

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Principle of Independence Among Parties
- Life Tenure Must Go
- Why Reagan Won
- *Minority University Students*



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

The Principle of Independence

Internationalism does not preclude the principle of independence among peoples and Communist Parties. Rather, it affirms their right to decide on their own road to socialism (p. 15).

A Look at U.S. Elections

Reagan is riding into the White House on the wave of discontent over mounting domestic and international problems (p. 10).

Life Tenure Must Go

An analysis of the system of lifelong leadership — how it came about, what its drawbacks are and why it must be abolished

in the interest of socialist democracy (p. 20).

Impending Trial of Jiang Qing et al

The much awaited trial will soon begin. An indictment has been served on Jiang Qing and nine others, all accused of counter-revolutionary crimes (p. 3).

New Chain of Command

The workers and staff make the decisions, the director manages, the Party committee supervises. This new division of power is being tried out in some of China's factories (p. 3).

Better Deal for Peasants

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new houses, sure signs of an economic upswing in the countryside (p. 6).

Education News

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National Book Fair

People thirsting for knowledge spurs publishing (p. 28).



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POLITICAL**Trial of Jiang Qing and Others to Begin**

The special court under the Supreme People's Court, which was set up to try the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, has recently examined the indictment drawn up by the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate against the accused and decided to accept the case, according to Xinhua News Agency. The special court served on Jiang Qing and the nine other accused copies of the indictment on November 10.

When copies of the indictment were served on the accused, the special court, in accordance with the provisions of China's Law of Criminal Procedure, informed them that they have the right of defence and may call in advocates.

The case was submitted to the Supreme People's Procuratorate for examination and the preferring of a public charge in September by the Ministry of Public Security after it concluded its investigation and pre-trial. Then the special procuratorate examined the case file, the evidence and the written opinion for a public charge submitted by the Ministry of Public Security, and interrogated Jiang Qing and the nine other accused. It established that the accused had violated the criminal law and that legal responsibility should be pursued and a public charge preferred against them in accordance with the law.

New Chain of Command in Factories

The Beijing Municipal People's Government decided recently that a new chain of command will be instituted on a trial basis in five factories in the capital. Factory directors will assume responsibility for their enterprises under the leadership of the congresses of workers and staff members at the General Internal-Combustion Engine Plant, the Optical Instrument Plant, the No. 2 Woollen Mill, the Leather Products Factory and the Silk Flower Factory.

This new system is a significant reform over the prevailing system, in which factory directors were under the leadership of Party committees. The latter system was established in the 1950s throughout China. Directors and deputy directors were in charge of executing decisions reached after discussions in Party committees on matters of great importance to the enterprises. During the "cultural revolution," revolutionary committees assumed the responsibility for both making and executing these decisions.

Subsequent practice has proved that the system tended to let Party committees directly deal with administrative affairs and great powers were concentrated in these committees or even in the hands of their first secretaries alone. Directors did not have much power and, where the congresses of workers and staff members existed, they were unable to play their supervisory role effectively.

The new system, which is closely linked with reforms in economic management, entrusts the enlarged powers of enterprises to their workers and staff members.

Following are the main points of the new system:

First, the congress, which is directly elected by workers and staff members, is the organ of power for the enterprise and has the right to make decisions on: the orientation and policy of production and management, long-term and annual plans, measures for major technical renovation, important rewards and punishments for workers and staff members and the setting up, revision or abolition of regulations for the whole factory. It elects a director and discusses the list of deputy directors recommended by the director, and then submits the names to the higher leading body for appointment.

Secondly, the director assumes full responsibility for the production and management of the enterprise. He submits major programmes to the congress for examination and is responsible for their implementation.

Thirdly, the Party committees in enterprises are exempted from administrative business and are charged with the responsibility of Party building and political and ideological work. They are to ensure the implementation of Party policies and state laws as well as the fulfilment of various tasks by the enterprises, and should play a supervisory role in these respects.

Combat Favouritism

A recent hard-hitting article by *Renmin Ribao* Commentator called on its readers to join the discussion on the privileges enjoyed by cadres.

The article said that although the Commerce Minister had paid his bills at the Feng Ze Yuan Restaurant after being criticized by the young cook there and the Beijing No. 1 Service Bureau had introduced regulations forbidding such instances of favouritism in the future (see "Privileges Challenged" in our issue No. 44), there was still much discussion and concern. The Feng Ze Yuan Restaurant workers are worried that their supply of raw materials might be affected and their long-awaited apartment building might not be completed on schedule because their direct superiors and related units have been offended by the crackdown on privileges resulting from the actions of their cook.

The article noted that getting things done by giving banquets and gifts was a serious problem and that open and camouflaged bribes existed in different fields. For instance, if an organization wants a new building, it must first invite the related people of the construction company to a banquet and present them with gifts. Once the building is finished, the power and water companies often will not install services until their demands are met—usually the allocation of a few apartments. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, China's modernization programme will fail, said the article.

Renmin Ribao Commentator called on readers to join in a discussion on the root causes of these unhealthy practices and their rectification. He expressed the conviction that such tenden-

cies will disappear if adamantly resisted.

The paper also carried four letters from readers.

Liu Wenchao, a reader from Tianjin, welcomed the press and radio coverage of the Commerce Minister's case as a demonstration of the strong determination by the Communist Party and the government to tighten discipline.

Yang Bin, a Beijing reader, stated his opinion that some leading cadres are not afraid of exposure because they believe both that this practice of demanding reduced rates for expensive food in restaurants is quite widespread and that they possess sufficient power to shield themselves from criticism.

An Dong and Da Sheng wrote a joint letter calling on people to emulate the courageous young cook who reported the Commerce Minister's conduct to the Party's Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. They emphasized that Party members should stick to their rights and expose the practices which violate Party discipline and hurt the Party's prestige.

ECONOMIC

Protect Socialist Competition

Provisional regulations for developing and protecting socialist competition among industrial and other enterprises were adopted on October 17 and subsequently promulgated by the State Council in order to ensure reforms in the management structure of the national economy.

The regulations describe socialist competition as essentially different from capitalist competition in that it is launched on the basis of public ownership

of the means of production and under the guidance of state planning to serve the socialist economy.

The main points in these provisions are:

— While guaranteeing the fulfilment of state plans for production and sales, production and other enterprises should compete for better economic results by improving management and business accounting, reducing the consumption of energy and raw material, lowering costs, improving the variety and quality of products, increasing labour efficiency and upgrading services.

— Enterprises must be given greater powers of self-management. The powers of a factory commensurate with its position of a relatively independent producer of commodities have to be respected. As long as it fulfils its state plan, a factory may turn out products in accordance with market demands. Contracts and agreements signed between enterprises are protected by law. Apart from materials allocated by the state according to plan, the factory may buy any other materials on its own accord within the guidelines of state policy and law, rather than solely depending on state allocations as in the past.

— The method of different contractors submitting competitive bids for construction and other projects may be used on a trial basis.

— The government will facilitate the growth of co-operative and individual economic operations that are beneficial to the national economy and people's livelihood by making proper arrangements for their supplies, needs of loans and labour

power, marketing and taxation.

— An enterprise may in principle sell products turned out above its plan or with raw materials acquired by itself.

— Prices of some products designated by the state may fluctuate within a range fixed by the state, but those of major products closely connected with people's livelihood must basically remain stable. A factory may cut prices of certain industrial products to keep abreast with changing market demands in line with state policy on the condition that this does not affect its contribution to state revenues. Government approval is necessary if it wants to raise the prices of such products.

— No place or department will be allowed to prevent outside products from going to the market under its administration. Monopoly is not permitted in any place or department, except in the case of a selected number of products specified by the state.

— Payment will be made for the transfer of know-how of important creations and inventions. Socialist co-operation and technical exchanges between enterprises will be encouraged.

More Small Hydropower Stations

About 2,540 small hydroelectric power stations (generating capacity under 12,000 kilowatts) were built across rural China in the first three quarters of this year with a combined generating capacity of 540,000 kilowatts, a spokesman for the

Ministry of Water Conservancy said.

By the end of last year, China had built 90,000 such small power stations with a total generating capacity of 6.33 million kilowatts. Their 1979 output was 11,900 million kilowatt hours, providing 37 per cent of the electricity used in farm production.

This represents a dramatic jump from the situation in 1949 when the total generating capacity of the country's small hydropower stations was only 2,000 kilowatts. At present, three-fourths of China's 2,100 counties have such stations, providing cheap and clean energy to the countryside. About one-third of the counties rely mainly on such stations to supply power for industry, agriculture and household use. In all, 1.35 million kilometres of transmission lines have been put up in rural China.

Guangdong Province in south China leads the country in building small hydropower stations. It has more than 14,300 such stations with a total generating capacity of 870,000 kilowatts.

Tibet on the roof of the world has more than 500 small hydropower stations, and this is no small achievement in light of the fact that in 1950 there was only one 12-kilowatt hydropower station serving the Potala Palace.

Speeding up the construction of such small stations is a measure China has adopted to increase the supply of energy for rural areas, especially for remote areas, in the course of modernizing farm production, for they are cheap and easy to

build and bring quick results.

Latest surveys show that China's waterpower resources total 680 million kilowatts, ranking first in the world. Big rivers like the Changjiang (Yangtze), the Huanghe (Yellow River), the Zhujiang (Pearl River) and the Huaihe are suitable for building large and medium-sized hydroelectric power stations. The most appropriate location sites for small stations are along the thousands of small and medium-sized rivers crisscrossing the country, particularly those in the southern hilly areas with narrow gorges, swift torrents and high water heads. At present only about 10 per cent of the nation's potential has been tapped.

International SHG Technical Centre To Be Set Up in China. Small hydropower generation (SHG) techniques are gaining



A small hydropower station built by a county in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

attention in more and more countries today as the worldwide energy shortage intensifies.

An international training and research centre on small hydropower generation techniques will be set up jointly in China by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Chinese Government, it was recently announced. Its aim is to train technicians for developing countries, give technical guidance to SHG undertakings in these countries and organize international research and technical exchanges.

Intensive preparations are being made in China for the setting up of this centre.

Peasants Buy More Consumer Goods

Chinese peasants are increasing their purchasing power faster than townsfolk. Statistics compiled by the Ministry of Commerce show that from January to September this year retail sales of consumer goods in the countryside increased by 16 per cent over the same period in 1979. The figure for the nation as a whole was 13 per cent.

Of 22 major manufactured goods, sales for 15 items grew faster in the rural areas. Leading the list were bicycles, sewing machines and radios which recorded increased sales in the rural areas of 21, 25 and 58 per cent respectively in this period as against 18, 15 and 11 per cent in the cities.

A ministry spokesman attributed this rise to the greater earnings for peasants from the diversification of the rural economy and the expansion of household sidelines. He further



Bicycles on sale at a rural fair in Sichuan Province.

noted that this increase occurred despite this summer's crop losses from bad weather.

Growing consumer demands led China's commercial departments to allocate between 20 and 50 per cent more synthetic fabrics, polyester cottons and transistor radios to rural areas in the first three quarters of this year than in the same period of 1979. The supply of TV sets more than doubled.

Rural Housing

Better housing is a major concern of peasants now that the economic situation in the countryside has picked up.

Recent articles in the press indicate many villages have made headway.

The Minle No. 1 Production Team of Zhongshan County, Guangdong Province set up a housing construction fund by pooling part of their members' incomes. It collected five per cent of the cash income of each family when the final distribution was made at the end of a year. Team members were able to draw upon these funds

to build their own houses and then paid back the loan in instalments after the construction was completed. At present, all the 50 families of the team are living in spacious houses built with red bricks instead of thatched-roof houses. Forty-nine families are living in two-storeyed buildings with a second floor balcony. There are 17 square metres of floor space per person.

A brief commentary in *Renmin Ribao* said that about 10 million rural families (50 million people) throughout the country built new houses or refurbished old ones in 1978 and 1979. However, there are still about 100 million rural families wanting better housing. It is impossible for the state to assume sole responsibility for such a big problem. It is also difficult for many communes, production brigades or production teams to tackle this problem by themselves. The solution, therefore, lies in the people. They themselves have to deal with it, using their own resources. In a word, the enthusiasm of peasants and collectives must be given full play.



Wang Xiuqing, a peasant in Guangdong Province, sitting in his new living room with family. This four-room house was built with the family's own funds.

The commentary outlined three basic approaches to this problem: Houses built and owned by peasants themselves with public assistance; houses built and owned by collectives and rented to peasants; houses built by collectives and sold to peasants. The first approach has proved the most practical, given the weak financial base of most communes and production brigades and teams. The experience of Minle No. 1 Production Team proves that building houses in this way yields quicker and better results.

EDUCATIONAL

Reforming Secondary Education

The State Council has decided recently that in the secondary education, technical education programmes should be developed in order to meet the needs of the four modernizations. The decision called on the departments concerned to effect the reform by

taking full consideration of the local conditions.

Attempts were made in this direction before 1966, but then during the "cultural revolution" large numbers of secondary specialized and technical schools were closed and agricultural and vocational schools were ruined. The only type of secondary education that remained was the

middle school which provides a general education. Now these middle schools are turning out several million young people every year who have no special training. Only a small number can go to university, while the rest need training before they are able to enter the workforce. Since such a situation is detrimental to the modernization drive and stability and unity, this reform is quite warranted.

Technical subjects will be mainly instituted in the senior middle schools. It is intended that both a general education and vocational and technical education will be stressed. Attention shall be paid to full-time schools on one hand, and part-work and part-study schools and spare-time schools on the other. Both regular schools and schools run by non-educational departments, enterprises and people's communes will be encouraged.

The technical courses taught in the counties and local rural areas should mainly serve the various needs of the countryside. All trades and professions can



Students learn farming skills for hybrid rice at an agricultural technical school run by a rural people's commune in Sichuan Province.

run vocational and technical schools. In addition, some ordinary senior middle schools may be converted into secondary vocational, technical or agricultural schools.

The reform aims at greatly raising the proportion of vocational and technical students in the senior middle school educational system. Upon graduation, students of these schools will be recommended by labour departments or labour service corporations to work units which will assign jobs after examination. Students will also be allowed to find their own jobs.

More Minority College Students

College enrolment of minority students is now over 40,000 or 20 times the figure in 1951, according to incomplete statistics released by the Ministry of Education.

China's 55 minority nationalities mainly live in the five autonomous regions — Tibet, Xin-

jiang, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi and Ningxia — and many other remote and mountain areas where the cultural and educational facilities have been comparatively backward. Since liberation, measures have been adopted to train more college students of minority nationalities in addition to improving primary and secondary education.

To ensure greater participation of minority students in college programmes, minority applicants in areas where national minorities live in compact communities have been granted admission with scores on college entrance exams 10-20 points lower than for Han students and they can answer the exam questions in their own languages. In the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region this resulted in an additional admission of 368 students of 18 minority nationalities in mountain areas this year.

Another measure adopted was to set a minimum quota for minority enrolment in institutions

of higher learning in autonomous regions. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region where Mongolians account for 11 per cent of the population a minimum 25 per cent quota for minority students was fixed. In fact, 26 per cent of the students enrolled in the 14 institutions of higher learning are Mongolians. Thus, there are presently 17 college students per 10,000 Mongolians, a figure much higher than the national average.

This year's incoming classes in Tibet's four colleges have 70 per cent Tibetan and other minority enrolment. Xinjiang's 11 colleges enrolled 2,134 new minority students this year, accounting for 52 per cent of the total, coming from 11 nationalities including Uygur, Kazakh, Tajik, Uzbek and Russian. Another 340 minority students have been enrolled by colleges outside Xinjiang.

There are ten institutes for nationalities in the country with a total enrolment of 10,000 students. Besides, 51 institutions of higher learning are located in minority nationality areas, including 17 in Guangxi and 5 in Ningxia.

When releasing this information on expanding opportunities for minority students, a Ministry of Education leading comrade acknowledged that many problems are still to be solved in this field.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Friendly Envoys of the Yugoslav People

President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Veselin Djuranovic



Minority nationality students in Beijing's Central Institute for Nationalities.

and his party recently paid a five-day visit to China. Comrade Djuranovic's visit has increased the mutual understanding and promoted the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

Both China and Yugoslavia are socialist countries. Their common great ideals and similar experiences in revolutionary struggle have fostered profound friendship. The Chinese people treasure the friendship between the two Parties and the two countries. Comrade Tito once stated: "We should continue to march forward for the development of the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and China." The Chinese people are glad to see that the relations between the two countries have continued to develop after President Tito's death.

During their stay in Beijing (November 6-8), President Djuranovic and his party were warmly welcomed by the leaders of the Chinese Party and Government and the Chinese people. The two sides signed an agreement on co-operation in maritime shipping. It provides that the two parties will extend most-favoured nation treatment to each other for merchant ships and their crews.

Premier Zhao Ziyang held talks with President Djuranovic, in which they exchanged views on bilateral relations and current major international issues.

On International Affairs. President Djuranovic pointed out that the current international situation, which has been worsening seriously with increasing crises, is quite menacing to peace. He attributed the

fundamental reason for this worsening of the situation to the creation of blocs and their contention for spheres of influence. The international community should make efforts to prevent the further deterioration of the situation and to reduce the latent threat to peace, he said.

Premier Zhao said: "The current world situation is more tense than before and the danger of war is increasing obviously. The main reason for this is the hegemonists are stepping up efforts to carry out their policy of aggression and expansion."

On the Non-Aligned Movement. At the banquet in honour of President Djuranovic, Premier Zhao noted that Yugoslavia was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. The movement, he said, "has an extensive base and great vitality, and shows the developing countries' demand for independence and the historic trend of opposing foreign interference." "The development of non-alignment is not plain sailing, but we are sure that non-alignment will certainly strengthen its unity, overcome all obstacles and continue to advance through efforts made by Yugoslavia and other non-aligned countries," he added.

President Djuranovic said that military blocs were exercising greater negative effects on the non-aligned movement. To protect it from disruption, the non-aligned countries must exert themselves. He also said: "In our view, it is imperative, now more than ever before, to strengthen the non-aligned movement."

Greetings to U.S. President-Elect Reagan

Premier Zhao Ziyang sent a message to U.S. President-Elect Ronald Reagan on November 6, extending his warm congratulations.

The message said: "It is our sincere expectation and wish that after your assumption of office, the existing good relations of co-operation between China and the United States will continue to move forward on the basis of the principles of the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries."

Vice-Premier Yao on Sino-U.S. Relations

Vice-Premier Yao Yilin spoke of the Sino-U.S. relations when answering questions raised by reporters from the Kyodo News Service led by Sanae Takagi. He said that both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party had made efforts towards the normalization of relations between the two countries. The Shanghai communique was signed following top-level talks between Chinese and U.S. leaders when a Republican was in the White House and diplomatic relations were established between the two countries when a Democrat was president.

The Vice-Premier said: "We hope that the Reagan administration will adhere to the principles outlined in the Shanghai communique and the statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations so that Sino-U.S. relations will continue to develop satisfactorily."

United States

Why Reagan Won

Report From Washington

RONALD Reagan has been elected the 40th U.S. President by an overwhelming majority.

That Jimmy Carter, an incumbent U.S. President, should have been defeated so resoundingly was something unexpected by the U.S. press. It shows once again that, in the final analysis, it is the economic issue which determines the voters' mood.

During the campaign, Reagan focused his attacks on Carter's record on this score. He played up the economic decline, inflation and other difficulties facing the nation. He claimed that the failure of Carter's economic policies had brought "tragedy" to every U.S. family.

In the nationally televised debate on foreign and domestic issues on October 28, Reagan pointed up a number of problems, and asked the voters: "Are you and your family and your country better off than you were four years ago?" and "Does the U.S. enjoy the respect it did four years ago?" Many believed these were pertinent questions, and these had their effect on the voters. They hurt President Carter's chances. Moreover, the Republican Party presented itself as a strongly united party and it had the money and the forces to go about organizing its campaign smoothly, aggressively and effectively.

Reagan's election victory shows that the deteriorating economic situation at home and plummeting U.S. international

prestige have built up a feeling of frustration and insecurity among the American people and a popular tide for a change of leadership. Newspapers report a conservative trend mounting in the United States and this worked in favour of Reagan, who is known for his conservative stand on both domestic and foreign issues.

Slogans in the Reagan election campaign were: Less government interference and less taxes, more freedom for business and private individuals and lightening the taxpayers' load. Reagan proposed introducing large cuts in taxes and government spending. He advocated less federal interference in the economy, and in energy, education, environmental protection, health, medicine and welfare, leaving these matters to the hands of private enterprises and local governments. This was a reflection of the difference between the Friedman and Keynesian schools — what is known as "free enterprise" versus "government regulation," "individual freedom" versus a "welfare society." Reagan's proposals had the support of most businessmen and a ready audience among the "middle class," which is burdened by heavy taxation.

However, changing presidents will not change U.S. realities. The new President will be faced with the same problems at home and abroad. But what Reagan says and what he will do after he enters the White House does not necessarily tally. Reagan is a pragmatist. He is said to be

adaptive and flexible. During the election campaign, he revised many of his extremely conservative propositions and tried to prove himself a moderate. Some U.S. scholars predict that while Reagan will change some of the domestic policies pursued by the Carter administration, he can't really bring about any radical change, at least not in the immediate future.

In national defence and diplomacy, Reagan stresses seeking peace from a position of strength. He wants to boost military expenditures so as to re-establish a clear nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. The SALT II Treaty, he says, puts the United States at a disadvantage and must be renegotiated. He also insists that it is imperative to check the aggressive expansion of the Soviet Union.

On U.S. policy towards China, Reagan advocates upgrading relations with Taiwan, declaring on several occasions in August that the U.S. Government should seek to re-establish "official relationships" with the latter. But he began to say less on this subject when he saw the unfavourable public response. He later promised that if elected he would seek to bring about closer relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. In an election eve televised address on November 3, Reagan said: "To the people of China, with whom we have begun the first important steps to friendship — let it be known to them that we mean for that friendship to bring our peoples closer together."

— "Renmin Ribao" Correspondent Wang Fei, Nov. 4

Gulf of Thailand

Soviet Show of Strength

THAI military authorities confirmed that the Soviet aircraft carrier *Minsk* and three other warships were in the Gulf of Thailand on October 31 near Thai territorial waters. They were there to intimidate. This direct military threat to the peace and security of Thailand and the whole of Southeast Asia was watched with concern by Thailand and other countries in this region. The Director-General of the Political Department of the Thai Foreign Ministry, Arsa Sasasin, expressed the concern of the Thai Government and people to the Soviet Ambassador to Thailand when he was summoned to the Foreign Ministry on November 3. The Thai Prime Minister and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces ordered Thai military units concerned to keep a close watch on the activities of the Soviet vessels. Singapore Foreign Minister S. Dhanabalan said: "This is a dramatic example of the increase in the Kremlin's power here."

The warships appeared after the Soviet Union and Viet Nam failed to get the results they wanted in the Kampuchean debate in the United Nations. The ASEAN nations were foremost in frustrating them at the United Nations. As a matter of

fact, Moscow and Hanoi have always considered the ASEAN states obstacles in their drive for hegemony in Southeast Asia. The purpose of the Soviets sending their ships into the Gulf of Thailand is to let Thailand know that it can expect trouble from them—the Vietnamese along the Kampuchean-Thai frontier and the Soviets in the Gulf of Thailand. They are wanting to do what they failed to do at the U.N. This show of strength makes it clear where the real and most serious threat to this region comes from.

Iran-Iraq War

Impact on Oil Supplies

THE Persian Gulf area in 1978 had 57 per cent of the world's total proven oil deposits and produced 34 per cent of the world's output and 68 per cent of the world's total oil export. Iran and Iraq oil exports make up 20 per cent of the Gulf area's

Since the Iran-Iraq war, key oilfields, refineries, and particularly storage and shipping installations of the two combatants have been severely damaged. Virtually no oil is leaving the two countries and the world's oil supply is probably down by 7.5 per cent. The once 2.5 million barrels a day glut on the world oil market has been turned into a million barrel deficit. Oil prices have also been strengthened.

Price Hikes. The United Arab Emi-

After their stay in the Gulf of Thailand, the Soviet warships headed for Viet Nam. This was confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Naval Forces. Cam Ranh Bay in south Viet Nam became a port of call for the ships of the Soviet Pacific Fleet after the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea with Soviet backing. A Soviet aircraft carrier in the South China Sea and close to the Strait of Malacca threatens free passage between the Pacific and Indian Oceans and is a major move in the Soviet strategy to press south.

—*"Beijing Review"* news analyst Ren Yan



and Iraq disappears from the market for three months or longer, prices are certain to go up—probably to over U.S. \$40.00 a barrel by early next year. That would stall economic recovery and lead to a new inflationary spiral. Schlesinger's view reflects Western anxiety.

Worried and Anxious. On the other hand, countries with low stocks or which get their oil mainly from Iran and Iraq are not so sanguine. Latin American countries are feeling the impact of the Iran-Iraq war. Brazil feels it most keenly, for it gets 54 per cent of its oil from the two Gulf countries battling each other. After supplies from them were stopped the government raised oil prices, clamped down on petrol sales during weekends and holidays and sent representatives post haste abroad to find new supplies. Brazil hurriedly signed contracts with Indonesia, Gabon and Saudi Arabia. But these countries are making good only half what Brazil used to get from Iran and Iraq.

India, too, is feeling the pinch. According to *United News of India*, India is buying 300,000 tons of oil on the spot market to offset its reduced supply from Iran and Iraq. India is also reported to have asked the Soviet Union for oil.

Among oil-exporting countries, the reactions are not the same. Saudi Arabia and three other Gulf states have decided to stop implementing the OPEC decision to reduce oil output. They are raising production by 1.2 million barrels. But the other oil-producers are not contemplating improving outputs.

—Dan Lin and Gu Yuqing

ASEAN Economies Growing

DESPITE inflation, the economies of the five ASEAN countries have maintained their growth this year. Compared to the first half of 1979 Singapore's economic growth rate was 10.7 per cent and Malaysia 7.6 per cent in the first half of this year, while Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines will grow by 6.7, 7 and 6 per cent respectively this year. ASEAN countries have also conspicuously improved exports.

Reasons Behind Growth. A major reason for ASEAN's continued economic growth amidst a worldwide recession lies in their policy of diversification of exports and efforts to develop new markets. For example, 50 per cent of Singapore's exports today go to Asian countries, whereas a little over 20 per cent go to the United States and Western Europe. Philippine copper exports reached 340 million U.S. dollars in the first half of this year, replacing coconut products as the country's largest export item. In addition to rubber and tin Malaysia now also exports oil, timber and palm oil.

Another reason is the large influx of foreign investments. Indonesia signed 11 contracts with the United States, Japan, West Germany and other countries last year to double foreign investments to 1,450 million U.S. dollars. In mid-1979, foreign investments in Singapore totalled 2,713 million dollars in terms of fixed assets. The Philippines and Malaysia too have adopted policies in recent years to attract more foreign investment.

Growing political unity and closer economic co-operation

among ASEAN countries have also boosted their economic development. ASEAN countries are making energetic efforts to speed up industrial development in this region. They are carrying out industrial co-operation and establishing joint enterprises. Last year the five signed an agreement to set up a urea plant in Indonesia and another agreement in October of this year to invest 300 million U.S. dollars to establish a large fertilizer plant in Bintulu, Malaysia. They also approved plans to change the phosphate fertilizer factory they were going to build in the Philippines into a paper mill. At the ministerial meeting on industry and energy held this year in Bali, Indonesia, the five countries reached a general agreement on basic guidelines for increasing the number of co-operative projects, and discussed the setting up of a steel plant and a petrochemical plant. This trend is apparent also in agriculture, maritime transport, tourism, finance and energy.

As a result of granting each other most favoured nation status, trade among the five has expanded rapidly in recent years.

Problems, Too. The ASEAN countries, however, still face a number of formidable difficulties. The inflation rate stood at 9.8 per cent in Singapore in the first half of this year, while the Philippines' is predicted to climb to 19.7 per cent this year. Indonesia's inflation rate will remain a high 20 per cent. Prices in some ASEAN countries have soared.

Another problem the ASEAN

countries are tackling is the accumulated debts incurred through their utilization of

large amounts of foreign investment.

— Yang Ding

South Korea

Economy Stalling

SINCE January this year, south Korea's economic development, which used to move in high gear, has slowed down considerably. After Japan signed the "Japan-ROK agreement" with south Korea at the end of the 1960s, financial groups from Japan and the United States moved into south Korea and the Pak Jung Hi clique in the early 1970s began more and more to use foreign capital to import foreign technology and equipment. Some 300 projects in south Korea today are direct Japanese investments. Japan makes up 60 per cent and the United States 30 per cent of all foreign investments in south Korea. At the same time, south Korea also imported large quantities of raw materials which it processed for re-export.

Industrial exports figure high in the economy. In the early 1960s, south Korea exported textile fabrics and native products, which made up only 2 per cent of its GNP. Last year, it rose to 28 per cent.

The authorities used foreign capital and technology and raw and semi-finished materials to stimulate south Korean development. But things are changing. The disturbed world situation, the energy crisis and inflation in the capitalist world, and the scramble for power within the ruling clique after Pak Jung Hi's assassination in October last year, have all contributed to the change. The economy is

now chaotic and inflation and unemployment grow worse by the day. The economic outlook is bleak. According to the south Korean authorities, the economic growth rate will be down from 12 per cent last year to 3.5 per cent this year, the lowest in 20 years.

Since May 1978, the authorities have been carrying out a policy of economic retrenchment. They have put huge efforts into heavy industry, which is in the hands of a few power-holders, and trimmed investments in other industries and agriculture. This has forced the smaller enterprises to cut working hours, shifts and staff, and even then many of these have gone under.

Following this, the unemployment rate has gone up. It was 3.2 per cent in 1978, 4.5 per cent last year and is 5.5 per cent today. The jobless figure stands at some 800,000, the highest in 20 years.

Crime is rising steeply too with the rising number of jobless. The queues outside urban employment agencies grow longer. The flow into the cities is being reversed as people begin to go back to their villages.

But economic retrenchment has not arrested the inflation. Prices have gone up 48 per cent, doubling the 24 per cent increase last year. The cost of living went up 28 per cent as compared to last year.

With the major industrial na-

tions in the West fighting inflation and an energy crisis, and the weakening of the United States in particular, which used to take up a third of the exports, south Korean exports have been dealt a heavy blow. After the Kwangju uprising in May this year, foreign orders fell off by 35 per cent. The authorities met this by devaluing their currency 16 per cent to make their exports more competitive in the international market. This, however, made imported goods more expensive and fuelled inflation. Trade deficit this year is estimated to run over 6,000 million U.S. dollars.

South Korea has to import all its oil, which accounts for 68 per cent of its energy consumption. Because of rising crude prices, south Korea will have to spend 6,000 million U.S. dollars, or 5 per cent of its GNP, on oil imports this year.

The consumer is being made to pay for it by a 60 per cent increase in fuel prices by the south Korean authorities in January. No relief is in sight. It can only grow worse as fighting between the two Gulf countries goes on.

To get out of its economic stagnation, the south Korean authorities are putting their hopes on Western Europe, particularly West Germany and Britain, rather than on the United States. Eleven West European banks have set up offices in south Korea as against only one in 1976. Forty British enterprises have established branch companies in Seoul and West European capital exports last year were 2,500 million U.S. dollars, a three and a half times increase over the year before.

— Li Ming

*European Arms Talks***The Long Stalemate**

TALKS in Vienna between the seven nations of the Warsaw Pact and the 12 nations of NATO on limiting forces in Central Europe have gone on for a full seven years. Nothing substantial has appeared after 21 rounds of talks and 245 meetings. Now a new round is under way and apparently the talks will again be just all talk.

These talks are a reflection of Soviet-U.S. rivalry in Europe, where each side tries to weaken its adversary to obtain military superiority in Europe. This decides that the talks will be a drawn-out contentious haggles and the fiercely contested arms race will go on. The years spent on talking have not seen one single soldier cut back by either side. On the contrary, both blocks have built up their forces. The Soviet Union, in particular, has raised its troop strength in Central Europe by some 100,000 and introduced a large number of new tanks and warplanes as well. The Warsaw Pact headed by the Soviet Union has a total troop strength of 1.3 million in Central Europe, 320,000 more than NATO. Its 20,000 tanks and 4,600 planes are 2.3 times and 1.7 times more than NATO's. In conventional forces the disparity is quite large.

The Warsaw Pact is gaining an edge over NATO in theatre nuclear weapons through deploying large numbers of SS-20 missiles and Backfire bombers. And with NATO taking steps to arrest this unfavourable development, a new arms race can be expected.

Stalemate. Actual Warsaw Pact troop strength has always been heatedly debated. The Soviet Union maintains that the Warsaw Pact has a land force of 805,000 in Central Europe, roughly equal to NATO's 791,000, and insists this be taken as the "starting point" for an "equitable reduction." NATO claims the Soviet Union is concealing 150,000 men and refuses to accept the Soviet "starting point." Both sides have stood firm through four years of talks at Vienna.

Since the mid 1970s, the Soviet Union has deployed approximately 120 SS-20 missiles and 100 Backfire bombers in Europe to tilt the balance in its favour and this has added to the complexity and difficulty in the talks on force reduction in Central Europe.

In the early 1970s, NATO mainly depended on the U.S. superiority in theatre nuclear forces in Europe. Now that NATO is losing this superiority to the Warsaw Pact through the Soviet deployment of the two new intermediate-range weapons, Western Europe feels threatened. To meet this new threat, restore the balance and strengthen its negotiating position, NATO decided last year to deploy 108 Pershing II launchers and 464 land-based cruise missiles in Western Europe. At the same time, NATO proposed new talks be held to limit forces in Central Europe. It offered to include intermediate-range missiles in the talks. The Pershing and Cruise decision piqued the Soviet Union, which turned

down the new NATO proposal. Following this, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and the shadow over the talks hung darker.

Soviet Subterfuges. Over the years the Soviet Union has practised a number of subterfuges and deceptions in the arms reduction talks. First, Brezhnev announced in October last year the partial withdrawal of 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from the German Democratic Republic within a year and declared that if no intermediate-range nuclear weapons were deployed by Western Europe, Moscow would cut back on its intermediate-range weapons. This was seen, and later proved, to be a move to upset NATO plans for deploying theatre nuclear weapons and to entice the U.S. Congress to approve SALT II. When this failed to produce the desired effect, the Soviet Union came out with another stratagem in July this year. It proposed pulling out 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 U.S. troops from Central Europe. But NATO disclosed that even as the Soviets were talking about this they had bumped up their troop strength in Eastern Europe by 30,000, added a thousand pieces of artillery and 1,200 tanks and armoured vehicles.

It is most unlikely the Soviet Union will ever give up its military superiority, or the United States and its allies will stop trying to right the imbalance. What is likely is the Soviet Union will go on with its charade. It will make a minor concession to win a larger stake. So is it realistic to expect any substantive results from these talks at Vienna?

— Li Yunhua

Principle of Independence of the Parties of Various Countries

by Xu Junji and Wang Xingbin

THE co-founders of scientific communism Marx and Engels were the first to issue the call: Workers of all countries, unite! They asked workers of all countries to promote internationalism, support and help each other, cooperate with each other and learn from each other in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie and for the liberation of mankind. At the same time, they consistently maintained that workers of all countries and their political parties should independently decide and handle the problems of revolution of their own countries. They were against the issuance of orders by any individual or any international centre. Marx and Engels always consulted others on an equal footing when they studied and discussed together with the leaders of socialist and workers' parties of various countries theoretical and tactical problems connected with the workers' movement. They never imposed their views upon others. This is a shining model for the international communist movement. Studying Marx and Engels' principle on the initiative and independence of the workers' parties of various countries and inheriting and carrying forward this glorious tradition are of immediate importance for correctly handling relations between the Communist Parties of various countries and promoting the international communist movement.

Precedents Set by Marx and Engels

The First International was an international association of workers. In this organization led by Marx and Engels, the principle of democratic centralism was practised. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association did much to promote unity and exchanges among workers of various countries and offered guidance to its branches and associations. At the same time, the utmost attention was paid to bringing the initiative of the branches into full play and allowing

them to formulate their tactics and independently elect and determine their own leaders. On many occasions Marx and Engels severely denounced the idea spread by international reaction that the general council clandestinely ordered workers of various countries to stage insurrections. They declared that the general council abided by the principle that the people of various countries were autonomous and sovereign, and that the general council had no right or intent to impose its views on others. On the question that the International Working Men's Association should unite workers of various countries to bring about the economic liberation of the working class through the seizure of political power, Marx stressed, "Whether such a solution is chosen, that is a matter of the working class of this country. The International does not assume to dictate on this question or even to give pieces of advice." ("Record of an Interview Karl Marx Gave to a Correspondent of *The World*," July 3, 1871.)

In the 1870s, Marx and Engels became the acknowledged leaders of the advanced workers of various countries in Europe and North America and leaders of various socialist parties frequently sought their advice on theoretical and tactical issues concerning the movement. Marx and Engels always made proposals and consulted with them as a rank-and-file member. In May 1880, Marx and Engels were asked by Guesde, leader of the French Workers' Party, to help revise the draft programme for that party. Guesde incorporated in the preamble the words dictated to him by Marx about theory and only some of Marx's views on the requirements for actual struggle, while keeping some erroneous parts of the original draft. Marx did not insist that Guesde revise the programme to match his views. Moreover, Marx was against putting his name in the programme of

a party. He held that every party should avoid becoming dependent on any one individual. It would be a major blunder to do otherwise. Summarizing Marx's relations with the workers' movements of various countries, Engels pointed out: "By theoretical and practical achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements throughout the world have full confidence in him. At *critical junctures* they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best. . . . It is therefore not a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on the people but of the people coming to him of themselves. And it is upon this that Marx's peculiar influence, so extremely important for the movement, reposes." ("Engels to E. Bernstein," London, October 25, 1881.)

It was the same with Engels. The older he grew and the higher his prestige in the international workers' movement, the more attention he paid to treating party leaders from various countries on an equal footing and to the principle that parties throughout the world should be free to handle and decide their own problems. At the close of the 19th century, when some Russian socialists asked Engels' opinion on some disputed problems concerning the Russian revolution, he always replied that he knew too little of Russian history and affairs to give any opinion or to pass judgment. In April 1891 when a Polish revolutionary asked Engels his views on some issues concerning his party, Engels replied that he had no right whatsoever to meddle in the Polish Party's internal affairs. In 1893 when a dispute arose within the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, Engels said in his letter to the party's executive committee that he had no mandate to interfere in the dispute, which he hoped would be settled at the party's second congress.

Marx and Engels believed that parties throughout the world should settle their own problems of revolution. The two men were not just being modest when they consulted with party leaders of various countries on an equal footing. More importantly, it was an expression of these proletarian revolutionary leaders' faith in the masses, their reliance upon the masses and their respect for the masses' creative initiative in the making of history. They always maintained that it was the masses who made history and that the workers' emancipation could come only through the efforts of the working class itself. They denied that there

was a saviour standing above the masses. The proletariat of all countries must support each other in their struggle for liberation, but in the final analysis, it is only by relying on the people led by the proletarian political party and through arduous struggles, and not through any favour bestowed on them by others, that a revolution triumphs in a country. Proletarian political parties throughout the world have to learn from each other and assimilate others' positive experience so as to avoid repeating their mistakes. But in the final analysis, it is the individual parties themselves which have to work out and formulate their own programme, line and tactics in the process of struggle. If they are correct, they have to be carried out through the efforts of the party members and masses. And if the programme, line and tactics are erroneous, it is also they themselves who have to realize and correct them. Nobody else can do it for them. In *The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party* written in January 1894 at the request of the Italian socialists, Engels pointed out that the tactical principles in regard to a political party of the working class in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* were absolutely correct, "but as far as the application to the present conditions in Italy is concerned, that is another matter; that has to be decided on the spot and indeed by those standing in the midst of the events."

Independence and Internationalism

The concept that the workers' parties of various countries should independently and freely decide their own problems of revolution is determined by the fundamental principle of combining cardinal Marxist principles with the actual practice of each country's revolution. To this end, the proletarian political parties of the world must investigate and study closely the history and the actual state of affairs of their own countries, and proceeding from reality and applying the cardinal principles of Marxism, to work out lines and tactics suited to the conditions of their own countries. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* points out that the practical application of the principles of scientific communism will depend, everywhere and at all time, on the historical conditions of the time. Since countries differ from each other in historical traditions, social systems and economic developments, it is not possible for them to take the same road and adopt the same tactics to arrive at socialism. Marx said: "The workers must ultimately seize the reins of political

power so as to establish a new organization of work. . . . But we have never declared that the ways to reach this goal would be everywhere the same. We know that one has to take into consideration the institutions, customs and traditions of the different countries." (Marx: "Speech About the Hague Congress," September 8, 1872.) Engels strongly opposed the adoption of a single model and a single policy in the international workers' movement. He said: "It is nonsense to have the movement in all countries moulded uniformly." ("Engels to August Bebel," November 19, 1892.) On many occasions, he warned the socialists of all countries that the masses could be mobilized only through a road specific to their own countries, a road that is frequently tortuous. Only the party and the masses engaged in the revolutionary struggle of their own country really know that country. It is not possible for an international organization or an individual to know all about the ever-changing situation in all the countries. Engels never saw himself as prescient and omniscient. In November 1894 when an Armenian socialist asked Engels to write a preface to the Armenian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and to say something about the revolution of that country, Engels replied that he had nothing to say as he did not know the Armenian language and very little about that country.

Engels particularly stressed that in combining the cardinal principles of Marxism with the actual practice of revolution in each country, Marxism must not be considered an inflexible dogma. Socialists of all countries must apply and develop Marxism in a creative way in the light of the historical conditions obtaining in their own countries. On many occasions Engels strongly criticized the German socialists living in the United States thus: "They do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learnt by heart and which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action." ("Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge," November 29, 1886.) Engels also warned the Russian socialists not to mechanically quote Marx and him, but to ponder over questions in the light of their own conditions as Marx did. Only thus has the word "Marxist" the right to exist.

It is also a basic requirement of proletarian internationalism that parties of all countries should independently and freely decide prob-

Selected Works of Lu Xun

(in four volumes)

The English edition of the selected works of Lu Xun, the founder of modern Chinese literature, has recently been published. It includes all his major works. Volume I contains 70 short stories, prose poems and essays. Among them are his renowned "A Madman's Diary," "The True Story of Ah Q" and "The New-Year Sacrifice." Volumes II, III and IV include 214 essays written from 1918 to 1936. These essays clearly reveal Lu Xun's great artistic skill and sharp wit. Written in a plain and straightforward style, they accurately reflect the social conditions of the times. At the back of Volume IV, there is a brief chronology of Lu Xun's life and writings.

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lems of revolution in their own countries. Marx and Engels always maintained that workers of all countries should support each other and co-operate with each other in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie. At the same time they also held that the initiative and independence of each party must be respected in an international alliance. Engels pointed out: "The emancipation of the proletariat can only be an international action." ("Engels to Paul Lafargue," June 27, 1893.) At the same time, he pointed out: "An international movement of the proletariat is after all only possible between independent nations." ("Engels to Karl Kautsky," February 7, 1882.) On another occasion, Engels pointed out explicitly: "International unity can exist only between nations, whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are included in the term internationality." ("Engels to Laura Lafargue," June 20, 1893.) Obviously, any concept that excluded national autonomy and independence from the meaning of internationality implies betrayal of internationalism.

Engels held that according to proletarian international principles, all the workers' parties

were equal and independent within the international communist movement, and relations between them were not those as between the leader and the led, the commander and the commanded. No party has the right to command another, nor is it permitted to interfere with the internal affairs of another party. In criticizing some French socialists for considering themselves as the liberators of the world with the right to lead the international movement, Engels pointed out that this chauvinist thinking hindered the development of the movement. When the Second International was being organized, Engels once again reminded the leaders of the French Workers' Party who organized and prepared the International Socialists Conference in Paris: "Now, take care not to put yourself in the wrong too by appearing to want to dictate to the socialists of other nations." ("Engels to Paul Lafargue," March 21, 1889.) Referring to the German Party, which was at the time in the forefront of the international workers' movement, Engels said: "It has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat and especially no right to say something false." ("Engels to August Bebel," March 18-28, 1875.)

Historical Experience

The 130 years or so of the international communist movement, particularly the 30 years since World War II, demonstrate that the revolutionary cause of the people of the world will advance only on the basis of mutual proletarian internationalist support among proletarian political parties and socialist countries and by upholding the principle of independence and consultations on an equal basis. Conversely, the revolution will stagnate, regress or even be defeated.

The present condition of the international communist movement is vastly different to that of Marx and Engels' days. The movement at that time was confined to Europe and North America. It is now worldwide, broader in scope, richer in content and the conditions are much more complex. It is both unnecessary and impossible to re-establish a proletarian international organization such as the First, the Second and the Third Internationals. Under these circumstances, Marxist-Leninist political parties of the world must independently and creatively proceed from their actual conditions, apply and develop the cardinal Marxist-Leninist principles and work out a programme, line and tactics that conform to their own national character-

istics. Only this will spur the international communist movement to develop vigorously. It is therefore instructive to review the important concepts of Marx and Engels on the question of the workers' parties all over the world determining for themselves their own revolutionary problems.

While paying lip service to socialism, Soviet social-imperialism has wilfully smothered the principle of equality and independence among the parties of the world. It tries to use economic and military force to draw the international communist movement into its orbit in contending for world hegemony. It has publicly announced that "independence does not apply to a party's policies" but "merely to the ways and means of relations among the parties." Everyone knows that the principle of independence among the various parties applies to relations between each other and the right to decide their own revolutionary line and general and specific policies as well. If the latter is omitted and the party in one country has to act according to the wishes of a party of another country or a commanding centre, then what "independence" is there to speak of? Moreover, the Soviet leading clique makes a point of declaring that if parties throughout the world want to "establish their genuine independence," they must "maintain effective unity" with the Soviet Union. Otherwise, they will "slavishly serve the class enemy." The Soviet leaders proclaim that the Soviet experience is "unique" and is, ipso facto, "the beacon light for the world's revolutionary movement." They demand that parties and people elsewhere in the world must accept their direction. They deny that the other parties and peoples have the right to explore and determine their own road to socialism and their own tactics on the basis of the specific conditions of their own countries. They vilify as "anti-Soviet" and "nationalistic" those who do not copy the Soviet model but independently determine their own revolutionary road. Under the banner of "proletarian internationalism" and using the pretext of "supporting the revolution" they are carrying out infiltration and expansion and even dispatching their troops to occupy other countries and subverting other governments. There is an abundance of facts to show that what the Soviet leading clique has done and is doing is a betrayal of Marxism and internationalism. What that clique pursues is unadulterated hegemonism.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, the Chinese Communist Party on

several occasions resisted certain erroneous propositions emanating from the Communist International and Stalin. Basing itself on the cardinal principles of Marxism and proceeding from China's historical conditions, it found its own road of building revolutionary bases in the countryside and encircling the cities from the rural areas, and by pursuing the people's revolutionary war through to the end, it finally won nationwide victory. From the end of the 1950s onward, our party waged a resolute fight together with other Marxist-Leninist political parties against the big-nation chauvinism and hegemonism practised by the Soviet leading clique. But relations between our party and other fraternal parties during the years of the so-called "cultural revolution" were undermined by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng who banded together to try to usurp the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and state power. These conspirators arbitrarily announced that the Chinese Communist Party was the "centre of world revolution." They took as their criterion for Marxists and revisionists the attitude of other parties towards the "cultural revolution" and their ultra-Left line. They claimed that "the Jinggang Mountain road is applicable to all countries" and that encircling the cities from the countryside was a "universal law" applicable everywhere and denied that other parties must proceed from their specific conditions and find a revolutionary road that suits the circumstances of their countries. After the counter-revolutionary cliques headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were smashed, their ultra-Left lines were thoroughly repudiated and the banner of proletarian internationalism was again held aloft. Solidarity between our party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties through-

out the world has been strengthened on the basis of complete equality, independence and mutual respect.

Today the Chinese Communist Party is assimilating the positive experience of other countries and independently seeking a road to socialist modernization in accordance with China's historical and national character. In its international relations and international activities, it strictly abides by the principle of complete independence for parties everywhere. We are against an international centre in any form and against relations between superiors and subordinates in any form as well as against any interference in the internal affairs of other parties and people. We are opposed, in particular, to all hegemonistic manifestations of Soviet social-imperialism.

In reviewing the historical experience of the international communist movement, we have come to see profoundly that relations among the Communist Parties must be based on proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and learning from each other. At the same time, the principle of complete equality and independence must be adhered to. Problems of revolution in various countries can be decided only by the parties and people of those countries. Giving orders to other parties and other countries and interfering in their internal affairs are alien to Marxism and incompatible with proletarian internationalism.

(Originally entitled "The Party and People of Various Countries Must Decide Their Own Problems in Revolution," this article appeared in "Hongqi," No. 21, 1980. Subheads are ours.)

RADIO PEKING

Schedule for English language transmissions

GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	kHz
North America (East Coast)			
00.00-01.00	19.00-20.00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16	15120, 17680, 17855
01.00-02.00	20.00-21.00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16	15120, 17680, 17855
02.00-03.00	21.00-22.00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16	15120, 15230, 17680
12.00-13.00	07.00-08.00 (E.S.T.)	30	9820
North America (West Coast)			
03.00-04.00	19.00-20.00 (P.S.T.)	49, 16	15120, 15230, 17680
04.00-05.00	20.00-21.00 (P.S.T.)	19, 16	15120, 15230, 17680

The System of Lifelong Leadership Must Be Abolished

ENDING the actually existing system of lifelong tenure in office for leading cadres is an important reform in our Party and state system of leadership and administration. Why?

Drawbacks of Today's System

Neither the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party nor the Constitution of the People's Republic stipulates that leading cadres can stay at their posts all their lives. But there have been no clearly defined terms of office for leading cadres in government organizations and Party committees at various levels, especially for top leaders of the Party and state. Though some posts require re-election at regular intervals, persons already in leading positions are almost certain to be re-elected every time. For them, therefore, there is also, in fact, no expiration of term of office. At the same time, there is no system for enabling leading cadres to leave office and retire. They can hold on to their posts indefinitely, even if they may have become so old and weak that they have lost their capacity to do any useful work. There are no age limits for them. Thus,



To make room for young comrades, Zhang Shigong, former secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Party committee, is now an adviser to the committee.

a leading cadre, especially a leader of the Party and state, can occupy a leading position all his life, so long as he does not commit serious mistakes or is not considered to have serious problems. With the passing of time, the drawbacks of the system which is now in effect are bound to become more and more conspicuous:

How the problem arose. In the early post-liberation days, most leading cadres at the central ministerial and provincial level were within the age bracket of 30 to 50. They were full of vigour and vitality, always standing at the forefront in solving problems. This was an important reason why the national construction could be put on the right track in a short time despite the devastation of Kuomintang rule. However, failure to limit a leading cadre's term of office and recruit enough young cadres into positions of leadership in the past 30 years has led to a situation in which the personnel in leading posts at all levels generally tend to be senile. Many high-ranking leading comrades even have difficulty in walking, while white-haired people are far from rare even among leading cadres at grass-roots units. Though many old comrades still cherish high aspirations, their strength falls short of their wishes; they cannot work with the same vim and vigour as when they were young. This situation is in sharp contradiction with the needs of the four modernizations. If the terms of office for leading cadres are not defined and a system governing their retirement and replacement is not established, a new round of ageing cadres will arise after a few years in spite of any immediate measures taken now to rejuvenate the leading bodies, and this will become a cyclical problem.

The cultivation and maturing of capable people blocked. On the one hand, some people occupy leading posts permanently, making it difficult for talented and erudite young people to be recruited into leading bodies and to get experience; on the other, lifelong

tenure is also detrimental to the progress of the leading cadres themselves. It is really a sort of "position insurance." It does not inspire people to work hard but allows many to muddle along, content with their progress, however slow, both ideologically and professionally. In fact they have learnt almost nothing after many years in office.

Democratic centralism undermined. As one person stays at his leading post permanently, he becomes the "old" secretary or "old" minister. Furthermore, since most of his subordinates are appointed and promoted by him, it is only too easy for him to put himself above collective leadership and the masses. He makes arbitrary decisions on his own while his subordinates carry them out obsequiously. There are also cases in which a man holding a post permanently tends to substitute nepotism for the principle of appointing people on merit. Thus, he will gather his favourites around him and gradually consolidate a setup of his own. This encourages sectarianism and undermines the unity of the Party organization.

Experience reveals more conspicuous drawbacks of lifelong tenure in office for top Party and state leaders. Things very often develop like this: The longer a top state leader stays at his post, the more titles he receives and the louder the propaganda hullabaloo about him becomes. Inevitably, power tends to become highly concentrated until ultimately all powers of the Party and state are wielded by one person alone. The result is that inner-Party democracy and people's democracy disappear in all but name. The concentration of power in one person's hands, combined with the personality cult, tethers the destiny of the Party and state to a single individual — a very dangerous situation. Whenever the man who holds the ultimate power commits a mistake (which seems unavoidable under such conditions), it endangers the whole country. What is more, his mistakes are very difficult to correct. He is in control of the whole country and if anything happens to him, turbulence and chaos in the political situation result. This has happened many times in the history of the communist movement and we should pay earnest attention to this danger. Especially in a big country like China, with its huge population, vast territory and complicated development, to let one man who is getting on in years and failing in strength attend to the multifarious affairs of the state not only overburdens him, but also renders it difficult to avoid serious mistakes. Because of lifelong

tenure for top leaders, all kinds of unhealthy and abnormal phenomena will surface in the political life of the Party and state. This situation makes it easier for careerists and conspirators to swindle, bluff and fish in troubled waters. In this respect, the tyranny of Lin Biao and the gang of four has taught us a grievous lesson. Therefore, the most important aspect of abolishing the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres is to put an end to lifelong posts for the very top Party and state leaders.

History in Retrospect

Ending the system of lifelong posts for leading cadres is crucial for improving Party and government leadership and the quality and efficiency of leading work, overcoming bureaucratism and doing a good job of the four modernizations. What is more, it is an important problem impinging on the reform of the basic political system of our country.



Su Deyi (centre) is a 1963 university graduate. Last July when she was the director of a chinaware workshop, she was elected deputy head of a county people's government.

Historically, the system of lifelong tenure applies primarily to the supreme rulers of the state. This is a feature of despotic political systems. In slave and feudal societies, top rulers occupied their posts throughout their lives, with few exceptions such as those of the Roman Republic. Just take China's feudal society for example; according to the "theory of the divine right of kings," the emperor was the son of Heaven and often called as such. His sovereignty was supposedly conferred on him by the "mandate of Heaven." No one else was qualified to mount the throne. Therefore, as head of a feudal state, the emperor not only enjoyed supreme power, but also held

his post permanently. In a feudal state, officials at various levels were nothing but tools used by the emperor for holding on to his power. Generally speaking, there was no stipulation that they could stay at their posts for life. On the contrary, in order to guard against unlawful actions, some dynasties stipulated that an official could not remain at his post indefinitely; he must be replaced, transferred or promoted after a certain period of time. But, so long as he served the top ruler wholeheartedly, he was likely to be an official all his life. That is why it was a common occurrence in feudal society that a person remained a government official all his life and that a family produced public officials from generation to generation. There were many high-ranking officials who held lifelong posts.

After the rise of the bourgeoisie, thinkers of the Enlightenment period levelled relentless criticism against the feudal autocracy. Proceeding from the principle of natural rights, they held that if a government failed to protect the people's interests, or even undermined their interests, the people should oppose and overthrow it. This repudiated the autocratic rule of feudal monarchies as well as basically rejected the principle of lifelong tenure for supreme state leaders. Bourgeois thinkers earnestly probed the problem of term of office for state leaders and officials. From his study of ancient Roman history, Montesquieu came to see that during the lifetime of every emperor, there was a period in which he was enterprising, but this was followed by his indulgence in pleasure-seeking, or even lapsing into indolence. But leaders of a republic were changed every year, they always hoped to make achievements while in office so that they might be re-elected, and never relaxed their efforts to demonstrate their lofty aspirations. (*Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence.*) He held that it was dangerous for any official to remain at his post indefinitely. After the overthrow of the feudal monarchies, the bourgeoisie set up republics, worked out constitutions and fixed the term of office for state leaders, who had to be elected. Lenin said: "The bourgeois republic, parliament, universal suffrage — all represent great progress from the standpoint of the world development of society." (*The State.*) Compared with the system of life tenure in feudal society, the bourgeois system has one outstanding

advantage — that is, the rule of the state by the whole class has been realized by selecting from among the class highly capable persons who are put in office to administer the country and render outstanding service in the interest of the class. This differs from the feudal system of tenure in which one man could impose unlimited dictatorial rule over the people no matter how fatuous and incompetent he may be.

However, equality as advocated by the bourgeoisie is only a political reflection of the principle of commodity exchange at equal values. To the bourgeoisie, universal suffrage is no more than a political manifestation of free competition. Different political groupings representing the different capitalist interests have gradually been formed on the basis of free competition. These groups take over bourgeois political power in rotation. Neither parliament nor universal suffrage has overcome the limitations of the bourgeois republic, nor can they do so.

The proletarian socialist republic is a new type of democratic state. According to the principle of democracy, the term of office of a leading person is not indefinite, still less is it lifelong. As a republican government system, the office of the supreme state leader should be held only for a definite, limited term. This



Cheng Dongchu (right) had been a cadre for 23 years. He volunteered to be an ordinary worker last year and now is a worker in an ironworks.

is an important demarcation line between democratic and autocratic political systems. Moreover, according to the Marxist theory of the state, the proletarian socialist republic should not only eradicate all the remnants and traces of the feudal autocratic system, but should overcome the limitations of a bourgeois republic; it should basically change the situation in which the people are divided into rulers and ruled. This should be the fundamental principle and the orientation in reforming the system of Party and state leadership and in improving the political system of our people's republic.

Improving the Democratic System

Many facts of life arise, not as a result of anyone's intention, but rather as a consequence of the impact of many factors undergoing gradual development. Therefore it takes time for people to get to understand the problems they face. The system of lifelong tenure which exists in our political life is an instance.

There are many reasons for the existence of this system. Objectively, there was no ready experience to follow as to how to set up a socialist people's republic. It can be said that up to the time of the founding of New China, the setting up of a complete political system for a socialist republic was a new endeavour. Moreover, we neglected to study this problem thoroughly in the light of the real situation in China.

The problem of lifelong term of office did not come up in the situation during the revolutionary war years. In the early 50s, backbone leaders of our Party and state, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, were mostly in their prime of life. At that time, ever so many problems awaited these leaders, who always took revolution as their life profession and devoted their all to this cause. They were unlikely to take up such an issue as their term of service, not to mention the question of retirement. This is understandable. However, with the passing of time and changes in the situation, things became more complicated. In the early 60s, when we set the task of training millions of successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, we touched upon the problem of term of service for leaders. But we failed to proceed along the correct orientation and solve the problem systematically.

The system of lifelong leadership in our political life is a manifestation of the vestiges of feudalism. Historical tradition acts as a powerful brake on progress. For thousands of years China was under the rule of feudal autocracies. The people's revolution shattered the feudal system, but the influence of feudal autocratic rule, together with the customs, mentality and way of life suited to it, was far from eradicated. Meanwhile, the influence of small production, which was the basis of that rule, is still deep-rooted. These influences inevitably penetrate into the political life of the Party and state. It is not accidental that since the founding of New China, we have neglected to make a serious study of the democratic system and work out a satisfactory cadre system. In a country where traditions and habits of democratic life are absent, it is almost inevitable for outstanding leaders to stay at their posts permanently. During the "cultural revolution," Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and company considered the system of lifelong post for the top leader as sacred and inviolable. While deifying the leader, they did their utmost to alienate him from the people and fawn on him as if he were a feudal emperor.

At present, our Party Central Committee has taken up the task of eradicating remnant feudal ideas and made the correct decision to put an end to the system of holding office for life. This is another big step in our march forward.

Today, it is essential to seriously sum up experiences and learn from democratic practices in other countries, set up and improve the system governing the work of different leading cadres at various levels, including their election, recruiting, appointment and recall, supervision, impeachment and rotation. There must be specific regulations regarding term of office, leave of absence due to poor health, and retirement. It is also imperative to take measures to ensure that the people and their representatives can exercise their right to supervise, prosecute and recall leading cadres at various levels. The system of lifelong tenure for leaders must be resolutely abolished. Best efforts must be made to create a democratic system which is more advanced and more workable than that of the Western bourgeois republics.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Renmin Ribao" of October 28. Subheads are ours.)

The Role of Chinese Lawyers

by Li Yunchang

The reinstatement of lawyers as an important aspect of the Chinese legal system began in April 1979, when the Commission for Legal Affairs of the National People's Congress Standing Committee set up a special group to draft regulations for lawyers. Its work was later transferred to the Ministry of Justice after it was established in September 1979. This ministry also canvassed the opinions of related departments and then submitted its draft of the Provisional Regulations Governing the Work of Lawyers of the People's Republic of China to the 15th Session of the Fifth N.P.C. Standing Committee which was convened last August. Here the First Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Justice provides a brief account of the regulations adopted at that meeting. — Ed.

THE system of defence lawyers is an indispensable part of the people's judicial system. Back in the mid-50s, the system of people's lawyers was first practised on a trial basis in Beijing and Shanghai and later popularized in other big cities as well as medium-sized cities and counties and towns along the major railways and highways. By June 1957, there were 19 preparatory committees of lawyers' associations and 800 legal advisory offices staffed with 2,500 full-time and 300 part-time lawyers. These lawyers, basing themselves on China's Constitution, laws, decrees and policies, dispensed legal advice to many people, drafted legal papers on request and gave legal help to defendants or plaintiffs. Such services were beneficial to the socialist legal system and to the people. But the lawyer system was suspended after less than two years because of attacks from many people. Influenced by deep-rooted feudal ideas in China, they lacked a correct understanding of the role of lawyers in defence of the accused. The suspension was a loss for the construction of our socialist legal system.

The adoption and promulgation of The Criminal Law, Law of Criminal Procedure and



five other important laws at the Second Session of the Fifth N.P.C. in June 1979 constituted a new step forward in China's legal construction. It was then acknowledged that resuming the lawyer system was part of the effort

to strengthen the socialist legal system because it is closely related to socialist democracy. Since then 380 legal advisory offices staffed with 3,000 lawyers have been set up all over China. Hence the need to devise regulations governing the work of lawyers and to fix the nature, tasks, guiding principles and qualifications of lawyers.

Nature

The first article of the regulations states explicitly: "Lawyers are state legal workers." Thus, the social status of our lawyers has been fixed in terms of law. Since China is a socialist country of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the nature of lawyers' work is highly political, it is not suitable to permit lawyers to set up private practices. They are not and should not be professionals like those in capitalist countries, but rather work in legal advisory offices, which provide their leadership. Unlike lawyers in capitalist countries who work for the benefit of their clients, lawyers in China proceed from the stand of the people and safeguard the correct implementation of the law and the legitimate rights of the litigants.

Tasks

The duty of a lawyer is to give legal help to government organizations, enterprises and other undertakings, social bodies, people's communes and ordinary citizens so as to ensure the just implementation of law and defend the interests

of the state and the collective and the legitimate rights and interests of citizens. In many cases, they serve directly the socialist modernization.

Clearly the activities of lawyers are many-sided:

First, when requested, lawyers act as legal advisers to government organs, enterprises and other undertakings, social bodies and people's communes. Recent economic reforms require more and more use of economic measures to readjust relations in economic fields.

Thus, legal problems are bound to arise between the state and the collective, between government organizations and enterprises, between enterprises or between the state, collectives and individuals. And property and economic disputes which are bound to occur will have to be solved through mediation, arbitration or lawsuits. More international disputes are also occurring with the increase of economic and technical co-operation between China and other countries and the development of foreign and seaborne trade. These problems call for more lawyers in the following two areas: The parties involved in property and economic disputes may entrust lawyers to help in mediation or arbitration;

and interests through legal procedures, or persuade them to drop their illegitimate demands at an early date. This is beneficial to the country's stability, unity and production. Fully publicizing the socialist legal system is the duty of lawyers as state legal workers.

Thirdly, lawyers may furnish parties not involved in litigation cases with legal advice, answer legal questions from the general public and draft legal papers upon request.

Thus, in a wider sense, lawyers are legal advisers to the public. They inform people about what is legal and illegal. These services often help people protect their legitimate rights



A lawyer (right) advising his client.

and interests through legal procedures, or persuade them to drop their illegitimate demands at an early date. This is beneficial to the country's stability, unity and production. Fully publicizing the socialist legal system is the duty of lawyers as state legal workers.

The regulations also specify the duties and rights of lawyers as well as their qualifications and form of organization.

Politically, the lawyers must be patriotic and support the socialist system. This coincides with the duties of citizens specified in the Constitution. As to their qualifications, since there are a limited number of graduates specializing in law as a result of the sabotage of institutions of higher education by Lin Biao and the gang of four for ten years, lawyers will come from other sources as well. Those who are competent and have passed the examinations may also serve as lawyers.

Lawyers work in legal advisory offices, non-profit organizations which are led and supervised by the state judicial organs. The expenditures of the offices are covered by the state and their incomes are handed over to the state. □



A woman lawyer talking to an accused (right).

many government organizations, enterprises and units may request lawyers to act as their temporary or permanent legal advisers.

Secondly, lawyers take part in litigation. They not only defend the accused in criminal cases, but also act on behalf of litigants involved in civil suits, a task which results from the reform of economic structure, the gradual increase in the number of disputes over eco-

● **Trade Fair in Northern Tibet**

A huge trade fair in the town of Nagqu in northern Tibet attracted more than 7,000 herdsmen and traders of the Tibetan nationality each day of its run last month. They came not only from Tibet, but also from Qinghai and Sichuan Provinces, and the volume of their business transactions in the first seven days alone amounted to 540,000 yuan.

The grasslands of northern Tibet have already entered winter. In the mornings, local herdsmen clad in furlined jackets and long boots drove their cattle and sheep to the fair and brought such products as butter, antlers, hides and medicinal herbs to exchange for other goods. Handicraftsmen from Lhasa and other cities and towns also set up stalls, selling and trading such goods as harnesses, knives, rugs, aprons and ornamental objects. State-run trading companies were present to supply the local herdsmen with grain, cloth, industrial products and other necessities.

● **Swindler Mends His Ways**

At No. 2 workshop of the Xinan Machinery Plant in China's northwestern city of Xian, one old worker can always be found working attentively at his machine tool. It is hard to believe that he is Li Wanming, the political swindler of the mid-1950s, whose crimes were even the basis of a play by noted playwright Lao She called *Looking West Towards the City Changan*.

Li Wanming began his infamous career as a petty officer

of the Kuomintang army before liberation. In 1949, he managed to enter the Military and Political College of the Second Field Army by concealing his former occupation and posing as a college student from Central University. During the course of the next six years, Li used a number of fraudulent stories, documents and identities, including posing as a Communist Party member, a combat hero and a leading cadre, to gain important positions and privileges in more than ten government organizations. He even managed to gain admittance to a Chinese peasant delegation that went abroad. Li was finally discovered and apprehended in 1955 while forging a letter and a telegram from a high-ranking commander. The next year, he

additional years were added to his term during the "cultural revolution." It was not until May 1979 that the Xincheng District People's Court of Xian overruled his additional term of imprisonment. Li was then assigned to work at the Xinan Machinery Plant where, according to cadres and fellow-workers, he has been doing a good job ever since.

After articles about him were printed in Beijing newspapers, Li Wanming received many letters from people throughout the country expressing concern for and encouragement to him. Li wrote a general letter of response to *Beijing Wanbao* (Beijing Evening News), which was printed for public benefit last September. Li said: "With the help and education of the Party and the government, I now lead a new life. I have come to realize that a man should try to be useful to the people as long as he lives and should never cheat his country and countrymen. . . . I am working well and living happily now. I am determined to devote the rest of my life to China's four modernizations."



Li Wanming at his workbench.

was tried and sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Imprisonment brought a significant change in Li Wanming and four times he was cited for good behaviour. According to his original sentence, Li should have been released in 1970; instead, ten

● **Baby Panda by Artificial Insemination**

As a result of difficulties encountered in breeding giant pandas in captivity by natural methods, the Beijing Zoo recently used artificial insemination to impregnate two of its female giant pandas. Unfortunately, the experiment produced only one living baby panda, but zoo workers gained valuable experience in the process that will help them in future experiments with artificial insemination.

People in the News



Captain **Meng Xiancheng**, nicknamed the "living nautical chart" for his vast knowledge and experience in ocean navigation, has been praised for his hard work and valuable service to the people.

With only a primary school education, Meng Xiancheng first joined the army before liberation and served as an Eighth Route Army fighter during the war. After liberation he studied telecommunications and navigation, and during more than 20 years in the navy rose from a signalman to a much-respected captain. In 1975 Meng was transferred to the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence and put in charge of navigation training and the trial-navigation of all ocean-going survey ships.

Since that time, Meng Xiancheng has battled with storms and rough currents the year round, and in the process has accumulated a wealth of knowledge about ocean navigation, including an accurate memory of the location of submerged rocks, dangerous shoals and navigation marks along China's coast. It was this characteristic that won him the nickname of "living nautical chart." He has navigated through the South China Sea, East China Sea, Yellow Sea and Bohai Sea as well as the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and in the last four years, has been at sea a total of 364 days and covered a distance roughly equal to that of circling the globe three and a half times.

With the help of an English-Chinese dictionary and a limited knowledge of English, Meng has spent much of his spare time reading a guideline for navigation in English to gain new insights into his work.

Between the port where his unit was stationed and the estuary of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, there is a narrow, dangerous water route that usually requires ships to enlist the guidance of local pilots in order to pass through safely. When Meng first came to his new job in 1975, he was unfamiliar with this waterway and had never operated a 10,000-ton ship before; so he and all of the captains and pilots under him went to learn from the local veteran pilots how to navigate their ships along this route safely.

When China's test rockets returned to earth last May and landed in the Pacific Ocean, Meng was the commander of the six-vessel surveying expedition sent to recover them. Because the water in the splash-down area was 4,000 to 5,000 metres deep and had a swift and irregular current, the ships were unable to hold their positions by casting anchors. With Meng's direction, however, the team was finally successful in putting the ships in the right positions, surveying the rockets' points of descent and recovering their instrument capsules.

Yuanyuan, the mother of the surviving baby panda, originally gave birth to a litter of two. She had problems, however, in feeding them both, and eventually refused to feed one of the baby pandas altogether. This one was transferred to an incu-

bator and fed by zoo keepers thereafter, but died of pneumonia a few days later. This was the longest Beijing Zoo workers had ever kept a baby panda alive by nursing it themselves, and it was therefore considered an important experience.

The surviving panda, Liangliang, is doing quite well now. At birth, its body was yellowish-pink and looked much like that of a rat, but gradually it turned white and black hair grew around its eyes, ears and feet. At age one month Liangliang, sex still undetermined, tipped the scales at 1,200 grammes.

Daidai, the other female giant panda in the experiment, had less successful results. She also gave birth to two baby pandas, but one had already died in the womb and the other died at birth.

This was the Beijing Zoo's second experiment with the artificial insemination of its giant pandas. The first attempt in September 1978 successfully produced one baby panda, Yuanjing, which is now two years old. "It is quite difficult to breed pandas naturally in a zoo," said one scientific worker at the Beijing Zoo, "and artificial insemination is therefore an important alternative method of breeding them."



PUBLISHING

National Book Fair

China's 1980 National Book Fair sold a total of over 6 million copies during its two-week run last month at the Cultural Palace of the Working People in Beijing. The largest book fair ever held in China received more than 700,000 visitors from all parts of the country, Taiwan included. Over 100 publishers took part in the show with displays of over 12,000 different titles in a multitude of subjects and languages.

According to exhibition officials, Chinese and foreign literature, dictionaries and science books were the most sought after at the fair. Senior middle school textbooks, general knowledge and reference books were also popular, and such manuals as *A Guide to Family Hygiene* and *Household Encyclopaedia*.

Well-known artists and authors like Li Keran, Li Kuchan, Ding Ling, Yao Xueyin and Ye Shengtao were also present at the fair to discuss and explain their works and sign autographs for visitors. Yan Wenjing, a literary critic and writer of children's books, remarked that the size of the book fair rivalled that of the annual spring flower show in Guangzhou, while Professor Wang Li, a linguist at Beijing University, commented that this was the first time in his sixty years as a teacher that he had ever seen such a "passion for books."

The fair offered a comprehensive review of the work of China's publishing industry over the past few years. Between 1977 and 1979, China



Ding Ling (1st from right) signing autographs for visitors.

published and reprinted some 10,500 million copies of around 40,000 different books. Last year alone, over 4,200 million copies of 17,000 new books were printed.

One drawback of the fair was that the number of books written in China's minority nationality languages and on some branches of the sciences could not satisfy the readers' growing demand, officials said.

MUSIC

Concerts for Workers

At concerts held in Beijing's Cultural Palace of the Working People, 300 workers listen to the music of both Chinese and foreign composers. Organized specially for workers, they aim at enriching their knowledge and appreciation of music. Such concerts have been held twice a week since last January.

During the concerts, the Central Philharmonic Society sometimes plays back recordings and sometimes gives instrumental performances, e.g. violin solos and quartets.

When a recording is played, conductors and musicians from

the society present the content of the piece and the life of the composer. For instance, after an audience listened to Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* and Tchaikovsky's *Violin Concerto in D-Major*, Wang Kezhong, a violinist, explained the characteristics of each movement and described the life of both composers.

Li Delun and Han Zhongjie, both famous conductors of the Central Philharmonic Society, also came to the concerts to provide the background to Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, Mussorgsky's *Pictures From an Exhibition* and Debussy's *Nocturnes*.

At one concert, the composer Luo Zhongrong introduced Schumann's *Rhenish Symphony*. He first talked about Schumann's life, his reasons for composing the piece and the major theme, then explained each movement while replaying the recording. In conclusion he let the workers listen to the symphony again.

The works of other foreign composers are also presented in these concerts, including those of Mozart, Liszt, Chopin, Dvorak, Grieg, Franck, Mahler and Haydn. Audiences also have the opportunity to listen to Chinese compositions such as the violin concerto, *Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai*, and the symphony *Sichuan Suite*.

Deng Jiuming, a worker from Beijing No. 8 Paper Mill who frequently attends concerts, said: "Symphonic music is very abstruse. It is not easy to understand at first. But it is much more comprehensible if an introduction is given beforehand. This also enhances the audience's appreciation of the music."

The Cultural Palace also organized an orchestra and chorus of 100 workers which often gives performances in factories to the workers. In order to improve their performances, the palace held two training classes for conductors and one for singers.

In addition, the Cultural Palace has an amateur song-composition group of 20 workers. Li Yinghai, assistant professor of the Central Conservatory of Music, has taught the group for five years. At a recent concert of new music, the workers' orchestra and chorus performed 28 pieces composed by this group which were warmly received by the audiences and professional musicians. A dominant theme was the four modernizations. Zhou Weishi, Vice-Minister of Culture and himself also a composer, declared that these songs were quite artistic and full of vitality. Li Ling, head of the Central Philharmonic Society, suggested that the workers' orchestra perform some pieces with the society.

SPORTS

Shanghai International Weightlifting Championships

China defeated the United States to win the 12-nation Shanghai International Weightlifting Championships held last month. The tournament lasted five days, included 30 different competitive events and was one of the largest and most highly skilled international sports matches China has ever hosted.

The championships drew 70 weightlifters, both famous and unknown, from 12 different countries — Australia, Britain,

Canada, France, Greece, Japan, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, the United States and China. The Chinese team captured 15 out of 30 gold medals and finished on top with a total of 312 points. The United States won 10 gold medals to finish second with 258 points. The Japanese team, with only five competitors in three categories, placed third with three gold medals and 131 points.

Medals and team scores in the championships were awarded on the basis of performance in ten weight classes and three separate categories of competition: the snatch and jerk events and the two-lift total. Asia's strongmen did predictably well in the five lighter weight classes, with China collecting 12 and Japan winning 3 gold medals in these events. In the fly weight (52 kg.) class, China's Cai Juncheng and Japan's Hidemi Miyashita both proved their strength by lifting 107.5 kg., just 6 kg. under the world record. China's Wu Shude lifted 117.5 kg. in the bantam weight (56 kg.) class snatch event, thus breaking a Chinese national record and surpassing the performance of the Hungarian bronze medal winner in the same event at the Moscow Olympics last summer. In the light weight (67.5 kg.) class, China's Yao Jingyuan set new Asian records in both the jerk event and the two-lift total, while Man Wenguang, also of the Chinese team, broke an Asian record in the jerk event for the middle-heavy weight (90 kg.) class. Japanese weightlifter Masatomo Takahashi also gave a skilled performance, capturing gold medals in the jerk event and the two-lift total in the fly weight division.

In the light-heavy weight (82.5 kg.) class and upward, the lifters of the United States dom-



Chinese weightlifter Yao Jingyuan.

inated the competition, winning 10 gold, 10 silver and 2 bronze medals. This was not enough, however, to match the winnings of the Chinese team.

Each of the weightlifting teams competing in the championships had a style and skill and spirit of its own. The tournament thus gave the Chinese lifters an opportunity to learn from the other teams and further develop their own techniques and skills.

Though the Chinese strongmen fared well during the championships, breaking three Asian records, four national ones and carrying first place overall, the team, when viewed as a whole, showed various weaknesses which should be improved. For example, 9 out of 30 Chinese lifters in the jerk event failed, indicating a need for advancement in this important area. Overall speed was also low in many events. And though China

was strong in the lighter weights, it could not even compete in the three heaviest weight divisions. So the team is now working to improve itself in these areas.

CULTURAL RELICS

Recommendation for Grand Restoration

The restoration of the once glorious Qing Dynasty imperial garden, the Yuanmingyuan, in Beijing's northwestern suburbs was called for at a forum sponsored by the Academic Committee of Architectural History last August.

Built over a 150-year period from 1709 to 1859, Yuanmingyuan (Garden of Perfection and Light) was a huge garden covering over 330 hectares. The landscaping was exquisite with many small scenes which people chanced upon while strolling along paths or through courtyards. These scenes were modelled on a number of scenic spots south of the Changjiang River that Emperors Kangxi (1662-1722) and Qianlong (1736-95) had visited. Several hundred hillocks were constructed and their slopes were covered with flowering shrubs and trees. Spring water brought in from nearby mountains filled numerous pools, ponds and lakes, accounting for more than half the area of the garden. These landscapes which were typical of southern scenic spots were blended into the simple, natural scenic beauty of north China and combined with the magnificent palace architectural style displayed in most of the buildings.

The splendid imperial garden was sacked and burnt in October 1860 by the allied British and

French forces. The treasures were removed to European museums or divided as booty among the foreign soldiers. The little that remained was destroyed in 1900 by the allied forces of eight powers.

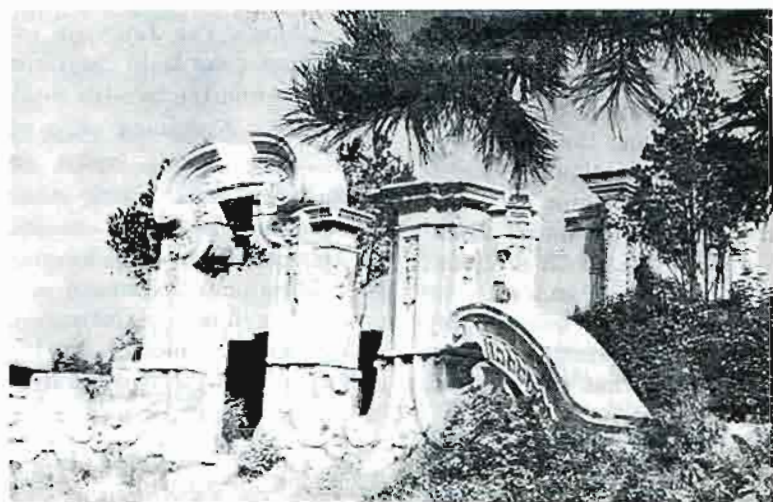
The wish to restore the garden was voiced by the late Premier Zhou Enlai in the early 1950s. He stressed that the site should be protected until conditions permitted restoration. The 200 architects, landscape gardeners, archaeologists, historians and geographers who met at the recent forum feel that now, after 120 years of ruin, the time has come. They argue that the restoration is possible: Yuanmingyuan's hills and water system are fairly well preserved and more than 150 of the original 230 hillocks are still intact. Furthermore, some of the rockeries, stone sculptures and pillar bases have survived and the foundations of some buildings can still be identified.

Proponents for the restoration also point out that the original designs and models of a number of buildings are still available in the Qing archives, as well as a great deal of data on the construction, decoration and fur-

nishings. In addition, Emperor Qianlong's poems on the gardens and paintings of 40 scenic spots done during his reign still exist. The Department of Architecture of Qinghua University has drafted a plan for restoring the imperial garden and its faculty and students have built a model. According to their calculations, the project would take from 10 to 15 years to complete. Professor Wu Liangyong proposed that the first step should be to dredge the lakes so they can be used for boating, breeding fish and growing lotuses.

Professor Hou Renzhi of Beijing University said that since Yuanmingyuan was located in the heart of northwest Beijing's cultural and educational area, the restoration would give impetus to the building of a cultural centre in that part of the capital.

These specialists attending the forum concretized their suggestions into a formal proposal which was passed unanimously at the meeting and then sent to prominent individuals of various circles. In addition they founded a study society of Yuanmingyuan to promote research on this important topic.



Remains of Yuanmingyuan.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Introduction of Technology

I have read your article "Some Questions on the Building of the 1.7-Metre Rolling Mill" in issue No. 34, which says that modern enterprises need technical and managerial personnel of a higher level. I agree with this point of view. However, this problem should also be considered from the social point of view, for it would be impossible for all people to have the skill and ability of technical management and administration; there are not enough institutions of higher education in your country. That is to say, until an ample material life for the people is obtained, cultural and educational levels are raised both quantitatively and qualitatively, and modernization is achieved, there will still be discrepancies between technical managerial cadres and the ordinary workers. Although every country in the world has these differences, contradictions may arise between the two in China because of the particular circumstances in your country. In my opinion, practical and effective measures should be taken to stimulate and utilize the initiative of ordinary workers and prevent technical managerial personnel from isolating themselves from the masses and practice.

Osamu Takamiyawa
Tokyo, Japan

The article "On the Use of Foreign Funds" and its supplementary article "Some Questions on the Building of the 1.7-Metre Rolling Mill" in issue No. 34 were both well written. Readers welcome such themes. These articles will help widen people's understanding of China. Their excellent explanations of the problems encountered in the course of modernization were also very enlightening. I would like to know more details about China's energy situation after reading the

report on the rolling mill in your publication. Perhaps articles on broadcasting and video-education can also be published in the future.

Peter Romen
Lochau, Austria

Chemical Weapons

Your article "Soviets Use Toxic War Chemicals" (Issue No. 34) was up to your usual high standard. The cartoon at the bottom of the page was excellent. Its message came across very well, well done by Fang Yuan and Miao Di.

Robert Stafford
Channel Islands,
United Kingdom

I was amazed by your reports that the Soviets and Vietnamese are using toxic chemical warfare. The places they have invaded are all poor and underdeveloped, and the outmoded weapons of their adversaries are hardly a match for modern weapons. So what is the reason for their using such terrible toxic chemicals? I exclaim that the whole world and the entire humanity must show concern over this problem.

The Soviet threat has not only menaced Southeast Asia and the Middle East but also Europe and Asia as a whole, as these places are all within the range of the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Jinji Kitamura
Takaoka, Japan

Economic Policies

I recently read your weekly for the first time in several years, and cannot help saying that the content of *Beijing Review* has been greatly improved in that time.

As a college student majoring in economics, I am particularly interested in the economic situation in your country. However, I am not as concerned with the harvest of a certain collective unit which is important to your country as with information on economic policies in general, such as given in your report entitled "More Enterprises With Greater Power of Self-Management" in issue No. 33. Another suggestion for improvement is the style of your articles, which is sometimes too mechanical and official.

Mattias Timm
Hamburg, W. Germany

Intellectuals

Personally, I find *Beijing Review* stimulating and gratifying due to the variety of its content in both national and international issues. Your article "China's Intellectuals — Part of the Working Class" in issue No. 13 was also very heartening; it gives the feeling that there is still some goodness in the human race, and that in spite of all the anti-China propaganda from her enemies, the Chinese keep their heads high and march ahead minding their own business, keeping a good pace, eventually China will arrive at her desired goal. May I also add that it is never too late to right a mistake.

Liao Guo Qing
Panama City, Panama

The Meaning of Life

Though no specific examples have been given, I am impressed that you have published various articles criticizing China's past failures. The article "A Discussion: The Meaning of Life" in issue No. 35 made a particularly good impression on me. However, I feel that the article dealt with the subject rather superficially and lacked something substantial in content. How will the youth be after the discussions? What future lies ahead of them? It is said that violent actions by the youth have increased in China. What measures will be taken to imbue the young people with hope for the future? I hope more coverage in this regard will be published.

Osamu Nanba
Utrecht, the Netherlands

Views About China Changed

Diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between nations are effective ways provided by the authorities for the people of the respective countries to get to know each other. In the past, as a result of my schooling under the colonialists, I felt rather hostile towards the Chinese people and trembled when I heard the word "China." Now, however, and particularly since I began subscribing to *Beijing Review*, I feel pride and admiration for the efforts made by the Chinese people in struggling against underdevelopment, malnutrition and social injustice.

Butsidi-Mabiala
Kinshasa, Zaire

YOUHAO DYESTUFFS



YOUHAO DIRECT & DIRECT FAST DYES
YOUHAO ACID DYES
YOUHAO TRACID DYES (Weak Acid Dyes)
YOUHAO ACID CHROME DYES
YOUHAO BASIC DYES
YOUHAO SULPHUR & YOUHAODRON DYES
YOUHAOTHOL DYES (Insoluble Azo Dyes)
 YOUHAOTHOL (Coupling Components)
 COLOUR BASES
 COLOUR SALTS
YOUHAO REACTIVE DYES
YOUHAONEUTER DYES (Metallized Dyes 2:1 Type)
YOUHAOTHRENE DYES (Vat Dyes)
YOUHAO DISPERSE DYES
YOUHAOCOL DYES (Pigment Colour Dispersions for
 Textile Printing & Pad Dyeing)
YOUHAOLOGEN DYES (Ingrain Dyes)
YOUHAOTHION DYES (Condense Sulphur Dyes)
FLUORWHITEHAO (Fluorescent Brighteners)
YOUHAO SOLVENT DYES
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