

BEIJING REVIEW

- Sino-Japanese Relations: New Horizons
- China's Democratic Parties
- Life-Size Terracotta Warrior of 200 B.C.



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Left: Life-size warrior and horse.

Right: Archaeological workers excavating and sorting out terracotta warriors and horses.

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CHRONICLE

December 3

● Premier Hua Guofeng met with General Abdel Magid Hamid Khalil, First Vice-President, Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Sudan. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the continuous development and strengthening of bilateral friendly relations.

December 6

● Vice-Premier Fang Yi had talks with Pierre Aigrain, French Secretary of State for Research. Both sides held that there were bright prospects for scientific and technological co-operation and exchanges between China and France.

● Three hundred and thirty-eight foreign students in Beijing from 47 countries issued a joint statement demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. They also forwarded 2,879.67 yuan, which they raised in one week, to the International Committee of the Red Cross for Medical Care of Children in Kampuchea.

December 8

● Xinhua News Agency reported that a national conference on urban social order and security was held recently in Beijing. It focused on problems about the social order and discussed the principles, tasks and measures for dealing with them.

● Comrades Li Xiannian and Hu Yaobang met with delegates to the Second National Conference on the Education of Peasants. Comrade Li gave a speech pointing out that such education was an important question and should be well handled.

December 9

● Hadji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti, arrived in Beijing on an official visit to China. He was welcomed at the airport by Premier Hua.

● Japanese Prime Minister Ohira flew home via Shanghai after visiting Xian.



Sino-Japanese Co-operation: New Horizons

Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira of Japan received a warm welcome from the Chinese Government and people during his successful visit to China from December 5 to 9. Premier Hua Guofeng said that the Japanese Prime Minister's visit, though brief, was extremely fruitful.

Prime Minister Ohira had talks with Premier Hua and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on separate occasions. They discussed at length the question of economic, cultural, scientific and technological co-operation and exchanged a wide range of views on the situation in Asia and international problems of mutual interest. The "China-Japan Joint Press Communiqué on the Occasion of Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira's Official Visit to China" issued on December 7 pointed out that the leaders of the two countries expressed satisfaction that the talks had contributed greatly to the furtherance of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries.

During Prime Minister Ohira's visit, Vice-Premier Gu Mu and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held separate talks with the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Saburo Okita.

International Situation and Bilateral Relations. When the leaders of the two countries exchanged their frank views on the international situation, particularly on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, they affirmed their concern for the maintenance of peace and stability in this region and the deter-

mination of the two countries to make sustained efforts, on the basis of their respective positions, to preserve and secure peace and stability in Asia and the world.

They expressed their deep satisfaction with the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries since the normalization of relations in the autumn of 1972 and affirmed that they should, in the years to come, strive to firmly maintain and develop these relations on the basis of the China-Japan Joint Statement and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

They also emphasized that, while their political and social systems are different, there was the need to further promote exchanges at all levels so as to deepen mutual understanding and trust. The two sides held

that the dialogue between the two governments should be strengthened and it was decided that, apart from consultations between the two foreign ministers whenever desirable, an annual meeting between high-level foreign ministry officials would be held alternately in their respective capitals.

Premier Hua accepted the invitation of Prime Minister Ohira and the Japanese Government to visit Japan in May next year.

Economic and Cultural Co-operation. In the field of economic co-operation, the Japanese Government declared its intention to co-operate to the extent possible in the Shijiusuo Port Construction Project, the Yanzhou-Shijiusuo Railway Construction Project, the Beijing-Qinhuangdao Railway Expansion Project, the Guangzhou-Hengyang Railway Expansion



Premier Hua presents Prime Minister Ohira with a photograph of the giant panda Huan Huan which will be sent to Japan as a gift.

Project, the Qinhuangdao Port Expansion Project, and the Wuqiangxi Hydroelectric Power Plant Construction Project which the Chinese Government gives high priority in its modernization programme. Prime Minister Ohira stated that the Japanese Government has the intention to co-operate in extending a loan up to the amount of 50,000 million yen for fiscal 1979. The Japanese Government is making domestic arrangements so that China will be eligible for Japan's preferential tariff system for developing countries, with necessary adjustments, beginning in April 1980.

The leaders of the two countries exchanged views on matters relating to natural resources and energy. On December 6, an agreement was signed on the joint exploration and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas resources in the southern and western parts of the Bohai Sea, covering an area of 25,500 square kilometres.

During Prime Minister Ohira's visit, China and Japan also signed an agreement on cultural exchanges, which specifies the form of co-operation to be followed by the two governments, and they declared that they will encourage cultural exchanges between various organizations and individuals in the two countries and ensure their smooth progress. The two sides believe that expanding cultural, educational, academic and sports exchanges will help promote mutual understanding and friendship. The two sides also agreed that negotiations would start at the earliest possible opportunity next year for the purpose of concluding an agreement on co-operation in the field of science and technology.

New Prospects. Two thousand years of traditional friendship and mutual interest in the world affairs today ensure a strong affinity between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and endow great vitality to the development of friendly relations.

In his speech at the auditorium of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and at the press conference he gave in Beijing, Prime Minister Ohira declared that Japan-China relations should develop with greater breadth and depth not only for the 1980s but also in the 21st century on the basis of the Japan-China Joint Statement and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. Premier Hua pointed out that amity and friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples from generation to generation will make it possible for them to make a major and lasting contribution to peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

On December 8, Prime Minister Ohira and Mrs. Ohira flew to the ancient city of Xian in Shaanxi Province and visited the museum housing about 1,000 terracotta warriors and horses of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), and other places of historic interest. Xian was the ancient capital of China known as Changan in the Tang Dynasty, which was "one of the most significant eras in the annals of Japan-China interchange," as the Japanese Prime Minister pointed out when he and his hosts recalled the traditional friendship and cultural interchange between the peoples of the two countries.

Selecting Middle-Aged and Young Leading Cadres

After three years of readjustment, the leadership in most places and departments in China is now in the hands of cadres who enjoy the people's trust. A large number of veteran cadres with 40 or more years of revolutionary experiences, who were brutally attacked and ill-treated several years ago, now again have taken up leading posts playing a key role in their respective units. However, there are some leading groups which are not quite up to the requirements for the realization of the four modernizations. A conspicuous aspect is the lack of young, vigorous and competent cadres in leading groups at all levels.

Strategic Significance. On November 29, *Renmin Ribao* published an article by a commentator about this problem. After being reassigned work, it noted, many veteran cadres want to work harder for the Party and people, but they are handicapped by their failing health. This problem will become more and more acute as time passes.

The article said: "Realizing the great goal of the four modernizations is not a task for just one generation. Could the Party's political line be carried on one or two decades from now? Could the political situation of stability and unity be maintained? There is reason for the people to worry about it. Though many of our veteran cadres are comparatively healthy and can still work for a few years, what about our work several decades from now? This is why they hope to select and train as soon as possible some fine young or relatively young

cadres, so that they may step by step hand over their own work to these young people who will be successors to the Party's cause. This is a far-sighted view."

The article added: "Fundamentally speaking, this is a question of whether Party and government leadership at various levels is in the hands of Marxists and one on which the fate of the Party and state hinges." To select middle-aged and young cadres, therefore, is a major policy decision taken by the Party Central Committee and an urgent task facing the entire Party.

Criteria for Selection. To train and select cadres, the article noted, one must adhere to Chairman Mao's line of "appointing people according to their merit." At present, cadres selected must (1) support the Party's political line of realizing the socialist modernization and ideological line of seeking truth from facts, (2) they must be selfless, abide by the law and discipline, uphold the Party spirit and are completely free of factionalism, and (3) they must devote themselves to the revolutionary cause, have a strong sense of responsibility and are competent and efficient in their work. The article listed the kind of persons who are not to be selected: the sworn followers of Lin Biao and the gang of four, those deeply influenced by factionalism and those who like to boast and flatter others.

The article added that in selecting cadres, due attention must be paid to experience acquired through practice. The "helicopter" way, once used by Lin Biao and the gang of four to put their trusted followers in key positions, must be oppos-

ed, because, to say the least, it put people without any experience at the grass-roots level in high and responsible positions. Attaching importance to experience, however, does not mean that only "seniority" counts, for that would dampen the enthusiasm of competent young people.

China's Energy Policy

Explaining why China had started an energy-saving month last November, a spokesman of the State Economic Commission recently said that poor energy management had resulted in a low utilization rate of only 28 per cent, which is about half that in the developed countries. Moreover, owing to the lack of advanced technology, energy development had fallen behind the needs of industrial growth and export.

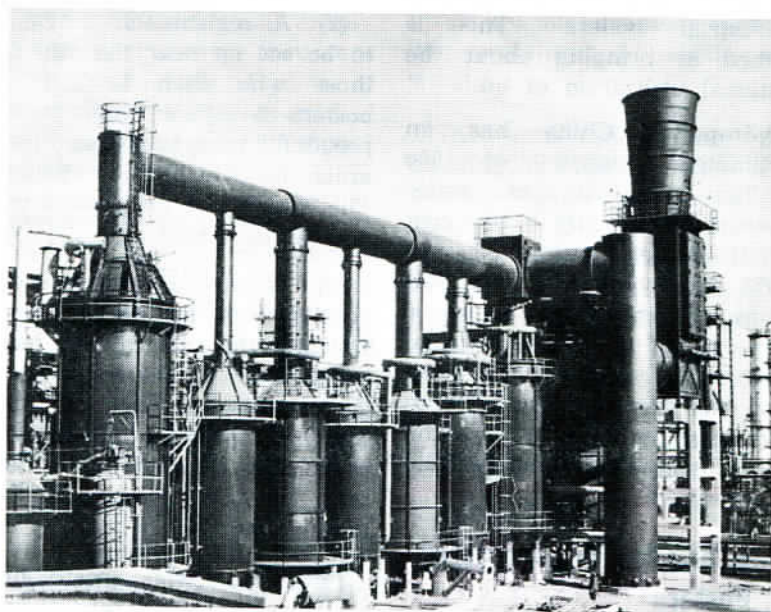
He added that China would set up a national energy control

body. During the period of readjustment of the national economy, there would not be much increase in energy production. Energy needed for economic development, therefore, would depend mainly on how much energy was saved. All consumers would have to make full use of low-quality fuel, exhaust heat and steam and other resources.

Referring to China's energy policy, he said that China would rely on its own resources so that its economy would not be affected by the world energy crisis.

At present, the coal and oil it produces can meet domestic needs, with a portion for export. In the future, China would emphasize coal mining, speed up oil and gas production and geological prospecting, and make great efforts to build hydroelectric stations.

The spokesman was optimistic over the prospects of



With its equipment renovated, an oil refinery of the Daqing Oil-field now recovers over 4 million kilocalories of wasted heat an hour.

China's energy resources. He said: China has rich energy resources, ranking third in the world's known coal reserves, first in water resources and 13th in workable oil reserves. It is also rich in solar, tidal, nuclear and other energy resources.

Coal. China's known coal reserves are estimated at 600,000 million tons, about one-twentieth of which is available for new coal mines to be built right now. About 65 per cent of the reserves are in Shanxi Province and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

Oil. China's oil reserves are about the same as in the United States. Only a small part of them have been opened up. It is possible to build ten or more oilfields of the Daqing type by the end of the century. While new oilfields will be built on China's continental shelves and in the interior, strict controls would be imposed on the burning of crude oil by switching it to coal for fuelling industrial boilers. This is aimed at bringing about the rational utilization of oil.

Hydropower. China has an estimated reserve of 580 million kilowatts of water resources, but only 3 per cent of it is being exploited. In 1978, hydroelectric power stations accounted for about 30 per cent of the country's total generating capacity. Construction has started to build about ten large hydropower bases on the Changjiang, Huanghe and other rivers.

New Site for Big-Character Posters

The Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee

(municipal people's government) issued a notice on December 6 with provisional stipulations on putting up big-character posters in the city. The notice, which took effect December 8, said:

To safeguard the people's democratic rights, maintain social order, facilitate the handling of proposals and reasonable demands put forth in the big-character posters, and prevent the use of such posters under pseudonyms and aliases for conducting illegal activities, it is decided to lay down the following provisional stipulations:

(1) Apart from big-character posters (or small-character posters) put up in the organizations to which the writers belong, all big- or small-character posters are to be put up only at a site in Yuetan (Moon Altar) Park (not far from the "Xidan Wall" — *Ed.*). Posting them on the "Xidan Wall" or any other public place is prohibited.

(2) A registration centre is to be set up near the site for those who wish to put up posters to register their names, pseudonyms, addresses and units to which they belong. The contents of the posters will not be examined.

(3) Writers of big-character posters will be held responsible for the political and legal implications of the contents. It is forbidden to disclose state secrets, fabricate information, make false charges, libel others and conduct other activities that violate the law.

(4) Those who create disturbances or riots at the site will be duly punished according to law.

At its November session, members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the highest organ of state power, discussed the question of the "Xidan Wall." They held that some people with ulterior motives had taken advantage of the wall to carry on law-breaking activities and disrupt social order to the detriment of the smooth progress of the four modernizations, and therefore appropriate measures should be taken. They unanimously agreed that the question could be handled by the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee (see our last issue).

Why the Stipulations

"Protecting the people's democratic rights and prohibiting activities that violate the law are two aspects covered by the new notice on putting up big-character posters." This was said by a spokesman of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

"China's socialist democracy is not manifested on the 'Xidan Wall,' about which some foreign journalists have made a big fuss," he said. "All our government offices, schools and factories have designated sites or notice boards for wall posters or big-character posters. Everyone can present his opinions or demands to his organization or to the leadership at higher levels."

He added: "Newspapers receive letters from readers every day. All government offices and departments have special groups for handling letters of complaint and for receiving visitors. Our socialist democracy is very extensive."

Xidan is in the downtown area with heavy traffic, and is therefore not an appropriate place for putting up big-character posters. People reading the posters often spilled over to the road and interfered with normal traffic.

The "Xidan Wall" was by no means a "show-window of democracy," as some people alleged. Certain people with ulterior motives, in the name of "democracy," actually did damage to socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

"No country in the world allows a person to make false charges and libel others," the spokesman stressed. And this is why the stipulations forbid anyone to disclose state secrets, fabricate information, make false charges, libel others and carry out activities against the law.

The stipulations are intended to carry forward socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system in conformity with the provisions of China's Constitution. They thus meet the people's aspirations and the country's interests.

Museum of Qin Dynasty Terracotta Warriors

A museum housing nearly 1,000 life-size terracotta warriors and horses of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) has been built and is now open to the public.

Japanese Prime Minister Ohira visited the museum during his brief stay in the city of Xian. (See p. 4.) U.S. Vice-President Mondale also visited the museum last August.

Located on the northern side of Lishan Mountain in Lintong County of northwest China's Shaanxi Province, the museum is on the very site of the No. 1 vault, where these relics have been excavated, just to the east of the tomb of Qin Shi Huang (259-210 B.C.), the founder of the Qin Dynasty.

The museum is a magnificent complex of Chinese-style buildings. The exhibition hall is 230 metres by 72 metres and 22 metres high without a single pillar in it, and has a transparent roof supported by an arched framework of steel beams.

The terracotta warriors range from 1.78 to 1.87 metres in height. Wearing suits of armour and carrying bows and arrows and other weapons, they have different facial expressions and are very life-like. The terracotta horses, sturdy and well-proportioned, look as lively and spirited as real ones.

Also on display in the hall are bronze swords, spears, crossbow trigger mechanisms and arrowheads, together with thousands of weapons made of alloy of copper and iron and envenomed arrows made of alloy of copper and aluminium.

According to historical records, Qin Shi Huang ordered that a tomb be built for him at the foot of Lishan Mountain shortly after he ascended the throne. Large-scale construction, however, was undertaken only after he had succeeded in unifying the country by conquering the kingdoms of Chu, Qi, Yan, Han, Zhao and Wei. When he died, the tomb was nearly completed. The northern part of the tomb consisted of a hall housing his coffin and several side halls. To the east was the vault with

the terracotta warriors and horses. The whole tomb was a magnificent underground palace which, as historical records have it, took 720,000 people 11 years to build.

The No. 1 vault was discovered in March 1974 by peasants while sinking a well to combat a long dry spell. Later, with the help of the peasants, archaeologists started excavating. It is now ascertained that the vault is 230 metres by 62 metres and has an average depth of 5 metres, covering a total area of 14,260 square metres. Judging from the excavations made so far, there are about 6,000 life-size terracotta warriors and horses, all arrayed for battle. The whole scene conjures up in the viewer's mind Qin Shi Huang's powerful armies sweeping across the battlefields in their conquest and unification of the country.

Two other smaller vaults with terracotta warriors and horses were discovered in 1976. All three are subterranean tunnel-like structures of earth and wood.

The excavations and the building of the museum will provide valuable materials for research on the history, politics, military affairs, economy, culture, science and arts of the Qin Dynasty. To date, over a million people, including 20,000 foreigners, have visited the place.



Chinese Literature and Art

Our Lessons and Tasks Ahead

by Zhou Yang

"Be Both Successors and Pioneers, Create a Flourishing Literature and Art in the New Period of Socialism" — this was the title of Zhou Yang's report to the Fourth National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists. The 18-day congress closed on November 16.

In the first part of his report Zhou Yang concentrated on summarizing the development of literature and art during the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, and the experience gained and the lessons to be drawn in the same period. The second part discusses the task of how to promote a flourishing literature and art in this new period of modernization. The third and last part puts forward proposals for improving the work of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and of the various associations under it.

The report, which runs into 25,000 Chinese characters, was approved after animated discussions among those who attended the congress — 3,200 all told. They included well-known writers, playwrights, musicians, dancers, artists, critics and researchers from all parts of the country.

Following are excerpts from the parts dealing with the experience and lessons from the past and the tasks ahead. Heads and subheads are ours. — Ed.

IN the course of the last 30 years, not counting the ten years of catastrophe caused by Lin Biao and the gang of four, the literary and art work in our country has, most of the times, basically implemented the line of literature and art defined by the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, taking on the whole Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding principle. The thinking on literature and art of



Mao Zedong has educated large numbers of literary and art workers, old and young. Comrade Zhou Enlai was exemplary in carrying out this thinking. He applied the principles for literature and art put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong, and developed them, always in connection with reality. His many talks concerning literature and art and those given by Comrade Chen Yi [veteran revolutionary, marshal of the People's Liberation Army and poet, who passed away in 1972 — Tr.] profoundly expounded the great importance of giving scope to democracy in socialist literature and art, and served as guidelines of tremendous significance.

Zhou Yang, 72, the newly elected chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, is one of the very influential leaders of literature and art in China. He has been engaged in ideological and theoretical work in this field for many years. In the early 30s, he was entrusted by the Party to play a leading role in the Left-wing literature and art movement in Shanghai. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he went to Yanan, headquarters of the revolution, to work as dean of the Lu Xun Academy of Arts and president of Yanan University. After the founding of New China he was a vice-minister of culture, vice-chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association.

In literature and art, our achievements are primary and enormous; the mainstream has been correct and healthy. But it cannot be denied that there have been quite a few shortcomings and mistakes in our work; "Left" leanings in our guiding thought, in particular, have brought serious damage. While slanderously dismissing the correct line we implemented as a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, Lin Biao and the gang of four with an ultra-Left stand took advantage of certain drawbacks and mistakes in our work and carried them to the extreme.

Some of us in the leadership of literary and art work, owing to the particular historical conditions and background of the time, plus failure to overcome our "Left" ideas, sometimes were unable to correctly appraise the situation of the class struggle on the literary and art front and thus enlarged the scope of the struggle. This has done great harm to a number of comrades. What happened in literary and art circles in the 1957 anti-Rightist struggle was especially grave in nature. Many comrades suffered blows they did not deserve, some views on literature and art as well as some works of literature and art were wrongly criticized, and a large number of men of letters and artists were made to suffer, including a few talented, enterprising ones who dared to break fresh ground in this field. This brought setbacks to the lively situation which came about following promotion of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend." In 1958

the countrywide proneness to boasting, the "communist wind" and the campaign to "criticize bourgeois-style people" launched among the intelligentsia also swept through literary and art circles so that for a while the "Left" tendency again surfaced.

When unfolding an ideological struggle, we fell into oversimplification and vulgarizing in the course of interpreting and dealing with some problems of literature and art. This strengthened the tendency to formularize and generalize in theory and in creative work. This also led to conducting criticism in a harsh and rude manner and impairing democracy in the arts.

Three Relationships

What, then, are the main experience and lessons? To put it in a nutshell, we need to correctly handle the following three relations: (1) the relation between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other, including the question of how the Party should exercise leadership over literature and art; (2) the relation between literature and art on the one hand and the life of the people on the other (when it is expressed in actual works of literature and art, it becomes the question of realism in creative works); (3) the relation between inheriting the traditions of our literature and art and making new advances, or, in other words, the question of how to put into effect the policy of weeding through the old to bring forth the



At the closing session of the Fourth National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists.

new, of making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China.

Literature and Art and the Life of the People

This is the most fundamental and plays the decisive role. Literature and art are reflections of social life; they exert a tremendous influence on life. At all times writers should go deep into life, be faithful to life and write what they are familiar with, what they are interested in, what they react to most deeply and what they have pondered over. They should observe, portray and evaluate life against a broad historical background. It is precisely in this sense that we speak of the unity between literary and artistic truthfulness and their political nature. It is wrong to oppose writing about "real things" or "middle characters" by simplistically and sweepingly identifying it with bourgeois or revisionist thinking in art and literature. Truthfulness is the lifeblood of art. Without truthfulness, a creative work can have no ideological or aesthetic value to speak of.

In literary and artistic creation, Comrade Mao Zedong advocated combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. This serves as a significant guide in helping our writers observe and portray life with accuracy and farsightedness. But both revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism must have roots in the soil of real life. As often as not, revolutionary realism embraces the factor of revolutionary romanticism because the former reflects the future development of reality and the ideals of life. The latter, too, must be built on the former; not even a fictitious novel can alienate itself from real life.

Of course, no slogan for creative work should be turned into a dogma. A writer or an artist, on condition that he follows the premise that literature and art must truly mirror real life, is free to choose his own method of creation. We want to promote the creative technique we think the best and, at the same time, we must do more to encourage diverse techniques and styles of creation, not uniformity. History shows that the attempt to unify all literary and artistic work under a certain fixed method of creation will do a disservice to writers and artists seeking to develop their talents and impede the flourishing of creative works.

Writers and artists should make an effort to mirror life with the Marxist world outlook as their guide. This world outlook acknowledges

that social life is fraught with contradictions. Socialist literature and art should be bold enough to mirror the contradictions and struggles in real life. To eulogize and to expose, so to speak, are the two aspects of a question. The crux of the matter is what stand to take, what to eulogize and what to expose. Literary and artistic works must portray the bright side of the life of the people and also expose the seamy side of society. Socialist literature and art perform the task of both criticism and self-criticism. We should not criticize our enemies only but should also take a critical attitude towards ourselves and our endeavours; otherwise, we cannot make progress. Socialist writers and artists should pay attention to the various kinds of contradictions in life and their development, mirror the new situation and new problems, they should be good at discovering all the newborn things and advanced forces and be bold enough to expose anything that stands in the way of our advance.

Literature and Art and Politics

Fundamentally speaking, the relation between literature and art and politics is one between literature and art and the people. Our literature and art should reflect the life of the people, their needs and interests in the different periods of revolution. What we mean by politics is class politics, the politics of the masses, not that of a few politicians, still less that of a handful of careerists and conspirators. The political line and policies laid down by our Party are, in the last analysis, meant to materialize the people's interests, both long-term and immediate. Therefore, when mirroring the life of the people, literature and art cannot be dissociated from politics but, on the contrary, are closely connected with it. As long as literature and art truthfully reflect the people's needs and interests, they must exercise enormous influence on politics. To talk about breaking away from politics can only lead our literature and art astray.

For this reason, in describing real life, literature and art must accord with the political needs of a given historical period. In terms of present-day life, they must harmonize with the needs of socialist modernization. Anything that helps modernization, that directly or indirectly inspires people to dedicate themselves to building socialism in China, is in keeping with the interests of the proletariat and the masses. One must not view the relation between literature and art and politics in a narrow

sense, taking literary and artistic works as merely something that should be created to dovetail with a certain specific policy or a certain specific political task here and now. Politics is not a substitute for art. It is not equivalent to art. Works which resemble an outline of policies or a sermon, tend to formulaize and generalize and are full of slogans, are not welcomed by people because they lack fidelity to real life and are devoid of artistic power; they cannot really play a good role, the political role of literature and art.

Our literature and art should cultivate socialist new persons, elevate the people's spiritual world, help further improve and develop socialist society, and meet the growing needs of the people in cultural life. That is the aim of socialist literature and art, and also its political task. It is wrong to refer to literature and art merely as an instrument of class struggle and to oversimplify the relation between literature and art and politics. In order to influence politics, literature and art must make use of typified artistic images, adopting diversified artistic means. The more highly typified the works are, the more varied the artistic means and the more powerful their ability to move people, the more strongly they can affect politics.

As to how the Party is to lead the work of literature and art—this is a question of exceedingly great importance. Correct leadership ought to be the kind that follows the mass line—relying on the masses, including respecting the experts. It cannot be the kind of leadership that issues orders at personal whim like a patriarch. A writer should be free to decide what to write and how. The leadership must not interfere but know how to guide him, persuasively. Discussions and debates over differing opinions should be encouraged. Mistakes should be tolerated and those who make mistakes should be allowed to rectify them. Criticism and counter-criticism should be tolerated.

Inheriting and Innovating

Literature and art of today have evolved from the literature and art of yesterday. They have a historical continuity and certain national features of their own. But socialist literature and art are again a brand-new type of literature and art unlike those of any past epoch. So there is the question of inheriting traditions and making innovations. In Comrade Mao Zedong's talk to music workers in 1956 which was made public not long ago [see *Beijing Review*, No. 37,

1979], there is a profound exposition of the correct approach to the Chinese and foreign heritage, how to preserve the national features of art, and how to create socialist and proletarian new things. We must properly handle the relation between carrying on traditions and making innovations. Once a conservative tendency has been criticized, we must guard against the tendency of national nihilism; once the tendency of being harsh and rude has been criticized, we must guard against recurrence of the conservative tendency.

Right now, many items from the traditional repertoire are being restaged and are well received by the public. But there are also people who are worried by the reappearance of "emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties" on our stage. Here we will have to make a concrete analysis. Some emperors, kings, generals and ministers were outstanding personalities who performed meritorious deeds contributing to the security and unity of the motherland or services of benefit to the people; some scholars and beauties were rebels who dared to break through the confines of feudal rites and codes of conduct and fight for personal freedom and happiness. On the stage there should not only be heroes and heroines, but also villains whom people can condemn. We must not indiscriminately clear them off the stage, but reappraise them from the viewpoint of historical materialism and allow them a certain place on the stage.

Theatrical art, both in content and form, should undergo continuous innovation and development. If it stands still and becomes ossified, it will lose its vitality. Our theatrical art has repertoires of long standing, with well established artistic methods of expression and superb performing skills. It imparts knowledge of history, and cultivates ideas of how to tell wickedness from virtue, what is wrong from what is right, and ugliness from beauty. Its national flavour, aesthetic value and charm very often fascinate people. But under the influence of feudal ideology for a long time, many items in the repertoires present historical details in a simplified and distorted way, leav-



ing people with incorrect concepts of right and wrong and incorrect moral standards, while ingraining theatre-goers with fixed habits of appreciation. Reforming the traditional theatre is, therefore, a herculean task. Innovations should be made energetically, but with prudence, boldly but not crudely. Both conservatism and unbridled haste should be opposed. In carrying out reforms, care must be taken not to damage its national characteristics and artistic essence, but to improve it, raise it to a higher level and bring out its power of expression.

While improving the traditional plays, we must also produce new historical plays and operas from the viewpoint of historical materialism. Our times call for adopting the traditional form of opera to portray new contemporary heroes and heroines and the new life of today. This is what the people need and what the development of art itself requires. We must not rest content with the old national form but work hard to develop and create new national forms, weeding through the old to bring forth the new and making the past serve the present on the one hand, and making foreign things serve China by taking over all that is good from foreign countries and remoulding it on the other. We should value the achievements of the revolutionary operas with contemporary themes; we should not dismiss them out of hand just because the gang of four took all the credit, overestimated their success and absurdly pronounced them "model theatrical works." Let us clear away whatever tarnish the gang of four stained them with, correctly sum up the experience gained in producing them so that they will shine again with radiance.

Future Tasks

Our country has entered a new historical period. Our historical mission is to promote a flourishing socialist culture and art at the same time that we promote the development of the socialist economy. Our literature and art should mirror the people's march towards socialist modernization, help them overcome difficulties and barriers, inspire them with the confidence and the will to fight. Our literature and art are of great significance in fostering socialist new persons and educating the younger generation.

In the last three years, people on the literary and art front, breaking through all sorts of resistance, have bravely begun to stride ahead. But it must also be admitted that to date, our literature and art fall far short of the requirements of modernization as well as the needs of the masses. Our creative works, in portraying life, lag far behind the on-going mammoth struggle of the masses. The scope of the themes of our literary and artistic works is not wide enough, the artistic styles are not diversified enough, ideologically there is a lack of penetration, and artistic skills need further improvement. The cultural and artistic life of the public is still rather monotonous and the people are voicing strong demands for a change.

Emancipating the Mind

Socialist modernization effects momentous changes in the productive forces and also deep-going changes in the economic base and ideology. This implies a great emancipation of people's minds. Our literature and art should reflect this emancipation movement and promote its development. Therefore, we writers and artists must enormously emancipate our minds. We must break free from the shackles of Lin Biao and the gang of four's ultra-Left trend of thought, from the confines of modern blind faith created by them, from feudal and capitalist ideas, from the influence of the widely prevalent narrow-mindedness and force of habit of the small producer, from the influence of dogmatism in literature and art, and from the influence of idealistic and metaphysical concepts of all descriptions.

At present there is still resistance to emancipation of the mind on the literary and art front. Some comrades charge that the emancipation of the mind on this front has gone "too far" and has given rise to "chaos" in the thinking of the masses. They ascribe the emergence of certain wrong ideas in society to our literature and art, but this does not tally with the actual situation. Of course, we should criticize all kinds of wrong ideas, and oppose the tendency towards anarchism, extreme individualism and bourgeois "liberalization." But the present state of affairs is not that we have gone too far in emancipating our minds but that our minds are not yet emancipated completely enough, that resistance to emancipation of the minds is still very strong, that there are still large numbers of people whose thinking is still ossified or semi-

ossified. What we should do is promote the emancipation of people's minds and give correct guidance to it.

The "Double Hundred" Policy

If literary and art circles are to emancipate the mind, it is necessary to unswervingly carry out the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend." This principle is a new experiment in socialist cultural policy. As confirmed by our own experience, when it is observed, literature and art become more animated and effulgent; when it is contravened, literature and art stagnate and lose ground. For many years, ideological and political struggles have been so frequent and so expanded that, for much of the time, this principle could not be properly carried out. And Lin Biao and the gang of four simply did away with it entirely.

This "double hundred" principle has now been written into our Constitution. We must have faith in the ideological power of Marxism, in the masses' creativeness and their powers of discernment. We should try in every way to create an atmosphere most suitable to the free development of science and art. We should open up a broad avenue for people to create literary works, for people to speak up, and for those with talent to come to the fore so as to arouse the initiative and creativeness of our cultural and art workers to the maximum degree.

What are the main tasks confronting us writers and artists if this aim is to be achieved?

To begin with, **we should energetically promote all kinds of literary and artistic works and raise our ideological and artistic level.** We should encourage our writers and artists to plunge into the torrent of life, to mirror the difficult course of socialist modernization, to bring up and answer the new problems confronting our epoch which the people are anxiously concerned about, and to portray in artistic images persons who stand at the forefront of our times.

Our literature and art should depict heroic people, and also all other kinds of people, including middle characters, backward ones and villains. It should expose more forcefully and in a more penetrating way careerists and conspirators like Lin Biao and the gang of four, those belonging to their factional setups and

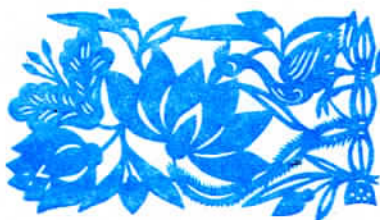
those who formed their social base. In the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, it should also expose and criticize people with bureaucratic airs and persons whose minds are set on feudal prerogatives. It should criticize the narrow-mindedness and conservative ideas of the small producer, all old ideas and habits which keep people in a rut, and also bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and anarchist ideas that hold back social progress.

Our literary and artistic works must also portray the heroic deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and those of the revolutionary martyrs so as to educate the people in revolutionary traditions.

In bringing out the lofty qualities and great spirit of revolutionary leaders and revolutionaries, our literary and artistic works must give correct expression to the relations between a leader and the masses. And while bringing out the outstanding role of a leading personage, it must show that the masses are the motive force in making history. Leaders are the people's guides, public servants working wholeheartedly for the people, decidedly not "omniscient, almighty" saviours isolated from the masses. Deification of a leader, and ideas of bestowing blessings on the masses, are contrary to the objective realities of life and the principle of historical materialism, as they distort the role of leaders and show contempt for the people.

Next, **we must also encourage writers and artists to take up various other historical themes and realistic themes, and to use various forms and styles in portraying characters of all kinds.** This will help to acquaint people with the modes of life and struggle, ancient and contemporary, broaden their vision, enhance their militancy and wisdom. The past and the present, this country and foreign lands, any period in the millenniums, any far-away place—all can be taken as material for artistic treatment.

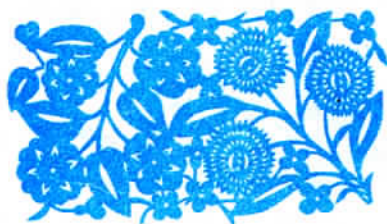
Third, **we should actively unfold mass cultural activities for further popularization of**



socialist literature and art. This country has a population of more than 900 million of which 800 million live in the countryside. By mass culture we mean mainly socialist rural culture. If we neglect to use new socialist culture to educate and enlighten the peasants, we are closing our eyes to the plight of our peasant brothers who are still subject to the influence of feudal superstition and have not completely got rid of their ignorance and the backward practices of the small producer; if such is the case, their minds cannot be emancipated, and talk about elevating the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation will become largely empty verbiage. On the one hand, we should do everything we can to send professional cultural performances, films, books and periodicals to the countryside, to the factories and mines, and to the army companies. On the other hand, we must energetically unfold spare-time cultural activities in factories, mines, the countryside, the armed forces, and among city residents, and from among the people, find those with talent.

Fourth, the areas peopled by the national minorities make up about 60 per cent of our country's territory. For generations they have been living and working on this vast land and, each with his own time-honoured cultural and historical traditions, have made tremendous contributions to the development of Chinese culture. From now on, **we should make further great efforts to help develop the culture and art of the fraternal nationalities while strengthening cultural exchange among them.** This includes: recording and collating the fine oral literary works in a scientific way; developing performing art groups and research institutions connected with the literature and art of the minority peoples; cultivating the literary and artistic talents of the minority peoples. We should carry forward the special features of those peoples' literature and art, and should never substitute the culture and art of one nationality for that of another.

Fifth, we should strengthen Marxist theory and criticism in the field of literature and art.



Mao Zedong Thought, including his thinking on literature and art, has always been and still is the thought guiding our work of literature and art. Out of necessity in their drive to usurp Party and state leadership, Lin Biao and the gang of four did what they liked to adulterate, tamper with and trample on Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art; they threw overboard its essence, that is, the universal truth and fundamental principles he had brought to light. They stuck to a few phrases, absolutizing particular statements that are applicable only under certain conditions within a prescribed area, and used them like charms to fool people, or clubs to hit them with. This is highly preposterous and cannot be tolerated any longer.

We must not regard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a dogma immutable in all ages, but as a guide to action. We are confronted with many new circumstances and new problems unknown to the writers of Marxist classics, Comrade Mao Zedong included. We cannot expect to find ready and complete answers to all the problems in the current work of literature and art in the writings of the revolutionary teachers. In the light of our own experience and the reality of the present moment, we should study anew Comrade Mao Zedong's works on the question of literature and art, probe into the new situation and solve new problems that confront us now.

While abiding by the fundamental principles on literature and art as expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong, we must apply them in a specific way and develop them. As to some of his directives and statements on specific questions, we should have the courage to revise and supplement those which do not conform with or do not entirely conform with the actual situation. We should make our own contributions in the field of literature and art to enriching and developing theories of Marxism and Mao Zedong.

Marxist theories of literature and art came from foreign countries, and must be developed on our own national basis. We should integrate Marxist theory with the practice of the literary and art movement in China, with the long cultural tradition of our country. We should adopt the Marxist viewpoint to edit, study, and critically take over our invaluable heritage of literary and artistic theory as a spur to our own develop-

ment of Marxist theory in literature and art imbued with a national character.

Sixth, we should strengthen and expand cultural exchanges with other countries, and develop friendly contacts with writers and artists in other parts of the world. We should employ all mankind's fine cultural achievements to enrich our people's cultural life and build up our socialist culture. At the same time, we should energetically introduce our socialist new culture and our fine traditional arts to the people of the world.

Learn the strong points, the things that are really good, from all nations and countries, as Comrade Mao Zedong taught us. But "we must learn with an analytical and critical eye, not blindly, and we mustn't copy everything indiscriminately and transplant mechanically." We mustn't pick up their shortcomings and weak points.

Obviously, in our cultural exchange with foreign countries, if we overlook the danger of our people and youth being corrupted by the bourgeois culture, ideas and way of life, if we do not strengthen our efforts to arm the people ideologically, if we do not raise their ability to discern and resist that kind of

corruption, but bow down to the bourgeois culture and ideas of the West to the extent of losing our own national self-confidence and self-respect, then that would be dangerous. We must be on our guard; we must oppose self-assertion and also belittling ourselves.



Stamps commemorating the congress.

At Kampuchean Refugee Camps

Correspondent Zhong Xinying reports from Thailand:

PITIFUL-LOOKING children, so emaciated they seemed like bags of bones, were queuing up under the burning sun for their food and water rations when I arrived at Sakaew Refugee Centre towards midday on November 7. The stench was nauseating in the sweltering heat, the temperature registering well over 30 degrees centigrade. Most of the refugees were huddled on the ground under makeshift shelters. Their clothes were tattered and filthy and they looked haggard. Long nights spent out in the open, hunger and destitution had taken their toll.

Sakaew Refugee Centre is located in Prachinburi Province, some 250 kilometres from

Bangkok, and is a haven for more than 30,000 Kampuchean refugees who have managed to escape the Vietnamese ravages of their homeland. The Thai Government set up this temporary transit centre on a stretch of wasteland away from the border in order to ensure the safety of the refugees. It is estimated that some 170,000 Kampuchean refugees have gathered along the Thai side of the border and another 300,000 have massed on the Kampuchean side, ready to flee into Thailand when the Vietnamese step up their offensive.

In the short time I was visiting the camp, three refugees died. A camp official told me that 25 to 30 refugees die there every day from malnutrition, tuberculosis, dysentery and acute



The sick and dying at the Sakaew Refugee Centre.

malaria despite the efforts of Thai doctors and nurses as well as medical personnel from other parts of the world. Twenty-five per cent of the refugees at the centre, or over 6,000 people, are ill, 960 of them seriously.

The refugees bitterly denounced the Vietnamese troops and puppet Heng Samrin forces for their brutality. They have driven whole villages into the hills and forests. Unable to return to their homes, many villagers have

Hanoi's Genocide

KAMPUCHEANS in their hundreds of thousands have been exterminated and countless others have been made refugees as a result of Hanoi's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. Inside Kampuchea right now thousands are dying every month from starvation or disease. International relief agencies predict that the total number will climb to 2.25 million, including 700,000 young and sick, if large amounts of aid are not immediately provided.

To save these dying people, a massive international relief movement with the participation of 12 organizations has been set up. The United Nations has convened

a special meeting on November 6 and worldwide appeals have been made to the Vietnamese authorities to allow the opening of a motor transport route from Thailand for shipping in large amounts of relief aid. Denouncing the international appeals as "a political plot under the signboard of humanitarian aid," Hanoi and the Heng Samrin puppet regime have rejected the proposed "land bridge" and have threatened to shoot down planes attempting to air-drop emergency supplies to the disaster victims. It is evident from such reactions that the Vietnamese authorities intend to use starvation as a means of executing their policy of genocide and that the puppet regime is resolved to slaughter its own people.

starved to death. The picture the refugees paint of their country today is one of horror: Kampuchians barred from harvesting their ripened crops by Vietnamese troops who then seize the food for themselves; all those suspected of opposing the puppet government rounded up and slaughtered; most of the international relief aid not going to the Kampuchians but falling into the hands of the Vietnamese. The refugees tell of particularly savage campaigns by the Vietnamese and puppet troops against those of Chinese descent, who are killed or driven out of the country because China supports the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and opposes Hanoi's aggression.

I visited another refugee camp in Prachinburi Province and talked with a woman who had just crossed the border a few hours earlier. She told me how she and her family of 14 had been forced to leave their home in Battambang last May to escape Vietnamese persecution. Driven into the hills, they subsisted on wild herbs and filthy water as they wandered through the forests from one hill to another in search

of a refuge. She watched her family members die one by one from starvation, disease or unwittingly stepping on a Vietnamese mine. In the end she was the only one to survive the ordeal and escape to Thailand.

Many Kampuchean refugees who manage to escape the genocide in their homeland are killed in Thailand by Vietnamese shelling. Seven Kampuchean refugees were killed and three wounded in the early morning of October 27 when Vietnamese and Heng Samrin puppet troops fired into Thailand. According to Thai newspaper accounts, the Vietnamese batteries have purposely aimed their artillery fire at the existing border camps. They are able to determine the exact location of the Kampuchean refugee concentrations by sending Heng Samrin soldiers into Thailand to mingle with the refugees and later sneak back across the border with the information.

It is clear that the Vietnamese authorities not only intend to permanently occupy Kampuchea but are also determined to exterminate the entire Kampuchean nation.

Dublin Conference

A "Family Quarrel" of West European Community

THE summit conference of the European Community held on November 29 and 30 in Dublin, capital of Ireland, centred on the community's budget for 1980. No accord was concluded after a two-day discussion between Britain on the one side and eight other countries on the other. It was announced at the press conference after the meetings that the next summit would be held in February 1980, a month earlier than planned, to discuss again the budget problem.

Key Problem. The key issue in dispute was Britain's request for the reduction of its contributions to the budget. Since assuming office as British Prime Minister last May, Mrs. Thatcher has visited all the member nations of the community and put forward the request. On the eve of the Dublin summit, newspapers in Britain carried articles supporting their government's proposition. French President Giscard d'Estaing and E.E.C. Commission President Ory Jenkins went to London on separate

What Is TASS Up To?

TASS published successive articles on November 29 and 30, saying that Britain requested a cut in its budget contribution to the community because it is pressing for "modernization" of NATO's nuclear weapons and needs a huge amount of funds. The implication is clear. The Soviet Union is lumping together the "family quarrel" in the West European Community and the problem of strengthening the defence of Western Europe.

Quite clearly, the aim of the Soviet propaganda machine is to set other nations of the community against Britain and obstruct the strengthening of the nuclear force of Western Europe.

occasions to consider ways of solving the question together with Mrs. Thatcher. The community budget has for a while been a popular topic in London diplomatic and press circles.

In regard to this question, Britain has spoken out plausibly. West Germany, Britain, France and Italy are committed to 30, 20, 19 and 11 per cent of the community budget for 1980 respectively, but the four nations account for around 30, 16, 24 and 13 per cent of the community's gross national product. Britain held that its budget commitments are incommensurate with its economic situation. Furthermore, Britain gets less gains from the community's agricultural and regional foundation fund subsidy than West Germany, France or Italy. The balance between receipts and payments is such that Britain must contribute 1,000 million sterling to the community in 1980. It demanded that this sum be cut or its subsidy receipts be increased by a big margin.

Dispute. The other nations of the community agreed to make some concessions, but they found it difficult to reach a compromise because they thought Britain's demands were too high. Their arguments also hold water. The budget share of the community nations is decided in accordance with three factors: their tariff receipts, import tax on agricultural products from non-community nations and additional tax on

domestic products. Some 41 per cent of Britain's imports come from non-community nations and, proportionately, this is much more than any other member nation imports. Since Britain thus obtains more tariff revenues, it should make higher contributions to the budget. Moreover, Britain has all along imported a large quantity of agricultural products from non-community nations, especially from countries of the British Commonwealth. It therefore should contribute more import tax on agricultural products to the community. If, in spite of all this, the community gives much more subsidies to Britain, it would be hardly acceptable to other nations of the community because this would naturally cut the subsidies to them.

Up to now, the budget issue has not been settled. Some people are painting a black picture of the community, alleging that it is facing another crisis. In fact, people are well aware that Britain needs Western Europe and Western Europe needs Britain. Lord Carrington, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, declared in Brussels on November 26 that the community budget issue is only a family quarrel and ways can be found to solve it.

Progress. The year 1979 has been a year of conspicuous achievements for the community. The European Monetary System which went into effect on March 13 was an important step forward in the economic and monetary integration of Western Europe. The European Parliament elected directly by the people of the nine nations of the community opened on July 17, further promoting the political integration of various countries in Western Europe. On October 31, the community and 58 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries signed the second Lome agreement, attesting that it is beneficial for Western Europe and the third world to take the road of sincere co-operation through dialogue. The community this year accepted in principle Greece, Portugal and Spain in Southern Europe as member nations. In the 1980s the community will grow from 9 to 12 nations.

Disputes over the community budget only show that, safeguarding their own rights and interests, the member nations will naturally meet with some twists and turns on their road of integration.

— Xu Qingmei

China's Democratic Parties

by Our Correspondent Luo Fu

Apart from the Communist Party, the leading party, China has eight other political parties, generally known as the democratic parties. For some years, with political life in this country somewhat abnormal, these political parties were compelled to cease their activities. They resumed their work in 1976 after the downfall of the gang of four. In mid-October this year, each of the eight parties called its own national congress in Beijing to revise its party constitution, elect a central leading body and define its future working principles and tasks.

The following articles give a general description of these parties and the Communist Party's policy towards them.

During the Democratic Revolution

CHINA'S democratic parties took shape and grew one after another in the period of the new-democratic revolution (1919-49) led by the

Chinese Communist Party. During this period the task of the Chinese revolution was to fight imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

Most of the eight parties were founded in the 1940s. They are: The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, China Democratic League, China Democratic National Construction Association, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, China Zhi Gong Dang, Jiu San Society and Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

The original social base of these parties consisted mainly of the national bourgeoisie, urban upper petty-bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, as well as some of the patriotic personages. Back in the periods of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1946-49), they took an active part in the resistance movement against Japanese aggression and struggles for democracy. On May 1, 1948, the Chinese Communist Party called for the convocation of a new political consultative

The National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang held in mid-October this year.



Name of the Political Party	Newly Elected Chairman
Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang	Zhu Yunshan
China Democratic League	Shi Liang (f.)
China Democratic National Construction Association	Hu Juewen
China Association for Promoting Democracy	Zhou Jianren
Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party	Ji Fang
China Zhi Gong Dang	Huang Dingchen
Jiu San Society	Xu Deheng
Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League	Cai Xiao

conference* excluding the reactionaries and for the establishment of a democratic coalition government. The various democratic parties warmly responded. They have a long glorious history of co-operation and fighting side by side with the Communist Party and are, therefore, close friends of the Party.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, inaugurated in Xianggang (Hongkong) on January 1, 1948, was formed gradually and expanded mainly by the patriotic, democratic elements among members of the Kuomintang in the course of a prolonged struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries and imperialist aggression carried on in the revolutionary spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen**.

As early as 1927 when the Kuomintang reactionaries openly betrayed the revolution, the democrats inside the Kuomintang started waging struggles against them. During the anti-Japanese war, patriotic generals inside the Kuomintang, brushing aside Chiang Kai-shek's "non-resistance" policy, fought to repulse Japanese imperialist aggression, and supported the Communist stand of persevering in the anti-Japanese war, opposing capitulation and persevering in progress and unity. Inside the Kuomintang they also tried to stop Chiang from surrendering to Japanese imperialism.

The China Democratic League, composed of intellectuals working in cultural and educational circles, was founded in the most difficult years of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan. Its predecessor was the League of Chinese Democratic Parties and Organizations founded in 1941 and reorganized into the Democratic League in 1944. Under the influence and guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, it fought heroically against the tyrannical Kuomintang on the questions of resisting Japanese aggression and struggling for democracy. At the time of the founding of the league, the organ of the Chinese Communist Party published an editorial lauding it as "a vital force in the democratic movement." In the years that followed, the Communist Party all along supported its progressive activities.

The Democratic League suffered savage persecution at the hands of the reactionary KMT government. Some of its leaders like the famous poet and scholar Wen Yiduo and the public

figure Professor Li Gongpu were assassinated by Kuomintang agents in 1946. In those years, about 100 fine members of the league were murdered by the reactionary government.

This organization was finally forced to dissolve in 1947. But it did not cease its progressive activities completely. Some of its leaders moved to Xianggang, where the league's headquarters was restored, and worked even more



Wen Yiduo.

quarters was restored, and worked even more

* In comparison with the political consultative conference held in January 1946. The KMT, then in power, was compelled to sit in conference with the Communist Party and other political parties to discuss the question of ensuring peace and democracy in postwar China. Altogether five resolutions were adopted but subsequently repealed by the KMT which went on to start a civil war. This conference was known as the old political consultative conference.

** Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was a pioneer of China's bourgeois democratic revolution, a great democratic revolutionary and founder of the Republic of China. In his later years, he advocated alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

closely with the Chinese Communist Party. The Kuomintang reactionary government intensified its fascist rule in 1949 on the eve of its collapse. In Shanghai, leaders of the Democratic League, one of whom was Zhang Lan, were secretly arrested by Kuomintang thugs. The Chinese Communist Party on learning the news lost no time in intervening and saving their lives. Later, Zhang Lan became chairman of the league, a post he held until his death in 1955.

Both the China Democratic National Construction Association and the China Association for Promoting Democracy were founded in 1945, the year of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The former was composed of patriotic capitalists in industry and commerce and some intellectuals connected with the business circles. The latter was made up of intellectuals in Shanghai working in cultural and educational circles and engaged in patriotic democratic movements.

The China Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party was born of an idea conceived by Deng Yanda, Tan Pingshan and others after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927. It was at first known as the China Revolutionary Party, later renamed the Provisional Action Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, still later the Action Committee for the Liberation of the Chinese Nation. It once engaged in political and military activities in an attempt to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's rule but failed. In 1931, its founder Deng Yanda was murdered by Chiang and died a hero's death. It was officially founded in 1947. Its membership at present consists chiefly of intellectuals working in the medical and public health circles.

The China Zhi Gong Dang was at first organized by some overseas Chinese. It was reorganized in 1947 at its third congress in Xianggang and its members were reregistered. Most of its members at present are patriotic personages from among the returned overseas Chinese.

The Jiu San Society, formerly known as the Society for Science and Democracy, was composed of patriotic people in cultural and educational circles. Jiu San stands for September 3; the society took the name in commemoration of V-J Day. The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, founded in Xianggang in 1947, was composed of people from Taiwan who were engaged in patriotic democratic activities. From the very first day of its founding, it responded to the call of the Chinese Communist

Party and encouraged people on Taiwan to unite, to fight against the reactionary Kuomintang rule, imperialist aggression and schemes to sever Taiwan from China.

These parties all drew up programmes of their own at the time of their founding; all stood for unity and democracy, against civil war and for the founding of an independent, democratic and peaceful new China. They also had some specific programmes of their own. The Democratic League, for instance, in the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, once raised the slogan of "democratizing politics" and "nationalizing the armed forces."

The Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party at first envisaged the establishment of a plebeian regime with peasants and workers as the core, with the illusion of founding a bourgeois republic led by the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and their intellectuals. After it went to the side of the Chinese Communist Party in 1935, it gradually abandoned its middle-of-the-road line and took an active part in the new-democratic revolution led by the Communist Party.

Later, these parties, through their revolutionary practice, all gradually came to see that only by accepting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party could the three big mountains then weighing down on the Chinese people, namely imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, be overthrown completely and the ideal of founding a new China be realized.

Contributions During Socialist Period

ON the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the eight democratic parties joined the united front led by the Communist Party of China.

The united front is an extensive political union which requires the Communist Party of China to unite with all democratic parties and people from all walks of life for the liberation of the motherland and the construction of a new China. Its organization is the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the various democratic parties are its chief component.

At the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949, various democratic parties took part in



Chairman Mao in 1949 addressing the First Plenary Session of the C.P.P.C.C.

drawing up the Common Programme, a programme representing the goal of struggle and policies to be abided by various Chinese political parties, people's organizations and people of all nationalities within a certain period. It was also the political basis for unity of action.

The Common Programme, an interim constitution in nature, has 7 chapters embracing 60 provisions. It announced that the People's Republic of China exercises the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and with the worker-peasant alliance as the basis and in unity with all democratic classes and people of all nationalities. It also proclaimed opposition to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the abolition of all imperialist prerogatives in China, the confiscation of bureaucrat-capital and its conversion into ownership by the whole people, the carrying out of agrarian reform, the protection of the people's democratic rights and the suppression of all counter-revolutionary activities.

Afterwards, all the political parties adopted the Common Programme as their own, and followed a political line of accepting the leadership of the Communist Party and serving socialism.

From 1949 to the mid-60s, these political parties took an active part in the political life of the country. They were praised by the people for their positive contributions to consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, to the patriotic struggle against imperialism and to rehabilitating the national economy, as well as in urging their members and people they had relations with to take part in socialist revolution and construction.

For example, in the mid-1950s, China carried out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. In this arduous task of transforming the ownership of the means of production, members of the China Democratic National Construction Association, mainly patriotic industrialists and businessmen, took the lead in accepting the transformation, thereby playing an active role in this regard.

Besides the eight democratic parties, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce was inaugurated soon after liberation. The federation lent a helping hand to the Communist Party in carrying out the policy towards the national bourgeoisie and bringing about a peaceful transformation of private capitalist ownership. It urged its members to educate and remould themselves ideologically, use their own enterprises, science and technology, and experiences in management to serve socialism. The federation is not a political party but one of the people's organizations. It is also a component part of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In the dozen years or so before the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, leaders of these political parties and some of their members took part in the central and local government work. For instance, Zhang Lan, Chairman of the China Democratic League, and Li Jishen, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, were both Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government during their lifetime. Leading members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang Cheng Qian and Zhang Zhizhong were Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Council during their lifetime. Huang Yanpei, the late Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, was Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. And Zhou Jianren, a leader of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, held the post of governor of Zhejiang Province.

In his opening speech at the Second Ses-

sion of the C.P.P.C.C. Fifth National Committee in June this year, Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out: "China's democratic parties have a glorious history in the democratic revolution and have made important contributions during the period of socialist transformation. These are things which the Chinese people will never forget."

However, during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), Lin Biao and the gang of four pushed an ultra-Left line out of their ulterior motive to usurp Party and state leadership. In the whirlwind they fanned up to "overthrow all," the democratic parties were smeared as "monsters and demons" and were compelled to stop their activities. Leaders and members of these parties were cruelly hounded. A typical case in point was that of the famous historian Wu Han, a leader of the China Democratic League and former Deputy Mayor of Beijing, who died in jail uncleared of a false charge.

Xue Zheng, member of the China Association for Promoting Democracy and principal of the Shanghai No. 3 Middle School (formerly called the McTyeire School), was subjected to repeated torture by villains under the charge of being "a special agent sent by the U.S.-backed Kuomintang." Despite this ordeal, she never lost her deep faith that the policy of the Communist Party would prevail and her conviction that the days of her persecutors were numbered. This year, the 80-year-old outstanding educationist paid a visit to America upon invitation of the McTyeire School-Mates League in the United States.

Liao Yunze, Vice-Chairman of the Revolu-

tionary Committee of the Kuomintang in Jiangsu Province, once took part in the Nanchang Uprising on August 1, 1927 led by Comrade Zhou Enlai. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao twice sent men to force him to write false materials to the effect that the first armed uprising in the history of the Communist Party was led by Lin Biao. Despite a pistol pointing at him, the old man refused to do so. What he could tell, he said, was that Lin Biao was then only a company commander, not leader of the uprising.

Such instances were not rare among members of the democratic parties. Persecution had not in the least shaken their confidence in the Communist Party or their determination to follow the socialist road. Most of them had stood the rigorous political test of the Cultural Revolution; in praise of this, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, at a reception in honour of delegates to the national congresses of the democratic parties in October this year, said it was "difficult of attainment, hence worthy of esteem."

Long-Term Coexistence And Mutual Supervision

WHAT was the relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and the democratic parties representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie? Co-operation of various political parties under the leadership of the Communist Party in the period of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution is determined by the specific historical condition and current situation in our country. It is also a special feature and an advantage of our political system.

In 1956, after China's socialist system was largely established, the Communist Party, on the basis of long-term co-operation with the democratic parties, further put forward the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" as a guideline for the relationship between the Communist Party and the democratic parties. Chairman Mao Zedong said in 1950:

"The people and their government have no reason to reject anyone or deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering

Businessmen celebrating a state-private merger during the socialist transformation in the mid-1950s.



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service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people and provided he really helped and did a good turn when the people were faced with difficulties and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway." This is the political basis of this principle.

By mutual supervision, the Communist Party means that it can exercise supervision over the democratic parties, and vice versa. In China, since the Communist Party holds the leading position, the correctness or incorrectness of its line and policies has an important bearing on the country's future and the cause of socialism. Hence the need to constantly listen to different opinions, and to pool collective wisdom. Moreover, since the Communist Party is the party in power, some of its members are liable to be affected by subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for our Party to solicit opinions from all sources, including those of the democratic parties, and accept their criticism and supervision, so as to overcome its shortcomings and make less mistakes.

In the early 20s when the Chinese Communist Party began to carry out the new-democratic revolution, the idea of forming a united front by uniting with all forces that could be united gradually took shape. The Party once suffered heavy losses in its struggle against the superior enemy forces. Therefore the Communists gradually came to understand that unless the entire working class, the peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were united in a common struggle, the enemies could not be vanquished solely by the force of the Communist Party.

In the ensuing protracted struggles, the Chinese Communist Party set up a broad political alliance, which absorbed and united the people's organizations, democratic parties, national minorities, overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats to carry on the new-democratic revolution.

Comrade Mao Zedong once described Party building, the united front and armed struggle as three "magic weapons" for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

At a reception honouring the delegates to the national congresses of democratic parties last October, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, who is also Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.), said: Today the

united front remains a magic weapon and it should be strengthened and expanded.

He said: In the new historical period in which socialist modernization is the main task, the united front has become the widest union of all socialist workers, patriots supporting socialism and patriots supporting the reunification of the motherland. That is to say, the new united front not only embraces workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots supporting socialism, but also compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao), our countrymen residing elsewhere abroad and all those who support the reunification of the motherland.

That is why the united front in this period is known as a revolutionary and patriotic united front. This is not merely a change in name, but a reflection of the basic change in the classes at home and the situation as a whole. It also mirrors the fundamental change in the social basis and political make-up of the democratic parties.

Today, the Chinese bourgeoisie no longer exists as a class and the vast majority who are able to work have become workers living on their own. As to the intellectuals, they have become a part of the working class. So the democratic parties have become a political alliance of a part of the socialist workers and a part of the patriots who support socialism. The democratic parties are political forces led by the Communist Party and work for socialism.

In the new historical period, the task of the revolutionary and patriotic united front is to unite all forces that can be united with in the common struggle to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of this century, and to strive for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the country.

This is also the future task of various democratic parties, which has been written into their respective party constitutions.

While greeting the national congresses of democratic parties last October, the Communist Party reiterated that its policy of long-term co-existence and mutual supervision in relation to the democratic parties would remain unchanged for a long time.

Recently, the C.P.C. Central Committee has restored the tradition of holding consultations with leaders of democratic parties on major



Chairman Hua speaking at a forum called by the C.P.P.C.C. and attended by democratic party leaders and non-party personages.

political questions, about once every two months. Chairman Hua Guofeng and other leaders of the C.P.C. Central Committee not long ago consulted with them about the adjustment of purchasing and selling prices for some farm products and two other problems relating to the national economy and people's livelihood. Similar consultations had been held in some provinces and cities.

Comrade Ye Jianying solicited the opinions of the responsible members of various democratic parties before he delivered the important speech celebrating the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic this year. Last June the C.P.C. Central Committee consulted with the responsible members of the democratic parties and personages without party affiliation on the additional appointment and reshuffling of the vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress — the highest organ of state power — vice-premiers of the State Council and vice-chairmen of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.

The Communist Party also stresses that the political freedom and independence of organization of the democratic parties guaranteed by the Constitution should be respected and these parties are equal before the law. They are encouraged to have more social activities and to restore their former primary organizations. The Communist Party proposes that the democratic parties shift the focus of their work on to the four modernizations.

Better co-operation between the Communist cadres on the one hand and democratic party cadres and non-party cadres on the other hand was once again stressed. More non-Communists

should be appointed to leading posts in the ministries under the State Council and local people's governments at various levels, so that they will give play to their talents for the four modernizations. Of the newly elected chairmen of the eight democratic parties, five are Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, two are Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. and one is its Standing Committee member.

Of the 3,471 Deputies to the Fifth National People's Congress, 238 or 6.9 per cent of the total, are democratic party members. Of the 2,015 members of the Fifth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., 264 or 13 per cent are democratic party members.

Making New Contributions

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. Despite their average age of 70, this committee's members are as energetic as any. In its national congress, they asked their old colleagues, friends and relatives in Taiwan to work together for an early reunification of the motherland. Zhu Xuefan, once Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, said: Although we are old, there is still plenty we can do for the country.

A delegate from Jiangsu Province said: The united front now includes patriots who support the motherland's reunification. From now on, it is possible that many cross-overs from the Kuomintang will join the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. After reunification

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of the motherland, there will be more prospective members for us to recruit.

The China Democratic League. Its Vice-Chairman Hu Yuzhi urged the members to play a bigger role in modernizing the country and in the political life of the state.

Xiong Daji of Shanghai said: What we are engaging in is socialist modernization in the Chinese way. We'll not stray on to the capitalist road. Sun Zengzai, deputy chief engineer of a chemical plant in Shanghai, also stressed that while importing advanced techniques from abroad, we must proceed from the actual situation in China and not copy everything indiscriminately.

The China Democratic National Construction Association. Despite his age and poor health, the 84-year-old chairman of the association Hu Juewen expressed his determination to do his best for the country's modernization. He went to various localities to learn about the local conditions and urged the association members and individuals he knew to work harder for the four modernizations.

Wang Guangying, a responsible member of its Tianjin branch and member of the board of directors of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, said that the corporation accepts funds from foreign corporations, enterprises or individuals and handles trustee businesses of short-term or long-term investment in China. The corporation should guarantee the reasonable use of the funds and the interest of the investors, and set store by their enthusiasm. As the elder brother of Wang Guangmei (widow of Liu Shaoqi), Wang Guangying had been implicated during the Cultural Revolution. Mentally at ease now, he said he would do his best for modernization and reunification of the motherland.

The China Association for Promoting Democracy. Its vice-chairman Xie Bingxin said:

Delegates of the medical circles swapping experiences with one another at the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party.



Xie Bingxin, noted woman writer and vice-chairman of the Association for Promoting Democracy, and Mao Yisheng, well-known bridge engineer and vice-chairman of Jiu San Society.

"Our association is an organization of educators who possess potential power." The article "To Young Readers" by this noted woman writer when she studied in the United States has left an indelible impression on China's youth in the past 50 years. She said that children would never forget their first teacher. The words of the primary school teachers weigh heavily in the minds of the young. Today's children will be the backbone force of the four modernizations by the end of this century. Our teacher members who taught them will certainly feel the honour of their work.

The Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party. During its national congress, it held an exhibition on the achievements of its members in medical circles for the four modernizations. The exhibits include some 100 books on their clinical experiences, medicinal herbs and newly made medical apparatus.

The party's vice-chairman Zhou Gucheng, 81, is a celebrated historian. He expressed his determination to make new contributions in his remaining years. During the past few years, he published his "Answer to the Question concerning the Translation of 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire'" and "The International Status of Ancient West Asia." Not long ago, he made three academic reports to Shang-

hai's Fudan University where he teaches. He also plans to compile the fourth volume of *World History*.

Zhou Gucheng and the late Chairman Mao Zedong were good friends during their youth. Chairman Mao once introduced Zhou to the National Peasants' Association, urged him to join it and encouraged him to publish his "New Thesis on Rural Society." Later Zhou became a leading member of the party.

The China Zhi Gong Dang. Its member Li Lifang is a red flag bearer recommended by the National Women's Federation. A relative of an overseas Chinese in the United States, Li resides in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. She has been very enthusiastic in helping returned overseas Chinese and relatives of those still residing abroad. Even returned overseas Chinese living in other provinces sought her help in looking for their relatives abroad.

An organization of returned overseas Chinese, the Zhi Gong Dang called on its members to strengthen their ties with their relatives abroad so as to enlist their help in the modernization of the motherland.

The Jiu San Society. Its vice-chairman Mao Yisheng said: "If possible, I would like to visit the graduates of Jiaotong and Beiyang Universities now residing in Taiwan." This noted bridge-building expert was once the president of the Chinese Engineers' Association during 1947 and 1948. When it was having its 1948 annual meeting in Taipei (Taipei), he went there to preside over the meeting.

Mao Yisheng had been a professor and the president of both the Beiyang and Jiaotong Universities — both of which are China's famous universities of engineering. After China had recovered Taiwan from Japan in October 1945,

Li Lifang (the woman) chatting with other delegates to the Seventh National Congress of the China Zhi Gong Dang.



Delegates of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League at a small group discussion at the Second Session of the C.P.P.C.C. Fifth National Committee.

many of his engineer-students were sent to work on the island, and some of them later went to settle down in the United States. When Professor Mao visited America last summer, he met more than 500 of his friends and students in six cities there.

Professor Mao said: "Our schoolmates in Taiwan too must have missed their relatives on the mainland badly. If they get any chance to come back, the Jiu San Society and other parties concerned are sure to give them a warm welcome."

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. The closing ceremony of the second national congress of the league was held in the Taiwan Hall of the Great Hall of the People. The furniture of unique Taiwan style, oil paintings of Taiwan scenery and a screen painted with the story about the Chinese national hero Zheng Chenggong (1624-62) recovering the island in the Ming Dynasty — all remind the delegates and other Taiwan compatriots in Beijing of their birthplace.

Delegate Li Chen is one of the leading members of the Jinan Medical College in Guangzhou. Li was a graduate of the medical college of the Taiwan University and later an associate professor there. This native of Taiwan said he was happy to learn that the medical college of the university had succeeded in separating Siamese twins. In 1975, the Siamese twins of a Beijing worker were successfully separated. The two boys are now four years old. Professor Li hoped there will be academic exchanges between his alma mater and the medical colleges here.

All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. At its national congress, the 82-year-old

(Continued on p. 30.)

UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE

Anti-Hegemony Resolution

The First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 30 adopted a resolution condemning hegemonism in all its manifestations, including that conducted at global, regional or sub-regional levels, pursued in the context of the policy of division of the world into blocs or by individual states.

The resolution was sponsored by Bangladesh and five other countries.

The item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations," taken up by the First Committee, was proposed by the Soviet Union at the beginning of the current U.N. session in an attempt to cover up its own hegemonic acts.

Following this proposal, the Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution which neither specified who was pursuing hegemonism, nor pointed out the various manifestations of hegemonic acts, but which merely served to whitewash itself with empty rhetoric.

The widespread support for the resolution submitted by Bangladesh and other countries forced the Soviet delegate to reluctantly withdraw its draft resolution at the last minute.

During the debate, third world representatives censured the superpowers for pursuing hegemony.

Directing attention to the fact that the Soviet Union had proposed the item, the Chinese representative at the committee said, "This shows that the deepening of the struggle

against hegemonism by the people of the world has forced the hegemonists themselves to go through the hypocritical gesture of opposing hegemonism."

China had also submitted a draft resolution on anti-hegemony, but, considering that its main elements were contained in the resolution sponsored by Bangladesh and other countries, the Chinese representative did not ask for a vote on it.

The resolution adopted "rejects all forms of domination, subjugation, interference or intervention and all forms of pressure, whether political, ideological, military or cultural, in international relations," and "calls for the withdrawal of all occupation forces back to their own territories, so as to enable the peoples of all states to determine and administer their own affairs."

IRAN

Constitutional Referendum

A referendum to ratify the new Iranian Constitution was held from December 2 to 3.

Before voters went to the polling stations, a stream of messages from religious leaders were broadcast, asking people to turn out for the voting. The general theme of the messages was that it was the religious duty of Moslems to cast positive votes for the Constitution.

It was reported that 38 political parties and organizations had distributed pamphlets and handbills throughout the country officially declaring their boycott of the referendum.

In Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Sistan and Baluchistan, there

were demonstrations against the referendum and some clashes were reported.

The Constitution declares that the Government of Iran is an Islamic republic and the leadership of the nation should be exercised by a religious scholar respected by the majority of the people who look upon him as "their undisputed leader."

This leader has supreme authority over national affairs, approval and dismissal of the President. He is at the same time the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

According to the Constitution, next to the leader is the president, who must be one of the religious and political leaders in the country and is to be elected by direct vote for a four-year term.

Under the Constitution, there is also a prime minister, who is responsible to the National Assembly for the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

The Constitution stipulates that the National Assembly will be under the supervision of a "Guardian Council of the Constitution" consisting of clergymen.

The draft of the new Constitution was approved by the Constituent Assembly of Experts not long ago. There are different opinions about the Constitution. The State Radio broadcast a statement by the religious leader, Shariat-Madari, on November 30, saying that Article 110 of the draft, which defines the powers of the principal religious leader, contradicted other articles "which embody popular sovereignty."

● **No-Smoking Campaign**

Preliminary results have been obtained in the non-smoking drive initiated by the government in July.

A special kind of medicinal candy claimed to make cigarette smoking unpleasant is now on sale. The film *Smoking Harms Your Health* is being shown in Beijing cinemas as part of the capital's anti-smoking drive. In Wangfujing Street, in downtown Beijing, is a big glass-fronted billboard displaying photos and charts warning people not to smoke. "A single drop of nicotine is enough to kill three horses," declares one sign.

The mass media are participating and "No Smoking" signs in many meeting rooms and offices are quietly and insistently warning smokers to take care of their health and the health of others. "Quit smoking, give up alcohol if you want to live longer" is the current slogan on many factory public notice boards.

The anti-smoking drive is particularly intensive among middle school students and good results have been obtained. Smoking was prohibited among middle school students before 1966, but a breakdown in school discipline during the Cultural

Revolution led to a number of middle school students to smoke.

According to a study made in the No. 143 Middle School, about 80 per cent of the boys in that school used to smoke, 20 per cent were habitual smokers. No student dare smoke at school now and very few smoke secretly.

A ban on smoking and drinking alcohol has been again imposed by the Ministry of Education this year for middle school students.

Adult smokers, however, have proved more resistant. Very few have given up smoking, so greater efforts are being made to persuade more not to smoke.

● **Stepmother Brings Warmth**

Li Daping, a 37-year-old advanced worker at the Beijing Switch Factory, married Liu Gui, a veteran worker at a motor vehicle plant in Beijing, and became a stepmother to three children.

Liu's former wife had died of illness and left three children, the eldest 12 years old and the smallest only 4. After their mother's death, the children became pale and thin. It was hard for Liu to take care of all the household chores by himself and he fell into low spirits.

Li Daping was divorced from her husband three years ago. She was introduced to Liu Gui by the chairman of the trade union in her factory. At first she was quite hesitant about involving herself in a relationship with Liu because of his three children. But finally she decided to give being a stepmother a try.

The couple immediately tackled some of the problems in the family, which had been accumulated over the past few years. Li Daping withdrew her savings to make clothes for her husband and three new children. Now she is busy making winter clothes for them. Liu bought new bed covers.

When the eldest daughter fell ill, Li took good care of her even though she was very busy with her job and other duties. Liu's children are blossoming under the care of a mother and are leading happy lives. They all told her: "You are really kind. You are not our stepmother, but our mother."

Recently Li brought her own child to live with the Liu family. Family life is running smoothly and everyone is getting on well.

● **A Commune's Gold Mines**

It is estimated that about 700,000 grammes of gold will be produced this year by the Luoshan People's Commune in Zhaoyuan County, Shandong Province, as a result of the development of commune- and brigade-run gold mines.

Last year, the commune was commended by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry for turning out 502,500 grammes of gold.

Known as the "home of gold," the commune covers a mountain range 5 kilometres in length with 2,000 high-grade gold mineral veins.

● **Chrysanthemum Show in Beijing**

The Beijing Garden Association recently invited some 20 horticulturists, college professors and amateur chrysanthemum



mum growers to exchange experiences and name new species at a chrysanthemum exhibition in Beihai Park.

On display were more than 3,000 pots of chrysanthemums. Ninety-five of the 1,000 species represented had been newly cultivated through hybridization. One variety of chrysanthemum with a stalk, two or three metres long and bearing over 100 flowers, looked like a phoenix fanning its tail. Other varieties had large flowers of 15-20 centimetres in diameter or multi-coloured flowers.

One of China's major ornamental flowers, the chrysanthemum has been cultivated for 3,000 years. Its flowers and delicate fragrance are very appealing. The flower is also used to make beverages and medicines for treating colds, inflammations and eye conditions.

The chrysanthemum is loved because it defies the cold frost and blossoms in the season when most other flowers wither. Many poets and painters composed poems and painted pictures about this exquisite flower.

Chrysanthemum shows were also held in Beijing's Zhongshan Park, Temple of Heaven and Summer Palace.

● **Huge Jade Carving**

China's largest jade carving, *The Long March*, was recently finished and put on display at an arts and crafts exhibition in Shanghai.

The new piece was inspired by the world famous 25,000-li Long March undertaken by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in the 1930s under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It depicts many of the most important and moving scenes of the Long March, including the Red Army's forced crossing of the Dadu River and their perilous journey over the snow mountains and across the trackless marshlands.

The giant greenish-grey sculpture, 2.6 metres high and 1.3 metres wide, is carved out of a 7.3-ton piece of jade mined in Liaoning Province. It is one-third larger than *King Yu of the Xia Dynasty Harnessing the Floods*, China's previous largest jade carving which is now kept in Beijing's Palace Museum.

Employing traditional methods, the Shanghai Jade Carving Studio began work on the carving in August last year. A group made up of leading cadres, veteran sculptors and designers retraced the path of

the Red Army, visited Red Army veterans and collected material before they started carving.

● **Phosphorus Mine In Kunyang**

Large-scale construction of the Kunyang Phosphorus Mine is in full swing in Yunnan Province. It contains several thousand million tons of high-grade phosphorus ore in an area of 40 square kilometres. Partial extraction is presently done at the mine and more than one million tons of ore is being produced every year. It is one of the three largest phosphorus mines in China and will become the largest when construction is completed.



A Yunnan geological prospecting team which discovered a large phosphorus deposit.

(Continued from p. 27.)

chairman, Hu Ziang, said: Now that capitalists have become working people supporting themselves by their own labour, their positions have changed and a stricter demand has been put on them. Therefore, they must further display their sense of patriotism, shoulder the glorious task of being masters of the country, contribute their utmost to consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity, so as to accelerate the realization of socialist modernization and bring about an early reunification of the motherland. They should also remould their world outlook through practice.

Rong Yiren, representative of the biggest capitalist family in old China, is now Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and chairman of the board of directors and president of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation. He is also vice-chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

Delegates to the conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce suggested that former capitalists contribute to China's modernization by investing, passing on professional skill, using their experiences in management and doing research work.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Human Rights

With great interest I read the article on human rights in your issue No. 45. It's a very good article because the author has expressed his views on several questions and made them clear to the readers.

—It has clearly explained the question of the "human rights movement" in China and correctly expounded the ways of dealing with it.

—It has made a scientific and historical analysis of this movement and explained in concrete terms China's viewpoints and the world significance of this question.

—Lastly, it has explained in detail the relationship between the Chinese people's efforts at present to strengthen the legal system and to accomplish the four modernizations.

Articles of this kind are good for West German readers. I appreciate such articles and I hope to see more on similar subjects in your weekly.

W. Volkmann
Frankfurt M., W. Germany

It would be better for articles on ideology to deal with questions we are discussing here. That is to say, they relate to developments in China but do not confine to China alone. In this respect I welcome the article "Notes on Human Rights" in issue No. 45.

Michael Floirsheimer
Russelsheim, W. Germany

The essay "Notes on the Human Rights Question" marks a return to a style of journalism. Aside from the specious reasoning of the author and his use of outdated rhetoric and terminology which bears no relation to the present-

day realities of life in Western "capitalist" societies (where most of your readers are), the author's examination of the concept of human rights in a Western context belies his superficial understanding of the concept. It is quite obvious that he has never visited a Western country and is therefore in no position to make such sweeping statements as "... everyone can see for himself that the socialist system most definitely guarantees all the basic rights for the masses of labouring people."

He says that citizens' rights in China are actual and not nominal or hypocritical for every citizen. This has not been my observation having lived in China for over a year and a half. I have observed that there are far more divisions among the people in terms of certain privileges and rights than I have ever encountered in any other country.

Christina Holmes
Beijing, China

Save the Teenage Delinquents

I'm very much interested in the series of articles under the general title "Save the Teenage Delinquents" in issue No. 44.

It was considered quite common for a socialist system to conceal the seamy side of life from outsiders. But now China is bringing to light the dark side resulting from the bad influence of the gang of four and is making efforts to overcome the after-effects. What delights us is not only the reports themselves but the attitude in this regard.

Masuo Arasida
Osaka, Japan

I really appreciate the articles under the title "Save the Teenage Delinquents." They are valuable to me as a psychological worker in a reformatory. I'm doing the same work, i.e., guiding "the contaminated blossoms" on to the correct path of healthy growth in their own interests.

It is also possible for us living under the capitalist system to help people around us to lead a normal life. What is to be regretted is the seriousness of the decadent aspects of life in our society and their constant and far-reaching influence on the youngsters. I think we should foster and en-

courage the positive aspects of these youngsters so that they also can contribute to the building of a world with human dignity.

I deem it a very good way to use stories told by the delinquents themselves. I would like to give my regards through this letter to Wang Jin, Li Hongyan and Mao Yuping.

Gert Weiershaus
Koeln, W. Germany

Eritrea

May we make some friendly criticisms of your article about Eritrea in issue No. 37? As you correctly point out, the Soviet social-imperialists' massive intervention in Eritrea is aimed at securing control of a strategic part of the Red Sea coast.

Where we disagree with your article is in its presentation of the Eritrean struggle. The article gives the impression that events in Eritrea are very difficult to understand.

It is wrong to give the impression that a substantial part of the Eritrean population was against independence in the period after World War II. In fact, only certain feudal and religious strata were against independence for Eritrea.

The Eritrean guerrillas have won a remarkable series of victories in their struggle against the Soviet Union and Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea. We are absolutely convinced that the Eritrean people will continue their valiant struggle against the Soviet and Ethiopian invaders of their country until total victory. This is the only solution to the Eritrean "problem" which will be acceptable to them.

Michael Little
Victoria, Australia

Book Review

I suggest that *Beijing Review* open a new column giving information about important political books on China published both in your country and abroad.

Gebih Rahal
Casablanca, Morocco

A good suggestion. We'll publish reviews on books published in China. — Ed.

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