

EASTERN HORIZON

VOL. XIX NO. 11
November 1980



'Rebel' artists in Beijing



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EASTERN HORIZON *monthly review*

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Published by Eastern Horizon Press,
342, Hennessy Road, 7th floor, Hong Kong.
Telephone: H-741173

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Publisher: S. Y. Wong Editor: Lee Tsung-ying

Signed articles express the views of the writers,
not necessarily of the editors. Manuscripts
will not be returned unless accompanied by
return postage.

Annual subscription (12 issues):

local HK\$48.00, abroad £5 or US\$12.00

HK\$4.00 per copy, abroad £0.50 or US\$1.00.

PRINTED IN HONGKONG BY THE YAU LEE
PRINTING CO., LTD., HONG KONG

EASTERN DIARY

Planning and Market Force

Can planned economy (economic regulation through planning) and market economy (economic regulation by the market force) co-exist? Some economists in the West believe that the two cannot. These economists have been elated by the recent reintroduction of market economy in China, which they believe will lead to capitalism. At the same time, they are worried that this process could easily be reversed if the Chinese leadership persists in upholding the principle of socialist planning. Though they could hardly be elated by the prospect of China going capitalist, some Marxists ('pure' to some people and 'dogmatic' to some others) agree that market economy is totally incompatible with socialism, and are therefore worried about or angered at the new trend in China.

Admitting that the present restructuring of China's economy does represent theoretically a step backward, Xue Muqiao, one of China's leading economists, recently said in Hongkong that socialist transformation of the mid-50's had over-reached itself. He revealed the controversy over this question within the Communist Party at that time. Here is what he said:

Some people pointed out to us: Your proposal to integrate plan regulation with market regulation is a step backward towards capitalism. If we did over-reach ourselves, then it would be correct for us to decide to take a few steps back. Nobody said Lenin was wrong when he retreated from his Wartime Communism to his New Economic Policy. Between 1958 and 1961 we took away the function of unit accounting from the people's commune and relegated it to a much lower level—the rural production team. This is now considered a move in the right direction.

In urban areas state economy should not be the only form of economy. We should also develop some individual economy. 20 years of experience has shown that socialist transformation in our cities may have been too thorough and has gone too far. Now it is important for us to take a few steps back.

In 1956, Comrade Chen Yun actually suggested this. He said that the transformation should not have been that thorough, and some allowance should have been made for small cooperatives and small shops to keep their own profits and be responsible to their own losses. Comrade Liu Shaoqi also suggested that capitalism should be allowed to leave behind 'some of its tail', which could stop loopholes that socialism may not entirely be able to. It was a pity that their views were not heeded and now we are suffering from the consequences. It seems to us now that what we need is a multi-layer economy which ranges from state economy to individual economy in which the socialist public ownership takes the overwhelmingly predominant position. At the same time, however, there will be individual economy, or even some semi-socialist public-private (capitalist) joint economy (i.e. state capitalism).

Xue stresses that, as long as socialist ownership was the dominant factor, one need have no fear of a capitalist restoration. This, in Xue's opinion, was not merely a stopgap. He emphasized that no social system in history has ever been pure, and socialism should be no exception. Capitalism cannot be exterminated in a socialist society, he said. An element of capitalism will persist.

Xue Muqiao, however, was far from identifying market economy with capitalism. While he envisaged some capitalist elements in socialist China, he gave market economy a very wide berth.

In an article published in *Economic Management*, No. 10, 1980, Xue writes:

Socialist economy is based on socialized mass production, of which the full development of commodity economy is a prerequisite. Both capitalist economy and socialist economy can develop on the foundation of socialized mass production. The level of China's socialized mass production is still very low. It has yet to develop so as to reach a high degree of centralization and a high degree of division of labour. Natural economy is still in a dominant position. Therefore we have a great deal to do to develop our commodity economy on which we can develop our socialized mass production. For the present, our socialist economy is a socialist commodity economy founded on the two forms of socialist public ownership of the means of production (in which the ownership of the whole people pre-

dominates) and it also allows the co-existence of other economic factors, and therefore is different from the commodity economy under the capitalist private ownership. On the one hand, because of the public ownership of the means of production in our country, it is necessary and also possible for us to exercise planned management over our national economy. On the other hand, as we still have to develop commodity economy in order to develop socialized mass production, we still need regulation by the market force.

Xue points out that the belief that both producing and selling should follow a centralized plan has been refuted. After fulfilling the planned production quota allotted by the state, enterprises should be free to produce according to market demands. Of course a few important commodities must be delivered to the commercial departments of the state. However, the commercial departments can handle some of the remaining commodities, and leave it to the enterprises to dispose of the rest. As to small items, their production and sales can entirely be left in the hands of the producers, who if necessary can sell their products direct to retail shops. Throughout the country there are tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of items produced. Only about several thousand or even as few as several hundred items can be listed in the state plan. Obviously it cannot cover everything, not even most of the things.

In the long-term view, according to Xue, what the state should and can control is the scale of the country's capital construction and the rate at which the standard of living should rise, in other words, the ratio between accumulation and consumption. Xue writes:

During the past 30 years, the failures of our economy have all occurred when we failed to control the ratio between accumulation and consumption... We have learned from our 30 years of experience that, our production level being what it is now, development can push forward at a high speed only if we keep our accumulation rate at about 25 per cent or slightly higher. To push it up to 30 per cent or higher will upset the balance of our economy. When that rate reaches 40 per cent, a decline will occur.

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, there should have been a breathing space during which we could readjust our dislocated balance. But the year 1978 saw

another 'leap forward', which pushed the accumulation rate up to 36.5 per cent, and this completely laid bare the upset balance. But the readjustment came in time, and the principle of that readjustment was to improve the people's standard of living and cut back the scale of capital construction. This was an entirely correct principle.

Because of the present price structure and the existing imbalance in supply and demand, the role accorded to economic regulation by the market force can only be limited. An abrupt and full exposure to the market force could play havoc with the economy. As Xue puts it:

The supply of many commodities is as yet unable to satisfy the market demands, and therefore the mandatory plan of the state can only be restricted gradually. Once the dislocation in the national economy is set right in the main and a fundamental balance is achieved between production and demands, the mandatory plan can be restricted as much as possible. The general orientation will then be for the state to provide the enterprises with reference production targets, market information, and guidance as to the direction for the development of production. The concrete steps of guidance will consist of the use of economic levers, such as the price policy, tax policy, regulation of bank credits and loans. With these the market can be revitalized and industrial production will fall into line with the market demands.

Instead of planned economy and market economy being constantly at loggerheads, Xue sees an organic link between the two. He contends that the two are complementary. To integrate the two does not mean that the production of certain commodities will be regulated by plans and certain other commodities will come under the control of the market force. What Xue believes will happen is that planned regulation will be largely put into effect through market regulation, for a good plan is one which is sensitive to the demand and supply on the market.

Separation of Powers

In the process of developing a democratic system which conforms to socialism and ensures the success of the Four Modernizations, China's political scientists are taking a second look at some of the principles and theories underlying bourgeois democracies, including the concept of state power. The political

scientists want to know to whom power should ultimately belong. Should this power be restricted or unrestricted? Should it be divided?

The separation of powers in Western democracies has been considered a device by which the bourgeoisie used to keep power in its own hand. None of the socialist states which followed Moscow's example would accept Montesquieu's concept of the separation of powers. China was no exception. Even after denouncing the Soviet Union as revisionist, and especially since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the centralization of power in China, instead of being diluted, had reached an unprecedented degree. Under the slogan of 'unified leadership', power was centralized in the Communist Party. At provincial and lower levels a same set of people manned both the party committee and the revolutionary committee. The merger of the party and state was complete. Often, where democracy was only paid lip-service, the top man in the committee became a dictator.

In re-examining failures of the past 20 years or so, Chinese, both leaders and the rank and file, have traced such failures and the rise to power of persons like Lin Biao and the Gang of Four to the concentration of power in a few or even in one man. It was in rectifying this situation that people began to review not only Marxist ideas, but also some bourgeois views.

Zhang Shangzhuo, in an article in the *People's Daily*, has some sympathetic words for the bourgeois view on the sovereign power. He points out that it was in the 17th and 18th centuries that the principle of powers belonging to the people was established in the course of the American Revolution and the French Revolution. He also points out that, in the view of the Western political philosophers like Montesquieu, powers must be restricted because they can be exercised only by the representatives of the people, and not the people themselves. Furthermore, powers can and must be divided, both horizontally and vertically.

Now the division of powers has begun in China. A form of collective leadership is now being advocated. Offices will be limited to fixed terms. Some of the powers now held by the central authorities will be relegated to the lower echelons. At the county level deputies are to be elected directly by their constituencies with no interference from above. In economic work, powers will be relegated to

the enterprises, which will keep part of their earnings, and where ultimately workers will elect their management executives. A form of check and balance which one sees in the West between the legislative, executive and judicial powers is coming into being. With the separation of the party and state, the party will become a part of this check and balance.

Concluding his article in the *People's Daily*, Zhang writes:

Of course, our socialist democratic system and the bourgeois democratic system are different in essence. Classic Marxist writers have long pointed out penetratingly that the principle of power lying with the people in a bourgeois society is merely a device to deceive the broad toiling masses and that all the powers of a bourgeois state are actually held in the hands of the bourgeoisie. However, Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers and the principle of check and balance he advocated, and also the historical experience accumulated in practice by for example the American bourgeoisie in the two centuries during which it established a bourgeois democratic system and fought to prevent the rise of autocracy, are all part of a cultural heritage of the mankind in their fight against feudal autocracy. Such experience has taught the people that state power should not be over-centralized, or be centralized in one organ or in the hands of a single man. From all of this above, we of a socialist country which has had a long feudal tradition, and which is still under the strong influence of the feudal remnants, should do well to draw certain lessons and benefits.

If China is to adopt some of the fore-going principles and learn from some of the lessons which she obviously has begun to do, and if she is to include the party in the whole political system of check and balance, what will be left of the time-honoured tradition of the Communist Party exercising leadership over all fields of the country's activities?

The party leadership, though still upheld, will have to be redefined. A Supreme Court directive states that party committees are not to interfere with the hearings and verdicts of the courts at various levels. And the separation of the party and state must have changed the nature of the party's leading role. There are indications that in future the party should assume an ideological leadership over the

country. It should from time to time chart the road along which the country is to advance. It should see to it that the country keeps to a socialist orientation. It should lead the nation but not rule over it or govern it. It should appeal, explain, educate, persuade, encourage, but not legislate, issue directives, or pass verdicts or sentences. It attempts to win the hearts of the people, but does not coerce.

Party's Leading Role in Literature

The controversy over the leading role of the Communist Party in art and literature surfaced for the first time since Liberation in 1955, when Hu Feng, one of Lu Xun's protégés during the 30's in Shanghai, objected to the 'fetters' he said the party had put around artists and writers. Hu's words were hardly seen in print, though he was denounced as the leader of an anti-party counter-revolutionary group, and until recently, the leading role of the party had rarely been questioned, though Hu Feng was rehabilitated after the downfall of the Gang of Four.

With the redefining of the party's leading role, however, this controversy was renewed recently, when the *People's Daily* published on 17 September a long letter to the editor by two readers in Beijing, Fu You and Ma Xiuqing, which I think I should cite at length.

The two begin with the renewed vigour in art and literature in China. They write:

Since the breaking down of the various spiritual fetters imposed by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company, the revolutionary and progressive tradition of art and literature has been restored. People are exploring and opening up new frontiers. Large numbers of young artists and writers are maturing fast. This is what people during the tumultuous ten years would not have dared imagine. Nothing even during the 17 years before the 'Cultural Revolution' could be compared with what is happening now. The situation has never been so excellent in the realm of art and literature. . . .

The two then go on to depict what is not 'entirely satisfactory'. They write:

Our art and literature has become much more lively than before, but in many aspects a rigidity still persists. The leadership in art and literature has undergone some improvement, but questions are still galore. There are those who just let things run their own course and refuse to lift a finger to carry out the party's related prin-

ciples and policies. Then there are those who disregard the objective laws of art and literature. Theirs are the last word. They can issue directives at will. Even more often one finds that there is much to be desired in the relations between the leadership and the artists and writers. Power is over-centralized among the leading cadres. Especially noticeable is the question of the all too tight controls. We have also felt that, recently, the phenomenon of rude interferences has again reared its head. All this could become more and more serious if nothing has been done to set it right.

When some works, for example even films which have been made, are deemed problematical by certain leaders, their screening can still be banned. Journals that are already off the press have been ordered destroyed or taken out of circulation. There have been cases in which some works, though containing shortcomings, are nevertheless good on the whole and very popular among the people. And yet there were leading cadres who insisted on denouncing them as 'noxious weeds', and their authors were submitted to personal attacks or became the victims of political frame-ups. Some leading organizations not only improperly tell writers what to write and how to write. They even go so far as to question the propriety of some details in a work, the name of the writer and the title of a journal!

Take films, the most popular form of art. How can one imagine that this nourishment for the minds of hundreds of millions of people could be controlled and distributed by a single department which actually controls the life and death (of any work). How can one imagine that the creation of art and literature, which Lenin described as something 'on which one cannot impose a mechanical average, uniformity, and the principle of the minority complying with the majority' and something for which 'full room must be guaranteed for individual creativity and personal preferences', could be carried out in a highly centralized way, and that a small minority should be allowed to decide what millions of people should read and should not read?

To a certain extent the structure of our leadership in art and literature has come to a point where no progress will be made if no reform is carried out. The spiritual production in the realm of art and literature is also confronted with the urgent question of

transforming the 'relations of production' and emancipating the productive forces.

Publishing the full text of this letter under the title 'Improve the Party's Leadership over Art and Literature and Vitalize the Cause of Art and Literature', the *People's Daily* calls upon its readers to discuss the questions raised and air their views.

Following this a seminar sponsored by the *People's Daily* was held. Many came to offer their views on that subject and some of these views have since been published in the *People's Daily*. On 4 October prominent place is given to Huang Zongjiang, a celebrated script writer attached to the August First Film Studio. Under the title 'There is No Place for Bureaucracy in the Realm of Art and Literature', he says:

How to play a leading role in the realm of art and literature? . . . I think it is most important to give full play to democracy. We must persist in the principle of 'the hundred flowers'. Art and literature will flourish when you give it free rein, but it will wither when suffocated. We must let it bloom till the era of communism. It always gives me the shudder when I hear someone say that democracy is merely a means to an end, as if the means can be set aside as soon as the end is accomplished. I agree with the view that democracy is both a means and an end . . .

. . . In the realm of art and literature, you must not let anything alarm you. Don't keep a tight rein. Take the theme of love. In the past a strict ban on this was also imposed in Japan. An official announcement in Japan in 1936 banned kissing from the screen. Now there is almost no movie in Japan which does not depict kissing, and no movie which does not depict nudes. Things pushed to one extreme always bounce back to the other extreme. This is also what we like to call 'punishment' . . .

Lan Guang, the party secretary and deputy director of the China College of Experimental Drama, begins with the necessity of building more theatres, and ends his talk on a note upholding the blooming of the hundred flowers. He says:

If the principle of 'the hundred flowers and hundred schools' represents the mass line in art and literature, it is all the more necessary to allow writers to test their works in practice and among the masses. While

adopting the policy of 'giving full reign', one must not be afraid of the emerging of works whose social effects may not be all that desirable, or works which are actually 'noxious weeds'. The leadership can lead the people in a debate. Only by having the 'blooming' and the 'debate' side by side will democracy in art become fully developed and art flourish. . . .

Lu Jun, editor of the journal *Film Scripts* raises the question of legislation for art and literature. He Says:

To put into effect the party's principle of 'the hundred flowers', I think that there should be a law. It should defend the rights of the art and literature workers and ensure the full implementation of the party's 'hundred flowers' principle. No works should be written off because of flaws as long as their political orientation is not reactionary. . . . There should be a law for films, for example, which sets out the conditions under which scissors should be applied to some films while other films should be banned all together. The concepts of anti-party and anti-socialism should be clearly defined. How much democracy should be accorded to workers in art and literature? All this should be put down as law. . . .

But Lu Jun here seems to contradict himself when he says that the final judgement for any work should lie with the people. He says:

To play a leading role in the realm of art and literature, the key lies in leading and not in dyking and damming. What can dyking and damming achieve? If the artists and writers themselves are not convinced, all dyking and damming will be useless. We can have recourse to criticism and self-criticism, positive literary criticism, and fully democratic discussions. We should leave it to the people to judge. We should leave it to the writers and his readers to appraise and to draw their own conclusions.

Lin Shan, secretary of the secretariat of the Chinese Film Workers Association, calls for a good leading organization. He says:

Are the Ministry and Bureaus of Culture necessary? Is it right to leave everything to the decision of the Ministry and Bureaus? Is it right to rule cultural organizations in a rigid administrative manner? I also support the view the less control the better. Only under such a principle can we revitalize art and literature. . . . Last year the

power of film examination was relegated to the individual studio, and film production became more lively. . . . The question today is whether the authority to approve films for screening should also be given over to individual studios?

'Who Should "Examine and Approve" the Works of Art and Literature?' The answer given by Shao Hua writing under the foregoing title is the people and only the people. He writes:

Whether in the category of natural sciences or in that of social sciences, whether it concerns academic theories or works of art and literature, there should not exist the relations which exist only between superiors and subordinates. Nor should there be any question of the minority being subordinate to the majority. All that is relevant is the principle of 'the hundred flowers'. . . . A truth is a truth no matter who is in possession of it. In line with this principle, leading members on one side and writers and artists on the other are all comrades. There are no 'commanders' or 'judges'. . . .

. . . . All new films made and new plays produced should be screened or staged. Leading comrades at any level can offer their comments. If the writers and artists agree with these comments, they will make necessary corrections. If they don't, they will go on with their shows. If their views are rejected, leading comrades can have their critiques published. This should not be regarded as a vicious attack. The writers and artists can assent to such comments or contest them, and this of course should not constitute any 'boycott of the party leadership'. Other people and readers can join in such debates. . . .

. . . . Politicians and natural scientists make mistakes, and artists and writers also make mistakes. If a real mistake is made (some 'mistakes' said to have been made in the art and literature circles were, according to some comrades, no mistake at all), now it is only rarely that a political campaign will be launched to correct it. But recently and in some places, 'quasi'-campaigns or 'imitation'-campaigns have been staged. 'Enlarged meetings' have been called. Work teams have been sent out. The 'masses' have been mobilized to start 'mini-rectifications' and 'mini-reorganizations'. Efforts have been made to 'unify the people's thinking' and reorganize

leading organs. In the end all these will be proved in practice counter-productive.

If you want a horse to run, you have to allow it to stumble. You mustn't whip it when it is down. You should help it up and let it run again.

The most outspoken of all is what Zhao Dan, China's outstanding veteran film actor, had written from his death-bed. Here are excerpts from what should be considered Zhao's testament published in the press on 8 October, two days before his death:

I know that whenever some of us artists—who have been unswervingly loyal and dedicated to the cause of the party—heard the words 'strengthen the party's leading role', like a conditional reflex they would feel apprehensive. Experience in a series of political campaigns has shown that every call for strengthening would lead to turmoil, unreasonable interference, and finally 'all-out dictatorship'. The memories are still fresh and one still has this odd feeling, when one hears this word. No more 'strengthening', please!

In my opinion, to strengthen and improve the party's leading role in art and literature should only mean to grasp and fully put into effect the party's policy on art and literature. To be more precise, it means for the party to firmly put into effect the principle of 'the hundred flowers'.

... One would wish that the party did not tell the writers how to write or the actors how to act. Art and literature is the artists' and writers' own affairs. If the party puts too strict and too rigid a control over it, art and literature will become hopeless, will be finished. ...

Which writer began to write at the party's bidding, and then became a writer? Did Lu Xun or Mao Dun write at the behest of the party? or did they write whatever the party had asked them to? Who then made Marx write? ...

The force of artists and writers is said to

be several million strong. Why is it that at almost every level—central, provincial, district, county, commune and factories and mines—there will always be someone who is ignorant or partially ignorant of art and literature who will be appointed to lead art and literature—as if without this somebody's mind can never be set at rest. It has been almost impossible for us to see the logic in this practice. ...

... Everyone who 'leads art and literature', to show his dedication, will always say something about the creative art. They all have their different views which seem impossible to be composed. Take the work on the film Lu Xun. For a total of 20 years since the first camera test in 1960, I have had to grow a moustache, shave it off, and then grow it again. ... In a country as big as ours, we should certainly have room for three or even five different film versions of Lu Xun, each with its own style, each set in a different period in the literary giant's life, and each revealing a different angle. But now, even the one which we had planned has failed to take off. ...

Creative art has its own individuality. It cannot be decided upon by a show of hands. You can evaluate it. You can criticize it. You can encourage it. And you can shout bravo at it. But if you set it in a whole historical period, you will find that it should not and cannot be forced into a strait-jacket.

Habits are not truths, and bad habits should not be held up as an irreversible system. No good creative work can survive through checkpoint after checkpoint for examination and approval. Throughout all the ages, not a single masterpiece has been the result of official examination and approval!

Zhao Dan is dead, but the discussion to which he contributed his last words are still going on.

Lee Tsung-ying

Across Mid-Sichuan, Mianyang to Nanchong

Rewi Alley

Mianyang by Road to Santai

It was a beautiful day when we left Mianyang to go south. The mist of early morning had left the big leaves of mulberry and tung-oil trees wet and now as the sun came up they glistened, making a good picture to rest one's eyes on. Below us as we went south, the Fujiang River shone brightly. Santai had a good many new factories, but pollution was already becoming a problem. People put their wheat sheaves out on the flat, macadamized highway to be crushed by the truck traffic. A simple method of threshing. Santai has over a million people.

We stopped near a hilltop on the road south in Shehong county. It had been planted with trees and had some houses and pavilions on its summit overlooking the Fujiang River that were now used as a convalescent hospital by the local traditional medical doctors.



A bird's-eye view of Fujiang River on which sits Shehong county, home town of Tang poet Chen Zi'ang.

The place is rarely visited by outside folk, and is a real haven of quiet and peace. In the Tang dynasty it was the retreat of the well-known poet whose ancestral village was on the other side of the river. He was called Chen Zi'ang. The great poet Du Fu came here from Chengdu to visit him. The prefecture of Mianyang has produced some great poets Li Bai of Jiangyou, Ouyang Xiu of Mianyang county where he was born, as well as others like this Chen Zi'ang.



Chen's home on a hilltop.

We rested in a pavilion for a while and enjoyed watching a five-year-old boy trying to escape his daily bath—a kind of play he put on just to be caught and brought back to the round tub where his mother gave him a good scrub-up. He did not quite appreciate having his picture taken in his bath, but his mother laughed and said: 'You did not mind a foreigner taking your picture in Yihe Yuan (Summer Palace) in Beijing—Why do you object here?'

From Santai to Shehong

The old county city of Shehong was once

at the large village of Jinhua through which we passed. It was removed to its present site on Liberation in 1949. The county of Shehong takes its name from a tributary of the Fujiang, the She River; 'Hong' had the meaning of river mouth. In pre-Han times the place was called 'Flying Bird' and in Han it was 'Chi Cheng'.

It is all hills and rolling country. There are 50,000 hectares of arable land. The population at the end of 1949 was 656,000 people, but now it has over 958,800, a 35% rise in 30 years. 850,000 are farm folk in the 75 communes, with their 624 brigades. 10,000 hectares grow cotton. 27,700 hectares is irrigated and plans are now being made to irrigate the rest, mainly in conjunction with the neighbouring counties in bringing water from Dujiang Yan—the famous Han dynasty irrigation works at Guanxian near Chengdu. It entails building one aqueduct 65 metres high on which work is now proceeding. The water from this project should be flowing by September 1980.

There is also a big plan for the areas on the east side of the Fujiang River. Considerable progress has been made in afforesting the 55,300 hectares of once bare hills. 16,700 hectares of them have trees growing well, 16,700 hectares have been planted, and 22,000 hectares remain to be attended to.

We saw a good deal of the results of this work as we went through the county, and were most impressed. In Shehong there was one hospital with five beds and a staff of five in 1949. In 1980 there are two county hospitals with 210 staff, 11 smaller *qu* (district) hospitals with 514 beds and 261 staff, and then 75 commune hospitals with 634 staff and 665 beds. In addition there are clinics in organizations, etc, and cooperative medical clinics with 1,780 barefoot doctors.

In the county, subsidiary occupations count for much. Mulberry leaves make possible the 42,263 *dan* (2,113 tons) of silk cocoons produced. There are 450,000 pigs, 57,750 bio-gas pits, 22,090 of which produce fully the year round. As for the rest, they provide heat intermittently, needing better technical know-how before they catch up.

Shehong to Suining

It was a busy countryside we passed through on our way to Suining, our destination for the day. What with taking in the wheat crop,

plowing the fallow land, flooding it and then transplanting the rice plants, everyone seemed very fully employed.

At one spot in Suining a bunch of three- or four-year-olds, all in their birthday clothes, had collected on the bank of a pool in which a buffalo wallowed. They held the rope attached to its nose ring, and the buffalo eyed them seemingly affectionately. They had chubby beautiful bodies, and I longed to picture them more, but we had to move along, as the appearance of a foreigner might have upset them, so I had to be content with but one fleeting shot.

Suining County

Suining county is one of 1,137,000 people farming 70,000 hectares of arable land and now beginning to reforest or plant orchards on the big area of barren hills. Its grain production was 150,000 tons in 1949, went up to over 250,000 tons at the end of the fifties, then went down in some years during the Cultural Revolution, finally rising to its highest in 1978 at 365,000 tons, a total it expects to exceed in 1980 quite considerably. It has constructed hydro-electric plants that now give 16,000 kw of power to operate pumps, deal with construction work already in hand, generate 42,000 kw of power, and so irrigate the whole area of arable land, 33,300 hectares of which is now served by the pumps operated with the existing energy resources.

Bio-gas in Suining

It seems that of the 160,000 bio-gas pits in use, 110,000 can provide enough gas for round-the-year working. The others need better maintenance and in some places a better water supply; crops were badly affected by the drought of 1979.

County Industry

County industry in Suining produces goods with a total value of 108,000 yuan in 1979. They are fertilizer from natural gas, cement, cotton spinning, and knitting. Like Shehong, Suining is a cotton-producing county.

Suining to Nanchong

The Fujiang riverbed had become quite wide at Suining, so that it took a bridge around a kilometre long to cross it. The highway to Nanchong was over hill ridges and rolling country in the main. Pengxi county that we crossed was the last of the southern counties in the Mianyang prefecture for us to go

through. Leaving it and just inside the Nanchong prefecture, we stopped for a break at a hillside village. Production team members were busy with rice transplanting.



An old Party secretary of a production team in Pengxi.

The ex-Communist Party secretary of the team, a strong-looking old man in his seventies, came and sat with us, so that we discussed crops together. Quite a problem for his team was fuel for domestic use at home, such to buy costing each household over 60 yuan a year. Bio-gas?

A neighbouring team had built a pit, but could not get it to work well. Maybe when the team found out more about it, it would be willing to try and use. They were very genuine folk, and it was pleasing to sit and talk with them. A sedate woman also in her 70's came and sat with us making her contribution to the conversation in a quiet way. Yes, they had pigs enough, but water was sometimes a problem.

On the road out of Suining, the usual early morning scenes were delightful. A four- or five-year-old sturdy little girl, short pants, athletic singlet, two hair plaits done up with red ribbon, encouraged the pig being led by her mother, to step bravely to market, directing smacks from a bamboo cane at its rear. Three barelegged schoolboys running behind a truck trailer on an uphill grade, then fastening themselves to its tail board like leeches, for a free ride to school.

One sympathizes with the farmers putting out wheat sheaves on the highway in this area. There are so few flat empty places for threshing floors, and the work with flails

in a small compound space is exhausting. Some varieties of wheat that hold their grain tightly can be built into stacks around tree trunks, their base sheaves clear of the ground. They then can be attended to at commune member's leisure, after the rice crop has been planted.

We stayed for half an hour with the members of the production team. 'Yes, our land is rather poor, but we do get 4.95 tons of grain a hectare,' said one of them. 'Before we mechanize anything, we have to be sure it will pay!' 'A broken-down machine is just a lump of iron,' said another. I thought of the good little FAO threshing machine and how well it would fit into this country, but then, what about the prime mover? What would it cost to run? Suppose it broke down just when needed, as we had seen happen with two hand tractors in different locations, on this very morning, standing forlorn in the slush of paddy fields. Mechanization certainly will come, but what the farmer on relatively poor land can pay for also has to be thought about, as well as how education can spread the necessary technical know-how of mechanization that the average farmer in developed countries possesses.

At present, the farmers in this tiny production team feed and clothe their families, provide their quota of grain for the state, and feel that they have the situation pretty well in hand. When they embark on mechanization, they are moving into previously unknown territory, and it has to be seriously thought about.

While we talked, one of the small fry of the team came up, with two baskets on the end of a carrying pole. They contained black berries that he had picked, and was taking them to the market. I thought of the wonderful jam they would make.

Leaving the production team, we went along the hill ridge road, until we could see the broad valley of the Jaling River below us, and beside the river the big, spreading city of Nanchong, so very much bigger than it was the last time I had come here. Entering it one found that the old, narrow streets had given way to broad highways, lined by high buildings. Then we turned off one and ran into a pleasant compound with many trees, around the guesthouse that was to be our stay over here.

Coming into Nanchong I wrote the following lines:

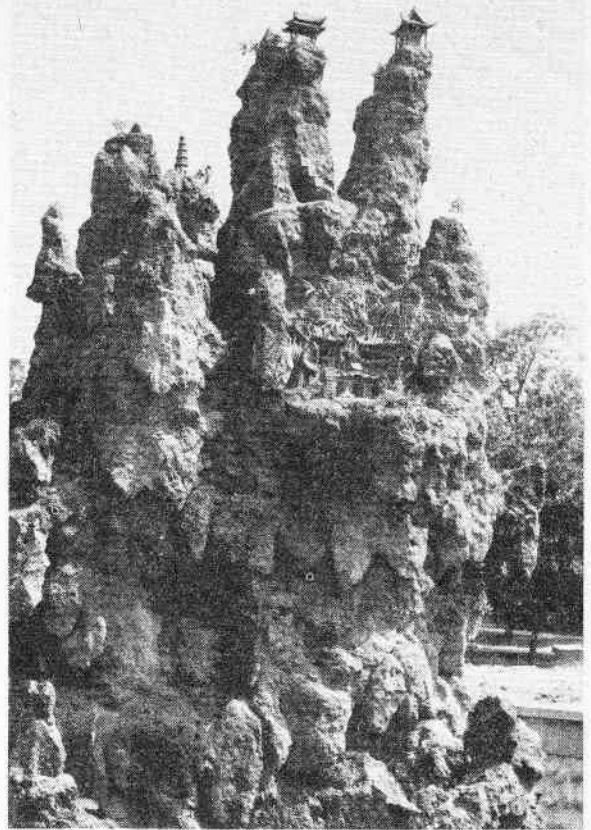
*How easy to say, 'Our prefecture
has seventeen counties,'
and then to think of them
being similar—then how
different each one turns
out to be as one passes
through them! In Mianyang
it was a cool early summer's
morning; rich Santai was
so much warmer, then on
to Shehong and one delved
in the bag for brief summer
clothing, for here the heat
had really come. Shehong
with newly forested hills
gladdening one to see,
Suining with new factories
and old city housing, and then
over the long bridge across
the Fujiang River whose
waters had flowed beside
all the way from Mianyang;
then coming into the hill
county of Pengxi where
farm folk cut rice fields
from steep contours
making them give livelihood,
until at last we came
into Nanchong county and on
down to the modernizing city
of that name, set serenely
beside the wide Jialing Jiang.*

Nanchong

Nanchong city is the seat of the Nanchong prefecture, one of twelve counties, with a population of around ten million, double that of 30 years past. During the period of the Gang of Four influence, births rose to 50 per 1,000, but now by 1980 they have been brought down to 5, or 0.5%. The Nanchong municipality has a population of around 300,000. In the Kuomintang days it was a town of around 30-40,000 as I remember. In the Manchu dynasty, it was called Shenjing Fu. Today it has three universities, one for oil, one for medicine, and one a normal college for teacher training.

The leading cadre of the prefecture is an old revolutionary, dynamic and full of revolutionary optimism. Part of the prefecture was part of the early Soviet region, set up in 1932, and lasting until 1935, when it moved west to Pingwu and the Songpan region, with Generals Xu Xiangqian, and Li Xiannian, who had come there with troops from Dabie Shan in Henan.

One of the counties of the prefecture was



A model of Douduan Mountain in Jiangyou seen in the Mianyang guesthouse.

the home of Zhu De—that of Yilong. Nanchong too was the birthplace of Liu Bocheng, another famous leader, while the most southern county of the prefecture, that of Guang'an, was where the magnificent Deng Xiaoping, one of China's leaders today, was born, all of whom were Hakka folk whose forefathers came to populate Sichuan after the ravages caused by Zhang Xian Zhong of the period at the end of the Ming dynasty. The present general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, was the leading cadre in Nanchong in the early post-Liberation years. So the place certainly has a revolutionary tradition.

In grain production, the prefecture produced 125,000 tons of grain in 1950 and expects to get 300,000 tons in 1980, the first crops of the year having been most successful. Amongst its other products silk and tung-oil rank high. Mulberries are everywhere, there being 400,000,000 trees. 19 silk filatures process the cocoons and spin yarn, the largest silk filature having 4,000 workers. 20,000 tons of tung-oil will be produced in 1980. There is also an export demand for candleberry oil,

which comes from trees that grow well in the three southernmost counties. There are 3,500,000 pigs, whose numbers do not increase much because of the decreasing demand, and the lowering of the price of pork.

The total value of industrial products produced per annum 30 years past was 4,000,000 yuan. Today it is 740 million. Three buses were owned by the prefecture in 1949, travelling over 550 kilometres of the then roads. Now over 1,000 buses run on the 5,800 kilometres of modern highway, with all communes being connected to the highway system.

Bio-gas

The most successful big bio-gas plant is one that pumps water to the highlands from the river. Farm folk have installed 100,000 pits, 70% of which operate successfully for the whole year. A useful innovation here is the use of bio-gas storage facilities that enables gas produced in excess of need to be stored for later use. Experience here shows that the small pits operate the best. The shortage of water in hill areas during times of drought is a limiting factor.

Forestry and Irrigation

Forestry is being promoted in the drive to clothe the naked hills. An interesting new thing has been the growing of olives for oil, 100,000 planted doing well. Pines are the favourite for most afforestation. Orchards grow and there is a large production of the big orange that lasts throughout the whole year from one crop to the other, if properly stored at temperatures of from 11-12°C.

The 1,200,000 tons of these oranges now being produced will be increased to 2,000,000 tons as new plantings come to bearing. With only 8 *fen* (8/10 *mou*, or 8/150 hectare) of arable land per head, it becomes increasingly necessary to make the hills produce to their utmost in the prefecture. The hills also produce tea.

Irrigation is a main problem. Out of 110 *qu* or sub-divisions of counties, 12 are chronically short of water, and in drought periods have to be served with bare essentials in this, by trucks carrying water. Hills in these areas are very steep. Irrigation here is mainly a matter of pumping for considerable distances, requiring a good deal of energy. With energy resources now getting better all the time, this problem will also be solved.

Cotton does very well in the prefecture, and there are 36,700 hectares of land in it, producing $\frac{3}{4}$ ton of cotton per hectare each year. The total amount of arable land in the prefecture is 534,000 hectares, which may with new construction work be increased by 133,000 hectares.

The problems of war were exacting, entailing many losses of life, but supporting the revolution was the whole mass of the farming population. The problems of peace and of raising the quality of life are no less difficult, but again, with the spirit of the people rising, they too will be solved. There is oil in the prefecture, which is being refined in Nanchong, but how much there is, and how far the field extends, has yet to be determined.

Having been in the Shandan Gung Ho school, and then seeing how most of our graduates were taken over by the then rising oil industry, it is pleasant at times to catch up with those who fought through the years to build that training centre. They come into Beijing at times from oil fields in many parts of the land, and it is always good to have a few brief moments with them, inquire after their children, and know how life has treated them.

Of those in Nanchong, I particularly wanted to see Ma Chih who has been in the last years at Shandan. He had come to the Gung Ho school in 1941 in Shuangshipu, deep in the Qinling mountains, then with it to Shandan in West Gansu, staying through Liberation and after, until around 1953. He was a thin slip of a boy when he came to our school in Shuangshipu, South Shaanxi. His father was a Hui, his mother Han. In charge of the school at that time was George Hogg, I dropping in at times when passing to stay a few days.

I remember Ma Chih especially, as after school he would go and gather some wild flowers from the hills, and put them in a vase on Hogg's desk. In Shandan in later years he became head of the electrical section, which had the Canadian Hugh Elliott as expert. The two worked together well and some good technicians were turned out. No doubt Hugh on his pioneer farm at Kootnay Lake in Canada often thinks back on his Shandan years. Ma Chih certainly does. He went to oilfields in Qinghai province, raising quite a considerable family. Then I heard that he was in the Sichuan oilfields, so coming to Nanchong, an oil town, I inquired after him. Yes, he was here all right. Busy today, but would come and see me tomorrow. Then it appeared that

he was in Chengdu on business, but would make the long trip back to Nanchong to see me.

When Ma Chih came in to supper, he had been all day on the road from Chengdu, where he had been to give technical advice. He brought his Shuangshipu-born wife and two of his children with him. A university boy studying computers, and a pretty girl in her last year of middle school. Naturally he was tired, but we talked steadily, until it was time for him to go, he remembering so many things that I had forgotten. In his fifties some of the sparkle had gone from his eyes, but his direct approach to things was the same. His kind are the real salt of the earth. He now works in the electrical research section of the Oil Administration, and gave me news of where so many old students were working and how they had progressed.

But our time in Nanchong was short, and in light misty rain of the following morning, we were going down the highway south, to stay for a while in the county of Guang'an.

Back in Beijing

Back in Beijing after our travels in Sichuan, we turned over old books and looked up poems by Ouyang Xiu of Song who was born in Mianyang, and then Chen Zi'ang, who was of early Tang and whose home in Shehong we had seen. Both have left a rich legacy of poetry, a few samples of which we quote in our own translation. The first is by Chen Zi'ang, written on the Yuzhou tower in North Hebei. It is very simple yet often quoted still:

*In front none who have
been here can be seen
nor yet any who will
come after I have gone;
alone I stand, filled with
the immensity of the universe
tears running down my face.*

Here is one of the better-known poems of Ouyang Xiu in translation:

*Last year came the fifteenth
day of New Year; lanterns
in the flower market
shone brightly turning*

*darkness to day; after
sunset I held tryst with a loved one
as the moon crept up
to the top of the willows;
this year at the same
festival, lanterns and flowers
are the same but my
loved one is not here;
my sleeves are wet with tears.*

Two more poems by Ouyang Xiu are full of the beauty of springtime. They are called *Cai Sang Zi*:

I

*Light boats, short oars
in this kind of boat
such oars are good;
translucent water
ripples as we go,
flowers and grasses
on the dykes, with
the sound of distant
music and song heard
in the distance; not
a breath of wind and
the surface of the water
smooth and a glazed tile
the boat seems motionless
but the prow raises
tiny wavelets, startling
lake fowl who fly up
passing over our boat.*

II

*Now after folk have
returned home, came
the beauty of quietness
spring flowers start to shed
petals that lie scattered
over the waters! Thistle-down
flying in the air like
gentle rain; the weeping
willow over the balustrade
dancing in the gentle breeze;
now no more music
or singing and one
knows spring has ended.
As I pull down curtains
I see a pair of swallows
coming home through the misty rain.*

Mechanization of Agriculture in Northeast China

Yang Ligong

How should China go about the question of mechanizing the country's agriculture according to the country's concrete conditions. What should be the priorities and what sort of places should be accorded these priorities? These are typical questions under study at the Ministry of Agricultural Machinery since its reinstatement. On two trips to the three provinces of Northeast China, one last autumn and the other in spring of this year, the author was able to conduct some surveys and study related material.

The Urgency of Mechanizing Agriculture in the Northeast

The extensive and fertile Songliao Plain spreading over the three provinces of Northeast China, where land is plentiful and the population scanty, offers unique advantages for the development of mechanized agriculture. To make full use of these advantages it is vitally important in the first place to employ agricultural machinery extensively.

In Northeast China the per-capita holding of land in rural areas is 4.3 *mou* (or 0.29 hectare) which is 1.4 times the national average. The 31 wheat and soybean producing counties in Heilongjiang, including land along the Sino-Soviet border, claim an average as high as 2 hectares per-capita while the per-capita average in the 21 commodity grain-producing counties in central Jilin province is 1.4 hectares, respectively 6 and 4 times the national average. But proper cultivation of the land in these areas has often been found to be well-nigh impossible, there being the lack of manpower and the difficulty in completing farm work in time. The yearly losses in crop yields

owing to labour shortage, lack of implements, and the press of time for sowing and harvesting are enormous.

However, one does find a different picture in areas where agriculture has been mechanized. For example, the unit yield in Yushu county, Jilin province, used to be extremely low and unsteady because of the casual and sloppy way of cultivation. After the mechanization of plowing, harrowing, sowing, field management, the processing of subsidiary produce, threshing. . . , the county's per-hectare yield of grain/soybean shot up to an average of 3.5 tons in 1979, which was about one ton more than the provincial average.

The total output of Yushu's grain and soybean in 1979 was 925,000 tons of which 406,500 tons was sold to the state as commodity grain, a figure which approximates the county's total harvest of 1965, that is, before the communes and production brigade undertook to mechanize agriculture. In 1979 Yushu's per-capita grain output topped the provincial average by over a half ton. The difference made by mechanization is, therefore, rather impressive.

There is as yet vast stretches of waste land in the three northeastern provinces which could be brought under the plow, such as the more than 3.8 million hectares in Heilongjiang. Some of it has been lately reclaimed and proved to be suitable for growing wheat, producing 1.5 tons per hectare in the first year, or even 2.25 tons.

In the Heihe River basin, the program of mechanized land reclamation never stopped since it was initiated in 1974, and the size of cultivated land has expanded from 273,000 to 400,000 hectares in the past six years, while the gross grain output went up from 300,000

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hectares to 603,500 tons; in this period the amount of commodity grain the region has been able to sell to the state increased from 85,000 to 255,000 tons.

In Aihui county, we found that for each tractor and combine harvester bought, it has been possible to increase the amount of commodity grain sold to the state by 100 tons. At Handaqi production brigade in this county where mechanization began in 1978, there is evident affluence. There, we found an average of 3.4 hectares of land to each person, and a thousand hectares of it was planted to wheat last year which produced a total yield of 1,680 tons. This gives an average per-capita output of 5.6 tons, of which 4.1 tons was sold to the state. The per-capita income generated by the collective sector was 722 yuan; the average earning of the labour force came to 2,480 yuan. After adding to this funds accumulated by the brigade and incomes from household sideline occupations, the brigade per-capita gross national income is 1,700 yuan. No wonder there is this saying among the cadres and the masses: The way to get rich is by reclaiming land and growing wheat, and putting tractors and combine harvesters to work.

The Northeast is also rich in forestry, animal husbandry and fishery resources. There are great potentials in developing forestry apart from the existing timber areas which, it is true, need greater attention. Great possibilities exist in making full use of the 'fringe' land spaces which are found in greater abundance than the more populous areas in China. Immense stretches of grasslands and hillsides can be turned into ideal pastures, given the proper treatment and attention. Also there is the need to make better use of the water surfaces of lakes, rivers as well as the waters along the fairly long coastline to develop aquatic and marine products.

As the mechanization of agriculture proceeds, the redundant labour force, equipped with the necessary machinery, can apply itself on a large scale to forestry, fishery and livestock raising, to bring about greater wealth and abundance.

In Gaixian county, Liaoning province, 70 per cent of the labour force used to be engaged in grain production, with only 30 per cent allotted to various other occupations. Reversing this ratio after mechanization, the county's income from the latter sector showed a tremendous upward swing and its contribution to the county's total income rose to 70 per cent. One does not have to look too

hard to see what mechanization can do in changing the structure of agriculture and the overall economic composition of a rural area.

But the Northeast also has its disadvantages in agricultural development. The short frost-free period of 100-150 days in a year, most of the time only 120-130 days, often causes crop failures. Here again, one sees the advantages mechanization can bring. With mechanization sowing can be completed in time to anticipate the early frost common to the Northeast.

In short, mechanization has a role to play in the development of agriculture in the Northeast both in terms of bringing the area's strong points into play and avoiding the unfavourable factors. It should be noted also that Chinese machinery as a whole is most suitable for the Northeast. Therefore, to give priority in mechanization to this area will be to combine the advantages of developing farm mechanization in the Northeast with the strong points of the machinery manufactured in this country. One can be certain that such a combination will have a tremendous impact on the economy of this area, boosting the production of commodity grain for the state, bringing about deep-going changes in the rural economy of the Northeast, and improving the living standards of its peasantry.

Pace of Mechanization Can be Accelerated

A good foundation already exists for the development of agricultural mechanization in the Northeast. The three provinces have one-tenth of the total horse-powers of the agricultural machinery in China, accounting for 17.8 per cent of the country's large and medium-sized tractors, of which 35.6 per cent are of the caterpillar model; 30 per cent of the country's large and medium-sized tractor-drawn implements; 51.9 per cent of the country's combine harvesters.

The area ploughed by tractors in the Northeast amounts to 56.5 per cent of the acreage of the arable land, a ratio one third higher than the national average. 33.4 per cent of the land under cultivation is sown by seeders, also a third higher than the national average. Harvesting on 11.5 per cent of the land is mechanized, which again compares favourably with the national average of 2.6 per cent. All the people's communes in the Northeast, which number more than 3,000, have their own farm implement service station, and all counties run centres for training their agro-technical personnel, their ranks numbering

580,000, not to mention the countless experienced managerial personnel in mechanized farming who have come forward over the years.

Of course, there is not enough machinery in the Northeast, which still faces the problem of the lacking of supplementary parts for complete sets of machinery. There is also the question of uneven distribution. On the whole, agriculture in the Northeast is in a state of semi-mechanization. In many localities, the concept of mechanization is still confined to the 'three old processes' of ploughing, harrowing and pressing in which draught animals are as indispensable as machines, and in which the wartime 'human sea' tactics is still a common practice in spring sowing, summer weeding and autumn harvesting. Understandably, the masses are agreed that if 'one thing' (meaning mechanization) does not go up, 'the three other things' (the extent to which man-power and draught animals are used and cost of production) will not come down. This is why they are hoping very earnestly that the transitional period from semi- to full-scale mechanization could be shortened as much as possible.

We noted in our tours the satisfactory manner in which the Chinese machinery meets the requirements of Northeast China. More than 90 per cent of the agricultural hardware in the Northeast is home made and the cadres and peasants seemed to have found it satisfactory. They would be happier if the necessary replacement parts could be more readily available and their quality further improved. But we are not starting from scratch, since, after all, we've had an agricultural machine industry for more than 20 years. It should be possible for us to supply the Northeast with all the tractors and farm implements it needs in the next stage and make all the necessary improvements within the next two or three years. As compared with imported models our machinery is still behind in size, in the degree of automation, in mechanical efficiency and in labour productivity, but using our own machinery saves investment; in particular, it saves foreign exchange, and it would have easier access to the supply of fuel and parts. Furthermore, Chinese machinery is more suitable to the technical level and economic conditions in China. Its use and maintenance will in turn give momentum to the development of the country's agricultural machine industry.

Funds for the purchase of agricultural machinery will be raised mainly by the

communes and production brigades themselves, to be supplemented if necessary by state loans, as has been the case during the past 20 and more years. In Liaoning province, up to the end of 1979, 83.9 per cent of the fixed assets in farm machinery were purchased with funds raised by the communes and production brigades themselves or with loans (which is also a form of self-raised fund because they have to be paid back). From this it is clear that the communes and production brigades have been able to raise at least 80 per cent of the funds needed for the purchase of farm machinery. One finds more or less the same situation in Heilongjiang and Jilin.

The ability of the communes and production brigades to raise such funds and to repay them is constantly being enhanced as a result of the growth of the rural economy. In Heilongjiang, all the funds were at first invested in a single commune, Beilian people's commune in Keshan county, which enjoyed the most favourable conditions for the development of mechanization. Thus in one stroke, it equipped the commune's 11 production brigades with 375 units of farm implements worth 2.1 million yuan, of which 1.1 million was raised by the collectives themselves and the rest came in the form of bank loans. Concentrating the investment on a single commune made it possible for it to purchase equipment in complete sets and thus to make full use of the acquired machinery. As a result both mechanization and affluence were achieved in a year. As compared with 1978, in 1979 the commune's per-capita grain output shot up by 72 per cent and was able to sell 26.7 per cent more commodity grain to the state to double the quota it was originally assigned.

The average per-capita income of the members of this commune from the collective sector reached 219 yuan, a 37.3 per-cent increase over 1978 while the commune's public accumulation increased by 1.2 times. In addition the commune was also able in the same year to reimburse its million-yuan bank loan as well as other loans amounting to more than 700 thousand yuan.

Of course, it would be wrong to overestimate the capability of communes and production brigades to raise their own funds. It is understood that their financial resources are not great and there are still poor communes and production brigades that cannot

afford the machinery they need. Great efforts have yet to be made in order to basically end the state of semi-mechanization in the Northeast in the next five years, in the course of which the pace of mechanization should be accelerated, investments concentrated on vital sectors, and more state loans and credits made available.

With its rich natural resources, the Northeast should have ample opportunities to diversify its economy. The potentials are tremendous and there should be no lack of channels to re-allocate the excess labour force relieved by mechanization, provided the task is tackled conscientiously. In Liaoning province where pilot projects in mechanization started in 84 production brigades during the past two years, 70,800 farm labourers became redundant, but of them 63,000, or 90 per cent, have been re-assigned. The industries and subsidiary occupations to which these people were re-assigned netted more than 100 million yuan last year. By thus re-assigning more than half of the surplus labour or workdays to industrial or subsidiary undertakings, Fujia production brigade in Yushu county, Jilin, and Xingshisi production brigade in Gannan county and Liming production brigade in Keshan county, both in Heilongjiang, were all able to raise their average per-capita income to more than 300 yuan.

Of course, to make proper arrangements for the re-allocation of labour force is never a simple matter. The problem requires attention as soon as mechanization gets underway, and ways have to be found to resolve the many problems which must inevitably arise, some involving the correct implementation of policies. Departments of farm machinery, for their part, should also consider it their bounden duty to help re-allocate the resultant excess labour force and promote diversification.

There are in the three Northeast provinces, counties, communes and production brigade where mechanized farming insofar as field work is concerned is already a reality. These examples have served to show the way. A feature they share in common is the fact that all have achieved mechanization in good time and with good results on limited financial resources, although the methods they used differed from locality to locality.

One important experience has been the giving of priorities to localities whose products have a fairly high rate of marketability, and

where potentials for diversification are great, and mechanization has made more promising headway. Proceeding from these criteria, Heilongjiang gave priority to 31 counties in the northern part of the province and along the Sino-Soviet border, some of which are great wheat and soybean producers. Jilin gave priority to 21 counties in the province's central sector, while Liaoning gave its priority to the 17 counties of the Liao River basin and also to parts of the Liaodong peninsula. But even in these advanced areas, modernization did not spread out evenly, but started with those areas which already had good foundation, or those which seemed very promising, so that a little push could go a long way. Special loans and credits for farm machinery were also concentrated on communes and production brigades having the best prospects of showing quick results and the ability to repay.

Another important experience is to make full use of mechanized sowing, this crucial link in mechanization, as a lever to bring the other links into line. Jilin did precisely this. For mechanized sowing improves the quality of sowing and helps shorten the period of farming to beat early frost. It also facilitates mechanized farm management, weeding, top-dressing and harvesting.

Other points of importance might be fully to tap the potentialities of existing machinery and replenish various sets of farm machinery with the necessary supplementary parts and components to maximize their efficiency. Machines that can be improved should be improved without delay and those that can still be used should be put into use so that we can do more on less expense. A great deal has also been done in coordinating farm machinery with agrotechnique such as changing narrow-ridge culture to broad-ridge culture, doing away with ridge culture completely, changing the method of applying farm manure, widening the rows of crops in intercropping, or doing away with intercropping. All have had the effect of raising the level of mechanization and farm output.

The above serves to show that it is entirely possible for the Northeast to attain mechanization, in field work at least, in a few year's time with state farms reaching an even higher level of mechanization. But it should be noted that even when this goal is reached, our mechanization would still be on a low level when compared with countries which have achieved all-round mechanization. Certain agro-technical reforms and the specialization

of production take time. Our mechanization will be one in which machinery will become the mainstay but will be supplemented by animal as well as man power. It will still be a state of semi-mechanization in which improved manual farm implements still have a role to play.

Down-to-earth Work is Crucial

The mechanization of agriculture and the establishment of commodity grain bases in the Northeast will require efforts and down-to-earth work. The job will rest mainly with party committees and people's governments at all levels in the Northeast and the support of the people. All departments concerned should also give whatever support they can. The ministry and departments concerned with farm machinery could contribute by doing a good job in the following fields:

1. Provide complete sets of machinery for the Northeast. The quality and quantity of existing supplies should be guaranteed. The output of parts and components in short supply should be increased and efforts made to replenish machinery with all necessary supplementary parts. For these purposes, it is necessary for manufacturers and research departments to go deep into the rural areas, listen to what the people have to say, study the special requirements of different types of farm work and make such improvements as are necessary. There must also be follow-up servicing of the machinery sold to the communes and production brigades.

2. There is need for people connected with departments of farm machinery to broaden their horizon. The scope of this industry should not be confined to farm machinery alone but should also take in machinery for forestry, animal husbandry, rural side-line occupations and fishery, embracing also all kinds of mechanical devices for the processing of subsidiary products and household mechanical equipment to raise the living standards of the rural population. We must address

ourselves to agriculture, the Chinese countryside, the peasantry, and the rural market. It is hoped that mechanization will tilt the balance of labour power in the rural areas, diverting thousands to branches of a multiple economy and thus bring about a change in the structure of the rural economy.

3. Coordinate with the three Northeast provinces for an efficient maintenance of farm machinery. All field work in the three provinces will be basically mechanized by 1985. The number of large and medium-sized tractors will be doubled. It is necessary to carry out surveys, starting with a production brigade, to draw a program for the most rational allocation and matching of machinery parts. Of course, this has to be in line with regional planning. Also, attention should be paid to combining mechanization with the requirements of agrotechnique as well as setting up centres for the training of technical and managerial personnel. Heilongjiang alone needs an additional 40,000 drivers and operators; the task of training these and providing improving courses for old drivers and operators is very great indeed. We must help the three provinces to perfect their system of training centres. The drivers and operators will be trained by stages and in groups and the managerial personnel will receive their training on a rotation basis. Good experiences in running farm machinery stations in an economic way will be popularized and various quotas will be set gradually as well as various systems of job responsibility. It is hoped that these measures will serve to give full play to the initiative of all those involved in mechanization, streamline the upkeep of machinery, reduce the consumption of fuel and, in general, bring all the advantages of mechanized farming into full play.

In short, we must penetrate deep into the realities of life; we must study and investigate, and make all our pilot projects a success. The summing up of all the advanced experiences will give further momentum to mechanization.

China in 2000

Yu Youhai

The year 2000 will be a year of special significance in China's history of economic development. What will the Chinese-style modernization be like and what level of economic development will be reached in China by then is a question every Chinese is asking. Leaders in the Communist Party Central Committee have suggested that by that year the per-capita gross national product (GNP) should reach US\$1,000, and China would then be a 'well-to-do society'.

This suggestion has roused widespread discussions and interests in various parts of China and in various departments in the country. Deputies to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held recently felt that it was an excellent idea to have this as a target. It is precise and practical for both the development in production and construction and the rise in the people's standard of living.

Per-capita GNP is now a common criterion for measuring a country's or territory's level of production and living standards. A deputy from Hubei said: This criterion is better than setting volumes of production for different products as targets to be reached. When the per-capita GNP of US\$1,000 is set as the criterion for the realization of China's modernization, it can apply to the whole country, a province, a county, a commune or even a production team. With this as a target, the Chinese people can give full play to their own advantages, and tap their potentialities. It will be possible then for each area to take full advantage of its strong points and avoid its weak points. It can also produce whatever it considers is most suitable, be it steel, grain, textile, fishery, or tea and, in accordance with their choices, they can map out their practi-

cable plans. This is a criterion which is tangible to every cadre and every person and is closely linked with their own interests. It is easy to rouse the enthusiasm of the people and provides them with an incentive to take actions of their own free will. Also it has been pointed out that this criterion has another advantage: Counted in US dollars, the GNP can be easily compared with other countries and thus provides people with added encouragement and impetus.

According to the practice common to many countries, the GNP is composed of three parts: the first is the national income, or the net value of production in industry, agriculture, construction, communications and transportation, and commerce; the second is the depreciation charges on fixed property; and the third is the net incomes of the departments of non-material (invisible) production. For quite some time many countries have adopted the US dollar in compiling their GNP, which can be used more or less to measure a country's degree of modernization and level of economic development.

What is China's per-capita GNP? According to statistics provided and converted into US dollars by related departments, the per-capita GNP for the whole country in 1979 was US\$253. To raise this to US\$1,000 means the quadruple of the 1979 figure.

Can this target be met?

This is a question which is much talked about and very much in the hearts of the Chinese people. The answer given to this question by many deputies to the recent NPC session can be summed up in this way: There is quite a number of difficulties, though there are also quite a few ways to reach this target, and for that one sees a great deal of hope.

According to 1979 statistics, the Shanghai municipality's per-capital gross national product was already far above the US\$1,000

Yu Youhai is a Xinhua reporter who wrote this after interviewing many deputies at the recent NPC session in Beijing. This is a translation of the Chinese original published in the *People's Daily*.

mark, and those for the Beijing and Tianjin municipalities were pretty close to that mark. So the three municipalities are actually striding towards the US\$2,000 mark, in the hope that they can greatly help the country to reach its US\$1,000 mark. For a great number of places, there is still a long and arduous way ahead. But hopes spur the people on and light is already seen at the other end of the tunnel.

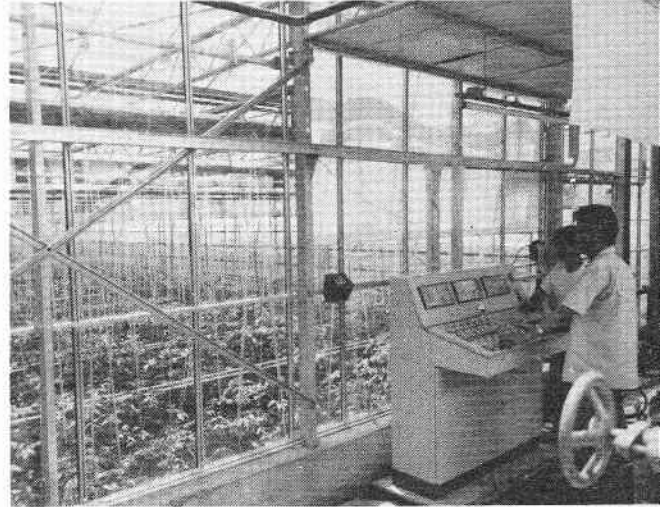
Han Ningfu, Governor of Hubei, revealed the following figures: His province's GNP in 1979 was 18,400 million yuan. Converted at the rate of 1.55 yuan to 1 US dollar, this comes to a per-capita GNP of US\$258 for the province's population of over 46 million. If the annual growth rate of industrial and agricultural production averages 7.7 per cent for the coming 20 years, to be on a par with the average growth rate of the past 30 years, and the natural growth rate for population is kept under 11 per thousand, the per-capita GNP will reach US\$1,050 by 2000. 'If we do better in our work,' Han said, 'and if we are able to give full play to all our positive factors, taking full advantage of our strong points, it is possible even to advance that date somewhat.'

How does Sichuan stand with its population of 97 million? In 1979 the provincial per-capita GNP was only US\$200, somewhat short of the national average. The tentative provincial plan envisages that the per-capita GNP will reach US\$820 by 2000, and from there it will take a further two to three years for it to meet the target of US\$1,000.

Speaking about this, Lu Dadong, a deputy from Sichuan, was full of confidence. He said, not without a touch of humour, 'I can say that our difficulties are immense. But so is our confidence.' According to him, for the present there are difficulties concerning the supply of energy resources, and this has restricted the development of the province's industrial and agricultural production. However, Sichuan is rich in hydraulic resources, of which only less than 5 per cent have been put to use so far. If more of these hydraulic resources are utilized, the development of industry and agriculture can be stepped up. Furthermore, the ratio of light industry in the province's industrial production is relatively low and heavy industry, particularly the capacity of machine-building industry, is not yet fully utilized. 27 million hectares of grassland, grass hillsides, forestry and rivers and lakes have yet to be well exploited. If we tap these potentialities, 'the prospects will be real-

ly good, and our US\$1,000 target certainly can be met.'

The per-capita GNP of Zhejiang province last year was US\$268, somewhat above the national average. Deputies from that province predicted that the target date could be met, possibly even a little ahead of time. The decisive factors, they believed, are that the related plans have to be reliable and be carried out step by step, with no empty talks.



A large vegetable greenhouse with a total acreage of 5,270 square metres has been put up recently in Harbin, Heilongjiang province.

In his contacts with deputies from Heilongjiang, a province in the cold temperate zone, your reporter was impressed by their down-to-earth spirit, their mental agility and their meticulous approach to their work. The per-capita GNP of their province was US\$366 in 1979, and they are planning to reach the US\$1,000 target by 1995. The deputies said that the districts and counties throughout the province, and even a number of communes, brigades and production teams had been talking about 1,000 and 2000. In their province is located the Daqing Oilfield, and vast tracts of rich land which can be turned into a granary for supplying commodity grain. These are favourable conditions for the province. But there are also unfavourable conditions. For one, its frost-free period is short. To reach the target of US\$1,000, the important thing is to emancipate the mind and to implement the correct policies. For example, they are now doing a great deal of thinking on tracts of light saline-alkali soil. There in the past crops were confined to maize which yielded only 2.25 tons a hectare, or soybean which yielded only around 750 kg

a hectare. Such restrictions were then considered 'the correct political line'. Now they have been broken down. People talk about facing reality, being flexible to suit local conditions and putting the stress on getting practical economic results. On some of such land they now grow beets which yield 2.25 tons of sugar to a hectare or sunflower which yield 1.5 tons of seeds a hectare. This has started a big change.

Soybean is the main crop in Heilongjiang. With the introduction of a new pressing process, the resulting residue can be made into high-protein food which is worth many times more than soybean itself, and can be exported to foreign markets. This has opened up another channel of foreign trade.

Forests, milk, hides, reeds, herbs—all these should be explored and utilized. The conclusion drawn by these deputies was that, if one's mind is ossified, one will find difficulties all along one's way. But if one emancipates one's mind, treasures can be found glistening all over our land.

Fu Huating, one of the deputies from Heilongjiang, brought news from Yinhe commune in Gannan county. There the total grain production of the 14th farm brigade last year rose by 250 tons over the previous year to reach 2,000 tons. The total amount of grain sold to the state came to 1,410 tons, and the commodity grain provided by the brigade averages two tons per capita. The gross income of the brigade that year amounted to 950,000 yuan, with a per-capita income of 1,-



The Xiangfang Experimental Farm in Heilongjiang province had a good wheat harvest over an area of 200 hectares this year.



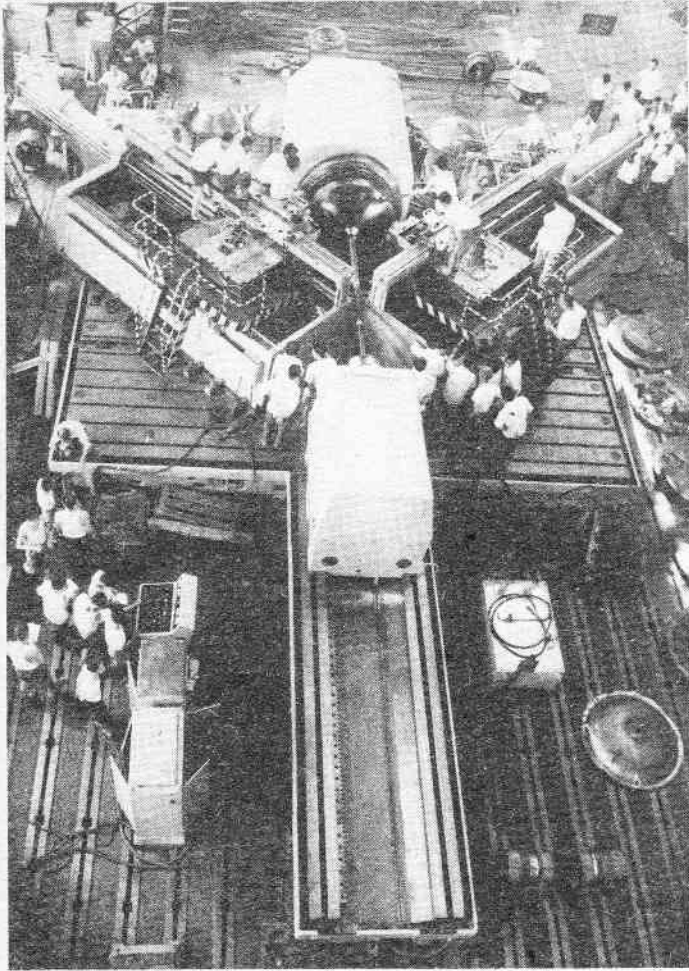
Assembling black and white TV sets with 12-inch screens at the Shanghai No. 18 Radio Factory.

350 yuan, or US\$870. Fu said that, with progress made this year in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and side-line occupations, it was expected that the per-capita GNP would come even closer to the US\$1,000 target. This report roused a great deal of animation at a session of panel discussion. Fu was invited by deputies from Qinghai to tell them the experience of his province.

Your reporter also interviewed deputies from Inner Mongolia, Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong and Henan to find that almost every province or autonomous region had mapped out the targets it was to meet by phases, its operational plan and the measures it would take in the event of difficulties. Wang Duo, a deputy from Inner Mongolia, while acknowledging the backwardness of his region, also pointed out the factors which are in their favour. He said that they were fully confident of meeting that target on schedule.

What will the people's standard of living be like when the per-capita GNP reaches US\$1,000? That is a picture which fascinates almost everyone. Of course, as it is now, one cannot yet see the details, which can only be filled in as work goes ahead. Some believe that the standard of living then could be compared with those of Japan in 1966 when its per-capita GNP reached US\$1,028. Others think that it could even be a little higher than that in Japan of 1966, for conditions in China are different. For example, there is no exploitation of one class by another, and consumer prices in China are usually low.

Though it is difficult to make accurate speculations and estimates, there are things



A 60-ton heavy screw type press produced in Central China's city of Wuhan. It can make large-sized rotating parts with varying curve lines and automatically control the rotating speed and the speed for feeding materials.

of which we can be certain. The year 2000 and US\$1,000 mean that a great deal of change and improvement in livelihood will take place. Education and cultural standards will be greatly developed. Television sets, washing-machines, refrigerators, and other luxury durable goods will appear in homes in increasing quantities. Meat, eggs, sugar and milk will take up a larger proportion in the people's food composition. A great deal of improvement will also be seen in the people's working and living conditions. . . .

When discussing the realization of the US\$1,000 target by 2000, attention is often directed, beyond the all-out effort to develop

productive forces, to two questions which have to be resolved if the goal is to be fulfilled. They are:

First, it is imperative to strictly control China's population growth. Given that the GNP will rise at the annual rate of 7.5 per cent, the US\$1,000 target can be met only if a good job is made of family planning, keeping the average birth rate to 1.5 children to each couple so that by 2000 the population will not surpass the mark of 1,125 million. If in the future every couple were to have two children, the population would reach 1,216 million by 2000, and the per-capita GNP would be only US\$925. The target date for reaching US\$1,000 will have to be put off.

Second, the net income of the departments of non-material production will have to be vigorously expanded. GNP consists of the net value of the industrial and agricultural production, the depreciation charges on fixed property, and the net incomes of the departments of non-material production. In some developed countries, when their per-capita national product reached US\$1,000, the combined value of the second and third categories usually accounted for 25 per cent of their GNP. But in China for the present that part only accounts for 12 to 13 per cent of her GNP. It will greatly facilitate the realization of the US\$1,000 target if positive efforts are made to develop medicine and health services, scientific and technological studies, and cultural, tourist and service trades, thus increasing the proportion of the net incomes of the departments of non-material production in the gross national product.

Statistics show that when per-capita GNP was raised from around US\$250 to around US\$1,000 in the now developed countries, it took West Germany 12 years, Japan 14 years, Italy 15 years and the Soviet Union 17 years. . . China has her disadvantages, such as a large population, and a weak economic foundation. But, just as what some deputies said, our people are industrious, dare-to-do and highly aspired; beginning now we should at least be able to complete in 20 years what others completed within 12 to 17 years.

'Rebel' Artists Finally Recognized in Beijing

Robert C. Friend

In Beijing on 29 September last year, a group of two dozen young, deviant artists, who were very definitely *not* following the centuries-venerated methods and content of Chinese traditional art, but who wanted to exhibit their works, were driven away from outside the prestigious National Art Gallery by more than a hundred policemen. Finally they had their show in Beihai, a public park.

This year, from 20 August to 7 September (held over by public demand), the same group had an official exhibition of 150 items in the same art gallery, China's most famous. They presented woodcuts, sculptures in wood and stone, oils, Chinese traditional paints, aquarelles and pen sketches. The oils, a relatively new medium in China, predominated.

The exhibit was attended by almost 5,000 viewers a day. No one had paid any attention to the young artists' demands for a showing—until Jiang Feng, national head of the Union of Chinese Artists looked at their works and ordered the gallery opened to them. There were apologies by the Beijing Municipal Committee and other organizations, criticism of the police (and also criticism of the young artists for 'actions that did not help solve the problem'). This time there were no police.

Did the Beijing city and art officials simply bow to 'uncomfortable' public pressure, or has there been a genuine recognition of the value, or at least the right, of young artists to paint freely and offer their works openly to the public to judge? One hopes the latter. After all, Marxists claim that socialism includes the democratic concept.

China's young people today—indeed, the vast masses of the people—insist that 'the

proof of the pudding is in the eating', i.e., in this case, that either democracy exists in daily life or it does not. The Communist Party is now constantly repeating that theory comes from practice. The young artists don't quarrel with theory, they told me. The elders can sit in their studies and write *theory* in their beautiful calligraphy, but the younger generation is more interested in what actually *works*—for the people—and for themselves—in a society into which they did not ask to be born—and with which they are not at all sure they are satisfied.

By far, the vast majority of people who attended the young artists' exhibition were themselves young people—those of an uncertain and dissatisfied generation which is such a large segment of China's population today—those whom a very high government official told me seriously were the 'irretrievably lost' generation. (I don't believe this.) Whether or not these young viewers agreed with all of the ideas expressed in the works exhibited, one could *feel* and *see* the warm kinship they felt with the 'rebel' artists—for both viewers and artists alike belong to that generation of millions who were traumatized during the 'Cultural' Revolution by the errors of the Communist Party in which they had been taught to have so much respect.

Just before the exhibition, Beijing's *People's Daily* made another bow to this battered but courageous generation, writing that they 'have undergone great changes (*sic!*), are not content with the present, and hate cultural despotism and taboos.' Yet the paper, a party organ, managed to leave its readers with the *impression* (though it did not actually *say* so) that such young people 'have fallen behind or even been corrupted', and ended its

comment with words the young people have learned to hate so much: 'But a whole generation of young people are maturing and marching forward' (whatever *that* means!).

'Maturing'? What young person is not? 'Marching forward'? Who marches *backward*? In any case, the young people say no, if 'marching forward' means submissively following old ways dictated to them by self-important, arrogant bureaucrats who try to 'lead' (it means 'control') their lives. Yes, they say, if it means no longer listening to empty words but searching for honest answers and thinking for themselves (certainly a step forward from the restriction and confusion in which much of their lives has been spent).

The *People's Daily* commentary didn't seem to cause any firecrackers, drums and cymbals. Meanwhile, I went on having serious, friendly, completely frank discussions with these young people who it is implied are 'fallen behind, even corrupted'. They are around me in this capital city by the tens of thousands. Many of them seem to have the same idea that one of the young artists in the exhibition expressed to me (I had asked him if he objected to my printing certain things he had said): 'You can write anything we say, for *we have nothing to lose.*'

China—which is often behind in many things (except perhaps in the political awareness and humanitarianism of the people)—does not know how to take the works of these brash newcomers in art (or, indeed, whether to call them 'art' at all!). Officials, master painters and art critics, both the famous and the not famous, attended the exhibition, and came away on both sides of the argument. One, a famous artist whose works have run as high as 30,000 *yuan* (about US\$20,000) in Liu Li Chang art shops, came away with flooding enthusiasm. So did others, high art critics and the more broad-minded. On the other hand, some master artists, whose names are also known in every art museum in the world, called the young people's work 'worthless'.

May be. But I *enjoyed* this exhibition—its verve, its daring (in Chinese terms, at least), its implied defiance of the strictures of Chinese painting tradition, its often beautiful pieces, and especially the fine, warm feeling of earnestness, freedom and friendliness of viewers and artists alike. (One exception was a middle-level bureaucrat who was very clearly ill at ease that the young people should be talking so intimately with a foreigner.)

I had long talks with these young artists in the National Art Gallery and later in my home (itself a breakaway from a tendency of bureaucrats to cling to old, anti-foreigner rules). They call themselves the 'Star' group. Their average age is in the twenties. The majority are ordinary workers. Most of them protested their job assignments, not only because they were made without their agreement but because they cannot spend their time with art. Many of them come from intellectual families, a number of them connected with art. Only a half-dozen have had any formal training. The rest have taught themselves and, while some critics have charged a lack of well-mastered technique, this did little to detract from the vivacity, spirit and passion breathing in their works.



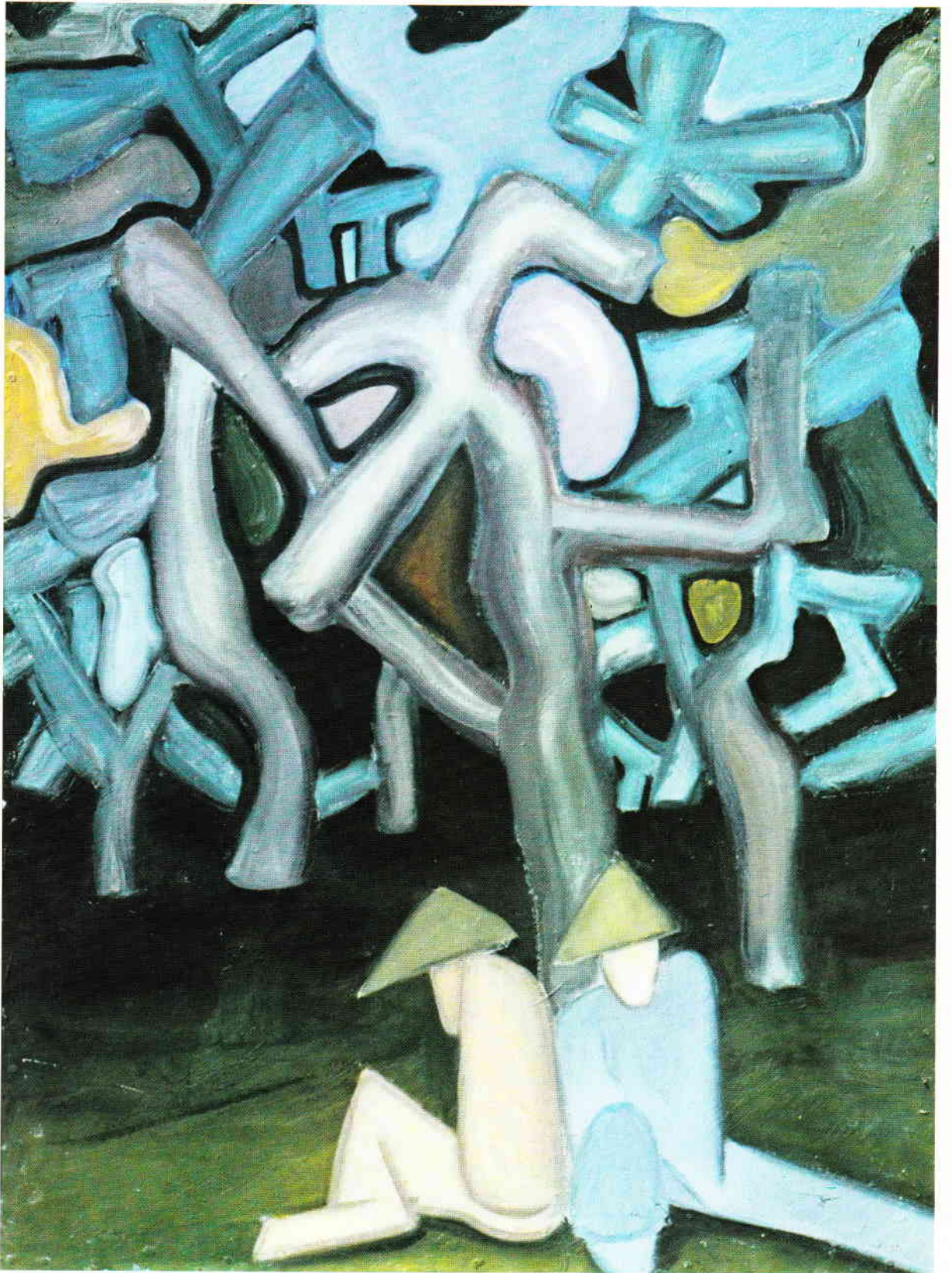
The South—Ai Weiwei

Among the aquarelles at the exhibition *The South* by Ai Weiwei was a marvelously gay and colourful work depicting a village facing the high, green waves of a lake on which a boat in black, orange and blue is making for the shore. This painting conveys a very real feeling of the struggle of the boat in the tossing waters and the solid safety of the village to be reached on the shore. Ai Weiwei is a good example of the young artist who



The Great Wall

Yin Guangzhong



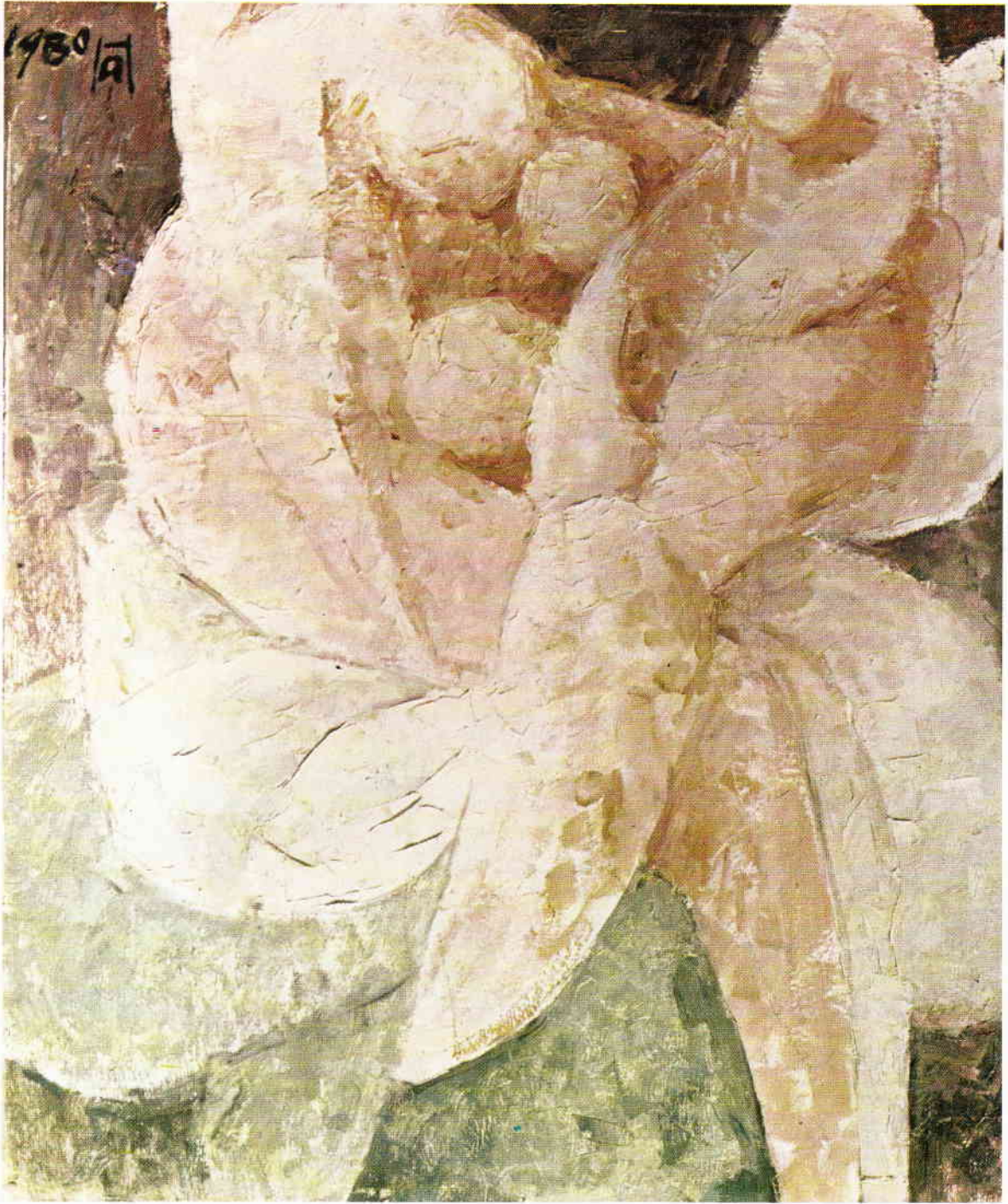
The Weary in the Garden of Fantasy

Yan Li



Looking at a Picture Album

Huang Rui



Mother and Son

Huang Rui

comes from an intellectual family. His father is not only the famous poet Ai Qing but a painter and connoisseur who studied art and literature in France and counts among his friends the master artist Lin Fengmian. We can say that Ai Weiwei's work also seems to reflect the warmth and positive outlook that his father holds in spite of 20 years of oppression (now ended).

One might as well note here the strong influence of such innovators in Chinese traditional painting as Lin Fengmian on some of the young painters of the group. This can be seen easily, for example, in the works in Chinese paper and ink of Bo Yun, 32, who readily admits his indebtedness to this great master. With some art training in the middle school attached to the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Bo Yun's entries in the exhibition came closest to the Chinese painting inheritance. His paintings have some of the characteristics readily seen in Lin Fengmian. Though generally not as bright, they fill the entire space, they carry only the signature and seal of the artist, and they use the many possible hues of ink with great sensitivity to mood and atmosphere. In *Town by the Water*, for example, the black-roofed houses are reflected in water without a definite shore line, making them appear very elongated and enveloped in fine mist. His *Fishing Village* is striking for its use of tones of ink to give one the unmistakable impression of a cold and windy day, gray and wet after a rain. Here one is instantly reminded of the chilly day of ap-



Fishing Village—Bo Yun

proaching winter one feels in Lin Fengmian's *Geese in Autumn*.

Over one-third of the works in the exhibition were oils. I particularly liked two by the group's leader, Huang Rui: *Looking at a Picture Album*, a sensitive portrait predominating in bright blues and reds, and, in a genre little attempted in this socialist country, and *Mother and Son*, an abstract painting of soft beauty in subtle tones of beige and pale green.

Two bright oils by Yan Li also stood out. *Life, Friendship, Love*, done in planes of pure and mostly primary colours, expresses a feeling and a reality denied to the young people during the puritanical years of the Cultural Revolution. Standing before this work, one senses humour and pathos at the same time. Something of the same impression is conveyed in *The Weary in the Garden of Fantasy*. The viewer (I, at least) has the sudden awareness of what the young people call the dark years of the past decade: fantastic, menacing and weird. Of this eery emptiness the people are tired. Putting myself into Yan Li's surrealistic 'garden', I could see no way out—and this pessimism, too, though we may disagree with it, is found among today's generation.



Life, Friendship, Love—Yan Li

Two other items in the exhibition reflected the acute problems of the young today as they consider their situation and its causes. One was Yin Guangzhong's *The Great Wall*, an oil in many fascinating tones of blue, depicting the wall entwining two nudes, a male and a female, enchained and unable to escape. The wall continues on, while below the couple the rocks appear as human skulls. The technique and composition are good, though the apparent message of the painting causes pain that any of a socialist generation should feel so starkly imprisoned and depressed. Perhaps this painting also depicts something of the idea expressed to me by the young exhibitors, which can be summarized like this: The purpose of art is to liberate oneself. It must reflect society as it is. There are too many barriers to art in China—one has to paint with one hand while using the other to fend off troubles.

The other example reflecting this problem of situation and cause was Wang Keping's much discussed and controversial sculpture, *Idol*, the head of a Buddha in brown wood, with a red star on its headdress. Wang's mother is an opera actress, his father a writer. He himself is self-taught.

This statue, a daringly irreverent rendition of Mao Zedong, has caused the eruption of much discussion in the West. Many journalists and others, instead of describing it as it is—one young man's angry comment on the personality cult and the Cultural Revolution—have tried to use it to prove the existence of a large, dissident underground in China. But Wang's carving has been written about in domestic journals and was exhibited to thousands in the official National Art Gallery. Not very 'underground'.

More pointedly, the West has used Wang's statue within the framework of what it calls 'de-Maoification'. Even some of the young people are astonished by this, for most of them consider Mao to have been a great man who, from the mid-50s, however, made more and more mistakes as he became separated from the people. In any case, there is a lot of discussion in China about Mao, about the errors of the party, at least about the line prevailing in the party in the confused and damaging years covering the cultural revolution. It is a hot subject that chews the consciousness of millions in China and many abroad—and I consider Wang's statue a contribution to this discussion.

Idolatry, of course, is superstition and must



Fetish—Wang Keping

be condemned, but in discussing Mao's role in history neither the positive nor the negative of the man's life can be ignored, *much less eliminated*. In Marxist terms this is dialectics. One should not be frightened that such a statue appears. In fact, it practically *commands* discussion. A good thing, for the masses of people themselves are the final determiners, arbitrators and executors of history. The time of the Inquisition, the burning of books, the censor's scissors can no longer be. China's drive toward modernization cannot afford such antics—for modernization means the scientific approach, not the witch doctor's pinning of labels 'good' and 'bad'. Science means thinking—and letting democracy and practice determine truth.

In discussing with the group I asked why there is such conflict and discussion around these young artists and their works. There seem to be three reasons: First, there is a generation gap in which the old do not understand the young and the young find it hard to understand the old. Second, there is an enormous, entrenched bureaucracy in China—people who think in old ways, who possess nothing but already-fixed answers, and who think of the young artists' work only as the result of 'bourgeois influence'

on them. Third, high figures in the Chinese art world (there are many notable exceptions) do not understand the new work, either because they can't or because they do not want to.

The young people's exhibition included an interesting innovation: comments and poetry written by others and placed alongside the items presented. Some of these, I think, help us understand the larger meaning of this exhibit for China. One is a poem by Zhao Nan accompanying the fresh, warm *Self-portrait*, an oil by Zhu Jinshi. It seemed to

quietly express the mainstream of these young artists' feeling:

*I am the beautiful eyes
That stare at the clear, golden sea;
I am the stars of blue
That every night play and travel with the
children.
I am a little tree on the mountaintop
That watches those who pass by;
I am the footprint in a field
Soaked with the sweat of men;
I am the wind, the rain...
I am man.*

WHAT IS BEAUTY

'What is beauty' is the theme of a column in *Workers' Daily* on 23 October discussed in four letters from readers expressing different views.

Two of the letters emphasize the importance of 'inner beauty', while criticizing excessive attention to fashions or hair styles. The other two letters suggest that concern for style is harmless and a personal matter.

A reader from Hebei province writes that some young people lack a real conception of beauty, and merely copy what is fashionable whether the style suits themselves or not. They imitate foreigners or movie stars, try to be 'modern' in a way which only shows their 'ignorance and poor taste'.

Yet these people should not be accused of 'pursuing the bourgeois way of life,' this reader writes. There is no definition of proletarian beauty either, he writes.

Real beauty, this Hebei reader says, is the beauty of the inner soul in harmony with outer beauty.

Another reader from Nanjing writes that a revolutionary is not against beauty or even a good appearance—but not to the neglect of beauty of the character. The reader says if young people only care about how they look—their hair, dress, shiny shoes and sunglasses—they will not have any real beauty.

A factory worker from Jiangsu province, on the other hand, writes that since working people labour to grow cotton and weave textiles, they ought to enjoy the fruits of their labour in wearing fashionable clothes. He says there is no reason for everyone to wear the same style of dress, and that people should enjoy themselves while they are young. He sees nothing wrong with permanent waves, dancing parties, and even lipstick and makeup. 'We all work hard so we can have a better life,' the worker says. 'So what is socialism if people cannot enjoy themselves a little bit?'

Another reader from Shaanxi agrees, saying that people should dress as they like and there should not be a set mode. In his view, so long as young people work hard and don't let outside interests affect their work, how they dress and spend their leisure time is their own affair.

Xinhua, Beijing, 23 October

The History of Bali

Husein Rofé

The earliest dated records in Bali are a little more than a thousand years old, so everything before that time must be considered prehistoric. Our knowledge of historical origins is therefore mainly derived from works of art or uncertain references in foreign chronicles. Available fragmentary evidence suggests that the island's history may be divided into five periods: prehistoric, pre-Hindu, early and late Hindu and the modern time. The classification relates rather to evolutionary levels than to historical periods. The pre-Hindu epoch is in a sense prehistoric too, owing to the absence of inscriptions. Since there was then no unitary state, conflicting influences were operative in different parts of the island. Typically, the older cultures clung tenaciously to the ancient ways of life in inaccessible mountain areas, where innovation and change were resisted.

Most historians locate the origins of the Malay peoples in the mountainous regions of Yunnan in Southwest China, believing them to have migrated southwards several thousand years ago. The second wave, known as the Deutero-Malays, came down the coast of Indochina, where a part stayed to form the Cham culture. Another branch probably traversed northern Borneo en route to the Philippines, and yet another found its way to Java and Bali, perhaps some 4,000 years ago. Ancient traditions relate that the islands of Bali and Madura were once joined to Java, and that both became separated in the year AD 202.

The Balinese belong to the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian racial division, having linguistic and cultural affinities with peoples as far apart as Taiwan and Madagascar. Somewhat more remote links exist with the Samoans and Hawaiians, Maoris and possibly the Japanese.

Another peculiarity of Bali is the megalithic monuments that were once equally characteristic of north-west Europe and the Mediter-

anean, of Korea and Polynesia. The earliest include dolmens and menhirs, also pyramids and tombs; the more recent include stone sarcophagi. These monuments are of importance for our understanding of contemporary Bali since they inspired the development of the Balinese temple. This is not of Hindu origin and its gods are not worshipped in the form of anthropomorphic idols. Apart from the stone pyramids, the *meru* or pagoda-like structures seem to have derived from the widespread megalithic pyramids of antiquity. The very name of *meru*, which commemorates the cosmic mountain of Hinduism, connects these temples with the very old cult of the mountain, prevalent in the Middle East in Mosaic times, always ultimately related to concepts both of birth and the after-life. The cultural symbol of the mountain is so widespread that it would be pointless to theorize on how it reached Bali. On the other hand, cultural parallels with dolmens of Korea, megalithic tumuli in Japan (such as the tombs of the prehistoric emperors) and the cult of the mountain in Japan, probably ultimately have common origins.

The present state of our knowledge only allows us to affirm that Bali had been colonized in pre-Hindu times by the representatives of a culture both widespread and advanced, though prehistoric.

Chinese records from the Liang, Sui and Tang dynasties speak of an island to the east of Java which they call Po Li or Ma Li. Although some scholars have sought to identify it with Borneo, there seem to be reasonable grounds for assuming it to have been Bali. If this is correct, the earliest historical mention of the island would date from the 6th century chronicles of the Liang. These mention a prosperous kingdom ruled by a certain Kaudinya, who dressed in a sarong of flowery silk. His successor, perhaps named Kalawingka, maintained diplomatic relations with China and embassies were regularly exchanged during the 7th century. The slightly more recent

Sui chronicles tell us that the people of Po Li threw the *chakraor* disc-knife with deadly effect. This is in fact a cult symbol of the Hindu gods Vishnu and Krishna. It would seem to confirm that Indian colonists of both Hindu and Buddhist faith had by then reached Bali and that a Buddhist King then ruled at least part of the island. An ancient statue of the Buddha in East Java close to Bali dates from not later than the 4th century and is the most ancient Hindu relic in the area.

Another Vaishnavite symbol widely used in Indonesia, the *garuda* art motif shows Hinduism to have been in the region of at least 2,000 years ago and it cannot have taken long to penetrate Bali also. The local rulers would seem to have been impressed by the prosperity of India which resulted from commercial expansion to the Far East. That Indian culture had a prestige value with which the Balinese must have wished to identify. Especially the saintly aura which Hindu priests could confer on dynasties was a desirable means of enhancing the prestige of local rulers. It would seem the Brahmins were invited to Bali precisely for this purpose (though such direct influence is by no means proven to date). They may well have brought their retinues and settled at Balinese courts as spiritual guides to the local princes. The latter desired to be consecrated themselves but had no incentive to impose a private faith on the animistic masses who kept to their traditional ways.

Brahmanism is an exclusive faith which erects rigid caste barriers. Although these may not have become widely accepted in Bali until the 14th century, by then the native Balinese were relegated to the lowest caste, such influences must have long been at work. Even today, only some 7% of the population belong to the three privileged classes, the *Triwangsa*. Certain rudimentary Hindu beliefs penetrated among the masses by such means as the *Wayang* shadow-plays, but by and large they kept to their old beliefs, since nobody had any interest in encouraging them to do otherwise.

It was not until the 11th century that Javanese influence led to some degree of literacy in Bali when Hinduism became widely established. For the intervening centuries, the following are the somewhat controversial highlights of early Balinese history:

The Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram was founded in 732 by King Sanjoyo, who is said to have ruled beyond Sumatra to parts of India. An inscription from that year found in

East Java records that this king had erected a Shivalinga pillar. The inscription praises his predecessor Sannaha, who is in another text described as the conqueror of Bali. These may have been rulers of the Sailendra dynasty which represented the summit of Javanese culture and was responsible for the monument at Borobudur, among the chief architectural glories of Buddhist art in the world. The dynasty ruled the kingdom of Sriwijaya, possibly based in South Sumatra. Java and Cambodia eventually freed themselves from its rule and in fact the kings of Mataram were perhaps a separate dynasty thrust eastward by incursions of the Sailendras. Their beliefs blended aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism and may help to explain how the religion of Bali later evolved a curious blend of both these with ancestor-worship so typical of ancient Indonesia, while Buddhism curiously survives in Bali today as a branch of Hinduism rather than an independent faith.

According to Tang records from China, the people of Po Li were now cultivating cotton, wearing earrings and making a potent liquor from coconut palms (toddy). The indigenous dynasty of the Warmadewas was now gaining control of much of Bali. It is curious that the name was also the surname of the Sriwijayan rulers, whose sway once reached to the frontiers of Thailand.

A pillar near Sanur beach dated 913 suggests a Buddhist settlement in southern Bali, the very area where subsequently both Javanese and Dutch were to land on an island encircled by inhospitable reefs. Perhaps the dynasty ruled for two centuries. The builder of the royal bathing pool at Tirtha Empul below Tampaksiring may have been one of its members. He constructed it in 962 and it remains one of the chief tourist attractions and oldest monuments, situated in the central part of the island.

The first evidence of intermarriage between rulers of East Java and Bali dates from 977. It is corroborated by authentic evidence of a visit to China at this time by a Balinese envoy. There seems to be firm evidence to attest the Balinese royalty of the time as partly of Khmer or Cham origin from Indochina. The marriage referred to produced the greatest of all the Balinese rulers, Airlangga, whose own very mixed origins bear witness to the cosmopolitan influences then at work in Bali.

The fact that his Javanese wife Mahendradatta takes precedence over all inscriptions for at least 22 years implies that Balinese

royalty was regarded as inferior to that of Mataram. This princess is important for the subsequent history of the Balinese dance and the island mythology, since she is the prototype of the witch Rangda, as portrayed in the classical and widespread Calon Arang dance in which the lion-like *barong* is Airlangga's minister who vanquishes this embodiment of the forces of evil.

Widespread disrespect for the memory of the foreign queen and a very real fear of her power suggest a major family revolution. She may have tried to supplant the claims of her son by preferring Javanese elements, even using witchcraft to attain her ends. It is not easy to sift the mass of conflicting theories as to her precise role, but we may conclude that the alien Javanese influences she introduced were not popular with the Balinese, any more than was the introduction at this time of Old Javanese as the new court language of Bali. We may be right in regarding Bali at this time as a Javanese dependency dominated by an unpopular foreigner. By 1006 her name has disappeared from the monuments and she may already have been dead. An unknown enemy then gained access to the palace of her husband Udayan, murdered him and destroyed the residence.

At the time of his father's death, Airlangga, then only about 17 years old, was visiting a court in East Java and this fact may have saved his life. Although he married there, he retired to practise asceticism with hermits on Mt Wonogiri, though later acceded to pressure to return to Bali. He was by marriage heir to the East Javanese court of Dharmawangsa and the only Balinese to rule outside his own island. He greatly enlarged the kingdom and contracted other political marriages. When he died aged 58, he was regarded as a divine incarnation (deified), and his tomb remains on Mt Penanggungan in East Java.

Airlangga appears to have divided his kingdom between his sons, one ruling in East Java and another in Bali. In the 13th century, Kartanegara, the Javanese King who defied the Mongols, took a Balinese ruler prisoner. At that time there were at least seven rulers of the island. Kublai Khan eventually sent armies to Java, but the Mongol aversion to heat probably saved the region from occupation. The resulting chaos in Java did however free Bali from Javanese threats to its independence for a while until it was subjugated by the new dynasty of Mojopahit early in the 14th century, though they scarcely controlled more

than the south and east. When Muslim rulers managed to colonize all of Java, the refugee court of Mojopahit fled to Bali. Probably the arrival on the scene of the Dutch saved them from becoming a Muslim colony, so that they have retained the Hindu faith to this day.

Subsequent Balinese history evolved in terms of Javanese traditions: kings were sanctified and deified, their followers divided among the higher castes of Hinduism and the indigenous Balinese made subservient to them as outcastes. The refugees brought with them their literature, saving it in Bali when it perished in Java. The refugee king proclaimed himself a *Dewa Agung* or Great God, divided the country into nine kingdoms and ruled from Gelgel as the chief of the rajas of Bali.

In the 16th century, the Dutch discovered Bali. Not long afterwards civil war broke out in the island and it became common practice to sell prisoners to the Dutch for the slave markets of Batavia (now Jakarta). East Bali however expanded overseas, colonizing the near-by islands of Lombok and Sumbawa.

In the mid 19th century, the Dutch sent three punitive expeditions against Bali following the plundering of shipwrecks. Eventually they conquered the north of the island but not before a local outcast hero I Gusti Jelantik had managed to kill 264 of them. It took 2,000 troops to conquer him in 1849 and he committed suicide rather than face capture. By 1868, the Dutch were the masters of North Bali, though it took them another half century to absorb the south.

Civil war led to overtures from the Raja of Gianyar for Dutch assistance. Help came but not surprisingly annexation soon followed. Further local quarrels provided pretexts for more interference. When a Chinese vessel sailing under the Dutch flag was plundered at Sanur in 1904, a naval bombardment followed.

The nobility of four courts successively committed mass suicide rather than face conquest and dishonour. On the spot where the tragedy had commenced, the Dutch proudly erected the Bali Hotel. They only ruled for a few decades, being forced out by the Japanese occupation. When that ended, Bali became part of the independent Republic of Indonesia. The remaining aristocracy had compromised itself too much with the Dutch to retain political significance. With the modern history of the new nation, the Balinese were ruled from Jakarta by the half-Balinese President Sukarno.

Notes on the New Marches (Xinjiang)

David Crook

Setting-up State Farms in the Wilderness

'This Chinese farmer worked with me on my wheat farm in Kansas for a year,' said the sinewy, suntanned old American. We were on the plane heading for Urumqi in Xinjiang, 1,600 miles west of Beijing, flying over the Altay Mountains of Mongolia and the Tian Shan or Heavenly Mountains of Xinjiang. 'And now I'm going to this place Shihezi, a hundred and some miles west of Urumqi to see him on his home ground.'

We ourselves went to Shihezi later on a weekend trip from our English-teaching vacation at Xinjiang University in Urumqi. It was a leisurely 5-hour drive. 'It took us 13 days to walk it in the winter of 1950,' said the university vice-president and party secretary, 'pulling our gear on sleds. I was one of 22 PLA (People's Liberation Army) men escorting 2,000 Kuomintang soldiers who'd come over to our side. Practically all the KMT forces in Xinjiang, including their commanders, mutinied against Chiang Kai-shek and came over to us at that time. We gave this lot a few weeks 'education' in Urumqi first, explaining that they'd been fighting on the wrong side in a war of liberation. Then we took them into our PLA and marched with them across the Gobi (the stony desert that Marco Polo described 700 years ago) to reclaim the wilderness and set up state farms.'

There are 18 big state farms in the Shihezi area of Xinjiang today, growing rice and corn and cotton, sugarbeet, grapes and melons. (Xinjiang melons are famous all over China and I ate more melon in one month out there than in the rest of my life.)

We visited one of the giant farms, which has a population of 22,000. It is headed by one of those former KMT soldiers who made the 13-day trek 30 years ago. 'I came from a

poor peasant family and was press-ganged into the KMT army at the age of 14,' he said, 'along with one of my brothers. Only one of the three of us boys got away. So it didn't take long for the communists to convince me which side I ought to be on.' (He's a communist himself now. 'Some of us didn't find it so easy to make up our minds,' and he smiled at one of the vice-heads of the farm who had been a KMT company commander. 'It was tough in those days, not like this'—pointing at a kilometre-long field of sugarbeet. 'Nothing to drink, at first, but melted snow and ice. What wasn't marshland was *gobi*. And after we'd transformed one expanse of wilderness and set up a state farm, we moved on to another stretch of sand and stones. In these last 30 years we've built ten reservoirs to trap the snow melt and dug thousands of irrigation channels. Enough to water 8,600 hectares of land for our crops and grazing for 400,000 sheep and cattle in this Shihezi area.'

This was part of the success story of Shihezi, which includes a model city of over half a million, with well laid-out tree-lined streets, an impressive woollen textile mill and other modern industry ranging from hydro-electric power and cement plants to paper mills and beet sugar factories. But Shihezi is only a tiny part of the vast Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region, which covers 16 per cent of China's total area—though it has only 1 per cent of China's population. Xinjiang as a whole has its problems, but they will be dealt with elsewhere.

Dispelling Illusions about America

We went to Xinjiang for a working holiday—to give a refresher course at Xinjiang University to Chinese teachers of English from all over the autonomous region. And we took with us three American films as

teaching aids, not merely for language study but to help provide a realistic understanding of American society.

Lin Biao-Gang of Four propaganda presented American society as totally evil. After their fall there was a swing to the opposite extreme. Not only American science and technology were praised, so was almost every aspect of American life, American democracy, American culture. Illusions about this capitalist paradise were reinforced by some Chinese television programs, including an interview with 'an ordinary American worker', who lived in a luxury flat, earned US\$34,000 a year and paid only \$2,000 in taxes. The American euphoria reached its climax early last year, during Deng Xiaoping's visit to US. Some little time ago the 'America fever' began to abate and give way to a more balanced appraisal. But illusions die hard and we felt it might be useful to show some realistic American films.

One of them was *Nightmare*, which China has bought, dubbed into Chinese and put on general release. It is a merciful antidote to some other Chinese film purchases such as *Convoy* and *Future Worlds*. *Nightmare* is the story of two American girl students of the University of Southern California, one black, one white. They naively go touring together through the deep south. When their car breaks down in a small town they run foul of the sheriff, talk back to him about his racism, are framed up on a phoney charge of trespassing and put in the lock-up, where the black girl is raped by the sheriff. Next day they are sent to the county prison farm without being allowed to communicate with their parents or lawyers. The prison farm, a lucrative source of unpaid labour, is run with horrifying brutality, including whipping, confinement in 'the hole' and rape leading to suicide. The two girls finally escape, the black girl decoying their pursuers to give the white one time to phone her father. The black girl is killed, the white one eventually released. The film makers state that the incidents portrayed actually happened (in the late '60s and early '70s; the film was released in the mid-'70s).

We gave an introductory lecture (having already seen the film twice) before the first showing. Then we took up questions, gave a second showing and finally conducted group discussions. Many of the student-teacher audience had previously seen the film dubbed in Chinese. Some of them had refused to believe that such things happened in

the US of their illusions. By the end of the process they accepted the producers' statement that the film was founded on fact and drew the conclusion that not only was there much good to learn from American society but also much evil to avoid.

Breaking a Month-long Fast

On the way to the hall where the film was shown we were shyly approached by two Uzbek girl students. 'It's our festival of *rozyet* the day after tomorrow,' one said. 'It's to celebrate the end of Ramadan (the Muslims' month of daylight fasting). Would you like to visit our homes and those of other minority nationality students?'

Next day we received another invitation. We were driving around Urumqi with a Sri Lankan colleague from Beijing. The driver was of Hui nationality and a Muslim. He too invited us to mark the festival by attending the service at a mosque. Later we were invited to visit the homes of the two (out of five) university vice-presidents who were of minority nationality—one Uyghur, one Uzbek. We cheerfully accepted all the invitations.

Early on the festival morning my Sri Lankan colleague and I, both wearing gaily-coloured Xinjiang skull caps and accompanied by two Han friends, were driven by our Hui driver to the mosque. We had originally taken it for granted that Isabel would come with us, but we learnt in good time that women were not admitted. She was not the only one excluded. When our two Han friends made to go in with us the driver suggested that they wait outside.

We ourselves were courteously ushered towards the front of the congregation, where we knelt as long as we could bear to, then gave in and squatted uncouthly on the carpeted floor. The intervals of standing were a relief. The service, we had been told, would be over in an hour and a half. Actually it lasted two hours and a half according to the old-fashioned pendulum clock on the wall behind the imam. (This was, incidentally, two hours behind the Chinese national standard time observed at the university—a calculated expression of how the minority nationalities treasure their legitimized autonomy. The Gang of Four had insisted on Beijing time, charging that adherence to local time was a sign of 'separatist ideology').

The prolongation of the service was due to the late arrival of a visiting Egyptian delegation. The delay caused some mur-

muring on the part of the faithful, but this was dispelled soon after the visitors' arrival by their melodious chanting from the Koran. I estimated that the congregation inside the mosque numbered about 700, mostly bearded old men, with perhaps 20 per cent middle aged and a sprinkling of young men in their teens and twenties. But the overflow, I was told, filled the entrance courtyard and stretched right across the street—one of Urumqi's main thoroughfares—and buses and other traffic had to detour.

Was all this a sign of a religious revival in China? We had asked ourselves that question six months earlier in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province, which we visited during the Lunar New Year holidays. There we saw crowds pouring into a temple to burn incense and kowtow as they made the circuit of the Buddhist shrines. More recently we raised the question to a Christian deputy to the National People's Congress. He felt that there may have been some turning to religion due to a lessening of confidence in communism resulting from the machinations of the Gang of Four and also because of the social work done by some churches (alms giving is a basic tenet of the Muslims who also incidentally run bath-houses). There had also been some upsurge of religion, he felt, in reaction to the Gang of Four's crude attempts to suppress it (Mao had stated that religion should not and could not be suppressed but would disappear with the advance of science). Perhaps most important of all was that a number of religious believers had never given up their faith but merely kept quiet about it; and now, with the general relaxation of social pressure they felt free to practise it publicly. He added that the current religious trend was conservative, even fundamentalist and agreed that this did not accord with the drive for modernization. But all in all it would be a mistake to speak of a religious revival sweeping China. As a young Uygur teacher said to me: 'I went to the mosque on the day of the festival, too. But of course I don't believe in that stuff. I just wanted to see what was going on.'

While I was at the mosque, Isabel was holding the fort in the lecture hall. At noon we went together to call on the Uzbek vice-president of the university, together with the three Han vice-presidents. The flat was on the campus and, like the other half-dozen minority nationality homes we visited that day, was different from that of our Han friends' homes. It had a distinctively national



A little girl of the Kazak nationality of the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region.

flavour. This was achieved by ornately designed coloured carpets on the floor and hangings on the walls, shining copper and brassware on the tables and carved wooden chests. We sat down to a holiday spread of local delicacies—melons, apricots preserved in syrup, the ceremonial *sanza* (unbroken braids of crisp fried noodles piled a foot high in the middle of the table) and lashings of roast mutton and fried rice. After lavish helpings of all this, washed down with strong drink and toasts to the unity of all the races and nations present, we were immediately invited to the nearby home of the Uygur vice-president. There we went through the whole procedure again. After that we staggered merrily to our flat, which was mercifully close by, for a siesta before doing the rounds with a group of Uygur and Uzbek students.

We did this, on our own insistence, on foot, walking right across Urumqi, often entering unpromising alleyways to end in attractive courtyards with cool arbors of grapes or hops adjoining the students' homes. There, after pressing on us melons and grapes and *sanza* the students sang and danced, while the guests,

always including some Hans, clapped an accompaniment to the castanets and guitars. We reached our last port of call late at night, but not too late for a midnight supper of mutton and rice.

Languages and Lifestyle of a Multi-National Region

Our month in Xinjiang was not all mutton, melons and movies. We lectured on the English language and American literature and history; on how to make the students' and teachers' English more natural and idiomatic by freeing it from the influence of Chinese and we ended up with a lecture entitled 'Tips to Guides and Interpreters'.

Interpreting in Xinjiang involves special problems. There are thirteen nationalities in the autonomous region, 40 per cent of the 10 million population being Hans, the other 60 per cent belonging to a dozen minority nationalities—Uygurs, Kazaks, Mongols, Tartars, Uzbeks and others. The Uygurs are the vast majority, which is why Xinjiang is called officially the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region.

More and more foreign visitors are going to Xinjiang these days, attracted by the spectacular scenery ranging from snow-capped peaks to stony wilderness and lush desert oases, as well as by the historic Silk Route, already a thousand years old when Marco Polo described it seven centuries ago. Xinjiang, too, is a junction of ancient cultures—Indian, Arab, Chinese. Getting the most out of all this depends largely on competent interpreting between not only Han-Chinese and foreign languages; the minority languages are also involved. Of these Uygur is most widely spoken. Interpreting from Uygur-into-Han-into-English (or, say, Japanese) and back is not only laborious and time-consuming. It takes much of the life out of human contacts. Sometimes even this cumbersome procedure is not available. Some recent Canadian visitors to Nanshan, a pasture region in the wooded mountains an hour's drive from Urumqi, were delighted at being invited to visit some herdsmen's *yurts*. But their Han interpreters knew no Uygur; so after smiles, handshakes, buttered-tea and *sanza*, social intercourse, to the visitors' disappointment, came to an awkward end. Yet on similar occasions we ourselves, with the aid of a Kazak friend who knew both Han and Uygur, had a jolly and interesting time. To solve such problems Xinjiang University is training minority interpreters who can go straight from

their own language into English and back without going through Han.

Such training is not easy. Minority university students often have only a limited command of their own language. They may speak it well enough to cope with simple matters of daily life but may not have studied it systematically or be able to read and write it well, if at all. This may be because they have attended Han secondary schools or have been burdened with the extra task of learning Han in order to enter university. Meanwhile the Han students, free from this extra task (they do not, as a rule, learn more than a few phrases of Uygur) have had more time to study English. True, the minorities, with their traditional love of dancing and singing, have excellent rhythm and keen ears, which make for good pronunciation; and the structure of their languages is in some ways closer to that of Western languages. But these advantages have not, as a rule, enabled them to keep up with their Han fellow students as their language study proceeds.

Another reason for this is that the minorities believe strongly that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, while the Hans tend to bury themselves in their books. Yet the Hans avowedly admire the minorities' enjoyment of life, just as the minorities admire the Hans' diligence in study. Both acknowledge that they should learn from the other—without doing much about it. Meanwhile, since their lifestyles differ they have imposed a sort of segregation on themselves in the dormitories, choosing rooms on different floors or at opposite ends of the same floor. This enables the Hans to quietly burn their midnight oil and to study on Sundays, while the minorities, whenever the spirit moves them, late at night or over weekends, knock off for a song and a dance.

So while the university scrupulously carries out the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards national minorities and ensures that they constitute 60 per cent of the total student body, (which matches their proportion of Xinjiang's population), in the English Department the percentage is lower—or has been until now. The university administration is doing its best to set this right. It has for some time been admitting minority students with a lower passing mark on the entrance exam than is required of Hans; but this involves the danger of the 'minority' students not being up to par on graduation. So the plan is now to give them an extra preparatory year at the university during which they will upgrade not

only their English but also their Han and their knowledge of their own languages. In addition, this semester the English Department is admitting an entire new class of 20 'minority' students. Such measures will pave the way for direct interpretation between English and Uygur.

Turpan—a Flourishing Oasis on the Old Silk Route

Even direct interpretation will not in itself satisfy the needs of foreign visitors to Xinjiang. What is needed are competent interpreters and knowledgeable guides—preferably rolled into one. We felt this when, at the end of our course, we drove for a full day across the stony *gobi* to Turpan (Turfan) on the ancient Silk Route.

The Turpan depression is a 5,000 square mile oasis 500 feet below sea level—the lowest point in all China. As we approached it in the mid-afternoon we closed the windows of our (non-airconditioned) minibus, the breeze blowing in being hotter than the air inside. We soon had to slow down and finally to stop: the water in the radiator was boiling. It gushed up like a geyser when the driver removed the radiator-cap to pour in cooler water from a *kares*—one of the underground irrigation channels originally devised in ancient Persia to limit evaporation. Midsummer temperatures can go up to 49°C in this area.

Turpan was influenced by Indo-Iranian civilization nearly 2,000 years ago and later by Arabian culture. The blending of these ancient civilizations with that of the Hans, and Turpan's location on the Silk Route make it a place of exceptional historical interest. It contains fascinating ruined cities, remarkably preserved by the dry climate; picturesque mosques with towering minarets and Buddhist cave temples, richly decorated with brightly coloured murals and sculptures—until they were plundered by Western academic kleptomaniacs at the beginning of this century. To do justice to the remaining cultural relics one needed a guide with a knowledge of history and preferably of Uygur, Han and English. Unfortunately our visit coincided with that of other groups of tourists; so on our first day we were provided with a charming 22-year-old Uygur woman, who had married at 15 and had three children (regulations on late marriage and family planning do not apply to minority nationalities). She had a good command of the Han language, but not surprisingly she had not managed to become a

competent guide. She was, however, an excellent singer—as we discovered at the folk song and dance concert in which she performed that evening. Next day we were fortunate in having a young historian from the local museum, who brought the dead cities to life for us.

Minority-Majority Nation Relations

The 78-hour train journey back to Beijing, through deserts, beside rivers, over mountains and at last across the great North China Plain, gave us time to ponder the problems of Xinjiang.

The proportion of Hans in this vast but sparsely populated region has grown greatly since its liberation 30 years ago. 'The Hans don't want to be here and the "minorities" don't want them here,' one person told us. That is a dangerous half-truth. True, life styles differ and conditions are in some ways harder—especially for Hans accustomed to big city life in other parts of China. And between a dozen different peoples, all understandably proud of their own history and culture, some friction is hard to avoid. The Western media and China-watchers have recently reported skirmishes between Hans and minority nationalities. We ourselves saw none during our month in Xinjiang. And on the university campus, among the vice-presidents, teachers, students, drivers, cooks—who included Hans, Uygurs, Kazaks, Uzbeks and Tartars—relations appeared to be good. The same applied to our three weekend trips and our trip to Turpan.

But we did hear of disturbances around the beginning of this year (1980). At Aksu, for instance, a town halfway between Urumqi in north Xinjiang and the ancient city of Kashgar in the economically less prosperous south. A young Uygur, we were told, had too much to drink and started a fight (Xinjiang 'minorities' themselves told me that nearly all of them disregard the Muslim ban on alcohol, though they observe the tradition of not eating pork). The police, militia and military had been given instructions not to use firearms to quell civil disturbances and these instructions were carried out. But in disarming and arresting the man force had to be used—and he died. When word of his death got round among the overwhelmingly Uygur local population there was rioting in the streets. Again no firearms were used and this time no one was killed on either side.

But sometimes tension could be sensed, even in Urumqi—witness the Hui-driver's

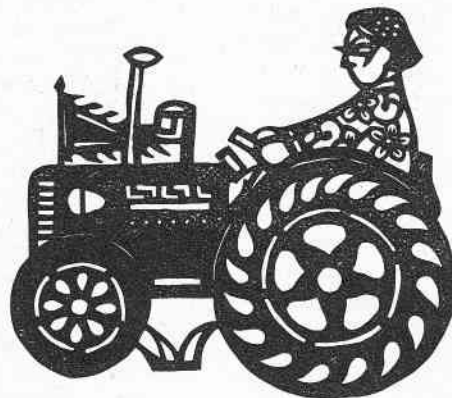
objection to our two Han friends entering the mosque on the day of the festival. This had not surprised us. For with the end of Gang-of-Four repressiveness, the minority nationalities feel more free to express their thoughts and feelings. These include dissatisfaction with the failure for many years to fully implement the Chinese Communist Party's policy and constitutional guarantees of equality-plus for the minorities. It was in this context that last year the Uygur leader Seypidin (Saifuddin) was recalled from his native Xinjiang to Beijing. There he still holds his posts in the National People's Congress and the People's Political Consultative Conference. But in Beijing, so far, he remains (though some people speak of his impending return to Xinjiang). Some attribute his honourable exile to his having had links with the Gang of Four; others to his favouring a degree of regional autonomy which would have amounted to secession.

The historical background of these events is that the minority nations of China are on the whole at a less advanced stage of social and economic development than the Han majority. This has produced on the part of many Han officials (cadres), at best a paternalistic attitude to the 'minorities', at worst a sense of superiority towards them—in Marxist terms 'Han chauvinism'. On the other hand many Hans are dedicated to strengthening national-racial unity and put their ideas into practice by helping to build up minority-populated border regions. The Xinjiang University party secretary who as a young PLA man trekked 13 days across the

frozen *gobi* leading 2,000 KMT mutineers to change the desert into state farms is one of these. Many other Hans responded to the Communist Party's call to go west and build up the border regions in the '50s. We found over a dozen of our former graduates of the Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing holding responsible posts teaching English in Urumqi, where they have been since 1955.

More recently, Communist Party leaders, determined to deal with the long-neglected problem of majority-minority nationality relations, sent a Central Committee Secretariat delegation, headed by Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, to Tibet. Its report, which acknowledged the failure to implement the nationalities policy and the prevalence of Han chauvinism among cadres, had a dual effect. It convinced the minorities, not only in Tibet, but throughout the country, that the Party and government were really set on solving the long-standing problem. At the same time it brought to the surface deep-lying resentments felt in all of China's minority nationality areas—including Xinjiang.

Can China solve her nationalities problem? Or is she, too, in for a 'nightmare' like that in the American film shown to students and teachers at Xinjiang University? Our month in Xinjiang convinced us that vigorous steps are being taken to overcome Han chauvinism and to replace Han cadres with cadres of minority nationalities. This seems to be the trend all over the People's Republic. Such steps are vital to making China a truly multi-national state.



Sampling the National People's Congress

The official reports made at the recent National People's Congress have been widely circulated both in China and in the world press. But little of the speeches made at the NPC panel discussions, to which the People's Daily devoted a total of 12 full pages, have been translated into any foreign language. The following is an English translation of what we have culled from those pages, which represents of course only a small fraction of what has been printed in the People's Daily.

Zhou Chuanjia (Shanghai)—The capital investments in the years 1979, 1980 and 1981 all amount to 50,000 million yuan. I am of the opinion that the scale of capital construction should be further cut back. In fact, with the exception of energy exploitation, the transportation of coal and oil, and transmission of electricity, all the other items should be slashed back. Only thus shall we be able to deflate our financial deficits. . . . During the past 30 years, the economic results of our capital construction have not been satisfactory, and a great deal of waste has occurred. In 1978 we spent large amounts of our foreign reserves to import 22 big plants, and now they have become a burden on us. Take the polyethylene plant with a 600,000-ton capacity imported for the Nanjing Chemical Plant. It consumes several million tons of crude oil a year, an amount which simply cannot be guaranteed. Thus the plant is still sitting there. We must take this as a lesson, and not blame everything on the Gang of Four. In future factory directors and managers should be made to bear direct economic responsibilities. . . .

Wang Xianghao (Jilin)—There are too few secondary vocational and technical schools, even fewer than the pre-Cultural Revolution period. . . .

Wu Lengxi (Guangdong)—The report on planning (by Vice-Minister Yao Yilin) says a great deal on the development of heavy industry, but only one sentence on that of agriculture and light industry, that is 'we must speed up the development of agriculture and light industry.' How are we going

to do that? Nowhere in his report can we find any concrete measure. . . .

Shinqin Losangjianzan (Tibet)—Oiyug in Xigaze district of Tibet is a semi-agricultural and semi-pastoral area which used to combine agriculture, animal husbandry and handicraft. At a high altitude and with a short frost-free period, crops often suffer from the cold weather. At one time stress was put on agriculture, and the result was that while farm yields showed satisfactory result, animal husbandry and handicraft had been neglected. People became poorer and poorer. This is a lesson for us to learn. . . .

Ciren (Tibet)—Some comrades (in Tibet) talk about the importance of the Tibetan language, but in fact they attached importance only to the Han language. They look down upon those who do not know the Han language.

Yuan Xuefen and Ni Guyin (Shanghai)—The country derives one-sixth of its national revenue from Shanghai. Production has been growing there, but the pollution caused by industrial and other wastes has become a very serious problem. . . . Every year enterprises in Shanghai deliver to the state a total of over 10 billion yuan in profit, which is more than enough to build a city of the same magnitude. However its application for an annual sum of 500 million yuan for the disposal of its wastes has yet to be approved. On the contrary, when it came to a project like the Baoshan Steel Mill, additional costs amounting to several hundred million, billions or even tens of billions

have been approved just by a sleight of hand. This has made people angry! I strongly demand that work on the Huangpu (Whangpoo) River be included in the state plan.

Wang Weiyu (Beijing)—The investment of the sum of over 230 million yuan for the proposed Trade Centre in Beijing was originally approved and later on increased to over 320 million yuan. A large sum will be awarded to American companies for designing and construction supervision. It is reported that it will take us 12 years to repay the loans thus accumulated. This is too much! Many in Qinghua (Tsinghua) University resented it. . . .

Liu Da (Beijing)—It is not right that it takes only a few words by a minister or a vice-premier for decision to be made on any important construction project. If projects like this [Trade Centre] are not reported to the NPC and a deaf ear is turned to anyone who volunteers an opinion, and if only the words of one man or a few count, then what's the use of the NPC. Let the few be dictators!

Yun Shubi (Inner Mongolia)—What is more important, the autonomous regions should be given greater power of autonomy, in order to develop their economy in accordance with their special conditions. Merely a few more favours and not greater autonomy will not do. . . .

Wan Li (Anhui)—In the past our work in the economic field has been too rigid, and there were too much egalitarianism and the mentality of 'all eating whatever they can get from a common cauldron'. This has its causes. One is blindly copying the Soviet Union. There has been too much centralization. . . . Another is the spread of military communism into all fields, bringing with it egalitarianism. . . . Yet another was the devastation cause by the ultra-Leftist line which has been especially dangerous and therefore it is important now to criticize the Left. (**Zhao Shouyi** interjects: The criticism of the Left has made fair progress in the rural areas. It is not enough in industry, or in education.)

.....
Now we have to develop political democracy and economic flexibility, to ensure the latter by the former. . . .

.... Even now workers and peasants practically have little power, all decisions being made by leaders. How can you im-

prove farming without making farmers their own masters?

Now the first is to raise the people's standard of living and the second to develop democracy. . . .

Wang Jiwu and Wang Rendong (Zhejiang)—In our industry of mechanical engineering, there is much advanced equipment. But without people who have acquired a certain amount of scientific and technical know-how, such equipment by itself cannot produce advanced products. The key to raising scientific level lies in institutions of higher learning, not in factories. . . . In the coming year, the outlay on cultural, educational and scientific work only accounts for 14.1 per cent of the state budget. This is too little. . . . The main question is not the lack of money but its proper allocation. When tens or hundreds of millions have been wasted on other things, can you say that there is no money for education? The question is the degree of importance we attach to education.

Badai (Xinjiang)—After Liberation, the ratio of national minority students in all categories of schools saw some increase. But with the campaign against regional nationalism, this ratio began to drop and dropped even more steeply during the Cultural Revolution. This ratio in 1978 was even lower than that in 1949. . . . Now the illiteracy rate is 45 per cent among the young and middle-aged peasants, and 10 per cent among the white and blue collar workers. I appeal to the central authorities for larger investments in cultural, educational, public health and scientific institutions in the areas of national minorities.

Gu Gongxu (Zhejiang)—In the past few years, the party and government have done a great deal of work in turning around the situation left by those ten years of disasters. This has been plain to all and they all found this satisfactory. What is before us now is how to overcome the defects and shortcomings in our work. I believe there are the following problems to be resolved: (1) Blindly giving orders. Profitless labour has been on the decrease. But there is still the tendency to ignore effectiveness, efficiency and cost-accounting. At places the leaders have no special knowledge and yet make all the decisions, while those who are in the know dare not make their views known. . . . (2) We often talk about res-

pecting science and objective laws, but have done little about them. . . . To do a good job, one has to have specialized knowledge. To rely entirely on Marxism is not enough. We have committed many stupidities by going against objective laws. It is hoped that we shall make fewer mistakes of that kind. (3) Squandering resources is not considered a crime, while corruption is. But in fact the former often brings greater damage. . . . In future legal steps should be taken against those who squander public funds and resources. (4) Bureaucracy and low efficiency.

Zhao Ziyang (Sichuan)—For our economic reconstruction there are both favourable and unfavourable conditions. I believe that there are two problems which have to be solved. One is the question of structure. The socialist system is superior. But the old structure is still a straitjacket which prevent people from taking initiatives. The other is that our infrastructure is too backward. This include energy resources, transportation, harbours, etc.—of course, also education and science and technology. If we do well in restructuring and building an infrastructure, we shall be able to improve our economic effectiveness and tap our immense potentialities.

Ji Chunguang (Qinghai)—We have to readjust our economic construction plan as fast as possible so as to put our emphasis on animal husbandry. This is. . . to conform to objective economic laws so as to acquire the best economic results. On a given piece of land, animal husbandry can bring greater production value, greater labour productivity and more contributions to the country. On animal husbandry every working day can net two yuan (only one yuan for agriculture). This means that a switch to animal husbandry will allow people to earn more. In fact the annual income of some household is already as high as 10,000 yuan. . . . Therefore the central authorities should make early decisions on economic plans for various provinces and regions to finalize the principle of economic division of labour between these regions.

Yang Shutang (Liaoning)—In the period of readjustment, the state should devote its limited funds mainly to tapping potentialities, reform and restructuring, especially to the reform of old enterprises.

Wu Yuanfu (Tianjin)—The nearly 100 million administrative staff and workers and several

hundred million peasants form the basic labour force for the realization of our Four Modernizations, but among most of them there exists the question of a low level in education, technology as well as management skill. 80 per cent of the administrative personnel and workers in Tianjin are below junior secondary level, and while the average technological level of the latter is grade 2.89, only one-third of the former has some training in management. This has become a serious handicap to the Four Modernizations. In the 11 suburbs of the city, 11.1 per cent of the cadres above production brigade level and 18 per cent of the party members are illiterate. I believe that, to realize the modernization of production, we first have to modernize the level of knowledge, for it is the people who will be working for modernization. Therefore I propose that a policy has to be made clear to all to carry out adult education among peasants and workers and overall on-job training.

Yang Dezhi (People's Liberation Army)—For the present it is still difficult for our economy to achieve very fast development, and therefore the modernization of our defence will not be able to make any great progress. Comrades in our forces should understand the difficulties our country is going through and look at the situation as a whole, so that we see the relationship between defence construction and economic construction in its proper light.

Gu Dachun (Hubei)—All matters of importance in an enterprise at the basic level should be placed before its workers' congress for discussion and decision. Leading members of an enterprise should resolutely carry out the decisions made by its workers' congress. Leading cadres of an enterprise should be selected through the combined process of selection by both the rank and file and the leadership. If you are talented, have a good ideological grounding and are enthusiastic in working, the rank and file will elect you. Otherwise they will censure you or even throw you out of your job, exercising the people's right to supervise over the cadres.

Fang Siliang (Anhui)—In local elections for deputies to people's congresses, there still have been instances where deputies were named from above and imposed upon the people. Some cadres who failed to get elected in one locality were named in another locality for election. In one fac-

tory more than 80 candidates were nominated by workers. However, without putting them through a primary election or consulting the workers, the factory leadership took it upon itself to pick five out of the 80 and billed them for election.

Zhao Chaogou (Shanghai)—What is exposed now in the press are mostly flies, small cats or cub tigers. A reporter has to go through many formalities to get his report exposing lawlessness into print. A report, after going through the related party committee, usually comes out more vague. Take the press story which exposes the former responsible member of Xiyang county as example. Why isn't he named? Many people as yet don't know who he really is. In my opinion, if in a press story there is nothing libellous or no distortion of facts, or if the story is written in the interest of the people and it is meant to help resolve the related question, there is no need to send the report for scrutiny by the related departments. It is hoped that the legal committee will draw a press law which clearly set out the responsibilities, authority and duty of the responsible member of a newspaper, editors and reporters, so as to ensure that the reporter can give full play to his own initiative and, under the leadership of the party, carry out inquiries independently and freely so that he can build up a mighty socialist public opinion and work for the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the rule of law.

Hu Xinyu, Lin Jinyun and others (Fujian)—Wherever it is fairly well publicized and democracy is given full scope, the direct county election usually gets good results. During the elections at these places, no candidates were named from above and all of them were freely named by the people. Full consultations were carried out. The people usually found the deputies thus elected satisfactory.

Wang Feng (Xinjiang)—Before 1957 our party's work in national minority regions was usually prudent. Peaceful land reform was carried out in the agricultural areas. On pasturage land no struggle or sharing the herds was allowed and no class distinction was made. The policy is one of upholding the mutual interests of both herd owners and herdsman. As to minority cadres they all had authorities and responsibilities appropriate to their positions. During this

period work in the minority regions was well carried out. Many said that was the golden era of the minority regions. Practice proved that the related policies and principles of the party during that period were correct.

During the period from 1958 to the Cultural Revolution, the central authorities then were no longer that prudent. Anti-Rightist, anti-regional nationalism, the 'five antis' in urban areas and the 'four clears' in the countryside—this whole series of campaigns, which all began with 'anti', were actually all anti-Rightist, and they were all exaggerated.

Hu Qili (Tianjin)—The over-concentration of power often leads to its opposite: The decimation of power, the multiplication of administrative levels which shove decision-making from one to another, and find themselves in each other's way. Just as Comrade Hua Guofeng has said, the people in the departments who actually do the work are not to be blamed. One should trace all this to the system itself. It is our country's administrative machinery which compels the cadres to do what they have been doing. To resolve the problems which now trouble us, we have to go to their roots.

Cui Dezhi (Liaoning)—Comrade Hua Guofeng devoted almost one-fourth of his speech to the question of overcoming bureaucracy. This is a very important question. The passage in his speech which calls upon the ranking cadres to take the lead in showing discipline and obeying laws, though only a little over 400 words, are very forceful and has won the hearts of party members and people.

Ngapoi Ngawang Jigmi (Tibet)—The peaceful liberation of Tibet and the democratic reform have won important achievements. These were the results of the party central committee having paid a great deal of attention to investigation and research and set down policies which were in accord with the reality in Tibet. Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, bureaucracy has seen a malignant growth and as a result Tibet has also sustained much devastation and damage. The Four Modernizations would not be possible if we didn't overcome bureaucracy.

Zhang Dihua (Anhui)—The duplication of government organs, overstaff, failure to

separate the government and party—all this breeds bureaucracy which has not only lowered our efficiency but also resulted in fruitless labour and has thus become a stumbling-block to the Four Modernizations.

Tong Yulan (Liaoning)—There are still many questions about how local NPC standing committees at all level can play their parts. There are one chairman and three vice-chairmen for NPC standing committee of Beizhen county. Two are on sick leave, one is 75 and I am the only one who can still work at 61. What can you do with such a crew?

Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain (Tibet)—Tibet must really exercise its regional minority autonomy under the unified leadership of the party central committee. The right to exercise autonomy means the right of the autonomous minorities to really be their own masters in politics, economy and culture. In Tibet we demand autonomous power for it is a fairly special autonomous region with its peculiar natural conditions, geological environments, national features, economic structure, religious belief, way of life, culture and arts, and mentality. Marxist-Leninists advocate that concrete questions have to go through concrete analysis, and that particular contradictions have to be resolved by particular methods. Therefore, like the other autonomous regions, Tibet should be accorded a full degree of autonomy.

.....
Some years ago, as a result of the devastation strewn by the ultra-Leftist line, especially the pernicious influence spread by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four who denied the existence of nationalities, national autonomy remained in name only. Autonomous regions differed hardly at all from the provinces. The people in Tibet said sarcastically, 'Yes, the Tibetan cadres are masters, but the Han cadres make all the decisions.'

Luo Yuanfa and Zhang Hancheng—Now there is a more lively atmosphere of political democracy. The habits are still fairly widespread of not allowing others to talk, listening only to words which please, and turning a deaf ear to words not very pleasing. There are also cases of retaliation against those who have ventured criticism. Wherever there is no democracy, or are no criticism and anti-criticism, there will remain only a pool of stagnant water,

not to say anything about rousing the people's enthusiasm. Bureaucracy, the patriarchal rule, the right for only one man to speak his mind—all this can be overcome or avoided by developing socialist democracy and unfolding criticisms.

Luo Yuangfa—China has been a feudal society for a very long time. Feudal autocratic ideas are still firmly imbedded in our minds. Therefore it is still a strenuous task to build up our country into a modernized, and highly democratic and civilized socialist power. For this purpose we have yet to do our utmost.

Ma Dayou—The quality of the service of our civic aviation is so low that it has become ridiculous. Not long ago when a delegation embarked upon a trip to Australia, they had to pay foreign currencies, even for that leg of the travel within China, when they bought their package air fares. On their return trip when their luggage was overweight between Guangzhou and Beijing, they were made to pay for the extra with foreign currencies. It is really stupid that Chinese travelling in their own country had to pay their fares with foreign currencies.

The government is responsible for this kind of phenomenon, for that was the result of the issuing of foreign currency certificates. . . . Therefore I would like to propose that the foreign currency certificates be withdrawn from circulation and that within the boundaries of China only renminbi be allowed to circulate.

Hu Lijiao (Henan)—In the past 30 years the total amount of investments provided by the state for Henan reached 28,500 million yuan. Of this sum, 4,750 million yuan, or 16.7 per cent, went to agriculture, 710 million yuan, or 2.5 per cent, went to light industry, and 19,230 million yuan, or 67.5 per cent, went to heavy industry. The rest was divided among finance and commerce, science and technology, urban reconstruction, etc. These figures show that agriculture and light industry have been seriously neglected. There was serious imbalance in the allotments to these various sectors. Now we are doing our best to correct this imbalance. Agriculture is the foundation of our national economy. We must first increase agricultural production. . . .

Gu Zhuoxin (Anhui)—1978 was a year of serious drought in Anhui. But the total amount of grain production still reached 14.8 million tons, which was close to nor-

mal years. 1979 was a very good year. The statistics show that the figure for grain production was 16.1 million tons. But the actual amount should be no less than 17.5 million tons; for the total amount of grain delivered to the state as tax and through purchases was 4 million tons (the highest before that year was 2.9 million tons). The rate of commodity grain was as high as 23 per cent, with the delivery to the state amounting to 650,000 tons, or 250,000 tons above the quota. This had been the highest in history.

The crops of this year grew very well, and a big harvest had been expected. But because of serious floodings which had not been seen for years, both wheat and early rice sustained losses. If there will be no further serious disasters, however, the level of last year can still be maintained.

In the first six months of this year, the province's industrial production saw an increase of 16.6 per cent over that of the corresponding period last year. The rate of growth for heavy industry was 6.6 per cent and that for light industry reached 28.5 per cent. Light industry had greatly moved ahead.

What shall we do to make our national economy even more flexible. This is a crucial question in our economic construction. The key now is to emancipate our minds, make our policies more flexible, further eradicate the pernicious influence of the 'Left', resolutely reform our economic management system, and resolve the problem of over-centralization of and over-rigid control on our economy.

Liu Yuanxiang, Wang Xiulan, Xin Zhiying and Gao Yutian (Hubei)—The peasants are not very happy about some of the current policies. For example:

- Factory employment: The peasants have no access to it. According to current policies, industrial workers are to be recruited from among those who live upon commodity grains, not those from the rural areas.
- Conscription: The new principle of this year is to draft more people from cities and towns.
- Cadres: Cadres are no longer to be promoted directly from workers, peasants and soldiers whose cultural levels are low.
- Enrolment: Because of the low quality of education in the countryside, the ratio of students there admitted through examination is lower than in the cities.

Gao Yutian—Now all the enterprises are to turn their losses into profits. In the end it is the peasants who will suffer.

Hu Sheng (Shanghai)—A different fare is set for foreigners who travel by train. This was based on a decision made by the Ministry of Railways and approved by the State Council. Chinese and foreigners are asked to pay different prices for the same thing and the same service. Sometimes there is yet another price for overseas Chinese. Is this appropriate? This needs some rethink. There is also the question of foreign exchange certificate. We don't know whether this was a decision made carefully after weighing all the pros and cons. But it seems to us that this was a decision made in a hurry. Since the institution of these rules, there have been some very strong reactions and criticisms. Yet none of the responsible organizations have made any convincing replies. (**Shi Lin** interjects: The two-price system must be abolished. The foreign exchange certificate should be withdrawn.)

Hou Zonglian (Shaanxi)—Under the influence of the force of habit in which seniority decides everything, one finds a great deal of resistance to promoting people who are really capable and are in their prime. For the present there are too many leaders. In our college we have party secretaries and directors, altogether 12 of them. This is too many. And we also have too many department heads, section heads and mid-level administrative personnel.

Wang Huide (Beijing)—The organizational law of the NPC should be revised later. We should put people who hold only one job, i.e. their job in the NPC, and who are in the prime of their life on the Standing Committee of the NPC. Positions in the NPC should not be honorary and be reserved for the old who have to be placed somewhere. A number of committees and sections should be set up under the Standing Committee so that it can really be a working organization. Organizational measures should be taken if the NPC is to become the organ of power. Liberation has begun to take place in the economic field, but not yet in the political field. Whenever anything bourgeois is mentioned, one has to add that it is decadent and that ours is a thousand times superior to it. When Lenin wrote his *State and Revolution* before the October Revolution, he still thought that it

was a simple thing to run a country which required only that the people could read, and therefore anybody could run a country. After two years in power, he began to realize that this won't do, and therefore he sent people to Switzerland specifically to learn how to run a country.

Qian Zhongtai (Beijing)—If the NPC is to function as it should, the Standing Committee should be a real working crew with members all in their prime. The size of the NPC should be cut down to not more than 600. As it is now, with its several thousand members, it can hardly discuss any problem. It is hoped that this can be resolved by the time of the Sixth NPC.

Wang Ruoshui (Beijing)—Our economy is changing. What follows should be political reforms. But it is not yet fully recognized. Take the NPC as an example. A great deal has yet to be done to turn it into the highest organ of power. The present practice is to lay decisions already made by the Communist Party Central Committee before the NPC merely for some discussion. This is really not the proper way to exercise the highest power.

Luo Shuzhang (Tianjin)—The steps taken on the incident of Bohai No. 2 was a good beginning. But there are still people who believe that while people down below had been very much upset by the incident, those up above let it off lightly. Comrade Tang Ke has replied to questions concerning the Baoshan Steel Mill. But his answers were neither here nor there and therefore the Ministry of Metallurgy has been asked to do more careful self-examination. Some of the imports are of very poor standards. The price for the observatory

computers is very high, but five of such computers were imported within a year. Had any accountant been called in for consultation before that purchase? The waste at some places is frightening. For years I have been living near a construction site at North Taiping Zhuang. The workers there just took things easy. Strikes are common in some other countries, but go-slow in our country is even more devastating, and nobody is doing anything about it. The waste of bricks and timber at that site was also frightening, with timber scattered all around the work site. For years people living in the vicinity did not need to buy any fuel. I call upon the various departments of the central authorities to put a brake on bureaucracy and stop squandering.

Zhang Wenyu (Shanghai)—We had a special long period of feudal society and feudal ideas have taken deep root. The remnants of feudal autocratic ideas form the biggest stumbling-block to our modernization. We are too rank-conscious, and the effect of this can be seen everywhere. . . . Specialists from the Western European High-energy Physics Institute had thought that we were a socialist country and therefore we should not be rank-conscious. But when they came to China for a visit they found that 'Chinese are more obsessed with ranks than the people in the West. It was not easy to eradicate this.' The party central committee has decided to abolish cadres' life-tenure and greatly strengthen democracy and the rule of law. But we still have to take many forceful measures before we can step by step eradicate the remnants of feudal autocracy and go ahead smoothly with our modernization.



Zhao Dan

Patricia Wilson



Zhao Dan

Zhao Dan, one of the legendary figures of the Chinese cinema, died on 10 October in a Beijing hospital of cancer at the age of 66.

A handsome, bold, charismatic figure, with his famous gravel voice, he is considered by many to have been China's greatest film actor and indeed one of the finest in the world. In a poem he wrote last year summing up his career spanning almost fifty years, he said:

*Great ups and downs, mine is a strange fate;
Twice in jail, yet my hair remains black.
Sour, sweet, bitter, spicy—such extremes;
In heaven and hell, I sought the jewel of art.*

Few actors in China ever reached his peak or were so bitterly attacked. He made his first film, a silent movie, just as he graduated with honours from the Shanghai Art Academy in 1934. A talented artist and actor, he decided to pursue the latter career. Appearing both in films and on the stage, he achieved overnight stardom in 1937 with his film

Crossroads, soon followed by the film he was to love best in his long career, *Street Angel*.

That same year also witnessed the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, which closed all the Shanghai studios and theatres for a time as the film and theatrical artists moved south and inland to Chongqing, the wartime capital, and to other parts of the country. Mr Zhao and some friends travelled farther to Xinjiang, where they were thrown into prison by the local warlord and remained incarcerated in horrifying conditions for five years. With his release and the defeat of the Japanese, Mr Zhao returned to Shanghai, where he made *The Three Beauties* and the most significant film of the period, *Crows and Sparrows*, completed just as Shanghai was liberated by the Communist forces in 1949.

The fifties and sixties saw a maturing of his art. His early sparkling, exuberant performances became more controlled and profound as he tackled historical and heroic themes. His best films of these years were *Li Shizhen**, *Nie Er*, *Sea Soul*, *Lin Zexu* and *Red Crag*. He played the leading role brilliantly in the politically much criticized film *The Story of Wu Xun.†* He also returned to the stage for a memorable interpretation of the role Qu Yuan** in the play of the same name.

*Li Shizhen, a 16th century herbalist and pharmacologist who compiled *Ben Cao Gang Mu*, a 52-volume pharmacopoeia and classic in Chinese pharmacology.

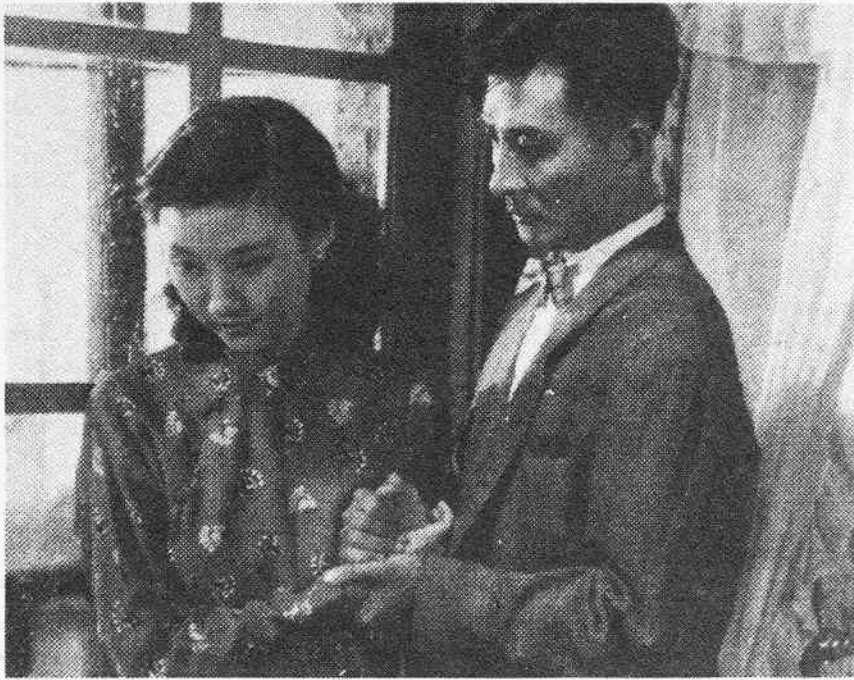
Nie Er, the young Chinese musician who wrote the music for the song March of the Volunteers, which was to become China's National Hymn.

Lin Zexu, the 19th century viceroy who was removed from his office in Guangdong and exiled to Xinjiang for banning the import of opium and advocating resistance to the British imperialists in the Opium War.

Red Crag is the film version of a novel with the same title which describes the activities of underground communists in Chongqing during the post-war years.

†The film depicts a beggar in 19th century Shandong who collected alms to run a school for poor children.

**Qu Yuan was a great poet and statesman of the 3rd century BC.



Zhao Dan (L) and Huang Zhongying (his actress wife) co-star in the film *Happiness Rhapsody* (1947).



Zhao Dan (R) in the title role of *Li Shizhen*

With the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Jiang Qing (the wife of Mao Zedong), who as Lan Ping had been an actress in Shanghai in the thirties, particularly singled out for persecution all those who had in any way associated professionally with her then, including Mr Zhao. Beaten frequently and imprisoned for five and a half years in solitary confinement, Mr Zhao survived; others less fortunate died or committed suicide.

After the arrest of Jiang Qing and other members of the Gang of Four in 1976, Mr

Zhao returned to normal life, making several stage and television appearances, visiting foreign countries, writing three books about his life as an actor and directing a play.

Just as he entered hospital for tests this summer, he agreed to play the leading role in a Sino-Japanese feature film *The Unfinished Game of Chess*. As he lay critically ill, he received news that six of his films were to be shown at a large retrospective of Chinese films in London this October and where film critics have acclaimed him as surely one of the finest

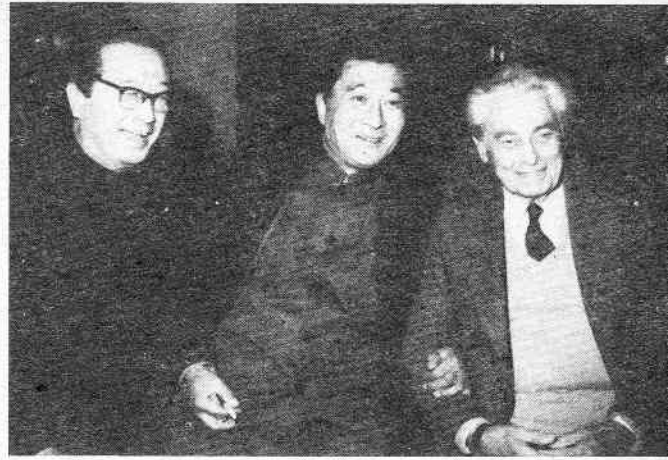


Zhao Dan as Viceroy Lin Zexu in the film of the same name.

film actors in the world. In November an exhibition of his paintings, *From 16 to 66*, indicating his fifty years as an artist, will be on view at the China National Art Gallery, Beijing.

He was twice married, first to actress Ye Luxi, by whom he had two children, film director Zhao Mao and dancer Zhao Qing. In 1948 he married the beautiful actress and writer Huang Zongying, by whom he had three children, Zhao Zuo, Zhao Ju and Zhao Jin, all students. He also adopted the two children of actress Zhou Xuan, his co-star in *Street Angel*, who tragically died in 1957.

In his last days he faced his illness with



From left to right are Tao Jin, veteran actor and well-known film director, Zhao Dan and the celebrated film artist Jovis Ivens (1979 in Beijing).

courage and dignity, giving what some members of his family termed 'his last and greatest performance'. Among the well-wishers who visited him were Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng and Mrs Hua, while Premier Zhou Enlai's widow, Deng Yingchao, sent roses and a book of her late husband's poems.

Even at the end, he summoned his failing strength to show his concern for his family and others and to speak about his art. He said: 'A man should not bring sorrow to others, either in his life or in his death. An artist should bring people beauty, truth and happiness through his work.' He requested that a scroll of his calligraphy be put in a prominent place in the forthcoming exhibition of his paintings. It reads: 'Let all people in the world be happy!'

International recognition came late to Zhao Dan. As more of his films are shown abroad in future, film goers will realize that his death has deprived world cinema, and not only the Chinese screen, of one of its greatest stars.



ON MANY HORIZONS *news and views*

Sleep Still a Mystery

100 delegates at the three-day 20-nation 51st Conference on Sleep which ended here over the weekend agreed that the subject is still as big a mystery as ever.

Their detailed findings will be edited in Switzerland and published early next year, but certain main themes emerged.

Experts were unable even to agree on the number of hours of sleep needed by a man or woman, although most agreed that eight hours a day were probably too much.

Professor Piet Visser (Amsterdam University), chairman of the conference, said that the actual hours of sleep varied according to the individual's body rhythm or 'natural clock'.

While he considered eight hours were too long, he felt there was a tendency to go to the other extreme and claim that four to five hours were sufficient.

In general, delegates believed that night work was bad and caused social isolation and unhappiness.

Lack of sleep did not automatically lead to stress, several delegates stated. As long as the human body was well nourished and rested, it could function with little sleep.

AFP, Amsterdam, 7 September

Noteworthy Bastards

Dr George W. Jeffers speaks respectfully of bastards, and has spent three decades cataloguing some of history's most famous ones.

Fidel Castro was a bastard. So were Pope John XIII, John James Audubon, Willy Brandt and John Wilkes Booth, he says.

Jeffers, a retired biology professor from Longwood College, has compiled a list of about 1,000 noteworthy bastards, complete with a biographical sketch of each.

His research shows that some of the world's greatest figures, in fields ranging from religion to the sciences, were born outside the bonds of wedlock.

Here is a sampler of some of Jeffers' other noteworthy bastards:

Adventurers—Sir Thomas Baskerville, Lawrence of Arabia and John Fremont.

Artists—Paul Cezanne, Maurice Utrillo.

Church—Saint Alban, Saint Brigit, Constantine and Popes Calitus III, Clement VII, John XI and Leo V.

Leaders—Catherine the Great, Eva Peron, Moamar Khadafy, Henry II of England, Philip of Macedon.

Fiction—Hiawatha, Billy Budd, Moll Flanders, Tom Jones.

Miscellaneous—Alois Hitler (father of Adolf), Jack London, Joel Chandler Harris, Marilyn Monroe, Charles Manson and Pericles.

UPI, Farmville, Virginia, 7 September

Publishers' Dreamland

China has become a publishers' dreamland where there are now 1,700 newspapers and magazines with a total circulation of over 150 million.

In the past two years, about 400 kinds of new journals on natural and social sciences, literature and art started publication, the Xinhua News Agency reported on 8 September.

In addition, over 100 newspapers and journals have been revived.

The *People's Daily*, organ of the Communist Party of China, will soon start the publication of an English language version, the agency said.

AFP, Beijing, 8 September

Swelling Ranks of Centenarians

Japanese centenarians rose by 31 to 968 in the past one year, and is expected to exceed the 1,000 mark next year, the Health and Welfare Ministry said today.

According to an annual list made public by the ministry, centenarians increased threefold in the past decade from a 1970 total of 310.

Topping the list for the fourth straight year is Mr Shigechiyo Izumi of the subtropical Tokunoshima Island off Kagoshima prefecture (state), who was born on June 29, 1865 and is now 115 years old. The *Guinness Book of Records* lists him as the world's oldest person.

Of the 968 centenarians, there are only 174 men against 794 women.

AFP, Tokyo, 9 September

Too Many Cooks Spoil the Omelet

Thirty chefs dropped a one-ton omelet at San-turce, northern Spain, on 11 September, dashing their hopes of breaking a world record and of disproving the old adage about too many cooks spoiling the broth.

The accident occurred while the cooks were trying to turn over a tortilla (Spanish omelet) in a cooking competition.

In addition to the loss of face, the promoters lost about HK\$7,000 worth of ingredients, including 310 dozen eggs, 220 pounds of potatoes, 550 pounds of onions, 330 pounds of red peppers, 270 quarts of oil and 26 pounds of salt.

AFP, Madrid, 12 September

Now 10,000 Political Prisoners in USSR

Over the past year, the Soviet Union has carried out some of the most severe and intensive campaigns to silence and suppress political dissent since the Stalin era, the US State Department charged on 16

September.

Assistant Secretary of State Patricia Derian estimated there are now some 10,000 political prisoners in the Soviet Union, 'many of them incarcerated in labour camps under extremely harsh conditions injurious to their health.'

UPI, Washington, 16 September

'Frozen Zoo'

Alarmed about the rapid disappearance of exotic animals, the nation's zoo-keepers have endorsed a plan to set up a 'frozen zoo' consisting of banks of sperm and fertile eggs that will be shipped to breeding centres in five major locations.

'Natural habitat is disappearing at a frightening rate,' said Dennis Merritt, assistant director of Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo. 'In another generation zoos and wildlife preserves will be the only depositories of exotic wild animals—the only place where they can be seen.'

His 'species survival program' was endorsed on 16 September by 650 representatives of 200 American and Canadian zoos and aquariums at the conference of the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums. Merritt is chairman of the conservation committee.

AP, Chicago, 17 September

National Costume for Thai Officials

Thailand has adopted a Mao-style shirt-jacket designed by the king and popularized by the Prime Minister as its national costume.

The stub-collared shirt, known as 'Sua Prarachatan' (royally bestowed), may replace Western dress for government employees and be worn at official functions under a cabinet decree issued yesterday.

Worn with a sash in lieu of a belt, it was also declared suitable for formal occasions. Both short sleeves and long sleeves are permitted, and Thai silk is de rigueur.

AFP, Bangkok, 17 September

Cuban Cosmonaut Aboard Soviet Spaceship

A Cuban cosmonaut and a Soviet mission commander rocketed into space on the evening of 18 September aboard the Soyuz-38 spaceship, the Soviet news agency Tass reported.

Cuban cosmonaut Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez is the seventh non-Soviet to fly in the Soviet Union's intercosmos space program.

AP, Moscow, 18 September

18-hour Baby Has Open-heart Operation

A baby boy has had successful open-heart surgery here 18 hours after birth to become the youngest person ever to undergo such an operation, South African medical experts said today.

Edwin Smith, operated on 18 September by a team of South African surgeons led by Professor Rob Kinsley, was reported today to be in satisfactory condition at a Johannesburg hospital.

AFP, Johannesburg, 22 September

Violence Against Women in US

One of every four girls born in the United States will be raped or molested by the time she is 18 years old, according to one of the speakers at a conference on violence against women.

Furthermore, 1.8 million American women have been beaten by their husbands and probably 'many more' cases go unreported, another speaker said.

Those were some of the statistics presented to the 700 women from 30 states and several foreign countries who attended the four-day National Conference on Violence Against Women that ended here on 21 September.

AP, Denver, Colorado, 22 September

First Woman Teacher at Eton

Eton College, one of Britain's most exclusive private schools and a bastion of manly virtue, has taken on the first woman teacher in its 540-year history—a French school mistress.

School governors on 23 September took the wraps off Mlle Elaine Vogel, a 27-year-old blonde Parisienne, who started giving French classes this term.

The arrival of a woman teacher is the latest in a string of reforms at Eton that have opened the doors on what was once the jealously guarded preserve of the bulldog breed.

AP, Eton, England, 24 September

Tallest Girl

A 2.35-metre (7 foot 8½ inch) Chinese girl may be the world's tallest living woman, China's *Health News* suggested on 5 October.

The paper ran a photo of 16-year-old Zeng Jinlian standing next to a 1.65-metre (5 foot 5 inch) woman, and said the 1979 *Guinness Book of World Records* listed an American woman from Chicago as tallest at 2.32 metres (7 feet 7½ inches).

AP, Beijing, 5 October

More Bspectacled Students in Singapore

As education levels rise in Singapore the eyesight of its young students is apparently dimming.

Almost one in two 16- to 17-year-old secondary school students are short-sighted now. Five years ago one in three suffered from myopia.

AFP, Singapore, 5 October

Mosquitoes Kill Cattle

Huge flocks of mosquitoes, hatched by the floodwaters of hurricane Allen, apparently have killed cattle by draining their blood, officials say.

The experts said the mosquitoes have been brought under control but that at least 40 head of cattle died on one ranch in only the second recorded instance of mosquitoes killing cattle in the United States.

Mosquito eggs are dependent upon water to hatch and the summer drought kept the eggs deposited in the fields of the coastal plains from hatching until hurricane Allen shoved ashore in August.

UPI, College Station, Texas, 6 October

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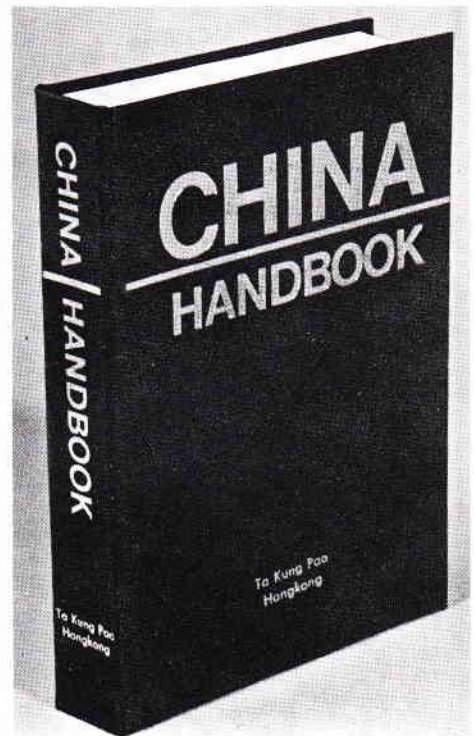
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