

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



Less Publicity for
Individuals

Theoretical Study:
The National
Question

On the Use of Foreign
Funds



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Modernization and Import Of Technology

The import of advanced technology and equipment for the modernization drive has given rise to a number of questions. What should be the purpose of bringing in such equipment (p. 6)? How should foreign funds be gainfully used (p. 23)? What kind of equipment serves the best purpose at present and what are the lessons to be drawn (p. 26)?

Less Publicity for Individuals

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has issued a directive calling again on the nation to give less publicity to any individual, with concrete stipulations on related questions (p. 3).

The Nationalities Question

The statement that "the national question is essentially a class question" was much in

vogue before the downfall of the gang of four. Can we equate the national question with the class question? What actually is the national question in the socialist period? An attempt at explaining these and other questions is made in a special article (p. 17).

Employment Policy

A new policy has been adopted and will be put into practice step by step to provide more jobs and at the same time to give scope to the labour enthusiasm of individuals (p. 4).

What's Reagan Up to?

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary refutes Republican presidential candidate Reagan's oft-repeated statement that the establishment of "official relations" with Taiwan is not incompatible with the continued maintenance of "friendly relations with the People's Republic of China" (p. 10).

Hoang Van Hoan on Viet Nam

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Viet Nam's August Revolution and the founding of the republic, Hoang Van Hoan has released for publication a speech he made early this year to Vietnamese residents in Yunnan (p. 13).

Soviets Using Toxic War Chemicals

Evidence of use of chemical weapons by Soviet troops in Afghanistan and Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea and Laos has come to light. The world community demands that effective measures be taken against them (p. 9).



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COVER: China is a unitary multi-national state in which all the nationalities are equal. There are 55 minority nationalities who live in various parts of the country. The Manba people (upper left), the Qiang (lower left) and Bai (right) people.

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POLITICAL

Less Publicity for Individuals

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has issued a directive calling for less publicity for individuals. The directive has laid down concrete stipulations concerning some related questions.

The directive states that the principle enunciated at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee — "to give more praise to the worker-peasant-soldier masses, the Party and the revolutionaries of the older generation and give less publicity to any individual" — is correct and that improvement has been made in this respect since the session.

However, there are still some problems. In eulogizing veteran revolutionaries, for instance, too much prominence is given to their individual role and the approach is not realistic enough. In addition, there have been too many commemorative articles, and many commemorative activities have become mere formalities. In some places special groups have been formed to collect personal belongings of leading comrades all over the country, which is quite unnecessary.

These inappropriate commemorative practices not only cause waste and alienate the leaders from the masses but also foster the erroneous view that individuals are the makers of history. They are neither conducive to carrying out Marxist education inside and outside the Party, nor are they helpful to eliminating the influences of feudal and bourgeois ideologies.

To change all this, the Party Central Committee has made the following decisions:

— From now on, except by special decision of the Party Central Committee, no halls, pavilions or monuments are to be put up in memory of individual veteran revolutionaries. Those which are now under construction or have already been completed but can be reconstructed should be transformed into social, economic, cultural or welfare institutions. Revolutionary relics of historical significance should be kept in the museums and commemorative halls at the central or provincial levels so as to preserve them in a good condition. No commemorative decorations should be put up in the birthplaces of leading members of the central authorities still living, or in the schools where they once studied and places they once worked or visited. Those already put up should be removed.

— The writing of true-to-fact reminiscences of the struggles of veteran revolutionaries and other revolutionary heroes, and the history of the revolutionary wars, revolutionary movements and revolutionary work, for publication or preservation is necessary for educating future generations and for historical studies. But the publication of biographies or collections of writings of individuals should be handled with care.

— Newspapers should give more space to the achievements made by the workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals in the current modernization drive and to the Party's policies, principles and decisions; there should be less publicity for the normal activities or unimpor-

tant speeches of individual leaders.

— There have been too many portraits, quotations and poems of Chairman Mao in public places, which shows the lack of political dignity; the number should be gradually reduced to an appropriate amount. The same principle applies to portraits and inscriptions of other leaders.

— Funeral services for high-ranking cadres should generally be simple and economical. The ceremony of paying last respects to the remains of the deceased should in general be eliminated; memorial meetings should be on a smaller scale and obituaries published in the newspapers should be short.

Democratic Elections at County Level

"Direct elections at the county level beginning in the latter half of this year throughout China are of far-reaching significance in the political life of the Chinese people."

This statement was made recently by Minister of Civil Affairs Cheng Zihua who is concurrently head of the office in charge of direct elections at the county level.

Before the new electoral law was adopted last year at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, direct elections were held only at the commune (township) level and below.

The new electoral law stipulates that the scope of direct elections will be extended to the counties, candidates are to be nominated by the constituency and the number of candidates should exceed the number

of deputies to be elected. Such elections have been carried out on a trial basis in 552 counties (or cities corresponding to the county level) in the latter half of last year and the first half of this year. (See *Beijing Review*, p. 4, No. 28, 1980.)

The Minister said that the direct election of deputies to the people's congresses at the county level (including counties, autonomous counties, cities without districts and districts directly under the municipal governments) and the election of members of standing committees of the county people's congresses and leading members of county people's governments by the people's deputies will put the county organs of power under the direct supervision of the people.

At the same time, deputies to the provincial people's congresses will be elected by deputies to the county people's congresses, and the former will elect standing committee members of the provincial people's congresses and leading members of the provincial people's governments as well as deputies to the National People's Congress.

In this way, the Minister stressed, "elections at the county level are of key importance to the building of organs of power at various levels. The consolidation and strengthening of county organs of power will not only lay a solid foundation for the building of provincial and national organs of power, but also set an example for rural people's communes and towns below the county level to build their organs of political power."

Cheng Zihua noted in conclusion that as over 80 per cent of China's population are in the 2,700-odd counties (including districts directly under the municipal governments), successful completion of such elections will further extend the scope of the people's democratic rights.

ECONOMIC

New Employment Policy

The policy of the state assuming full responsibility in assigning jobs will be changed. A new policy will be gradually implemented instead, combining the recommendation of jobs by labour departments with in-

dividuals finding jobs for themselves or individuals organizing themselves on a voluntary basis to do any work they prefer. This applies to the towns and cities and, of course, they will all be placed under the unified planning and guidance of the state.

This new policy was formulated at a national conference on employment convened recently by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, during which the principles, policies and ways of solving the employment question was discussed.

One of the defects of the old practice is that everyone depends entirely on the state, with the result that individuals do not have the possibility to find jobs for themselves or the enthusiasm to work. At the same time, owing to the shortcomings of the structure of the economy, undue stress is laid on the transition from collective economy to state-owned economy, while individual economy is either discriminated against or banned, thereby reducing the ways of employment. As a result, every year there are large numbers of people waiting for the state to assign jobs while on the other hand many productive jobs and the service trades are short of hands. This has brought great inconvenience to the people in their daily life.

The new policy will not only help remedy these disadvantages but provide more jobs for the people. Moreover, the labourers will be able to choose the jobs they like, thereby combining the needs of the state with the wishes of the individuals.

The conference called on the governments at various levels to relax the policies and energetically develop collectively



Young women voting for the first time in a district constituency of Beijing.



Five retired women in Shanghai have set up a small workshop with their own money for making dolls.

owned enterprises which assume sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, promote in an appropriate way the individual economy which does not exploit others, and, taking advantage of China's large population and traditional culture and handicrafts, develop the labour-intensive industries.

The conference urged that the following measures be taken in line with the characteristics of the various localities:

— Give support to the setting up of co-operatives or teams which are organized by the members with their own funds and which assume sole responsibility for their own profits or losses.

— Develop collectively owned farms, factories, teams or enterprises integrating farming, industry and commerce on the outskirts of cities and towns, with the educated young people as the main force.

— Encourage and support the individual economy.

— Change the working hours of certain trades or types of production work. For instance, in order to provide employment for more people, a "six-hour four-shift" a day system may be introduced in the textile industry.

— Set up labour service corporations in charge of the work of introducing jobs, making arrangements for production, providing services and giving technical training.

Readjustment of Economy Yields Results

The policy of readjustment has brought about encouraging changes in China's national economy, according to the State Statistical Bureau. The manifestations are to be found in production, circulation, exchange and distribution.

— The light and textile industries have developed at a faster pace than heavy industry. Their output value in the first seven months of this year rose by 23.3 per cent, as compared with last year's corresponding period. This rate of growth far

exceeded that of heavy industry which registered a 6.3 per cent increase in the same period.

— From January to July, collectively owned industrial enterprises have increased their output value by 24.3 per cent, as against 11 per cent for state-owned industry.

— In the first half of this year, industrial and commercial enterprises throughout the country spent 16,000 million yuan less of their working funds than in the first six months of last year. Thus the utilization ratio of funds has been greatly raised. Compared with the same period of last year, working funds spent for every 100 yuan of output value in industrial enterprises decreased by 8.1 per cent, and working funds used for every 100 yuan of sales decreased by 7.1 per cent in the state-owned commercial enterprises and 4.7 per cent in the supply and marketing co-operatives.

— Production of commodities developed faster than energy production. Total energy production in the first seven months of this year increased only 0.9 per cent to bring about a 13.5 per cent increase in total industrial output value. This was partly due to the higher quality of coal and a nationwide energy-saving drive, and partly due to the fact that the light and textile industries, whose proportion in the total industrial output value had risen in the first half of this year, consumed much less energy than heavy industry.

— In capital construction, there was a 20 per cent cut in the number of big and medium-sized projects under construction in the first six months of this year as compared with the



Checking the quality of products in the Xiaoshan Lace Factory in east China's Zhejiang Province.

same period of last year, and total investments decreased by 4.4 per cent. The total floor space of housing projects undertaken was 73.71 million square metres, of which 11.1 million square metres were completed, an increase of 54 and 76 per cent respectively over the same period of last year, which are half-yearly record figures since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

— The rate of increase in the retail sales of consumer goods in the countryside outstrips that of the cities. In the first half of this year, retail sales in the rural areas increased by 22.7 per cent, while the increase for the cities was only 17.2 per cent.

— The value of exports exceeded imports in the first six months, reversing the situation in the corresponding period of last year.

Techniques and Readjustment of Economy

Advanced technology and equipment introduced from abroad should serve the needs of readjusting the national economy. This is an important economic policy in China today.

In an editorial on August 11, *Renmin Ribao* stressed this point. Recalling the achievements of this work since the founding of New China, the paper pointed out that introducing advanced techniques played an important role in establishing and strengthening the nation's industrial foundation, raising the technical level and production capacity and filling in the blanks in certain fields. However, the ten years' turmoil and "Left" tendency in economic work have had adverse effects. The manifestations are:

— The proportion of technology and equipment imported for heavy industry is too big. The money so spent in the field of metallurgical industry in the last three decades accounted for about one-fourth of the total amount, while the light and textile industries only took up 12 per cent, and communications and transport 0.5 per cent, and the money spent directly on agriculture was practically nil.

— The introduction of advanced techniques and equipment was interpreted as merely importing equipment, and stress was put on importing complete sets of equipment. The money so spent accounted for more than 90 per cent, thus only a meagre sum was allocated for importing advanced technology.

— Some of the projects with imported equipment were started in great haste, but have not been completed after a long

period of time, thereby entailing heavy economic losses. Worse still, some of the projects are not in responsible hands, and the equipment is lying idle.

The editorial said that after the downfall of the gang of four, new prospects have been opened up. But for a period there has been lack of planning — and too much haste. These defects were quickly discovered and measures taken to correct them.

The editorial stressed that advanced technology and equipment imported should serve the purpose of readjusting the national economy, and should be used mainly for renovating and transforming the old factories. It added that the scale should not be over-ambitious but should be within our capability. In addition, the policy of developing the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry must be followed, and attention should be paid to introducing scientific management.

Energy Policy

China attaches equal importance to developing energy sources and to energy saving, with the stress on the latter at present and in the near future. This policy was announced by Vice-Premier Yu Qiuli at a recent national meeting on coal industry held at Benxi, a coal and steel centre in northeast China's Liaoning Province.

Because of poor management and backward technology, the utilization ratio of energy resources is rather low and there is considerable waste. To change this, technical renovation and restructuring of the economy, centring round the conservation of energy resources, should be

carried out. This is a major policy in solving the energy problem and an important measure in the current modernization drive.

Departments in charge of the coal, electric power and petroleum industries will give primary importance to the opening of energy resources. "Only by speeding up the pace of development can China's energy problem be solved," the Vice-Premier stressed.

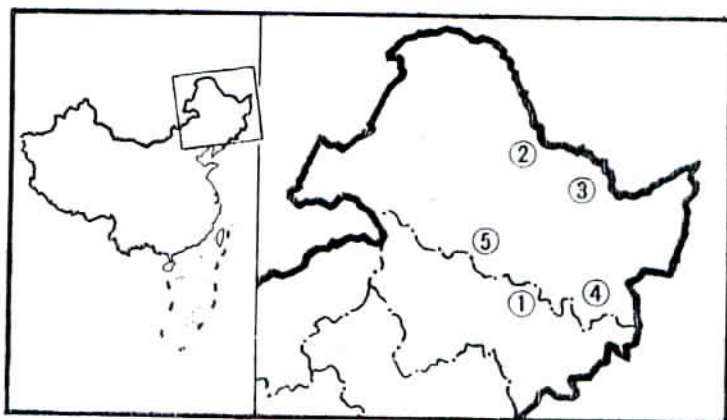
For a fairly long period of time the emphasis will be put on developing the coal industry and the construction of hydroelectric power stations. And since the latter requires larger investments and much longer time, the nation will have to rely on coal as the main source of energy in the coming years.

Marketable Grain Bases In the Northeast

Measures are being taken in Jilin and Heilongjiang Provinces to increase their market grain output.

Situated in China's north-eastern tip, the two sparsely populated provinces have vast stretches of grassland; the soil there is fertile, and large areas can be reclaimed, in addition to rich forest resources. The conditions are favourable for developing agriculture.

Wang Enmao, first secretary of the Jilin provincial Party committee, stressed that farm mechanization is a key factor in turning the province into a base producing marketable grain and soybeans. About 70 per cent of the farm work in the province, especially ploughing, harrowing and sowing, will be mechanized in 1985.



He cited Yushu County¹ as an example. It now has 2,400 large and medium-sized tractors, 660 hand-tractors and 6,800 large and medium-sized tractor-drawn implements for about 250,000 hectares of farmland. Total grain and soybean output last year was 925,000 tons, 400,000 tons of which were sold to the state, more than double the figures in the early post-liberation years.

A plan has been drawn up to build three special economic areas in Heilongjiang Province. One will produce marketable grain. The Heihe Prefecture² in the northern part of the province, for instance, has a large area of arable land, in addition to a vast expanse of wasteland which can be reclaimed. The use of farm machines in reclaiming wasteland has already boosted its annual grain output from 300,000 tons to 625,000 tons in recent years.

Another economic area will concentrate on making timber products. The Yichun³ and Mudanjiang⁴ forest areas, for instance, will be developed into multi-purpose timber bases.

The third area embraces 23 cities and counties which will devote themselves mainly to beet growing, stock-breeding, sugar refining and processing of

animal products. For instance, the western part of the plain between the Songhua and Nenjiang Rivers⁵ has more than 1.3 million hectares of pastureland and saline land which are suitable for stock-breeding and sugar beet growing.

A five-to-ten-year plan is being drawn up for the development of these economic areas



Farm mechanization has helped the Liming Brigade of Keshan County in Heilongjiang Province increase its grain output by a big margin.

which will be given priority in the appropriation of funds and the allocation of farm machines and other equipment.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Economic Co-operation Between China and West Germany

Trade contacts and reciprocal visits between China and the Federal Republic of Germany have been on the increase since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972. The total volume of trade in the past year topped 2,167 million U.S. dollars, or 6.9 times the figure for 1972. An agreement has been reached for more than 110 items of economic co-operation, and West Germany has become one of China's major trade partners.

A West German delegation led by Minister for Economics Graf Lambsdorff attended the first meeting of the Joint Economic Committee of China and the Federal Republic of Germany held in Beijing on August 11. At the meeting Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang and Lambsdorff exchanged views on further expanding bilateral economic co-operation and trade. They agreed to upgrade the temporary agricultural work group of the joint economic committee to a regular one, and to conclude an agreement on the protection of investment pending the promulgation of relevant laws in China.

Their discussions were not only confined to trade but covered co-operation in energy, raw materials, agriculture and metallurgy. The talks showed that both sides are interested in co-operation in the fields of en-

ergy and raw materials. Minister Li Qiang said that such co-operation should conform to the needs of readjusting China's economy and begin with small and medium-sized projects so as to gain experience for the expansion of bilateral co-operation.

In order to make use of foreign funds and import techniques and equipment from abroad to speed up construction, China has signed agreements on commercial loans or long-term interest-free or low-interest loans with other countries. Economists in Beijing hold that China, as a developing country, has broad prospects for co-operation with West Germany in this field.

In its trade with West Germany and the European Economic Community, China has a big deficit, a major obstacle to the expansion of trade. This problem cannot be solved in a short time. However, from the view of long-term development, it is necessary to achieve a balance so as to keep such trade growing.

The economists held that, to achieve a balanced growth of trade, it is essential to follow the spirit of the trade agreement between China and the E.E.C., that is, the E.E.C. should extend the list of Chinese commodities that can be imported under free tariffs and increase quotas for imports from China. With regard to the general system of preferential tariffs, it is necessary to ensure that China gets the same treatment as all other developing countries without any discrimination so as to create favourable conditions for Chinese commodities to enter the E.E.C. market.

Trade officials in Beijing welcomed Minister Lambsdorff's statement that he will support

the move in the E.E.C. to grant Chinese commodities preferential tariff treatment.

During their stay in Beijing, Lambsdorff and his party met with Premier Hua Guofeng, Vice-Premier Gu Mu, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Coal Industry and Metallurgical Industry and leading members of the State Planning Commission and the Bank of China. Premier Hua pointed out that the first meeting of the joint economic committee will go a long way to promote mutual understanding and expand friendly relations and economic co-operation between the two countries.

News in Brief

Party of Revolution of Venezuela. Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Li Xian-nian met with a visiting delegation from the Party of Revolution of Venezuela led by Secretary-General Douglas Bravo on August 13. He told the guests about the line, principles and policies the Chinese Communist Party has carried out since the fall of gang of four. He said that the focus of work at present is economic construction and the strengthening of democracy and the legal system as well as the selection of younger cadres. "Taking proper care of veteran cadres and selecting and training middle-aged and young cadres is an arduous task of strategic significance," Vice-Chairman Li stressed.



Soviets Use Toxic War Chemicals

MORE evidence has come to light substantiating charges that the Soviets are employing chemical weapons in Afghanistan and also giving them to their Vietnamese allies to use in Laos and Kampuchea.

This criminal and callous action of the Soviets contravenes the Geneva Protocol on Gas Warfare prohibiting the use of poisonous gases and goes against the spirit of humanitarianism. Many representatives to the 40-nation Geneva disarmament committee have appealed for an international mission to investigate the matter.

Despite Russian denials, the frequency of the charge mounts and the allegations are too serious to ignore. Since the Soviets have landed themselves in a predicament in Afghanistan, it is highly likely the Soviet Union would resort to poison gas and other toxicants to try to wipe out the stubborn Afghan resistance. Conventional weapons have proved embarrassingly slow to an invader bent on swiftly crushing resistance. The Vietnamese in Kampuchea also face a similar problem and have on many occasions used Soviet-provided chemical weapons on Kampuchean and Lao villages.

On August 10, the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea in a statement charged the Vietnamese with employing poison gas in Oddor Meanchey Province, which killed 82, including 45 children.

Moscow has declared that it has no chemical weapons and is not manufacturing such weapons. It claims that the charges

are "impudent slanders" and "pure fabrication."

It is no use for Moscow to deny it. Afghan patriotic armed forces have amassed a growing body of evidence that Soviet troops are using or have used chemical weapons in Afghanistan. The evidence of Moscow's surrogate in Kampuchea and Laos using Soviet-supplied chemical weapons is more abundant and substantive.

The medical group of the International Committee of the Red Cross has sent back blood samples of Kampuchean victims and leaves from poisoned areas to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. Analyses showed that toxic chemicals had been used.

An officer of the Vietnamese 75th Division who defected told newsmen that Vietnamese troops had used gas shells in many places in Kampuchea since January 1979 and dumped toxic chemicals into water sources.

Reliable estimates put the Soviet Union as being able to produce about 30,000 tons of toxicants for war purposes each year and Moscow has an arsenal of 200,000 to 700,000 tons of toxicants ready.

On August 7, the U.S. State Department announced that it had compiled material strongly suggesting that Soviet troops in Afghanistan and Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea and Laos are using chemical warfare agents, including some highly toxic ones. The United States is considering asking at the coming U.N. General Assembly to order an impartial fact-finding mission.

The Soviet Union produces, stockpiles and is using chemical weapons. This, the world already knows. The international community must now take effective measures to force the Soviet authorities to strictly abide by the Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in warfare and compel the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to stop employing chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea.

— Fang Yuan



— A Mr. Detente wants to see you.

— Tell him, I am very busy now.

Cartoon by Miao Di

Don't Miscalculate

U.S. Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan on August 16 has again expressed his readiness to establish so-called "official relations" with Taiwan. This declaration to create "two Chinas" was made prior to the departure for China by his running mate George Bush, Republican vice-presidential candidate. This is a matter of grave concern.

Ronald Reagan has made similar statements on Sino-U.S. relations more than once. In May-June this year, he called Taiwan the "republic of China" on several occasions and advocated the re-establishment of "official relations" with it. Reagan's remarks are an interference in China's internal affairs and have aroused great dissatisfaction among the Chinese people. China's media have sternly refuted these statements. Later, Reagan's top foreign policy adviser, Richard Allen, publicly announced that Reagan had no such proposals "as far as turning the clock back, as far as re-recognition of Taiwan." He also said that Reagan, if elected, "would not change the current U.S. relationship with China." This statement was taken as an important clarification of Reagan's China policy by his campaigners. But even before the echo of these words had faded away, Reagan himself, announcing Bush's China tour, again called Taiwan the "republic of China" and repeated his old refrain of establishing "official relations" with Taiwan. How can a statesman who is a U.S. presidential candidate be so inconsistent in his attitude on such a serious political issue?

Reagan tries to convince people that the United States can

establish "official relations" with Taiwan and continue to maintain friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. This is sheer deception.

As everyone knows, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States was based on the principle of U.S. recognition of the incontestable fact that there is only one China and that Taiwan is its integral part. Restoring "official relations" with Taiwan today would in fact be trying to resuscitate the ill-fated scheme of creating "two Chinas." This would essentially destroy the basic principle of the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations and inevitably affect normalization. This is quite obvious.

Normalization of Sino-U.S. relations and development of co-operation between the two countries conform to the aspirations of the two peoples and the fundamental interests of the two countries. They are not unilaterally beneficial, but are needed by both sides. For this very reason, Reagan's remarks, which hurt Sino-U.S. relations, have also aroused strong disaffection and repercussion in the United States. Reagan's proposition not only grossly interferes in China's internal affairs, but will

also hurt U.S. interests. And the people of the United States won't have that either.

People noticed that before his departure for China, Bush told reporters that Reagan's policy on the Taiwan issue "is not going to be the subject matter" in his talks in China, but the emphasis would be on worldwide security and trade. China, of course, welcomes U.S. political figures to come to China for exchanges of views on the international situation and on bilateral relations so as to promote mutual understanding. However, since Reagan has repeatedly made such unseemly remarks concerning Taiwan, how could Bush, as Reagan's running mate, possibly evade the issue and not give the clarification required during his visit to China? Some American newspapers believe that Reagan's sending Bush to China even as he repeatedly expresses readiness to establish "official relations" with Taiwan is to show the electorate that his preposterous proposal to create "two Chinas" will not adversely affect U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China. History, however, has already shown that no one can ever succeed in creating "two Chinas." Anyone who tries to turn back the clock will prove to have miscalculated.

— "Renmin Ribao" commentary, August 19

Southeast Asia

Increasing Soviet Menace

THE growing presence of Soviet warships and aircraft in and about the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea is causing grave concern to countries in the region.

Moscow's sending of a sub-

marine tender into the big naval base of Cam Ranh Bay earlier this year has been followed by the stationing of Soviet nuclear-powered missile submarines in waters east of the strait. Soviet spy ships are also sailing

back and forth collecting information. At the same time flotillas of Soviet warships have steamed through the strait into the Indian Ocean and the number of Soviet warships in the South China Sea has been significantly increased. The Soviet naval buildup on both sides of the strait, in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, following the acquisition of Vietnamese military bases, puts the Strait of Malacca in a vice.

The Strait of Malacca. Soviet interest in the strait shows that this region is of great importance in Soviet striving for world paramountcy.

If the Soviets come to dominate this vital passage joining Asia, Europe and Africa, they could edge out the U.S. presence in the region, throttle strategic materials to Western Europe and the United States, cut Japan's lifeline and complete their southern sea encirclement of China. Moreover, the economies of countries in the region would be badly hurt and their security threatened.

If the Soviet Union succeeds in projecting its power into this region it would be able to link up its eastern, western and southern fronts and gain greater leverage against Western Europe and also facilitate its push south.

The Soviet Union, which has been energetically advocating "internationalizing" the Strait of Malacca, has been steadily building up its Pacific fleet from 750,000 tons in 1965 to 1,520,000 tons today. It now has 785 warships including 130 submarines, 24 guided-missile destroyers and the aircraft carrier *Minsk* operating in this area—about a third of its naval forces.

Cam Ranh Bay. The enlarged Soviet military presence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans was made possible by its acquisition of Vietnamese naval and air bases. The naval base of Cam Ranh Bay has permitted the Soviet Union to extend its naval operations south by some 2,000 nautical miles from Haishengwei (Vladivostok). Soviet warships operating from Cam Ranh Bay are now tracking Japanese, U.S., West European, and other countries' vessels using the Strait of Malacca and in the South China Sea. Soviet ships are active about Subic Bay, keeping tabs on U.S. naval vessels. They are also found off China's southern coast and around China's Xisha Islands.

Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong told Japanese newsmen not very long ago that "there are no Soviet military bases in Viet Nam." Pressed, he added, "It is quite usual for friendly countries to have their aircraft and vessels using each

other's ports and airfields." Quite, but it is not usual for a foreign country to send warships and planes out of Cam Ranh Bay to threaten other countries in Southeast Asia, carry military supplies for Viet Nam to use against other countries. Nor is it usual to spy and carry out military exercises, all with the hostile aim of facilitating Soviet action against other Southeast Asian countries when the opportunity arises. Soviet planes from Cam Ranh Bay can cover the Strait of Malacca within an hour or two and cut this important sea lane to the United States and Japan.

A Real Threat. Stepped-up Soviet military activities, with Cam Ranh Bay as the base, pose a real Soviet threat to the Strait of Malacca. The threat is not confined to the region. It is an important component of Soviet global strategy. The situation calls for thought and counter-measures by all who are concerned about safeguarding peace and security in the region.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding



Cartoon
by Lan Jianan

Iraq's Legitimate Right

THE Iraqi Embassy in Beijing in an August 12 communique rebutted the Israeli attack on the Iraqi Government's peaceful use of atomic energy.

The communique stressed that both the agreement Iraq signed with France on nuclear technological co-operation and the contract with Italy concerning atomic energy equipment are for peaceful purposes. Israel, the communique said, "launched a misleading propaganda campaign against Iraq when Iraq is exercising her legitimate right to the peaceful use of atomic energy."

Renmin Ribao in a commentary on August 13 pointed out that Iraq, stepping up its pace of national construction and developing nuclear technology for peaceful use, is merely exercising the legitimate right of a sovereign state. It brooks no interference.

However, the Israeli authorities had the impudence to attack Iraq on this, even threatening "to take all necessary measures to make sure that Iraq will not possess nuclear arms." One wonders how the Israeli authorities can be so arrogant.

The commentary went on to point out that Israel still occupies large tracts of Arab land and, in the name of self-defence, has been expanding its armed forces and clandestinely developing nuclear weapons to gain military superiority over its Arab neighbours. It is acquiring nuclear capability but angrily forbids others to

develop nuclear technology, even for peaceful purposes.

The Israeli outburst is reminiscent of the superpowers which, while building up their own nuclear arsenals, try to stop other countries from developing atomic energy for peaceful use. Israel's attack is consistent with its persistent

"Vanguard" (Australia)

"Our Revolutionary Arena"

OUR revolutionary arena is Australia," says *Vanguard*, organ of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) on July 17, and asks Australian Communists not to debate the problems of China endlessly but to devote very serious attention to the integration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with Australian conditions.

"In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx said: 'It is altogether self-evident that, to be able to fight at all, the working class must organize itself at home as a class and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle,'" said the *Vanguard* editorial. It pointed out that Mao Zedong had emphasized this in his writings *Reform Our Study* and *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*, which "integrated that truth into China's conditions," otherwise "the victory of China's liberation would have been postponed."

"Australian Communists must therefore deeply study communist theory — the classics of Marxism — in order to participate in organizing the Australian working class as a class and fighting in Australia as the immediate arena of its struggle. In

policy of aggression and expansion against Arab countries.

The commentary reaffirmed the Chinese Government's firm support of the legitimate right of the Iraqi Government and people to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, and declared that the Iraqi people will make further progress in national construction, despite Israeli threats.

that way, Australians serve the world revolution."

"It would be absurd if the Chinese Communists were to preoccupy themselves with solving and endlessly debating the problems of the Australian revolution. It is equally absurd for 'Communists' (Australian) to debate China's problems endlessly," the article continued. "It is of vital importance to all revolutionaries that China upholds the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is correct to follow it closely. But China is not the immediate arena of struggle for Australian Communists. Our efforts must be devoted to solving the problems of the Australian revolution."



CORRECTION: In the middle column of page 19 in our last issue, the 4th and 5th lines should read: 3) the development of computers and other areas of modern science and technology.

There Must Be Another Revolution In Viet Nam

by Hoang Van Hoan

Hoang Van Hoan, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Vietnamese National Assembly who came to China in July 1979, spoke to representatives of Vietnamese residents in Yunnan Province on January 28 this year. He has decided to publish the speech, he said, to commemorate the 35th anniversary of Viet Nam's August Revolution and the founding of the republic.

Following is the full text. — Ed.

At this close and intimate gathering today, we have talked of the experience of Vietnamese residents in Yunnan in numerous aspects. From the many painful instances given, we see clearly how the "consulate-general" of Le Duan and company in Kunming (capital city of Yunnan Province — Ed.) has used tricks against you and put pressure on you and exploited you. On the other hand, many moving instances have enabled us to see clearly the profound and sincere friendship the Chinese Government and people have always cherished for the Vietnamese people.

Now, I would like to speak to you about the situation at home.

After nearly a century of arduous struggle, including the recent 30 years of armed struggle, the Vietnamese people, under the wise leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, defeated the French and U.S. imperialists and their flunkys. This was a historic and, indeed, an epoch-making victory which brought rejoicing and elation to the people of the whole country. Their earnest desire then was to recuperate, to heal war wounds and live in peace and comfort, and bid farewell to war.

Le Duan and company, however, did exactly the opposite. They destroyed completely the fruits of 30 years of revolution and turned their backs on the correct line of "building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic

and prosperous Viet Nam" advocated by our beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

No Peace in Viet Nam Today

Peace has not come to Viet Nam, although nearly five years have elapsed since the liberation of the whole country. This is because Le Duan and company, burning with chauvinistic ambitions, sent troops into Laos and put the country under their control and embarked on aggression against Kampuchea. They committed armed provocations in the Vietnamese-Chinese border areas to serve foreign interest. They mobilized a million or so young people of both sexes to leave school or their work to undergo military training and build fortifications for the purpose of opposing China.

Why do they want to oppose China? According to Le Duan and company, China has long wanted to "annex" Viet Nam. This is a preposterous lie.

For 30 years, China has been Viet Nam's sincere and close friend. To help Viet Nam in its struggle against French and U.S. imperialism and in its national reconstruction, China spent over 20 billion U.S. dollars in cash grants and aid material. It sent hundreds of thousands of men to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people and has never grudged making sacrifices, even at the sacrifice of lives.

Now, China is working might and main for its own modernization and has absolutely no intention of committing aggression against Viet Nam, still less "annexing" it. Nevertheless, should Le Duan and company insist on making provocations again and again, China will not tolerate such acts for ever and refrain from striking back.

Viet Nam and China, contiguous to each other by land and sea for thousands of kilometres, should have cordial relations and live together amicably. But Le



Comrade Hoang Van Hoan visiting Hainan Island, February 1980.

Duan and company are bent on engineering conflicts with China and have talked vociferously and incessantly about defeating China. Let me ask: When can they defeat China? Are they ready to fight for several decades, several centuries, from generation to generation? If they continue in what they are doing now, when will Viet Nam have peace?

No Real Unification

The Vietnamese people have fought heroically and for decades to reunify their country. Now, the country is unified in appearance, but actually unification is still a long way off and a lot of work has to be done to attain it. For a dozen years or more, Le Duan's sectarian line in the north has given rise to the most serious factional strife from central down to local levels. This strife remains unsettled in some departments and provinces.

Since the liberation of all Viet Nam, this factional strife has turned into a sharp contradiction between the north and the south. That was why many cadres from the north asked to transfer back home shortly after they were sent to work in the south.

Now, a strange thing has happened. Checkposts have been set up at random in many places along communication lines by the local authorities and such checkposts have become obstacles to the interflow of people and goods.

Here is an example. People living only 20 or 30 kilometres away from Saigon feed their chicken and ducks and brew wine with rice, while in Saigon rice costs seven or eight, and sometimes more than ten *dong* (Vietnamese currency — *Ed.*) per kilo. Some cadres who could not afford to buy rice on the black market went to their parents, brothers or relatives in the countryside and got a dozen kilo or so of rice to take back to Saigon. But the rice was often confiscated at the checkposts. Those who refused to part with their rice were beaten to death.

Our fellow-countrymen in the south are highly patriotic and treat the people from the north as their kith and kin. But they have reacted strongly against the enforcement in the south of the erroneous policies which Le Duan and company pursue

in the north, and against their despotism. Many intellectuals and other patriots who took part in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation now find themselves disillusioned and discriminated against. Quite a number of them have had to leave their homeland and go into exile.

National minorities in the south, such as the Khmers and the Rades, are treated unequally and made to suffer ethnic discrimination. They have risen in defiance, overtly or covertly, against Le Duan and company.

How can a country claim to be truly unified when it is torn by factional strife in various localities and departments and at all levels, and torn by sharp contradictions between the north and the south, with traffic and interflow of goods held up?

No Independence

For 30 years, China has been a good neighbour of Viet Nam's and has gone through thick and thin with the Vietnamese people in a common struggle. Moreover, China is a powerful country in the world. Yet, Le Duan and company, defying reason and common sense and disregarding national interest, are determined to antagonize China and have talked boastfully about defeating China. What, then, is the line of thinking that has guided them to commit such a folly and what are the forces on which they depend in doing so?

The answer is that they act on the instigations of the reactionary anti-China forces in the world and they have placed their hope on the "aid" granted by these forces. To put it bluntly, they are betraying the interest of our nation and serving a foreign power as its running dog.

Le Duan often claimed that Viet Nam is the world's third military power. In reality, Viet Nam depends on foreign supplies for its ammunition and logistic supplies as well as for rockets, tanks and aircraft. It has to go begging for cereal, cloth, soap and even needles and thread from other countries and has to be content with what others give. Economically, it is purely an appendage to a foreign power.

Politically, agents representing the interests of a foreign power are planted in every department and even in the cabinet and the Party Central Committee of Viet Nam. They are in the position to manipulate, by various means, the administration of the state and determine its policies as they see fit.

Militarily, Viet Nam's aggression against Laos and Kampuchea and its outcries about fighting a war with China were dictated by the strategic needs of a foreign power and backed by the military assistance of that power.

Diplomatically, its hypocritical pretensions, believed by some in the past, are stripped bare by its aggression and occupation of Kampuchea. The clique now resorts even more to lying propaganda and dances more than ever to the tune of that foreign power.

Now, Viet Nam's key air bases and ports, and Cam Ranh Bay in particular, have been handed over to that foreign power, so that it may use them to militarily threaten the security of Southeast Asia.

Can Viet Nam, as it is today, be called an independent country?

No Democracy

I am sure you have had some taste of this in your dealings with the Vietnamese "consulate-general" in Yunnan. It has used every conceivable pretext to exact donations from you. It extorts something from you when you apply to return to Viet Nam to visit your kinsfolk. The duty of a consulate-general is to protect the rights and interests of its nationals in a foreign land, but the Vietnamese "consulate-general" has turned into an instrument to wilfully press and exploit its nationals. This is a typical case which shows that the ruling structure of Le Duan and company is rotten to

the core. Since the root at home has rotted, the branches abroad are bound to fall into decay.

Our fellow-countrymen back home are living in the iron grip of Le Duan and company's secret service — the public security agencies. All government offices, Party committees and mass organizations are controlled by public security agents. Those who air views different from those of the authorities are instantly ostracized and victimized. The broad masses dare not speak what they think about the affairs of the state and even about their difficulties in life.

Under the reign of Ngo Dinh Diem and later Nguyen Van Thieu, people in the south were subjected to harsh repression, but still they could comment on this and that. Today, they are under the absolute control of Le Duan and company's secret service. They have worries and they fear contact and talking with others, conscious of the watchful eyes of the omnipresent secret agents.

In Viet Nam, the absence of democratic freedoms for the people is as conspicuous as this.

Vietnamese People Live in Dire Poverty And Hunger

Pursuing a policy of aggression and war, Le Duan and company call on the people to tighten their belts and throw most of the country's resources and manpower into war. In the rural area, farmland is lying waste. The output of grain and other crops has dropped substantially and there is an annual grain shortage of more than one million tons. Industrial production has dropped drastically and there is a huge shortage of daily necessities.

Apart from members of the privileged stratum belonging to the Le Duan clique, who are leading a life of luxury by exploiting the people and robbing public property, all the people are reduced to extreme poverty. The life of the impoverished workers, peasants and functionaries at the lower levels in particular is utterly miserable. Their income is low but daily necessities, available only on the black market, are very costly. Begging, prostitution, gambling, graft, theft, robbery and murder for money have become common phenomena. Tens of thousands of people have had to abandon their homeland which they had lived from generation to generation and gone abroad. Not to mention the hundreds of thousands of overseas Chinese who were persecuted and expelled from

Viet Nam by Le Duan and company. Such historic tragedy in today's Viet Nam has never happened before.

Obviously, in today's Viet Nam, under the rule of Le Duan and company, the people are suffering terribly and life has become impossible. Under such circumstances, it is ridiculous to boast of a prosperous and strong Viet Nam!

Nearly five years have elapsed since victory in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. However, our people are still forced to send their sons and brothers to Laos and Kampuchea to slaughter the people there and to die. Besides, our people are living under great tensions of war and suffering from hunger, hardship and humiliation. It is like living in a prison.

If in the past, our people had absolute confidence in the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, now they harbour a deep hatred for Le Duan and company. Moreover, they regard the Party under the control of Le Duan and company as a label bearing the good name of a Communist Party to deceive the people. If in the past Viet Nam was regarded and admired as a symbol of justice and conscience of our times, it is now regarded as a war-mongering, aggressive and hegemonic state and has become isolated in the world.

We can see clearly from the above analysis that the sacred duty of the Vietnamese people today is to launch another revolution. Specifically speaking, they must overthrow the dictatorial and corrupt rule of Le Duan and company and establish a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam as the late President Ho Chi Minh had desired in his lifetime.

Vietnamese refugees reach Xianggang (Hongkong).



Vietnamese residents in Yunnan are traditionally patriotic. In the past decades, they have made praiseworthy contributions to the revolution. Today, they should further close their ranks and join the entire Vietnamese people in working for the common cause of the Vietnamese nation.

At Present, Two Things Need to Be Done

First, everybody should see clearly the fact that in complete betrayal of President Ho Chi Minh's line and the revolution, Le Duan and company have willingly sold out national interests by serving a foreign country and done every evil to injure the country and bring calamity to the people. So long as Le Duan and company are in power, the Vietnamese people will continue to suffer abysmally and can never hold up their heads. Therefore, the only way to save the country and the people is to overthrow the corrupt and dictatorial rule of Le Duan and company.

Second, everybody should see clearly the fact that with a view to instigating the people to take part in the war against China, Le Duan and company fabricated a so-called Chinese attempt to annex Viet Nam. As a matter of fact, the Chinese side always cherishes the friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people fostered by the late Chairman Mao and President Ho. Proof of this is the good, friendly treatment of Vietnamese residents in Yunnan by the Chinese Government and people. However, the Chinese residents in Viet Nam have been cruelly bullied, robbed and persecuted by Le Duan and company. Hundreds of thousands of them were forced to return to China, hundreds of thousands more were rounded up and taken to the "new economic zones" and left helplessly there. Many hundreds of thousands of others were forced to flee by sea, to risk their lives after being robbed of all their property. These facts alone show us how Le Duan and company have undermined the friendship between our two countries.

The most important tasks of the Vietnamese revolution now are to overthrow the corrupt rule of Le Duan and company and restore the friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the Chinese people. Only with such a clear and basic understanding, can we adopt a correct attitude towards China and the Vietnamese revolution and fulfil the task entrusted to the patriotic overseas Vietnamese who are an integral part of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces and the heroic Vietnamese people. □

Is the National Question Essentially A Class Question?

That "the national question is essentially a class question" is a statement which enjoyed great vogue in China prior to the downfall of the gang of four. In dealing with the question of nationalities during that period, we too on many occasions followed this erroneous formulation. Are these two questions, that of nationalities and that of classes, one and the same thing? What constitutes the nationality problem in the period of socialism? Where do the roots of the problem lie? The article below undertakes to analyse and expound these topics. We hope it will help clarify the confusions caused by the wrong viewpoint of the past. — Ed.

THE statement that "the national question is essentially a class question" differs entirely in principle from the statement by Comrade Mao Zedong made in August 1963 in support of the struggle of the Afro-Americans. In it he said: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." Evidently, here the national struggle he referred to is the struggle waged by oppressed nations against national oppression by the ruling classes (or by the external forces of aggression). In this context, it may be said that, in the final analysis, this struggle is a matter of class struggle, whereas the national question is one of a much wider scope. Between the working people of two fraternal nationalities in a socialist country there may be and, in fact, are national problems, but it cannot be said that these are essentially, without exception, class problems.

The statement that "the national question is essentially a class

question" began to appear and prevail in the Chinese press in the early 1960s. If this statement is limited to some particular events, there is nothing wrong with it; but when it is treated as a universal principle, it does not hold water.

In the ten years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the gang of four made this statement the theoretical basis for pushing an ultra-Left line in areas inhabited by minority peoples and exercise their feudal fascist dictatorship there. In these areas, they gravely undermined the Party's economic policies and those towards nationalities, religion, the united front and cadres. Ruthlessly they brought cases against large numbers of people which were based on unjust, false or wrong charges, striking blows at minority peoples and their cadres as if they were class enemies. The result was that people in the national minority areas experienced the same bitter sufferings as people elsewhere in the country.



Women workers of minority nationalities in a Xinjiang cotton mill at a rap session.

More than three years have passed since the overthrow of the gang of four, and yet the statement that "the national question is essentially a class question" still stands, blocking implementation of the Party's nationality policy. Therefore, it is necessary to examine it and clarify the matter.

National Question Different From Class Question

The national question and class question differ in nature. Within a particular historical period, the two questions are inter-related; under certain historical conditions, class struggle may also be reflected in the relationship between nationalities. But it does not follow that the national problem is essentially a class problem. To clarify this point it is first of all necessary to determine what is meant by the statement "the national question is essentially a class question."

One, this statement is posed as a general proposition, not modified by time, place or conditions, applicable universally to every historical period and country, as if to say when a national problem arises, it is essentially a class problem. The emergence and existence of national problems are rooted in classes and class struggle. The national problem appears as a phenomenon; the class problem is the essence. Once classes are eliminated and class problems solved, the national problem also disappears. This statement has thus synchronized the rise and disappearance of nationalities with the rise and disappearance of classes, lumping the national problem and class problem together.

Two, this statement has special connotations. Generally speaking, it refers to matters concerning the exploiting classes, oppressing classes, reactionaries and national traitors. When applied to the nationality problem at home during the period of socialism in China, it refers to the rule, oppression and sabotage by the exploiting classes of the minority peoples; it completely negates the fact that there are also national problems among the working people themselves.

From the point of view of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, nationalities and classes have their own laws governing their emergence, development and extinction. In most cases, the various nationalities (here and elsewhere in this article meaning nationalities in a broad sense) came into being after a history of several hundred or several thousand years, and will continue to exist for a long time to come. "The existence of classes is only bound

up with particular historical phases in the development of production." (Marx to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852.) The existence of classes is of much shorter duration than that of nationalities. After the withering away of the former, the latter will remain in existence for a long time. Lenin said: National distinctions "will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a worldwide scale." (*"Left-Wing" Communism — An Infantile Disorder.*) Comrade Mao Zedong also said: First, it is the dying away of classes, then the dying away of states, then the dying away of nationalities — this is so throughout the world. Thus, apparently, when classes cease to exist, the statement that "the national question is essentially a class question" becomes quite meaningless. This alone suffices to show that this statement cannot be as a universal proposition.

In principle, classes and class struggle are matters within the different nationalities themselves, whereas the national problem concerns matters between the different nationalities. When the ruling class of a certain nationality invades, exploits and oppresses other nationalities and when this leads to a struggle by these nationalities against national oppression, then national oppression and national struggle become the basic content of the nationality problem. Such national oppression is, undoubtedly, a manifestation of class oppression; such national struggle is, undoubtedly, a manifestation of class struggle.



A wrestling match between two Inner Mongolian herdsmen.



Tibetan women making rugs with local fabrics.

When Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of a national struggle being, in the final analysis, a matter of class struggle in his statement in support of the struggle of the Afro-Americans, he was saying that in the United States the contradiction between the black people on the one hand and the monopoly groups and reactionaries on the other was a class contradiction, that the masses of black people could achieve emancipation only when they were united with the white working people. Just as under the historical conditions of pre-liberation China, with imperialist oppression from without and a system of national oppression within, the working people of various nationalities had the common task of uniting to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and of achieving national liberation. Since liberation, national oppression and national struggles against such oppression no longer exist in our country. Therefore, the thesis by Comrade Mao Zedong cannot be applied to the relationship between nationalities in the liberated China. If and when it is applied to the nationality problem in China in the period of socialism, it will not only confound the national question with questions of national struggle and class struggle, but also confound the socialist nationality relationship in New China with the relationship of national oppression in old China.

Both Lenin and Stalin made a clear distinction between two eras — that of the fall of the Western feudal system and ascendancy of capitalism, and that of imperialism — two entirely different capitalist eras as seen from the angle of nationality movements. National oppression and national struggle existed in both eras, but in so far as the content and significance of the

nationality movements are concerned, great changes took place in the nationality problem. In the era when capitalism was in the ascendancy, the national problem was a part of the bourgeois democratic world revolution which, in essence, was a struggle carried on by the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations against the ruling classes of the oppressing nations scrambling for markets. During that period, the bourgeoisie played the leading role. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the national problem became a part of the proletarian socialist world revolution — a world problem in which the oppressed nations in the colonies and dependencies struggle to free themselves from imperialist oppression, and so in the case of oppressed nations comprising mainly peasants, in essence, it is a peasant problem. In the era of imperialism it is wrong to regard the essence of the national problem as a problem concerning exploiting classes. And it is an even greater mistake to still consider the essence of the national problem as a problem concerning exploiting classes in our country, now that we have entered the period of socialism in which national oppression has ceased to take place and exploiting classes have ceased to exist as classes.

National Problem in the Period of Socialism: The Problem of Inter-Relationships Between The Working People of All Nationalities

The statement that “the national question is essentially a class question” was made in 1956 after the socialist transformation in areas inhabited by minority nationalities had been basically completed; its aim was to show that the national problem in China’s period of socialism was a matter involving the exploiting classes of the minority peoples and the reactionaries. This is completely inapplicable to the objective reality in our country.

The founding of the People’s Republic of China marked a fundamental change in the relationship between nationalities, the uprooting of the system of national oppression and the realization of equality among all nationalities. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong had pointed out: From this day on, the day of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the various nationalities in this country have become united in a big family of fraternity and co-operation. The establishment of the people’s political power has basically changed the status of the working people of all nationalities who until then had had no rights to speak of. As to the national minorities,

in areas formerly under the direct control of the Kuomintang government and now placed directly under the people's government with the fall of the reactionary Kuomintang government, basically speaking there is no longer any regime of the exploiting classes of the minority peoples. In some places, even though the system of headmen and tribal



An agricultural scientific research group in Yunnan Province, composed of commune members of Bai nationality.

chiefs* continued to exist in the early years of liberation, they were already under the jurisdiction of the people's governments. At the same time, the Party and the People's Government after liberation immediately started introducing step by step national regional autonomy and making great efforts to train national minority cadres. All this has provided important conditions for the minority peoples to run their own affairs.

Besides, the Party, the People's Government and the People's Liberation Army have done

* The Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties conferred hereditary official titles on national minority chiefs in the frontier regions, a system which facilitated their rule over the minority peoples. During the reactionary Kuomintang rule, part of the tribal chief system remained unchanged.

extensive work in the areas inhabited by minority peoples to cultivate friends, trade on a fair basis, help prevent and cure diseases, build roads, and administer relief and have carried out other activities conducive to national unity and unification. This has served to improve relations between nationalities and bring them closer together.

These changes, as far as the class essence is concerned, represent the establishment and development of an alliance by the working class which is in power, with the minority peoples (mainly peasants and herdsman).

Democratic reforms and socialist transformation have brought about further radical changes in the relations between the nationalities in our country.

The overwhelming majority of the minority nationalities in our country were then in the pre-capitalist stage of development and the exploiting classes of the minority peoples were mainly feudal lords or slave-owners. Thus, democratic reforms and the elimination of feudal or slave-owning exploiting systems among the minority nationalities were mainly class struggles, on which the further development and prosperity of all nationalities hinge. These reforms, fundamentally speaking, were a matter of revolution within the various nationalities, not a matter of inter-relations between nationalities. But the democratic reforms within the various nationalities and the completion of the socialist transformation have in turn put national relations in our country on a new footing.

Political domination and economic exploitation had been abolished in most of the minority areas by 1953 and in the rest of them by 1959; the labouring people of the various nationalities, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have one after another become masters among their respective peoples, in control of their own destiny and their relations with other nationalities. The relationship between the various nationalities has in the main become a relationship among the working people. Despite contradictions of one kind or another among these peoples, their fundamental interests are the same. On this basis, socialist relationships of a new type among the nationalities have been formed on the basis of unity, fraternity, equality and mutual assistance.

Does this then mean that there is no longer any class struggle in the national problem?

In China, the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, but class struggle is, to a certain extent, still in existence. Within the various nationalities, there are differing degrees of class struggle, some of which continues to manifest itself in the relationships between nationalities. But we certainly must not for this reason confound the question of class struggle within the various nationalities with the question of relationships between the nationalities.

Substance and Root of the National Question In the Period of Socialism

What is the substance of the national problem in the period of socialism? Where do the roots of the problem lie?

The period of socialism is a historical period of national development and prosperity. The 50-odd fraternal nationalities in our country all have a long history of their own — one of national oppression from without and of backward internal social systems which bound them hand and foot — and are still in a state of underdevelopment. Since liberation, under the socialist system, the various nationalities have come on the stage of history as equals, and will, in the course of realizing socialist modernization, gradually overcome their backwardness and enter the ranks of the advanced nations.

For a fairly long historical period ahead, the national problem in our country will, by and large, include the following three factors.

(1) Introducing national regional autonomy and consolidating the unity and unification of the various nationalities on a democratic basis and an equal footing. National regional autonomy is the basic policy of our Party and the People's Government in handling relations among the nationalities within the country. In a multi-national country like ours, without national regional autonomy, we cannot have national equality, great unity among the various nationalities or unification of the motherland.

(2) Gradually eliminating the political, economic and cultural inequalities among the nationalities. Marxism-Leninism has always considered it a fundamental task of the national problem in the period of socialism to eliminate the inequalities left over by history. In 1953 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party discussed and approved its tasks in the field of national problems during the period of transition. It explicitly put forward the following: "Gradually develop the politics, economies and cultures of the various nationalities (including steady but necessary social reforms), eliminate the real inequalities among the various nationalities left over by history. See



Tibetans who recently have been ensured by the Party Central Committee to speed up their economic development and improve their livelihood spend their leisure hours in a park in Lhasa.

to it that the backward nationalities will be able to enter the ranks of the advanced ones in the transition to socialist society."

In the present new historical period, the elimination of inequalities among the various nationalities is part of the drive for socialist modernization. The central task of nationality work in the new socialist period is to unite the people of all nationalities to strive for the realization of the four modernizations and, in the process, to make great efforts to help the various minority peoples develop their economies and cultures, to continuously improve their material and cultural well-being on the basis of the development of production, and, after many years of hard work, gradually eliminate existing political, economic and cultural inequalities.

(3) Acknowledging national differences, taking into consideration the special features of the various nationalities and correctly approaching and handling national contradictions. The experiences in the post-liberation years point to the fact that in areas inhabited by minority peoples, there are two different working policies — either running affairs according to the special characteristics of these nationalities and areas, or mechanically copying the policies, tasks and methods used in the areas inhabited by the Han people. Which of the two we adopt will determine whether we will succeed or fail in our work in this field. To this day there are still many problems in areas inhabited by the minority peoples. If we look into their causes, most of them are connected with the working policies. We should emancipate our minds, adopt a less rigid policy, sweep away the influence of the ultra-Left line, overcome the practice of treating different problems with one single method, and really see to it that things are done according to local conditions, in conformity with the specific features of the various areas inhabited by different minority peoples. The statement that the "national question is essentially a class question" conceals, in effect, the basic content and tasks in the field of the national problem in the socialist period, and replaces them by classes and class struggle. It denies the fact that national differences and real inequalities among nations are at the root of the national problem. It also negates the fact that there are national contradictions wherever there are national differences. Moreover, it regards national contradictions as reflections of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and reflections of class contradictions.

This viewpoint is theoretically unsound and does not conform to the objective reality at all. Under socialism, the basic interests of the working people of the various nationalities are identical, although certain contradictions among them do exist. There are, for instance, contradictions resulting from differences in their spoken and written languages, differences in living conditions, customs, habits, psychology and religious belief; contradictions resulting from differences in the degree of economic development among nationalities, which find expression in national contradictions in the relationship between farming and animal husbandry, between farming and forestry, or between agriculture and commerce; contradictions between national autonomous localities and the people's governments at the higher level as well as contradictions among these localities and other areas, etc. All these are national contradictions, caused by national differences, national peculiarities and real national inequalities. As long as national differences and national peculiarities continue to exist, as long as there are real national inequalities, these contradictions, too, will continue to exist. They are non-antagonistic contradictions (which may become antagonistic if not handled properly). The theoretical view that the national question is nothing but a class question, that national contradiction is nothing but contradiction between the enemy and ourselves or class contradiction, is bound to lead to overlooking national differences and national peculiarities; it is bound to lead to handling contradictions among the people themselves as class contradictions and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and to treating working people as if they were class enemies. History has proved that such a theory and way of doing things is highly detrimental to our national work and relations between the nationalities. We must in all seriousness make sure that we never lose sight of this point.

(Excerpts from an article by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator, July 15)



On the Use of Foreign Funds

by Liu Lixin

China has been using foreign funds to import technology and equipment on a larger scale since last year. But not all the items imported in recent years were suited to actual needs. This was due to our lack of experience. Some items which did not conform with internal economic conditions not only failed to expedite construction, but gave rise to many new contradictions. How to use foreign funds in the days to come? What kind of technology and equipment should be introduced? These are questions now under discussion. This article, written by a vice-president of the head office of the People's Construction Bank of China, represents some commonly held points of view. — Ed.

AMONG the complete sets of equipment China imported in recent years, some are urgently needed for the current readjustment of the national economy and there is commensurate capacity at home to furnish the ancillary equipment necessary for constructing the projects. When completed, they will not only help to end the imbalance between different economic sectors, but will raise the technical level in some of China's industrial departments and increase its ability to rely on itself. But some other

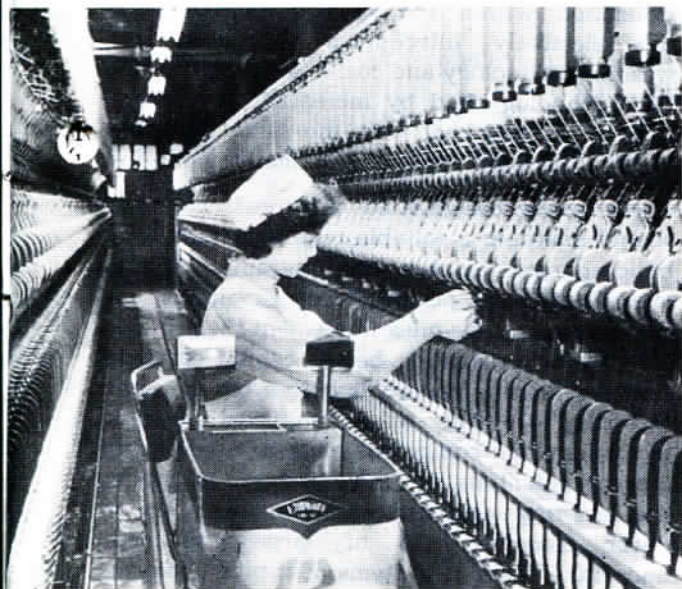
items, though urgently needed too, will give rise to many new contradictions on top of the existing imbalance between different economic sectors when they are completed and put into operation. This is because of the incapacity to provide ancillary equipment at home for the time being. Therefore, from now on, the use of foreign funds to introduce technology and equipment should be aimed clearly at serving the readjustment of the national economy.

Import Things on a Rational Scale

Doing what is possible is an important guiding precept for economic work, and it also applies to the use of foreign funds for production and construction. In using foreign funds, we must proceed from reality; if we blindly import equipment in disregard of the objective possibility, we will find the results contrary to our wishes and there will be more haste, less speed.

On how large a scale should we import foreign technology and equipment? Experience over the years proves that it should be commensurate with our ability to repay foreign loans and to provide ancillary equipment.

By ability to repay foreign loans, we mean our ability to pay back both principal and interest. Foreign exchange comes, in the last analysis, from exported commodities. So we can use more foreign funds only when we have more to export. According to international practice, any country which borrows money has to repay principal and interest every year. In general the amount of principal and interest repaid yearly should not exceed 20 per cent of the total amount of foreign exchange earnings the same year; it should not surpass 25 per cent at most. To use more than the reasonable amount of earnings means that the country's ability to repay is deficient. Specifically speaking, whether or not there is enough foreign exchange to repay principal and interest for an imported item depends on the following three conditions: First, the products turned out by the completed project are competitive on the international market; second, the products, if they cannot be exported, must be substitutes for the same kind of products the country imports, so that the country



Imported equipment at the Tianjin No. 1 Woolen Mill has enormously raised the quality of its products.

can lay aside an appropriate amount of foreign exchange to pay back principal and interest; third, the rate of profits earned by this project is higher than the rate of interest on the money borrowed. Failure to fulfil the necessary conditions shows that the project cannot yield enough returns to repay foreign loans. Therefore, if more foreign funds are to be used for investment, every effort must be made to increase exports; otherwise, the use of foreign funds to import technology and equipment cannot be maintained on an expanding scale.

The ability to provide ancillary equipment at home refers to the capacity to ensure the supply of domestic investment, materials and equipment needed during the period of construction as well as the supply of materials, fuel and power, and the communications and transport services needed after the project is completed and put into operation. In the case of complete sets of large equipment imported in the early 1970s, it is estimated that every U.S. dollar spent on imported equipment needed, on an average, an investment of about four yuan (RMB) in ancillary equipment at home. If foreign funds are used on a scale exceeding the ability to provide investment for ancillary equipment, it will hold up the progress of construction and cause serious waste. If the construction of major projects is undertaken without adequate attention to the concomitant construction of auxiliary projects for the supply of raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and power and communications and transport services, the state will suffer huge losses because these major projects cannot go into operation even after they are completed.

Correct Use of Foreign Funds

During the period of readjusting the national economy, we should energetically develop agriculture, light and textile industries and at the same time build up the energy industry, communications and transport facilities and building materials industry. The use of foreign funds must serve the readjustment of the national economy. Under no circumstances should we create new imbalances or aggravate existing disproportions. Most of the complete sets of large equipment we imported in 1978 consume much energy and this has exacerbated the shortage of fuel and power. We must never do this again in the future.

What kind of technology and equipment should we introduce with the aid of foreign funds? What sort of projects should we

undertake? In solving these questions, we should proceed from China's actual conditions and give play to our economic strong points. During the period of readjustment, there cannot be much increase in the investment in agriculture; compared with other economic sectors, light and textile industries need less investment, a shorter period of construction and less energy, but yield higher profits and earn more foreign exchange; they are the key sectors which should receive more investment and use more foreign funds. Top priority should be given to those enterprises that produce goods for export. The energy industry, communications and transport facilities and building materials industry are the vanguard industries in the national economy and yet they are the outstanding weak links in the present national economy. This being the case, capital construction funds, whether domestic or foreign, should, from now on, be invested as much as possible in these industries. When domestic funds are insufficient, the key projects in the energy industry and communications and transport facilities in particular, which need more investment and a longer period of construction, should be built as quickly as possible by actively using foreign funds. In the energy industry, we should make the fullest use of our rich coal resources, exploit them in co-operation with other countries and conclude long-term export contracts. This will take care of domestic needs, help expand exports, get more foreign exchange and increase our ability to repay foreign loans. We should strive to raise the rate of coal-heat energy utilization within the shortest possible time by selectively introducing advanced coal-washing technology and coal-heat energy utilization technology and by increasing the proportion of washed coal. At the same time, this helps protect the environment against pollution.

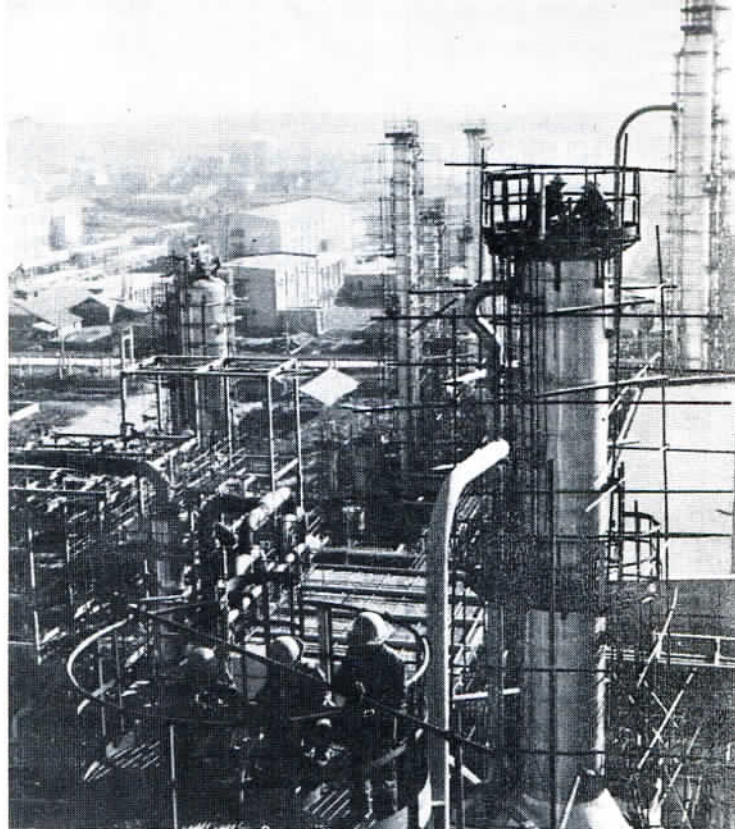
In using foreign funds for construction, we should maintain a suitable relationship between building new factories and upgrading existing ones. During the period of readjusting the national economy, we must implement the principle of "putting production before capital construction and tapping potentials before building new factories." In other words, imported advanced technology and equipment must be used first in tapping potentials, in renovating and upgrading the existing enterprises. We must import fewer complete sets of large equipment, undertake fewer new items of capital construction, introduce more key equipment and engage in the technical transformation of existing enterprises.

The use of foreign funds for building hotels and restaurants to develop the tourist industry is necessitated by the march of events, the readjustment of the national economy and the speeding up of the four modernizations. However, in building hotels and restaurants specially for tourists, we should proceed from reality, that is, build fewer high-standard ones and more accommodations of an ordinary, serviceable kind. Only in this way can we do more with less money, receive more tourists and get more foreign exchange.

Pay Attention to Economic Results

We should learn to use foreign funds properly so as to obtain the biggest economic results with the least foreign funds. We must adhere to this principle both during the period of readjusting the national economy and for a long period of time in the future. Every technique and every piece of equipment must be proved technically advanced and economically profitable through many-sided appraisals and overall consideration before business talks are conducted and import contracts are signed. After an import contract has been signed and an imported equipment has been delivered, the project must be completed and put into operation at the scheduled time. Only thus can we cut down on investment and quickly provide the state with commodities and accumulation.

The use of foreign funds for importing technology and equipment must be combined with domestic scientific research and manufacture. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out long ago: With regard to imported technology and equipment, we must study them, use them, improve them and create new ones. Equipment should be introduced simultaneously with technology. In the past, we suffered from importing relatively more equipment but too little technology. From now on, we should not only import necessary technology and equipment, but, what's more important, make great efforts to train and build up our own scientific research force and our capacity to manufacture our own equipment. As to the imported equipment, we should, in the light of our resources, engage in constant renovation, study ways to improve it, and strive to catch up and surpass advanced world levels. The state should enact laws and regulations to support the machine-building industry departments in importing more technology and methods for manufacturing equipment. It should be strictly forbidden to import equipment which can be produced at



The Nanjing Alkyl Benzenes Plant, which is shown here under construction, will use imported equipment.

home. We should import key equipment and manufacture ordinary equipment at home as far as possible; we should also try our utmost to manufacture key equipment in co-operation with foreign firms so as to constantly improve our ability to manufacture equipment. In introducing technology, we should also introduce key techniques.

In using foreign funds to introduce technology and equipment, we must give consideration to adaptability. In the United States, West Germany, Japan and other countries with a high level of industrialization, human labour costs are very high. They go in for a high level of automation in order to reduce production costs and save expenditure on human labour. In the light of the fact that China, which has a huge population, needs to find jobs for millions of people every year, we cannot mechanically follow the way of doing things in those countries. We do not need to import the most advanced technology and equipment for every single economic department and every single production link. We should introduce more practical technology which needs less investment, absorbs more labour force and accumulates more funds for the state. We must avoid seeking a high level of automation blindly and indiscriminately. □

Some Questions on the Building of the 1.7-Metre Rolling Mill

by Meng Xiancheng

The large 1.7-metre rolling mill project undertaken by the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company in central China's Hubei Province was imported from Japan and West Germany. It is of an advanced world level—large in scale, advanced in technology and with a high degree of automation. It has a designed capacity of 3 million tons a year. The project has four major sections—continuous casting, hot sheet-steel rolling, cold sheet-steel rolling and silicon sheet steel—as well as some related domestically produced ancillary equipment. It was started in 1974 and basically completed in 1978.

Meng Xiancheng, who took part in the construction, wrote this article to express his views on the project. His main idea is that scientific principles should be followed in economic construction. — Ed.

I HAD the good luck to take part in building the 1.7-metre rolling mill of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company and saw with my own eyes the whole process, from digging the foundation to constructing the factory buildings, from installing machines to putting the whole mill into production.

At the work-site, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with both Chinese and West German experts and technical personnel and to listen to comments from all sides. Now I'd like to write down what I saw and heard as well as present my own personal feelings about the project.

I. Should Advanced Technology Be Imported or Not?

It is necessary to import advanced technology. Just take the introduction of the rolling mill for example. It was certainly a good thing to erect factory buildings on a stretch of wasteland, to install first-class equipment in them and turn out products which China formerly could not make and had to import.

However, viewing the project as it is now, the result is not satisfactory. It took five to six years to complete, but when it was put into production, its designed capacity could not be fully utilized because of insufficient supplies of raw materials, water, electricity, oil, gas and wind. What is the result? Output is too low and costs are too high, so that its products cannot compete on the international market and do not sell well at home, although the equipment is first class and the quality of the products first rate.

II. Problems to Be Studied Closely

1. It is not necessary to import the most advanced equipment.

In order to turn out the most urgently needed products ourselves, train technical personnel and develop technology, it is necessary to buy advanced technology and equipment. But their cost must be carefully considered. Usually the most advanced technology and equipment are very expensive. They are difficult to operate, to look after and to maintain. Therefore we must do our best within our own limitations.

A West German expert said to me: "I don't understand why you import such expensive equipment. You spend a lot to buy it, but you must learn how to use or maintain it. Also, you don't have the spare parts. We made the equipment because we have fewer people and labour in our country is too expensive. You have an ample supply of manpower. You could buy equipment which is less advanced and costs less, and use more of your manpower. It will not be too late to import the most advanced when you have enough trained people." Undeniably, his suggestion is a practical one for us to think over.

2. Careful planning comes first.

Ours is a socialist country and it must have a planned national economy. The problem of raw materials and power supply for the project

was taken up when the plan was made, but not solved. So when it went into operation, it was found that the supply of raw material and power could not meet the demand. The project took up a lot of funds, but its productive capacity can not be fully utilized. How can it be said to have planning?

Before a project is started, there must be careful planning. Are raw and other materials and energy mediums in ample supply? Can transport lines, subsidiary projects and ancillary plants be finished and put into operation at the same time as the main project? Overall arrangements must be made.

3. Investment returns must be stressed and economic responsibility clearly defined.

Now it is the state which makes the investment and sets up factories. When factories are finished, they are turned into the fixed assets of enterprises. As the enterprises have no direct interest in the introduction and construction of new projects, they lack the initiative to import them. At the stage of introduction and construction, the enterprises do not have to shoulder any economic responsibility, so smooth construction of the projects cannot be ensured.

To solve this problem economic measures must be taken, that is to say, new factories built with foreign exchange must be completed and put into operation on time and investment must be repaid with foreign exchange within a specific period of time. This should be written in contracts. Those who fulfil this should be rewarded and those not, fined. The state should provide the new factories with all necessary

subsidiary and co-ordinated factories and guarantee that all needs in the construction and production of the new factories are fulfilled. This should also be written in the form of contracts.

The 1.7-metre rolling mill project has experienced these sorts of problems. For instance, its active lime kiln must use petroleum gas as fuel, but the arrangement was not made beforehand and the gas supply cannot be adequately guaranteed. The kiln was built but it lacks fuel; we had to send the West German experts home and ask them to come back when we solve the supply of petroleum gas.

4. Bring in modern management from the start.

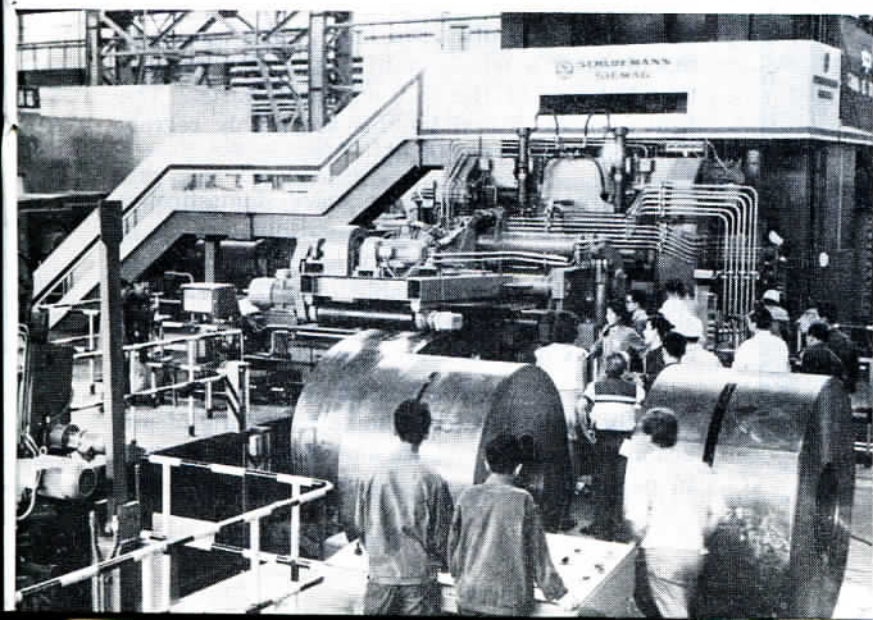
The technique and equipment of a project like the 1.7-metre rolling mill calls for a whole system of management adapted to them, otherwise advanced products may not necessarily be turned out. The things we import from abroad are not familiar to us; this, as far as competition is concerned, is disadvantageous. But we still have advantages of our own. First, ours is socialist planned economy; through adjustment by the state, we can solve contradictions which cannot be solved by capitalist management. Secondly, our wages are low, which makes our products more competitive. However, if management is not improved, we still cannot compete with others.

Our system of management should be thoroughly reformed so as to conform to advanced technology; on no account should the latter be turned back to accommodate our backward management. When something handled by other people brings profits but it brings losses in our hands, doesn't this show clearly enough that we have to reform our system of management?

How to reform it?

First, since the will of the capitalist is absolute in a capitalist enterprise, it won't do if we adopt everything from the capitalist method of management. But, as for raising quality, increasing output, reducing production costs and enhancing competitive capacity, there is probably not so much difference between socialism and capital-

A workshop in the steel rolling mill.

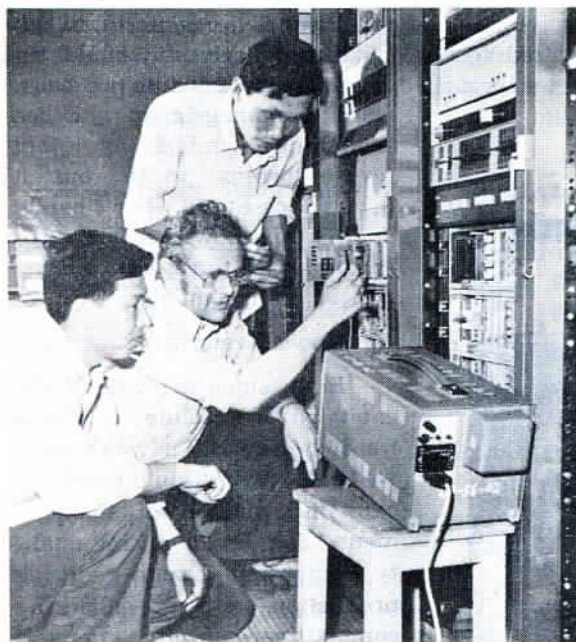


ism. The capitalist's aim in making money is to line his own pocket while our aim is to increase accumulation, enlarge reproduction and constantly raise our people's standard of living. Though the two are different in nature, still, if one does not make money, everything becomes empty talk. We should take this as our starting point and centre the reform of our management around it.

Secondly, a clear-cut system of personal responsibility should be established from the leading body down to the grass-roots level. Inside an enterprise responsibilities and commitments should be clearly defined and made into regulations governing the enterprise. Responsibility should be fixed according to these regulations if an enterprise is not doing well.

Thirdly, power should be given to technical personnel. The power of the technical personnel should be guaranteed, especially during the process of the installing, trial run and putting into production of equipment. According to our present system, technical personnel do not have the final say. Everything must go through the Party secretary, the director or the team leader. Since most of the secretaries and directors do not know much about technology, they always hesitate to make decisions. This is a sort of man-made hindrance which greatly interferes with the efficiency and speed of advance.

Fourthly, authority should be given to those



Chinese technicians with a West German adviser.

who are responsible for modern enterprises. This includes the authority to sell products, to use foreign currency, change personnel, set fines and rewards, and adjust wages within the enterprise according to the progress of production. In short, this is the power of the enterprise to make its own decisions and act on its own.

5. Modernization cannot be bought.

The idea that modernization can be achieved by buying more plants and equipment is naive. The things bought are only means of production which can be turned into productive forces only after they have been integrated with the people who must master, control and renovate them. Modern equipment can be considered modern productive forces only when it is handled by people who are modernized.

First, advanced imported technique should be thoroughly understood.

How is this done? The first step is to master the skills it involves. This means that when the equipment is damaged, it can be repaired, and missing parts can be replaced. The second step is to gain the capacity to make the imported equipment, and further, to create it anew and to improve it so as to make it even more advanced. The people needed to achieve this include scientific and technical personnel who have special knowledge, workers who are eager to learn and make progress and, in particular, management personnel who know their jobs. These people can produce results, develop technique and turn out new equipment, forming tremendous productive forces and propelling our national economy forward.

Secondly, the problem of spare parts must be solved.

The shortage or lack of spare parts always interferes with production and smooth operation. Only too often we hear that a group of machines or a whole plant has to stop production because of the lack of spare parts. The heavy losses caused by this are highly regrettable, as well as avoidable.

Spare parts should be made domestically; this should be encouraged in various ways such as designating certain factories to make them. Parts which we are unable to make ourselves should be bought in advance, so that they are available when they are needed.

These above-mentioned points are all directly connected with the restructuring of our economic system and that of the cadre system in particular. □

SOCIAL SCIENCES

The Academy: Past And Present

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences recently co-sponsored the first international social science conference to be held in China since 1949. Sixty scholars from China and six south Asian countries attended the symposium which focused on common questions of economic development, particularly concerning energy and food, and on the development of the social sciences in the various countries.

This conference represented an effort by the academy to improve its research work through international exchanges. In 1979 alone, it invited 300 scholars from a dozen countries to visit China and sent 200 Chinese scholars abroad to study.

The meeting was sponsored by the South Asia Research Institute which is affiliated with both the academy and Beijing University, and by the Marga Institute of Sri Lanka. Zhao Fusan, the secretary-general of the committee for academic exchanges of the academy, delivered a paper entitled "Social Sciences in China" in which he discussed the underlying principles operating in the social sciences today and the historical development of the field.

Zhao stated: "Marxism-Leninism provides us with a scientific world outlook and method of study. However, it cannot replace a concrete analysis of concrete issues, that is to say, it cannot take the place of the social sciences. The social sciences embody the science of human society and human thinking, and exist independently."

He pointed out that two prin-

ciples are observed today in the social sciences: The sciences, as a product of socialist society, serving socialist construction; the principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.

Zhao explained: "The term 'social sciences' in Chinese has a wider connotation than in English. It embraces both the social sciences and the humanities."

Zhao stated that although the social sciences in a modern sense only go back a century in China, the beginning of politics, philosophy, ethics, economics and jurisprudence dates back at least 2,500 years.

Works by Confucius and Mencius largely concern political philosophy and social ethics. A book containing the works of Shang Yang, a well-known statesman in the 4th century B.C., lists 13 statistical items which rulers would require in running their states, including a complete census, people's ages and the number of working people, officials and intellectuals. These writings also contain an analysis of the relations between agriculture and commerce and the inter-relationship between politics, law, culture and military strategy.

Throughout China's 2,500-year-old cultural history, Chinese have not only paid attention to natural philosophy, but also stressed reality, society and personal responsibility towards society; in the field of epistemology, stress has been laid on the relationship between praxis and knowledge, on concrete truth and dialectical thinking. All these have exerted a profound influence on the development of China's culture.

The state of social scientific research in China has been posi-

tively and negatively affected by foreign aggression and China's repeated defeats and humiliations under the threat of national subjugation. On the one hand, all the branches of the humanities and social sciences were characterized by a close combination of theory and practice, oriented towards national liberation; on the other hand, the various branches did not have time to develop in a systematic way.

Zhao then outlined the history of the academy in his speech. Social science research at the time of liberation was very weak, he asserted. In 1955 the Chinese Academy of Sciences set up a department of social sciences and philosophy which embraced seven institutes of archaeology, Chinese history, modern Chinese history, economics, linguistics, literature and philosophy. Later, another eight institutes were added: foreign literature, jurisprudence, nationality studies, natural science history, social science information, world economy, world history, and world religions. The department also published more than ten journals.

This research work was completely suspended between 1966 and 1976, and has only been gradually resumed since the gang of four was discredited almost four years ago. Now 23 institutes with 1,300 researchers have been established under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The academy's publishing house has published nearly 200 papers and 32 academic journals. There are 300 social science research units in universities and colleges with a total of 2,700 full-time research workers. Most of the disciplines have their own respective aca-

democratic societies which have drawn up their long-range plans.

Zhao said that since 1949, rapid development has been made in historical and economic research. The study of the history and languages of the 55 minority nationalities has made headway as well. Linguists have won achievements in the reform of China's written languages, in standardizing the Han written language (Chinese) and in researching the various dialects.

Zhao concluded his speech by saying: "Our nation is thinking hard, entering courageously a new era and trying to solve the new problems arising. There lies the hope of the social sciences in China."

MEDICINE

Traditional Chinese Medicine Practices Recorded

As part of an effort to preserve and enrich China's traditional medicine, 100 senior doctors in Beijing are now writing up their experiences while still maintaining their medical practices, research or teaching. Working with doctors of Western medicine, some have been particularly active in developing treatments for heart disease and tumours by combining Western and traditional medical approaches and in identifying the principles behind traditional Chinese medicine. The others have been studying such diseases as hepatitis, tracheitis, the network of acupuncture points, etc. The departments concerned have assigned qualified assistants for these doctors.

Veteran doctors who have been confined to their beds are visited regularly in order to compile a record of their experiences and the records of

those doctors who are no longer living are being assembled by their children or apprentices. For instance, a group of six people have put together a book based on the case histories, manuscripts and other data left behind by Qi Zhenhua, a noted pediatrician who died eight years ago.

Beijing is an appropriate place to launch such an endeavour for, as the political and cultural centre of China for almost 1,000 years, it has a rich legacy of traditional Chinese medical knowledge accumulated by generations of imperial doctors.

Among those who are actively participating on this project are:

Dermatologist Zhao Bingnan, now vice-president of the Beijing Hospital of Traditional Chinese Medicine. He has been practising for over 60 years and is especially renowned for his treatment of psoriasis.

Zhao Songquan, a doctor of gynaecology, claims to have cured sterility in women and, in the past five years, has achieved success with 250 woman patients.

Wang Leting, known as "Golden Needle Wang," and Wang Pengfei, who represents the

third generation of pediatricians in his family, are both highly reputed among their colleagues in Beijing.

Deeply moved by the government's effort to preserve China's traditional medical heritage, Jin Houru, a noted doctor of the municipal children hospital, voluntarily presented a hand-written copy of prescriptions and his unique methods to the state before his death.

Experiences of Veteran Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine in Beijing, the first major publication to materialize as a result of this effort, is selling well in all major bookstores in the capital. It incorporates 125 articles on the clinical experiences of 50 doctors covering practically all branches of medical science—internal and external medicine, gynaecology, pediatrics, ophthalmology, osteology and acupuncture. It also includes diagnoses, prescriptions and remedies for nephritis, all kinds of arthritis, insomnia and glaucoma.

Articles on the experiences of these veteran doctors totalling some 3 million Chinese characters are now being prepared for publication.



Members of the Sichuan Research Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine compiling a book on Sichuan herbal medicine.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Where Does Labour Enthusiasm Come From?

In the special feature "Where Does Labour Enthusiasm Come From?" in issue No. 19, Yu Guangyuan gave a clear explanation of this very difficult subject. I suggest that you often publish articles on this subject, and deal with it from the different angles of material reward and moral encouragement.

Juantxo Arteaga Yeregui
Lasarte, Spain

I'd like to say something about the article "Where Does Labour Enthusiasm Come From?" in issue No. 19. Everybody wants to lead a richer life and, of course, hopes to make more money. But the fact is that people's desire knows no end and can never be satisfied. High salaries and more bonuses may produce some results, but I don't think they are absolute.

I think it would have been much better if the article "Where Does Labour Enthusiasm Come From?" had been written in the form of a dialogue or discussion between a cadre and a worker.

Toshio Sato
Yamagata, Japan

More Coverage on Provinces

According to my observations, your coverage of the various provinces, that is, the people's way of life, local traditions, customs etc., is not adequate.

How is it that your otherwise visionary weekly is so Beijing-centred? To foreigners the inaccessible parts of your country remain unknown and this is a serious failure.

I am convinced that you will find more than enough material to cope with; do not concentrate on introducing the visual beauty

of these regions on the pages of pictorials, bring them with the help of written word to *Beijing Review* also!

Lauri Ojala
Helsinki, Finland

Liu Shaoqi's "On Inner-Party Struggle"

I agree strongly with the opinion expressed in a reader's letter in your issue No. 28 about Liu Shaoqi's book *On Inner-Party Struggle*. In my opinion this is a valuable contribution to the collective scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and it would be very useful to reprint it.

C.B.
London, U.K.

The English edition of a book on Party building by Liu Shaoqi will soon be brought out. It consists of three essays, one of which is "On Inner-Party Struggle."
— Ed.

Education of Children

I fully agree with your point of view that parents are the models for their children. If the parents set a bad example, their children will easily go astray. According to your reply, I notice that in China, as in Europe, some parents neglect their duty, that is to say, they do not take upon themselves the responsibility to educate their children. They dote on their children and satisfy all their demands. This is a manifestation of irresponsibility. But children need to be trained and given education on life, first of all, the education given by their parents. Schools cannot take over all the responsibilities of the parents. That's not their role. Shouldn't the parents assume the responsibility of educating their children? In China, the influence of the gang of four has not been thoroughly eliminated. I understand quite well that to create confusion in the minds of the people in order to maintain their power, they resorted to immoral tactics and violence and bestow privileges to those who flattered them.

J. Desperrois
Paris, France

Relations Between U.S. And Iran

I found your article in issue No. 18 on the U.S.-Iranian difficulty quite fair, but unfortunately, rather devoid of ideas for a solution. In view of the enormous precedent setting international implications of this problem, space should have been given to exploring the moods of the American and Iranian people with a synthesis by the *Beijing Review* commentator pointing out where a common ground for agreement might lie.

Charles A. Desnoyers
Souderton, Pa., U.S.A.

Soviet Youth Deceived

Under the "red" cloak, the Soviet Union has committed armed aggression against another country. Like the Chinese youth during the period of the gang of four, the Soviet youths have been deceived by their leaders to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. The people, including the youth, of the Soviet Union cherish peace and welcome athletes all over the world to participate in the Olympic Games. It's their leadership which has led their country into an impasse. We should help the Soviet people to build peace again and repudiate Brezhnev and company.

Tsutomu Takada
Saitama, Japan

Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan it has diverted my attention away to the international section of your magazine, because I am as worried as many Americans are about where the Soviets will strike next.

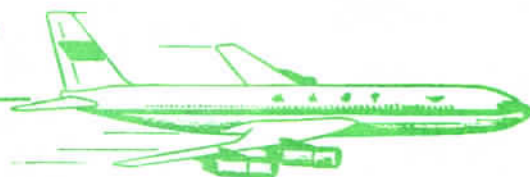
We American people oppose any form of hegemonism big or small, because hegemonism can only lead to the complete and total destruction of mankind.

Gregory Currier
Union City, Calif., U.S.A.

I read publications from around the world and I feel that your discussions about the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and their ultimate goals in terms of southern Asia are the most thorough and realistic of any.

Matthew Ahern
Downsview, Ontario, Canada

CAAC



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13 : 15	11 : 30	arr. GUANGZHOU (Canton)	dep.	14 : 00
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