area

Who was the first film projectionist in the liberated area? Comrade Zhou Enlai.

In the autumn of 1939, he had an arm injury treated in the Soviet Union and brought

back a film projector and two films — *Lenin in 1918* and *Lenin in October*. Those were war years. Yanan, where the revolutionary headquarters was located, was heavily blockaded by the enemy. Since no one else knew how to show films, Comrade Zhou Enlai did it himself. Later he trained a group of projectionists despite his heavy schedule.

## ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

### Romanian Film Week

*Power and Truth*. A first secretary of a province differs sharply with an engineer, who was one of his comrades-in-arms in the struggle for establishing the revolutionary power, over how to construct a water conservancy project. Based on a real situation, this impressive film reveals that those who hold power do not necessarily hold the truth, for a Communist can accept the truth and do a good job for the people only when he is selfless and fearless.

*Passage of Time* depicts the experience of a Communist in a

serious struggle in a socialist society.

*Verdict Postponed* sings the praises of those defending socialist law and order.

### Japanese Film Week

*Undying Love*, a film demonstrating the contradictions between love and friendship.

*Princess Okin*, a feature film unmasking a tragedy in 16th century Japan.

*My Teacher* shows how a young teacher helps a group of naughty students get excellent marks.

*Annular Solar Eclipse* exposes the internal strife among different Japanese political factions in the 1960s.

*Tatsunoko Taro* is a new wide-screen colour cartoon based on an age-old Japanese folk tale.

### Modern Drama

*Unveil Yourself*, a new play demonstrating the contradictions and struggles in present-day life through different emotional changes between father and daughter, between sisters and between lovers. Presented by China Youth Art Theatre.

*In a New Life* shows how some families of railway workers began a new life to build a modern China. Produced by China Railway Art Troupe.

### TV Drama

*Choice*, an item presented by a Shanghai art troupe. By its por-

trayal of a couple who were persecuted by the gang of four, the play raises the question: How should people make their own choices in life during a harsh political struggle?

*Sure to Be Happy* from east China's scenic city of Hangzhou. Two drugstore assistants with the same first name but with different surnames vie with each other over delivering medicine to patients. This interesting story praises one assistant's devotion to his work and criticizes the other's carelessness.

### Beijing Opera

*Three Fightings With Tao San-chun*, a new work by the veteran dramatist Wu Zuguang showing a forthright girl who looks after watermelon fields and does not confine herself to imperial etiquette. Its technique of expression, music and singing have some innovative features.



A dancer of the Thai Cultural Delegation.  
Sketch by Zhao Shiyang



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