

No. 34 August 24, 1981

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

Socialism: Theory and  
Practice

How the Peasants  
Move a Mountain  
Of Poverty

Reviving the Ancient  
Art of Guqin





## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Premier Zhao's ASEAN Tour

Premier Zhao Ziyang's successful visit to three ASEAN countries and his talks with Thai Prime Minister Prem during his stopover in Bangkok have promoted mutual understanding and friendship and strengthened the relations between China and those countries (p. 5).

### Agriculture High on the Agenda

New agricultural policies put into practice in the past two years have brought great changes in China's rural areas. A report in this issue tells how the Chinese leaders have tackled the problems confronting them and how the new policies, which help boost farm production, have been formulated (p. 18).

### Situation in Countryside Looking Up

The fixing of farm output quotas on the household basis

and other forms of responsibility in production, welcomed by the peasants in China's countryside, have given rise to misgivings among some foreign friends. What are the facts? A special report by our correspondent who toured east China's Anhui Province provides an answer (p. 21).

### Theory and Practice of Socialism

There are differences between Marx's theory of socialism and the socialism practised in this century. Why? What is the general trend today? What are the major problems that need to be solved in order to achieve highly developed, socialized and modernized social productive forces? These questions are discussed in an article by a theoretical worker (p. 14).

### The Middle East Question

The seven-point proposal made by Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East

question is welcomed by some quarters but opposed by others. Israel's intransigence, more than anything else, makes it very unlikely that a peaceful solution can be achieved in the foreseeable future (p. 10).

Chairman Hu Yaobang reaffirms China's support for the Palestinian people's just struggle (p. 10).

### KMT Air Force Major Crosses Over

A major of the Kuomintang air force in Taiwan crossed over to the mainland with a fighter plane. He received a rousing welcome and a big award (p. 7).



Joy at having gathered in a rich cotton harvest.  
Photo by Li Jin

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### "Continuing the Revolution"

You have declared that the "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is wrong. Does this mean that you will not carry on the revolution?

Readers should not be misled by the dubious semantics of this formulation.

The "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," put forward during the "cultural revolution," has definite connotations. The main points of this wrong theory are:

- A large number of representatives of the bourgeoisie had wormed their way into the Party, government, army and the realms of culture and seized control of the leadership of a fairly large number of departments;

- Those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road had formed a bourgeois headquarters in the Central Committee, with agents in the various localities and the various departments under the central authority;

- Only by resorting to methods used in the "cultural revolution" could power be wrested from the capitalist-roaders;

- Political revolutions of this kind, in which one class overthrows another, should be carried out several times in the future.

The history of the 10-year

"cultural revolution" showed that this theory was based on a wrong assessment of the actual class and political situation in the Party and the country at that time. It wrongly criticized the Marxist theory and socialist principles as revisionism and confounded right and wrong. It labelled leading cadres at all levels as "capitalist-roaders" and overthrew them, thereby making no distinction between ourselves and the enemy. All this gave rise to political turmoil across the land, resulting in serious destruction and retrogression.

Discarding this wrong theory doesn't mean that we will not carry forward the revolution.

Our revolutionary tasks have not been accomplished and we will carry on revolutionary struggles in various fields. The

ongoing drive in China for socialist modernization is in itself an arduous revolution.

This revolution is different from that prior to the founding of New China. It will be accomplished not through class struggle, but through strong leadership and in a planned way within the framework of the socialist system. This is a much more profound revolution and requires the painstaking and sustained efforts of many generations. Of course it is still necessary, during this period, to fight against enemies, both open and hidden, and other saboteurs of our lofty cause.

As to the elimination of classes, social differences and inequalities and the realization of communism, this is the greatest revolution in human history. Chinese Communists will for ever struggle for the realization of this lofty goal.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

### The Vatican

**It's rumoured that you have established bilateral relations with the Vatican. Is this true?**

No, it's not.

After liberation, the Chinese Catholic clergy and congregation have got rid of the control of the Holy See and embarked on the road of running their church independently.

Over the years, though the Holy See has expressed willingness to start a "dialogue" and restore relations with the Chinese Catholic church, it still maintains "diplomatic" relations with the Taiwan authori-

ties and continues to interfere in the internal affairs of the Chinese Catholic church. Its illegal appointment of Deng Yiming as archbishop of Guangdong Province a short time ago is an example of its utter disregard of the self-governing rights of the Chinese church and its interference in the internal affairs of China.

Before the Vatican changes its relations with the Taiwan authorities, China will not consider establishing relations with it.

— International Editor Guo Ji



# LETTERS

## Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee

After reading the CPC Resolution on Questions of Party History and Chairman Hu Yaobang's speech in a subsequent issue of your magazine, I am convinced that the CPC's assessment of Comrade Mao's role in history is fair. There is no empty noble praise of Mao as occurred in the time of Lin Biao and the gang of four nor could I see any signs of demaofication as has been claimed by the bourgeois press. In fact the resolution will play a great role in carrying forward the essence of Mao Zedong Thought by paving the way for the development of Marxism.

Still heartening was the news of Comrade Hua's election as Vice-Chairman which shows the Party's clear break from a "Leftist" approach to inner-Party "democracy" of the "cultural revolution" period.

J.S. Cheema  
Bocholt, W. Germany

## China After Mao Zedong

I agree with the viewpoints in the article "China After Mao Zedong" in the column "Notes From the Editors" in issue No. 30. Great victories in China's revolution have been won under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. No matter how great a man is, it is hard to say that everything he did is great. As a man, he has both a great side and an ordinary side. In a vast country like yours with a large population and many nationalities, it is not easy to satisfy everybody. Old men say to young people: "You should know that it was not easy to obtain the happiness of today which came from the hard work and efforts of our generation." Although young people understand it, they will not always keep the "appreciation" on their lips all day long. I think time does not stand still. It is taken for granted we should change old things for today's use and develop a new world.

Yukiko Maekawa  
Kagawa, Japan

## Religious Leaders

I read that China rejected the idea of someone outside of China appointing some religious figure for a religious position in China. I think to reject this outside instruction was a very good idea.

The Holy Koran says: that whenever Allah wants to make a people up, He will raise up one from among their people so that they will not have an excuse that they did not understand the language.

I believe that all religious leaders, for all religions, should come from China and should get their instructions from China.

Iman Clifton A. Muhammad  
Dallas, Texas, USA

## More Articles by Experts

Your "Notes From the Editors" column is a good idea; I have appreciated it since it began. However, I find that some of your editor's answers to readers' questions are somewhat lacking in detail and analysis that your readers deserve. I suggest a change: Why not change this column to something like "Answers From Experts" or "The Experts Respond." Take questions from your readers and refer them to the appropriate persons in industry, government, the sciences, academia, etc., then print their responses along with their names, titles (and maybe small photos) as the answer to your readers' questions. This will give additional credibility to the answers. Think about it.

Bill McCart  
New York, N.Y., USA

Thank you for your suggestion. We are very sorry that some articles in the column are too short to fully answer our readers' questions. Just as you suggested, we do take questions from our readers and refer them to appropriate persons or experts for responses. Have you noticed our articles under the slug "Answering Our Readers"? For instance, in issue No. 15, we printed "Answering Our Readers: Why Is China Striving to Wipe Out Its Deficit?" As for questions dealt with in the column "Notes From the

Editors," we feel that it is not necessary to have experts answer them. — Ed.

## Emphasizing Cultural Report

The column "Culture and Science" appears to be destitute of the proper attention of the authority. It is wanting in both space and variety. To cite a fact will be relevant. In 1979, in an interview with the *Sachitra Sandhani*, a Bangladeshi weekly, Sargormoi Ghosh, the editor of the *Desh* which is a widely circulated Indian (Bengali) weekly, opined: "Since most newspapers deal mainly with politics, for a weekly to be exceptional, and hence popular, it needs to have a particular eye to culture and literature." So I suggest that a greater emphasis is placed on "Culture and Science."

A.B.M. Sadeque  
Rajshahi, Bangladesh

## Comments on Columns

I really think the articles in "Notes From the Editors" are very interesting. As for myself I know a little about China, but I think my knowledge is broadening.

China's humour is so fascinating and even quite moving and is worthy of careful reading. Through it people can know something about the history of another people who have a long history and tradition.

I hope the "Special Feature" will carry articles about China's poems one day. These poems reflect the "Long March" of the Chinese people in their anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles led by Mao Zedong.

Madani Beghil  
Mostaganem, Algeria

## Be Concise and Short

You may decide the theme of the "Special Feature" in accordance with your actual conditions. But you'd better write each report concisely so as to win more readers.

Halter Raphael  
Frauenfeld, Switzerland



FOREIGN  
RELATIONS**Premier Zhao's Successful  
ASEAN Visit**

Premier Zhao Ziyang concluded his successful official visit to three ASEAN countries — the Philippines (see issue No. 33), Malaysia and Singapore — and returned to Guangzhou on August 13 after a brief stop-over in Bangkok. It was a return visit to those friendly neighbouring countries and he availed himself of this opportunity to exchange views with their leaders. They discussed bilateral relations, the international situation and the situation in Southeast Asia, the Kampuchean issue and China's relations with the Communist Parties of the Southeast Asian countries. The visit has enhanced mutual understanding, strengthened friendship and promoted co-operation.

**In Malaysia.** During his official visit (August 9-11) to Malaysia, Premier Zhao held talks with Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir. Their views were similar on any major issues. Premier Zhao explained the Chinese Government's stand on Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and China's views on the solution of this question. He pointed out that prior to 1975 China was the country which gave the greatest amount of aid to Viet Nam. The reason why Sino-Vietnamese relations later deteriorated, Zhao explained, was because Viet Nam pursues a regional hegemonist policy in Southeast Asia. China of course cannot support the expansionist policy

followed by the Vietnamese leaders. It was under these circumstances, he added, that Viet Nam has collaborated with the Soviet Union, because both of them cherish the wild ambition of carrying out expansion abroad. Zhao stressed that China opposes only Viet Nam's policies of aggression and expansion. Once Viet Nam's leaders renounce their regional hegemonist policies, China's relations with Viet Nam will improve immediately. Viet Nam has deployed 60 per cent of its troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, Zhao said. The resistance movement of Democratic Kampuchea is at present pinning down some 200,000 Vietnamese troops. Had it not been for this, he explained, Viet Nam might have carried out aggression against other Southeast Asian countries.

Prime Minister Mahathir told Premier Zhao about the ASEAN countries' plan for solving the Kampuchean problem. Both of them stated that the general

objectives of China and Malaysia on the Kampuchean problem are identical.

Referring to China's relations with the Communist Party of Malaya, Premier Zhao said that the relations are only political and moral ones. China, he said, is not willing to make the issues left over by history hinder the normal development of friendly relations between the two countries and has done its utmost to this end. Mahathir indicated that he has noticed the efforts made by the Chinese Government in this respect.

During their talks, Zhao and Mahathir expressed their desire to develop trade between the two countries and instructed their respective departments concerned to continue their talks in this field.

The Supreme Head of State of Malaysia Tuanku Ahmad Shah received Premier Zhao Ziyang on August 10. Premier Zhao conveyed to His Majesty an invitation from Ye Jianying,



Malaysian Supreme Head of State Tuanku Ahmad Shah with Premier Zhao at the Istana Negara (National Palace).





Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore warmly welcomes Premier Zhao Ziyang

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and the Chinese Government to visit China at a convenient date. His Majesty expressed thanks and accepted the invitation.

Premier Zhao also invited Prime Minister Mahathir to visit China. The Malaysian Prime Minister accepted the invitation with pleasure.

On August 10, Premier Zhao paid a visit to former Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn. The Premier also went to Masjid Negara (national mosque) to pay homage to the late Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak.

**In Singapore.** Premier Zhao Ziyang paid a 3-day visit to Singapore, the last leg of his Southeast Asian tour.

Premier Zhao held talks with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. They had a cordial and thoroughgoing discussion on the world situation in general and, in particular, the Southeast Asian situation and the Kampuchean issue. The two leaders considered that Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea with Soviet backing is part of

the Soviet strategy for global expansion and constitutes an unparalleled threat to peace and security in the region. They agreed on the need to deal with this threat seriously. Both sides demanded the total withdrawal of Vietnamese aggressor forces from Kampuchea and expressed the wish that Kampuchea will be an independent, neutral and non-aligned country.

The Premier reiterated in unequivocal terms China's position on its relations with the Communist Parties in a number of countries. He reaffirmed China's adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries or the internal affairs of other Communist Parties. China's position in this regard is open and aboveboard.

The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the amicable relations and growth of trade between their two countries, and expressed the wish to further develop bilateral relations.

Premier Zhao Ziyang called on Acting President of the Repub-

lic of Singapore Dr. Yeoh Ghin Seng on August 12 and had a cordial conversation with him.

**Talks With Thai Prime Minister.** Premier Zhao Ziyang stopped over at Bangkok airport on his way home on August 13 and conferred with Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda on problems of mutual concern for two hours.

## Huang Hua Visits Colombia

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua paid an official visit to Colombia from August 7 to 10 at the invitation of the Colombian Government.

During his stay in Colombia Huang Hua was received by President Turbay Ayala. He held talks with Foreign Minister Carlos Lemos Simmonds and met with leaders of the Colombia-China Friendship Association and visited the house where the Latin American hero Simon Bolivar had lived. He toured the city of Cartagena and Baru Islet in the Caribbean.

At a banquet he gave in honour of Huang Hua, President Turbay Ayala said that no one could sabotage the friendship between Colombia and China established through common efforts. He added that Colombia wished to promote its co-operation with China, particularly technical co-operation.

Huang Hua said that China and Colombia have been brought together by their common destiny and the problems confronting them.

Foreign Minister Carlos Lemos Simmonds said at the banquet he gave that the Chinese Foreign Minister's visit is of far-reaching significance. The Colombian people, he said, have begun to change their wrong views on China. Pre-



viously, they thought that the world would tremble when China awoke. But now, he said, they believe that China will help make the world more peaceful and tranquil.

Huang Hua said at the banquet that China supports Latin American integration aimed at expanding regional co-operation, common progress and improvement of living standards. He said that the Chinese Government respects the struggles of the Central American and Caribbean countries to safeguard their independence and state sovereignty, develop their national economies, advance social progress and improve the people's living conditions.

On behalf of the Colombian Government, Foreign Minister Lemos presented a Great Cross Order of Boyaca to Huang Hua.

The leaders of the two countries also exchanged views on international issues, particularly the issues of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Caribbean.

## POLITICAL

### Mao Zedong's Military Thought

Mao Zedong's thought on the people's army and people's war is still the guideline for army building and warfare in China. This point was underscored in articles written by high-ranking officers in commemoration of the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In an article published in *Renmin Ribao*, the Party organ,

Deputy Chief of General Staff of the PLA Yang Yong emphasized that the principle of seeking the truth from facts is the most salient feature of Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking and practice.

When the Party started correcting "Left" errors in its guiding ideology and summing up historical experiences and lessons, some people alleged that Mao Zedong Thought is outdated and is of no use to the modernization of the army or any future war against aggression. This is not true, Yang Yong stressed. "Mao Zedong Thought," he said, "which was born and had developed during the long periods of revolutionary wars, is a scientific theory which has stood the test of practice. It reflects not only the particular laws of the Chinese revolutionary wars but also the objective laws of wars in general."

Like other aspects of Marxism-Leninism, Yang Yong continued, Mao Zedong's military thinking has continuously developed with the advance of history. It is wrong to adopt a dogmatic attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought or to negate the basic principles of his military thinking because he had committed mistakes during his late years.

In an article published in the Party journal *Hongqi*, Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the PLA Fu Zhong said that the most important point in army building is to ensure the Party's absolute leadership over the army. Party leadership, he added, is carried out and guaranteed through political work, which includes organizational and

ideological work. It is imperative to educate the army in Marxism-Leninism so as to continuously raise the political consciousness of the commanders and soldiers, foster the lofty communist ideal, raise their consciousness in implementing the Party's programme, principles and policies, abide by discipline and overcome the ideological influences of the small producers, the bourgeoisie and feudalism.

In directing the revolutionary wars, Fu Zhong continued in his article, Comrade Mao Zedong applied the basic principle of historical materialism that history is created by the people and formulated the guideline for waging a people's war, i.e., relying on the people and taking the people's army as the backbone force. To defeat a powerful enemy, it is essential to unite with all the forces that can be united into the broadest possible revolutionary united front. Citing facts in the Chinese revolution, the article proved that although weapons are important in a war, it is the people, not weapons, that decide the outcome of a war.

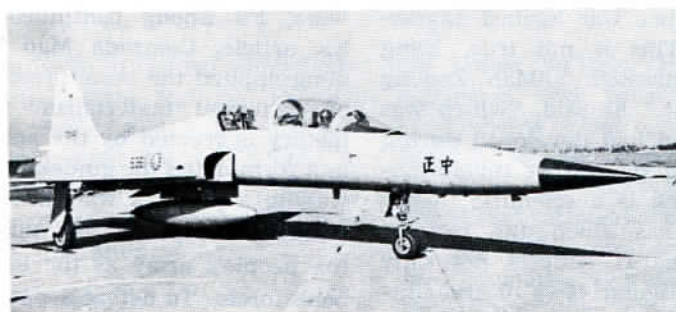
### KMT Air Force Major Crosses Over

Huang Zhicheng, a major of the Kuomintang air force in Taiwan, crossed over with a F-5F fighter and landed at a PLA air base in Fujian Province on August 8. Since the founding of New China in 1949, 33 Kuomintang air force officers and men, including Huang Zhicheng, have crossed over to the mainland with 20 planes of various types.





Commander Yang Chengwu with Huang Zhicheng.



The F-5F plane brought back by Huang Zhicheng.

Huang Zhicheng, aged 29 and an examining officer of the KMT air force, was born in Taiwan and his parents are from Guangxi in south China. Huang expresses support for the peaceful reunification of the motherland and dissatisfaction with the Taiwan authorities for going against the interests of the nation in keeping Taiwan separated from the mainland for such a long time. His patriotism has prompted him to return to the mainland.

Yang Chengwu, commander of the Fuzhou Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Xiang Nan, secretary of the provincial Party committee, as well as Ma Xingyuan, governor of Fujian Province, received Huang Zhicheng on August 11. The following day more than 2,000 civilians and army men

gathered at a rally to give Huang Zhicheng a rousing welcome. Approval of Huang Zhicheng's application to join the PLA air force was announced at the rally and an award of 650,000 yuan (equivalent to 361,000 US dollars) was handed to him.

Speaking to the gathering, Huang Zhicheng said that many people in Taiwan long for the early reunification of the motherland and reunion with their relatives. He added that since his coming to the mainland, what he had seen in the past few days convinced him that he had chosen the right road. He pledged to do his bit for the cause of reunification and the construction of the country.

In a commentary published on August 16, *Renmin Ribao*

warmly welcomed Huang Zhicheng's patriotic act.

The commentary recalled that the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan two years ago and that proposal was made by departments concerned to re-establish postal links, trade relations and air and shipping services between Taiwan and the mainland. All these have received widespread response among Chinese compatriots all over the world. The return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the reunification of the motherland have become an irresistible historical trend, the commentary said. However, the Taiwan authorities have again and again rejected the proposal of peaceful reunification put forward by the Chinese Communist Party. This is a disappointment to the people on the mainland and the Taiwan compatriots are also indignant at this.

The return of Huang Zhicheng with his fighter plane is a heroic act showing that the people in Taiwan are opposed to the Taiwan authorities which betray the national interests and disregard the people's will.

Huang Zhicheng arrived in Beijing on August 17. He was warmly welcomed by the commanders and fighters of the PLA air force and the people in the capital. The following day, commander of the PLA air force Zhang Tingfa and others met and had a talk with him.

## ECONOMIC

### Tangshan Rebuilt

Tangshan which was hit by a 7.8-magnitude earthquake five years ago is re-emerging



from the shambles as a new city in north China's Hebei Province. Thanks to large-scale urban development, new residential quarters totalling 4.41 million square metres have been built and 60,000 families have moved into new houses. More houses are being built this year for another 30,000 families.

Rebuilding Tangshan where 148,000 people in 180,000 households died during the quake is no easy job. Clearing up the debris, for example, calls for enormous efforts, and as a result of the earthquake and topographical changes, hydrographical and geological data have to be collected anew.

Large-scale restoration work began in the second half of 1979. The new city, better planned and laid out than before, is composed of three sectors, all 25 kilometres apart. The city proper is the political and cultural centre; to its north is a new industrial area and to the east is the coal district with the Kailuan coal-mine, China's biggest, as the centre.

In the past five years, 8.08 million square metres of floor-space of civilian and industrial buildings have been completed, accounting for 37 per cent of the total area to be restored. To date, 89 kilometres of water-pipes have been laid, longer than pre-quake days; in addition, two new water-works have been built and total water supply today has increased by 80 per cent. Newly built streets, with the main roads as wide as 50 metres, totalled 43 kilometres in length. Twelve hospitals with more beds than before have been completed and put into operation.

While construction of residential quarters and public utilities is going ahead according to plan, the building of the coal-mining and industrial areas is also in full swing. In the new industrial area, it is planned that 40 factories will be built and the population will be between 100,000 and 150,000. Six factories have already been completed, covering an area of 11.52 square kilometres, and one of them is China's biggest cement factory with an annual capacity of 1.5 million tons of high-standard cement. In the coal-mining area construction is under way of China's biggest coal-dressing plant and a large colliery with an annual production capacity of 4 million tons of coal.

Restoration of production has been going on hand in hand with construction. Coal output has not yet reached the 1975 level because major efforts have been put into opening up new coal faces. Nevertheless, noticeable successes have been achieved in other areas:

— Total industrial output value last year reached 2,603 million yuan as compared with 2,240 million yuan in 1975;

— A total of 7,050 million kwh of electricity was generated in 1980, whereas the 1975 figures was 2,380 million kwh;

— Steel output in 1980 was 1.147 million tons as compared with 825,400 tons in 1975.

"Despite numerous problems and difficulties," said a responsible member of the city's economic commission, "we have emerged from the ruins of the earthquake and restored production, and we are confident

that the situation will become better and better."

## SOCIAL

### Drop in TB Incidence

Tuberculosis as a cause of death has fallen from the first place in 1949 when New China was founded to the eighth today.

A two-year nationwide survey conducted by the Ministry of Public Health showed that by the end of last June the incidence of TB has dropped by 80-90 per cent in the cities and 50 per cent in the rural areas compared to 1949. The days when China was humiliated as the "sick man of the East" because of the prevalence of TB is now gone for ever.

Carried out by random sampling, the survey involved 900 units, each embracing a village or a neighbourhood committee with 1,000 to 2,000 people. More than 1.3 million people of all ages and different occupations were examined.

To combat the disease, the government has since 1949 set up a TB control network and trained over 200,000 special medical workers. Efforts made also include a publicity campaign on preventing and treating TB, regular physical checkups and BCG (Bacille Calmette-Guerin) vaccinations.

It is estimated that China now has about 6.63 million patients with active TB, which is 0.717 per cent of the population, and another 1.66 million, or 0.187 per cent of the population, with TB bacilli in their sputum. The rate in the rural areas is higher than in the cities and the incidence rises with age.



## A Step to the Peaceful Solution Of the Middle East Problem

SAUDI Crown Prince Fahd disclosed on August 8 a seven-point proposal for solving the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Intended to open a path for the peaceful solution of the Middle East problem, the proposal has aroused attention around the world.

### Characteristics

Saudi Arabia's plan is a noteworthy development. It reflects to a great degree the basic desire of most moderate Arab countries to peacefully solve the Middle East problem through negotiations and in many ways it is similar to other proposals being discussed internationally. The plan proposes the establishment of a

Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is in conformity with Egypt's suggestions for solving the Middle East problem. In addition, the proposal implies the recognition of Israel, so it has aroused strong responses.

### Reactions

Various Palestine organizations have reacted differently to the plan. The Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al Fatah), which is led by Arafat and considered moderate, welcomed the plan. Abu Jihad, one of Al Fatah's leaders and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Al-Assifa forces, said while visiting Kuwait that Saudi Arabia's plan is "very important" and will play



"a positive role in realizing a Middle East peace." The Palestine News Agency in its news release reported that Abu Jihad represented the viewpoint of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, however, said that the proposal is "treacherous and aimed at strengthening US influence in the region." The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine also expressed its opposition.

Egyptian President Sadat, while stating there is nothing new in the Saudi plan, said: "I welcome Prince Fahd's contribution." Egyptian paper *Al Akhbar* reported that Fahd's plan was in conformity with Sadat's proposals to the United States. Sadat has insisted that the Palestinian people should have direct say in resolving this issue.

### China Stands by the Palestinians

Chairman Hu Yaobang has reaffirmed the support of the Chinese Party, Government and people for the Palestinian and other Arab people in their struggle to restore their national rights and lost territory. This was contained in a message of reply sent on August 17 by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, to Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Chinese Government and people have always closely followed the developments in the Middle East with deep concern, Hu Yaobang stated. He condemned the Israeli authorities for obstinately clinging to their aggressive and bellicose policy. Recently they committed new criminal acts of aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people on Lebanese territory. He conveyed the Chinese people's deep sympathy for the sufferings of the Palestinian people and China's resolute support for their ongoing heroic struggle.

The message declared that in face of the complex, tense and changeable situation prevailing in the Middle East, the Chinese people sincerely hope and are convinced that, under the correct leadership of their sole legitimate representative—the Palestine Liberation Organization—the Palestinian people will continue to heighten their vigilance, uphold unity within their ranks and among the Arab countries and overcome all temporary difficulties on the road to progress for the eventual attainment of their lofty national goal.



## Seven-Point Plan for Middle East Peace

CROWN Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia proposed a seven-point plan for a Middle East peace during an interview with correspondents at the beginning of this month. The seven points are as follows:

- Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in the 1967 Middle East war, including the Arab sector of Jerusalem.

- Removal of all Jewish settlements that Israel has set up in territories occupied in the 1967 war. These are the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and Syria's Golan Heights.

- A guarantee of freedom of worship for all religions — Christianity, Islam and Judaism — in the holy land, including Jerusalem.

- Recognition of the rights of the 2 million displaced Palestinians to repatriation and to compensation for those who do not wish to return.

- Placing the Palestinian-populated West Bank under UN trusteeship for a transitional period of only a few months.

- Establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, meaning only the Arab sector of the city.

- Recognition of the right of all states in the region to live in peace.

Egypt has recently stated it highly values Saudi Arabia's role in solving the Middle East problem. While in the United States, Sadat clearly expressed his support for Prince Fahd's overall position and again called on Saudi Arabia to continue its efforts to obtain the mutual recognition of Palestine and Israel. He hoped that Saudi Arabia would become involved in the process of finding a peaceful settlement.

Cairo observers said that Egypt and Saudi Arabia, though having different opinions at present, have no substantial differences on the key problem of seeking national rights for Palestine. It seems that the Saudi proposal is a choice Egypt should consider. The Soviet Union's armed invasion of Afghanistan and direct threat to the Gulf have forced these two important Arab countries to realize that they share common interests in

maintaining their own security and that of the whole Middle East region. For this reason Egypt and Saudi Arabia are co-ordinating their actions more closely.

The United States has not clearly expressed its opinion of the plan. But Britain and France have welcomed this initiative.

### Israel's Attitude

Israel rejected Saudi Arabia's plan. Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Simcha Erlich said

there is something positive in the plan and it is likely to serve as a turning point, because this is the first time for a hostile country to talk about Israel's rights. However, he added that the details of this proposal are not acceptable because they will lead to the demise of Israel. Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir responded strongly that the Saudi plan is to "destroy Israel in stages." A leader of the Israeli Labour Party, while saying that Saudi Arabia's plan opened the door to negotiations between Jerusalem and Riyadh, stressed that the dialogue could not have pre-conditions proposed by Crown Prince Fahd.

Saudi Arabia's plan presents a new indication of the rapid changes in the Middle East situation. Since the parties concerned stand far apart, and particularly because of Israel's flat rejection, it is highly unlikely that the plan will be readily accepted as the basis for negotiations. There is a long arduous way to go before a peaceful settlement to the Middle East problem can be reached. The plan, however, may be regarded as a positive step for co-ordinating the stand of the Arab countries in the process of finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East situation.

— Wang Deming and Lin Jiaoming

## US Air Controllers on Strike

THE United States has been shaken by an air traffic controllers' strike. Despite a government decision to fire the strikers, the strike continues and has received support from the International Federation of

Air Traffic Controllers Associations (IFATCA), and controllers in West European and other countries. The executive board of the International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers Associations sent a telegram to



US President Reagan on August 13, urging him to resume talks with the strikers and bring the matter to a speedy, amicable solution. But Reagan has refused to do so.

In an interview with *Gongren Ribao* (Workers Daily) on August 15 in Beijing, a responsible member of the CAAC trade union working committee said that the US air controllers were justified in raising their economic demands to protect their vital interests. The US authorities, he said, have flouted trade union rights by refusing to renew negotiations and by fining, arresting, jailing and firing strikers and their union officials wholesale.

### High-Pressure Tactics

The US Government has adopted an unusually hardline stand against the strikers. A few hours after the strike began, President Reagan declared that the strike was illegal as the air controllers are federal employees and issued a presidential ultimatum: Go back to work within 48 hours or be fired.

Some federal courts and police stations began to fine, question and arrest strike organizers. Each striker was fined 1,000 US dollars a day. Dismissal notices were issued to all controllers who defied the President's back-to-work order. By August 10, more than 10,000 dismissal notices had been mailed. Transportation Secretary Andrew Lewis repeatedly stated that those who had been fired would not be rehired in the future. He refused to resume negotiations with the trade union — the Professional

Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). At the same time the US Government sent in military controllers to replace striking air controllers and sped up the training of new controllers for the purpose of rebuilding the nation's air control system and breaking the power of PATCO.

### Government Aims

There are a number of reasons why the US Government has taken such stern measures towards these strikers who are demanding higher wages and a reduction of work hours.

First, two major pillars of Reagan's economic recovery programme, the bills to cut taxes and the budget, have just been approved. The Reagan government is now brandishing them like an "imperial sword," as a ploy to bar any federal employee from asking for higher wages. This is a key factor in the government's hardline.

Second, Reagan's budget cuts have affected the living standard of middle and low-wage earners, evoking workers' opposition. Some trade unions are preparing to organize strikes, a development which concerns the government. In fact, some newspapers have already commented that the stern measures towards the air controllers are aimed at punishing them as a warning to others.

Third, in recent years American society has become increasingly unstable and crime rates have climbed sharply. After coming to power, the Reagan government stressed the need for strict law and order. It is now interested in enforcing

a law passed by the US Congress many years ago that prohibits government workers from striking. Though the US is known as a democratic country, its 3 million government workers lack the right to strike. A political journalist of the recently defunct *Washington Star* said that this treatment of the air controllers is intended to make them an "example" and thereby strengthen the law.

These government measures have won the support of many corporations and businesses. According to the *New York Times*, the Air Traffic Corporation, an industry group which has lost tens of millions of US dollars a day, also supports the government actions. Troubled by business problems, these enterprises seek to cut the number of their employees and increase their profits. The government measures promote their interests.

### Impact

Skepticism about whether the government can obtain its aims with such high-pressure tactics is widespread. The overwhelming majority of strikers have stood firm, winning the sympathy and support of other trade unions. President of the AFL-CIO Lane Kirkland has publicly criticized the government's position as a "blatant repressive act." Some trade unionists have taken part in the strikers' pickets. The dismissal and arrest of the air controllers have won them sympathy, even from many who originally opposed the strike. Some have remarked that the firing of more than 10,000 employees in a short



time is unprecedented at home and abroad.

This strike has dealt a serious blow to the US economy and the air control system. It is estimated that 250 million US dollars is being lost every day and the Air Traffic Corporation has also lost more than 200 million US dollars in a week. The government is now enlisting workers in an effort to rebuild the air control system. However, it will have to spend huge

sums of money and much time to train new technicians. Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration Lynn Helms said that two or three years will be needed for the whole system to return to its normal state.

Regardless of the outcome of the strike, its impact on the political and economic situation will be felt for quite a while.

— Yu Enguang

## USSR

### Five-Year Plan in Trouble

NINETEEN eighty-one is the first year of the Soviet Union's 11th five-year plan. Figures recently published by the Soviet Central Statistical Board reveal that the Soviet Government is facing some knotty problems, with both industry and agriculture beset with troubles in the first six months of this year.

#### Low Economic Growth Rate.

The Soviet economic growth is slowing down, a trend which has steadily become more serious in recent years. Industrial output value in the first six months failed to reach the growth rate set for the new 11th five-year plan, a rate which is lower than ever before. It was reported that the output value increased 3.4 per cent compared with 4.2 per cent for the same period last year. The planned annual increase rate for this year was 4.1 per cent. The industrial labour productivity increased 2.5 per cent, less than in the same period of 1980 and the target for 1981. The output of 19 industrial products including coal, rolled metal, generators, cars and equipment

for the chemical industry was less than that of the corresponding period of 1980. The output of some items has steadily dropped over the last two years.

Capital construction is still depressed, and the long-standing problems of scattered investments and far-flung capital construction have not yet been solved. The important projects which were put into production in the first six months according to schedule only account for half of those planned for the period and 13 per cent of those for the whole year of 1981. Some projects scheduled for completion in 1980 have still not been finished, and the plans for putting projects into production, housing, culture and the construction of residential and other facilities were unfulfilled in the first six months. Greatly worried, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has called special meetings to seek solutions.

**Agriculture.** Agriculture has been a vulnerable spot in the Soviet economy. Farm output targets set for the ninth and 10th five-year plans were unfulfilled, and this has had

adverse effects on the whole national economy. Though the Soviet authorities were anxious to change the backward agricultural conditions in this new five-year plan, they are facing troubles ahead.

This summer, the crops suffered from a heat wave, similar to 1972. In some areas, temperatures reached 40 degrees centigrade. The grain, potato and beet harvests will certainly be affected. An editorial published in *Pravda* therefore had to again call on people to practise frugality, especially in food consumption.

The Soviet Union has imported more than 1 million tons of American grain since President Reagan lifted the partial grain embargo four months ago. It was reported that Moscow imported 33.5 million tons of grain in the fiscal year of 1980-81. Western agricultural experts estimate that if the drought in the Soviet Union continues, Moscow will then have to import more grain than ever in fiscal year 1981-82.

The Soviet press has acknowledged that the failure to meet the production targets has caused shortages of manufactured goods and a decrease in supply.

It is obvious that Moscow has not done well in the first year of its new five-year plan. Its deep-seated economic ills have not been cured and the economic policy set by the 26th Congress of the CPSU is beset with difficulties. Therefore, the trend is that the decline in the Soviet economic growth rate will not be checked.

— Lu Cunshu

CORRECTION: The eighth line in "Preparatory Meeting for North-South Dialogue" on p. 9, issue 33, for "September" read "November."



Theoretical Discussion

# Socialism: Theory and Practice

by Lin Zili

- Marked differences exist between socialism as practised in this century and Marx's theory of socialism. The general trend is to develop socialism in line with a particular country's actual conditions, especially the state of its social productive forces.
- The problems of motive force and balance in socialist economies can be solved by integrating the exchange of equal amounts of labour with the exchange of equal values and unifying regulation through planning with that through the market.
- To give full scope to the development of a socialist commodity economy in order to achieve a highly developed, socialized production and provide the material basis for communism — this is a road feasible for socialist countries with fairly backward economies.

MARX and Engels turned socialism into a scientific ideological system and a theory after summing up the experience of the workers' movement and criticizing utopian socialism. In the present era, socialism also consists of social practice, tremendous revolutionary practice on a world scale.

Since the beginning of this century, socialism has been practised in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and other regions of the world, giving rise to different types and models. It is an indisputable fact that socialism is, on the whole, being practised.

Of course, some countries, including China itself, have travelled along a tortuous road in their socialist construction. But socialism is still advancing in these countries, and they are carrying out explorations in the process. In the contemporary capitalist world, Marxists, Communists and other personages who have concerned themselves with social progress have been striving to find a road towards socialism, taking into consideration different aspects of the matter and their own national conditions.

## Practice Differs From Expectations

Developments in socialist countries, including China, have revealed one common major problem: a difference exists between Marx's theory of socialism and socialism as practised

during the 20th century. During his visit to China last November, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, talked of some of his observations about socialism which are shared by others of his generation: "A number of countries have built socialism for decades. Socialism, however, has turned out to be a great deal more complex than our generation expected. We had thought that once [a workers'] Party assumed power and applied the principle 'to each according to his work,' we could go on and build communism and all the problems would be solved. This has not been the case in practice."

A brief discussion of the characteristics of socialist economic formation prescribed in the Marxist theory of socialism will elucidate why this has happened. Marx and Engels did not and could not provide a concrete model of a future communist society. They only made a theoretical statement about its essence. In the works of Marx and Engels, the terms of socialism and communism were used interchangeably. The socialism (communism) they envisaged was to be based on socialized production. Under socialism, labour would be socialized and the resources commonly owned; society would in fact be one single economic entity, "a federation of free persons." The fruits of social labour would be directly distributed to all. No commodities or money would be necessary. So-

The author is a Marxist theoretical worker.



cialized production would be entirely and directly controlled and regulated according to a plan. It would not have to go through the zig-zags resulting from the exchange of values, and there would be no market economy or competition. Such were the basic characteristics of communist economic formation as conceived by Marx and Engels. In some of his writings, Marx distinguished between the preliminary and advanced stages of communism. He stated that the main economic characteristic of the preliminary stage was the exchange of equal amounts of labour\* while in the advanced stage it was the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." Later, people held that socialism consisted only of the social economic relationship which was built entirely on the model Marx had envisaged for the first stage of communism. However, practice has proved that things are not so simple. Now that much experience has been gained by those countries which have been practising socialism, we should not allow our understanding to be rigidly confined by Marx's assumptions. The Marxist theory of socialism must be developed in keeping with practice.

It needs to be pointed out that Marx attached great importance to the material basis for the communist social economic formation. It is well known that socialism developed from a utopian philosophy into a science because of the appearance of the theories of historical materialism and surplus value\*\*. According to these theories, communism is the inevitable outcome of social productive forces which cannot be absorbed by capitalism. Marx and Engels argued that communism was a more advanced social formation than capitalism and would replace capitalism after it had fully developed and begun to decline and fall.

World history, however, has not developed the way Marx and Engels had expected. The proletariat-led revolution did not first triumph in developed capitalist countries with advanced productive forces but in those countries with less developed capitalism and relatively backward productive forces. Before the victory of the revolution, China was a very poor and backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. It was precisely in such countries that socialist practice started.

\* The exchange of equal amounts of labour — the exchange between a certain amount of labour in one form and the same amount of labour in another.

\*\* Surplus value — the value created by wage workers during their surplus labour hours and usurped by capitalists without remuneration.

It was Lenin who put forward the theory that proletarian revolution would succeed first in countries with less developed economies. At the beginning, all the countries (including China) which had successful revolutions tried to build more or less the kind of social economic relations Marx had envisaged for the first stage of communism. China instituted an ownership of the whole people which was actually a socialist state ownership. For the economy of the state ownership, an attempt was made to adopt a highly planned system which limited commodity relations. Not enough importance was attached to the positive role market mechanisms could play. Though, in reality, it was impossible to altogether abolish commodities and money, their role and the role of value were very limited. This is because they were not able to reflect the economic interests between different producers but served as an accounting and calculating tool. Such being the case, the law of value could hardly play the role of regulating social production.

There used to be the tendency to have large-scale collective ownership, particularly in the rural economy, as it was commonly believed that the closer collective ownership was to the ownership of the whole people the better. In the cities, the strictly controlled collective economy was, in most cases, managed in the same way as the economy owned by the whole people.

At the same time we did not pay enough attention to the private sector of the economy (with individual ownership), a necessary supplement to the socialist economy, and it could not play its positive role as fully as it should have done.

Practice in almost all the socialist countries shows that the present material conditions make it impossible to introduce an economic system in which commodity relations are limited, the planning is highly centralized and market mechanisms are excluded, that is, the kind of economic relations Marx envisaged for the first stage of communism. To attempt the impossible would only produce poor results.

Many socialist countries have experienced the perplexing problems of an absence of strong motivation for economic development, a lack of enthusiasm, the difficulty of maintaining a balance, and frequent disproportions in economic development. Their relations of production have been unsuited to the productive forces. With the intensification of this contradiction, the social and political life and other spheres have



been affected. People are forced to seek a social form which will better suit the development of the productive forces. It is characteristic of the development of the practice of socialism that, in the last few decades, economic reforms have been instituted in practically every socialist country. Such economic reforms, in whatever country they have been adopted, are inevitable because they are not the product of one person's or one group's subjective will but reflect the objective demands of the development of the country's economy. All these countries have altered in some respects the system they originally established in the days after their successful revolutions. The general trend is not to focus on the models spelled out in books but on each country's actual conditions, particularly the state of its social productive forces. China is such an example.

### ***Economic Features of Socialism In Practice***

Since the history and national conditions of every country differ, it is to be expected that economic structures which are instituted through reforms would also have their own distinct characteristics and forms. Our country is no exception. But a careful examination shows clearly that reforms in many countries including China have some fundamental characteristics in common. What are these characteristics? The most important one is that the socialist economic forms instituted in these countries essentially are based on the common labour and common ownership by each production unit, a relatively independent economic entity. The socialist state or the economic centre of a society determines the direction of social economic development as a whole, makes decisions and draws up plans in the macro-economic realm. The different interests involved are both multifarious and unitary. Social production does not depend merely on regulation by planning, but also gives full play to the regulating role of the market under the direction of the state planning. At the same time, in those countries where socialist systems have been established, various forms of co-operative and individual economies, for the most part, are allowed to coexist during the present stage.

I think that such an economic system with multifarious and unitary interests constitutes a socialist and planned commodity economy. This economic formation is essentially different from a capitalist commodity economy, a pure and complete commodity economy with only one

general principle: the exchange of equal values,\* which includes the buying and selling of labour power — wage labour — and the expropriation of surplus value. As labour power is a commodity which can be bought and sold, the relations among people in capitalist societies have been transformed into those of cash transactions. The socialist commodity economy is not a pure and complete commodity economy. While the exchange of equal values still is a major principle in the economic life of our society, it does not include the buying and selling of labour power. The principle of labour power as a commodity is replaced by another principle which Marx described as exchange of equal amounts of labour to be implemented during the first stage of communism. Distribution is carried out according to work. Of course, this type of exchange and distribution is neither pure nor complete. In other words, it is not completely carried out by taking the whole society as a single unit; to a greater extent, it operates within the realm of the individual production unit. This practice differs from what Marx envisaged for the first stage of communism. In general, it can be said of our present system that distribution is carried out according to work in the enterprises, while exchange of equal values applies between different enterprises. These methods of distribution and exchange constitute two major principles of socialism as practised. This is the first point which distinguishes it from capitalism. Another point is that while capitalism is entirely regulated by the market, the regulating role under socialism in practice is played by planning. Though given full play, the market is guided by planning in its regulating role.

In my view, combining the exchange of equal amounts of labour with exchange of equal values and giving full play to the role of market mechanisms under the guidance of planning constitute two fundamental developments resulting from socialism in practice. They solve two basic problems in the economic life — motivation and balance. Given the level of our productive forces, only the combination of exchange of equal values and exchange of equal amounts of labour can help completely unleash all initiatives and drive. Only the integration of regulation by planning and market mechanisms can regulate the proportionate development

\* The exchange of equal values — commodities are exchanged according to the principle of equal values. The value of commodities is determined by the necessary labour hours to produce them.



by balancing the interests between different sectors of the economy. As drive and balance are fundamental problems of our economy, their solution will have a positive impact on our overall situation.

Of course, it is imperative to solve these two problems in the light of our national conditions, including our historical traditions, people's customs, and the social demands (characteristics of material and non-material demands, consumptive and non-consumptive demands). Extensive and indepth studies should be conducted to seek the specific ways of establishing the best relations among the people to provide the most motivation and the greatest equilibrium in order to achieve optimum efficiency, the greatest benefits and the best results.

In my opinion, these are the fundamental characteristics of the socialist economy which have gradually manifested themselves in the past several decades when many countries practised socialism along a tortuous road.

Although socialist practice over the last few decades has differed in very distinct ways from Marx's theory of socialism, the two are not completely different. This only shows that underdeveloped countries which have achieved a victorious revolution led by the proletariat can establish a socialist economy, a socialist commodity economy, even though capitalism has not fully developed. Despite the fact that common labour and common ownership by the entire society does not exist, different degrees and divergent forms of such labour and ownership have been achieved. Exchange of equal amounts of labour and distribution according to work, though they are not complete and pure, have become a reality after all because they have dovetailed with exchange of equal values in economic relations. While attention is paid to market mechanisms, regulation by planning plays a leading role in the economic life of the society. These basic facts show that socialism as practised in our era has common features with the first stage of communism as envisaged by Marx. Thus, some new and logical conclusions derived from the scientific study of present socialist practices do not represent the negation of the Marxist theory of scientific socialism, but its development.

### **Two Different Roads**

Although there are points in common between socialism as practised in our era and the first stage of communism as envisaged by Marx, we should not overlook their differences. What

Marx envisaged belongs to the social economic form of communism which is to be established on the basis of fully developed social productive forces resulting from a highly developed commodity economy. No such social economic form exists in the world today. Whether an economic form will in the future fully conform to what Marx envisaged for the first stage of communism remains to be verified by practice.

Socialism as practised in our era is a social economic system which differs essentially from capitalism though the two are built on roughly the same level of productive forces. Mankind will ultimately adopt communism. To materialize communism, an appropriate material prerequisite must be created. In this respect, there are apparently two different roads. The first one requires that the material basis for communism is built by fully developing the capitalist commodity economy and thus highly socializing production. The other road shows that the material foundation for communism can also be built on highly socialized production deriving from the full development of the socialist commodity economy. Some underdeveloped countries which for historical reasons have first achieved victorious revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat have taken the second road.

Why must they take this road? Because in the course of human history, the highly developed commodity economy is an inevitable stage. The productive forces cannot be highly socialized until the commodity economy is fully developed. Just as the commodity economy could grow only out of the natural economy, a high social form without commodities and currencies can develop only from a fully developed commodity economy. But the highly developed commodity economy will not necessarily be a capitalist economy. The period of highly developed commodity economy cannot be averted, but the period of capitalism can. We do not travel down the capitalist road, but have to follow the road of developing a planned socialist commodity economy. From an economic point of view, such a road is socialist, and nothing else.

In short, we need a fairly long historical period to develop a socialist and planned commodity economy in order to achieve highly developed, socialized, and modernized social productive forces. This is a task which history has thrust upon the proletariat in those economically underdeveloped countries where a socialist system has been established. □



# Chinese Leaders Put Agriculture On the Agenda

Fairly large developments have occurred in China's rural economy in the last two years as a result of the new agricultural policies. This report deals with how these policies were formulated and what problems they have solved.

CHINA'S leaders began to seriously grapple with the situation in agriculture at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a meeting of historic significance held in December 1978.

Since then the Party has adopted flexible rural economic policies, raised the purchasing prices of agricultural and sideline products, relegated decision-making power for agriculture to the grass-roots level and reaffirmed the principle of "to each according to his work" so as to overcome absolute equalitarianism.

## Guidance Given According to Specific Conditions

To seek better methods of agricultural management, many places have begun to adopt different forms of responsibility system in production. Some introduced the system of fixing output quotas based on groups (each comprises several peasant households) and some adopted the system of fixing output quotas based on households or on individuals (see box "The Responsibility System"). But there are still a few cadres who do not understand or support this practice, thinking that it deviates from a correct orientation.

During the spring-summer season of 1980, some Party Central Committee leaders made separate trips to nine provinces to carry out investigation and study. That September, the Secretariat invited provincial Party leaders to a meeting in Beijing where the responsibility system was discussed, differing opinions were expressed and reports were given on the local situation by the participants.

Leading cadres from Gansu Province in the northwest reported that over 95 per cent of the production teams in their province had adopted some form of responsibility system, with 39 per cent having introduced the system of fixing output quotas based on households. This

development reflects the common desire of the peasants in the poor and backward areas of the province.

Participants from Guizhou Province in the southwest, where the situation is similar to that of Gansu Province, declared: With enlarged power of decision for production teams as a tremendous impetus, Guizhou has a bright future.

Leaders from Henan Province in central China affirmed that the adoption of the responsibility system had yielded remarkable

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## The Responsibility System

The system of responsibility in agricultural production is a form of management adopted for the collective economy. Offering a diverse and flexible organization of labour and remuneration methods which are popular among the peasants, this system was widely adopted in China's rural areas after 1979.

The general practice is to reduce the size of the labour groups in the production team, which is currently the basic accounting unit in the countryside and which is in charge of 20 to 30 households. A group formed voluntarily by several peasant households, individual peasant households or peasants regularly make a contract to undertake a certain production task with the production team. According to the terms of the contract, the contractor has certain rights and responsibilities. He is paid for his actual work and will be awarded for overfulfilling production targets and will compensate for reduced production, so as to ensure more pay for more work. The peasant is bound to honour the time set in the contract but is free to arrange his farm work. This represents a change from the customary practice of the past in which the team leader directed daily production and the system of payment by the day without regard to work efficiency was adopted.

Even though the system of fixing output quotas based on households or individuals has been adopted, the public ownership of the means of production will not change. The peasants only have the right to use, not to buy, sell or transfer, the land, farm machinery and farm tools, and irrigation facilities, owned by the production team. The production team can retain a certain amount of the accumulation funds and welfare funds and use them to develop production, improve public welfare and help those families with financial difficulties.

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results. In places which had depended on state relief over the years, people are now getting more food and clothes through their own efforts and thereby lightening the burden of the state.

Leading cadres from Jilin Province in the northeast confirmed that the introduction of the responsibility system had helped consolidate the collective economy. Since mechanization is fairly widespread in Jilin, most places did not adopt the system of fixing responsibility for output on households. But no measures are being taken against those places which have instituted this system.

About 10 million people in Yunnan (40 per cent of the province's population) were adversely affected by severe calamities in 1979, according to a report by leading members from Yunnan Province in southwest China. The system of fixing output quotas based on households was adopted, prompting a turn for the better in 1980. Food supplies increased and food prices at the rural fairs either remained stable or declined somewhat.

There is no need for the rural areas around the suburbs of Shanghai, said leading members from the city, to adopt the system of fixing output quotas on the basis of households. The level of collective economic development is high and the tasks confronting agriculture are to continue to develop production and better serve the city.

Leaders in the Party Central Committee stated that these various opinions reflect the uneven economic development throughout the country. Therefore, different methods, and not only one, should be adopted to guide our work according to specific local conditions.

After holding this discussion, the Party Central Committee issued a document on the policies relating to agricultural production, which affirmed the various forms of responsibility system, including the fixing of output quotas based on households, under the leadership of the production teams.

After making an inspection tour of the rural areas early this year, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that different forms of the responsibility system should be adopted to suit different levels of economic development.

— Advanced regions (where the collective economy is relatively consolidated, production develops year by year and peasants' lives improve annually) should mainly adopt the system of responsibility for a special line of production under a contract. The peasants should

voluntarily organize themselves into groups based on a division of labour and specialization and undertake tasks given by the production teams.

— Regions in an intermediate state should adopt the system of assigning output quotas to individual able-bodied labourers under the unified administration of the production teams. (More or less similar to the piece-work wage system in factories.)

— Poor and backward regions should introduce the system of fixing output quotas based on households.

The results have been encouraging. The Liaocheng Prefecture in Shandong Province, one of the nation's 10 areas of dire poverty, achieved a rich grain and cotton harvest in 1980. Its per-capita income was 126 yuan, 3.3 times that of 1979.

Chuxian County of Anhui Province, known for its numerous beggars in the past, was hit by a serious drought in 1978 and a flood in 1980. Grain output last year reached half a ton per person and cotton output set a new record. (See "Moving a Mountain of Poverty" on p.21 of this issue.)

According to the nation's statistics, although one-third of the farmlands was stricken by calamity in 1980, the total grain output was just slightly below the record level of 1979; cotton output, pork supplies and the floor space involved in the new construction of rural housing were the largest in the last 30 years.

### Diversified Economy

The Secretariat also dealt with the important problem of diversifying the rural economy (see box on p.20). Under the influence of the "Left" ideology, the idea of a diversified economy was condemned as "capitalist" and rejected accordingly. Although a stop was put to this ridiculous labelling, the diversified economy did not experience a vigorous recovery.

The Secretariat discussed this problem at its 88th regular meeting on March 2, 1981.

At the meeting, Zhao Ziyang said that it is necessary to proceed from China's actual conditions to develop agriculture. The general principle is to completely and rationally use our agricultural resources. As an example, he listed a number of places which had yielded better results in growing non-staple crops.

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Secretariat and currently Chairman of the



## Diversified Economies

There are about 50 kinds of diversified economies in China's rural areas, which can be roughly divided into five categories:

1. Cropping: includes, in addition to staple crops, plant fibre, oil- and sugar-bearing crops, fruit, vegetables, Chinese medicinal herbs, spices and melons.

2. Fish breeding and poultry farming: includes livestock, poultry, fresh-water fish, bee-keeping and rare birds and animals.

3. Handicrafts: includes spinning and weaving, embroidery, brewing, pottery, furniture, sculpture, stationery and handicraft products;

4. Extracting and collecting: includes ore-mining, quarry, and collecting various kinds of wild animals and wild plants with economic value.

5. Service trades: includes catering, sewing, repair, hotel, medical, hair-cut, laundry and dyeing services.

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, said: We should not slacken our efforts in grain production and at the same time we must pay special attention to diversifying the economy. Although China has limited arable lands on the plains, it possesses vast mountainous, hilly and water areas where about 30,000 kinds of plants and crops can be grown.

Since the founding of the Secretariat a little over a year ago, Hu Yaobang has conducted investigations in the rural areas of a dozen or more provinces and autonomous regions. Based on his field notes, he summed up that there were 50 kinds of diversified economies which he grouped into five categories.

Talking about his investigations in the rural areas, Hu stressed that diversified economies are essential to developing the rural economy.

Wan Li, Fang Yi, Song Renqiong and Yu Qiuli and other members of the Secretariat also commented on this question. They pointed out: Developing diversified economies makes it possible to absorb the surplus labour force in the countryside. The steps we have taken in readjusting the structure of agriculture should be firm and steady. They also suggested that small plots of land for the peasants' private use should be appropriately expanded, more organic fertilizers should be used and power and energy economized.

After this regular meeting, the Party Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued a circular to the nation about actively diversifying the rural economy. This

circular now serves as a guideline for mobilizing hundreds of millions of peasants to open up more avenues for production and bring about a prosperous rural economy.

## Continuation of Correct Policies

A responsible member working at the Secretariat said that the question of peasants and agriculture has always been a question of paramount importance to the Chinese Communist Party in carrying out revolution and construction.

He recalled that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee held on the eve of liberation: In China's national economy, industry accounted for about 10 per cent and agriculture and handicrafts 90 per cent. This constituted the basic point of departure for considering every issue during the considerably long period of the Chinese revolution and after its victory.

Since the founding of New China, the proportion of industry in the national economy has been greatly increased (75 per cent in 1980). But the rural people still make up 80 per cent of the nation's population. Farm work is done mostly by hand and the peasants' lives are still quite difficult. Since this situation has remained fundamentally unchanged, we still must consider this basic point in tackling every question.

In 1954, Mao Zedong suggested that the emphasis of work in various provinces be placed on agriculture. Then in 1957 he again pointed out: "The whole Party should attach great importance to agriculture. Agriculture has a vital bearing on the nation's economy and the people's livelihood." He stressed that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and it is necessary to arrange the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

Unfortunately, these guidelines were not implemented conscientiously for a long period of time. But since the Third Plenary Session, the responsible member stressed, policies have been adopted which are precisely a continuation and development of Mao Zedong's theories and principles that have been proved correct in practice.

*(Adapted from the article "Always Think of the 800 Million Peasants" published in "Liaowang" [Observer Post], issue No. 2, 1981.)*



## Moving a Mountain of Poverty

by Our Correspondent Tian Yun

*Following is the first of three special reports on the changes which have taken place over the past two years in the rural areas of Chuxian Prefecture in east China's Anhui Province. Parts 2 and 3 will appear in succeeding issues.*

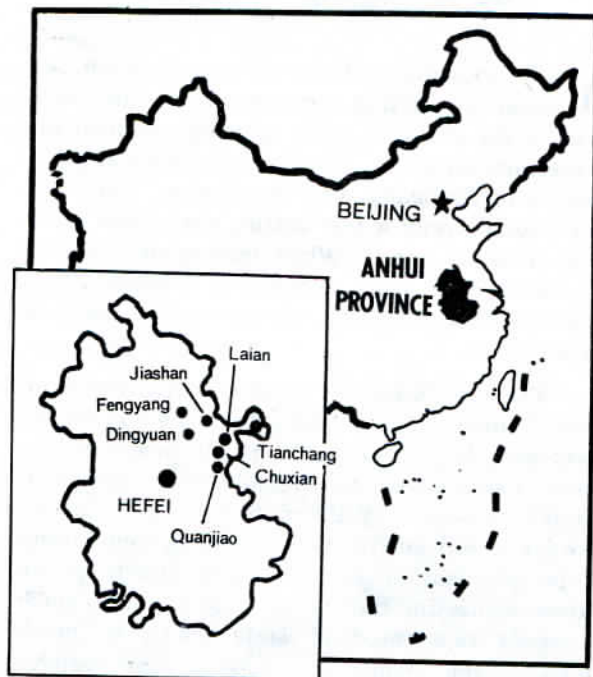
*Chuxian Prefecture is an historically poverty-stricken area which had not made any substantial progress in farm production for many years. But the recent introduction of more flexible agricultural policies has made a dramatic difference in the lives of Chuxian's peasants.*

*Peasants support the adoption of various forms of responsibility system in farm production, including the fixing of output quotas on the basis of individual households, and the development of household sidelines and a diversified economy. The Party Central Committee formulated appropriate policies in compliance with the peasants' wishes and after investigations of local conditions.*

*For many years, fixing output quotas at the household level was mistakenly criticized as attempts to "restore capitalism." The reappearance of these things in poor and backward areas has given rise to many questions among friends of China in other countries. We hope that publication of these reports will help clarify those questions. — Ed.*

CHUXIAN Prefecture includes seven counties in eastern Anhui Province with an agricultural population of 2.95 million. During my visit I talked with a considerable number of Chuxian peasants and rural cadres. Their favourite topic of conversation was the new policies, which had allowed them to achieve a prosperity they had never known before. Their enthusiastic approval of the new forms of responsibility system was obvious from their every tone and gesture, from every smile that creased their sunburnt faces. The story of Xiaogang Village is typical of what has happened throughout the area.

In 1978 Anhui was hit by serious drought. That September, the Party committee secretaries of over 240 communes of Chuxian Prefecture met to discuss ways of helping the peasants recover from the natural disaster. One of them raised an issue that touched a nerve in all of them: "Why on earth are the peasants here so poor? One or two of us secretaries might be charged with incompetence, but can all of us be incompetent? Could we make some changes in the organizational and managerial methods of our collective economy?"



A commune Party secretary of Laian County replied with an account of recent developments in his area. To combat the drought, one commune's production team had decided to subdi-



vide itself into several small work groups. Each group had signed a contract with the team accepting the responsibility for meeting specific production quotas. Everything they produced within the quota went as usual to the team for unified distribution. But if they surpassed the quota, the surplus would belong to the work group members. They settled among themselves the hours of work, the division of labour, and other matters.

This was a big improvement over the old days, when individual responsibilities were not clearly defined and incomes often did not reflect the amount and quality of the work people did. As a result of these measures, the team's grain output had increased by 50 per cent in just one year.

Cadres all over the prefecture started talking about this responsibility system. Then the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held at the end of the same year called upon people to emancipate their minds and adopt more flexible rural policies. Before long, experiments in assigning production quotas to small groups were going on throughout the prefecture.

## The Xiaogang Experiment

THE Xiaogang production team in Fengyang County's Liyuan commune in the northern part of the prefecture was selected as one of the experimental units. The 20 households and 115 people of Xiaogang were very poor. They had no tractors, only a few cattle; most farm work was done by hand. When they could not find a satisfactory team leader by election, they decided to try setting quotas on the basis of households.

The team's 25.3 hectares of cultivated land was divided and allocated among the households according to the number of people each had. The land is still owned by the collective; household members have only the right to use it. In accordance with the number of people, each household was assigned quotas—so much to go towards meeting the overall state quota, so much towards repayment of state loans, so much towards the team's accumulation and welfare funds. The income from any surplus above these quotas could be kept by the families themselves.

Yan Hongchang, a 32-year-old Xiaogang resident, recalls the days before the new system



Fengyang peasants selling surplus grain to the state.

went into effect: "From 1966 to 1976, the peasants here had to depend on grain and relief funds from the state for six months out of every year. The collective income was so low that each person got an average of only 25.8 yuan a year as his share. The prolonged hard life left us so discouraged that many saw no point in working at all, much less working hard. We let weeds grow wild in the fields. Some lost hope altogether, and left for other places to make a living."

Ten years ago, Yan himself left home to do odd jobs elsewhere. He returned only after the fall of the gang of four in 1976. At the end of 1978 he was elected deputy team leader because he proposed to "work out a way to feed all of us." Soon after the election, he found the peasants unwilling to try setting quotas even at a small work group level. So he and Yan Junchang, the team leader, decided to try household quotas.

## Remarkable Changes

Before the new system was introduced, the peasants were so dispirited that few would take any initiative, and planning and organizing was left to the team leaders. The leaders had to try to arrange production schedules, urge people to



go out to the fields to work, and solve any problems that arose. And leaders were blamed for the low levels of grain and income distribution.

But now the peasants themselves have taken the initiative. Many not only cultivate the land they have contracted for, but have also started to reclaim wasteland (21 hectares so far). Family members are out in the fields early and work hard all day, with the able-bodied taking on the heavier jobs while the very young or very old do lighter tasks. During the summer rainy season, peasants go out to the fields in their raincoats.

There is new concern about soil fertility, weather changes and water resources. Each household tries to get better varieties of seed to plant. Those who never bothered about insect control have bought sprinklers and even the older generation has begun to learn about scientific methods. From sowing to harvesting, Xiaogang peasants watch over their crops as carefully as mothers tending their babies.

The results are plain to see. Xiaogang's 1979 grain output was 69,500 kg. — an amount equal to the total five years' output from 1966-70. In the same year 17,600 kg. of oil-bearing crops were harvested, surpassing total amount grown in the preceding 20 years. The number of pigs raised exceeded any year in history. The team not only set aside some grain and money as reserves and repaid part of the state loans, but also handed over or sold to the state more than 12,000 kg. each of grain and oil-bearing crops. The average per-person farm and sideline income reached 311 yuan (the 1977 figure was 41 yuan). Even the household which gained the least earned an average per-person income of 240 yuan.

### Summing up the Experiment

Xiaogang's history of backwardness in agricultural production had several causes, including poor farming conditions, frequent natural disasters and an inadequate material base. But local people believe the root cause lay in the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the peasants. Their initiative and enthusiasm had been suppressed again and again by ultra-Left practices in the rural areas.

What happened during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) serves as a typical example. One year Liyuan commune sent an 18-member work team to Xiaogang (there were only 19 households in the village at the time). A leader of the work

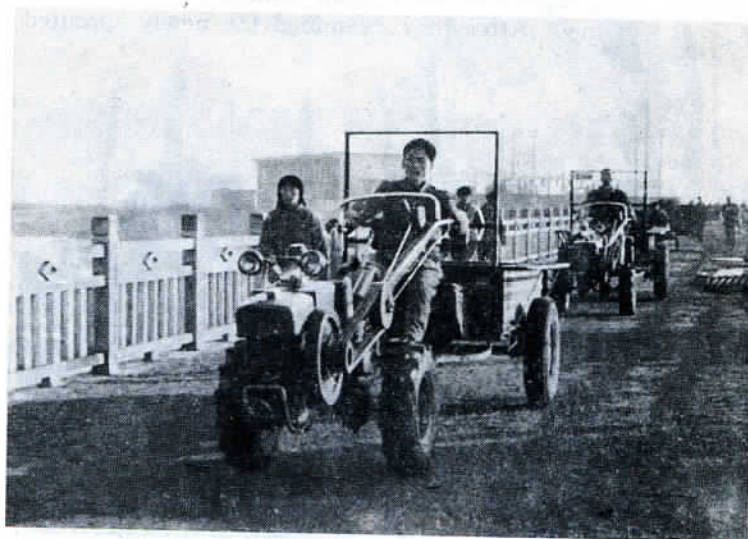
team told the peasants: "You are no longer permitted to take the capitalist road. The work team will not leave here until you've been driven back to the socialist road."

The two things he labelled as capitalist were, first, the small differences in income due to the practice of "to each according to his work," and second, the income from plots for personal needs and household sidelines, both of which were permitted by state policies. As one might expect, peasant initiative was seriously damaged. Low labour efficiency and equalitarian distribution have become long-standing problems in the management of collective economy.

After the "cultural revolution" ended, plots for personal needs were given back to the peasants and family sidelines were encouraged and supported. The economic situation improved a little, and the peasants were happier. But the above-mentioned problems still existed in the collective economy, and stood in the way of real progress.

With some experience of the new system, the peasants themselves identify three advantages for the household quota method:

— Serves immediate interests of the peasants. After handing over a set proportion to the state and the collective according to contract, the peasants can keep all the remaining products of their labour. Their income depends directly on their work. The old equalitarianism, which meant no differences in income whether one did a good job or a sloppy job, is gone. Because



Peasants driving their own tractors home.



quotas include allocations to the collective, funds are still available for public welfare and subsidies to families and individuals with financial difficulties, so the superiority of the collective economy in this respect is maintained.

— Fixes responsibilities. The new system has solved the problem of ill-defined responsibilities and low labour efficiency. Instead of leaving everything to the leaders, the peasants themselves now take the initiative in deciding such things as hours of work, crop rotation and the use of more scientific farming methods.

— Is easy to administer. Instead of trying to manage every aspect of farm production, production team leaders can concentrate on overall planning for the team, while leaving details of farm work to each household. Contracts are drawn up in clear and simple language, and are signed once a year. This system of management seems more suitable for poor and backward areas.

## The Strength of Responsibility System

IN 1979 many rural cadres who had been influenced by "Left" ideas opposed the fixing of output quotas for each household. In Liyuan People's Commune the Party secretary forbade this practice under the pretext of preventing a "restoration of capitalism."

Chen Tingyuan, the Party committee secretary of Fengyang County, went to investigate the situation in Xiaogang team in the company of the Liyuan commune Party secretary. After they examined the newly sprouted

peanut crop and held discussions with various commune members, they went to deputy team leader Yan Hongchang's thatched cottage for a rest. Party secretary Chen asked Yan: "Can you peasants do better if quotas are assigned to each family?" Yan Hongchang declared with assurance: "Yes." Chen Tingyuan then turned to the commune Party secretary and said: "Let's give them a chance. Maybe this method suits their conditions."

Chen Tingyuan's remarks seemed quite spontaneous but actually he had thought about rural problems for many years. In the 1950s, Chen Tingyuan raised controversial opinions concerning the problems in implementing the Party's agricultural policies and protecting the peasants' interests. For this he was wrongly labelled as a "Right opportunist."

This county Party secretary has worked in the countryside for 30 years and knows well the difficulties the peasants face. He has concluded that the distinction between socialism and capitalism is not decided by collective or individual labour, but by the form of ownership of land and other major means of production and by whether there is exploitation or not. He believes that there is no correlation between fixing output quotas for households and capitalism. In poor and backward areas like the Xiaogang team, fixing output quotas for households may be a fuller expression of the socialist principle of more reward for more work and distribution according to labour.

Chen Tingyuan again visited Xiaogang after the summer harvest. He investigated the results of the new system and observed that the harvest had been good and the peasants' food supply was adequate. In February 1980, Wan Li, then the provincial Party committee secretary and now Vice-Premier and Minister in Charge of the State Agricultural Commission, visited Xiaogang. He went from house to house to talk to the peasants and subsequently commended the way Xiaogang was managed.

In 1980, the Xiaogang team signed contracts with every household. The contracts set clearly the responsibilities of both sides. They fixed: (1) Output quotas, including the land area to be sown with each crop, output per unit and total output; (2) quotas to be supplied to the state, including annual and seasonal quotas for grain, edible oil, hogs, poultry and eggs; (3) money and grain to be handed over to the production team for the collective accumulation fund, the



Chen Tingyuan (right) chatting with peasants.



public welfare fund, collective grain reserves, and to be used to repay loans, to compensate for the depreciation of fixed assets and to subsidize the cadres of the production team. Many of these items were recorded in a table in the contract when they were fulfilled.

The contract for fixing output quotas for households is a legal document. With it, the people in Xiaogang feel reassured. They have opened up more wasteland and their enthusiasm for production has been enhanced. In 1980, despite three months of cloudy and rainy weather, the quotas of oil-bearing crops to be sold to the state remained the same as in the previous year. While the output of oil-bearing crops fell slightly, the total grain output went up by 64 per cent compared with the previous year when fixing output quotas had just begun to be implemented. Grain sold to the state increased by 114 per cent, and the average per-capita income, 41 per cent. In the last two years, 82 new rooms have been built in Xiaogang and the number of draught animals has increased from one to 19.

Xiaogang is a miniature of Fengyang County. In the years 1953 to 1978, the state had supplied on the average 8,650 tons of grain annually to Fengyang. In 1979 and 1980, the situation changed drastically as a result of the adoption of fixing output quotas for households and other forms of the responsibility system. For these two years, Fengyang handed over and sold to the state an average of 50,500 tons of grain per year. The peasants in Fengyang had not had so much grain before. Many observed that fixing output quotas for households is really an effective way of eliminating poverty.

Various forms of responsibility system have been practised in Chuxian Prefecture. Those production teams which carried out the system of fixing output quotas for households account for 92.9 per cent and they have achieved good results in increasing production. So far they have only taken the initial steps in meeting the needs of the people. The government policy is that this system will remain unchanged for a relatively long period of time. How long the period will be and when and how it will be changed depend on the wishes of the peasants.

### The Test of the Big Flood

When fixing output quotas for households is practised, each household becomes a production unit. If there is a natural calamity, can the people be organized to resist it?

Last summer, rainy weather lasted for nearly three months in Chuxian Prefecture. As a result, 40 per cent of the land suffered from waterlogging and crops were destroyed on 13,000 hectares of land; houses embracing more than 30,000 rooms were damaged and some 30,000 people were endangered by the rising waters. The prefecture experienced its second largest flood in the 32 years since liberation.

In fighting the flood and draining the waterlogged fields, water conservancy projects built by the state and collectives played a role. More than 100,000 peasants from seven counties served as a shock force to protect dykes and deal with emergencies. This enabled three flood peaks to pass safely. Those left in the villages drained water from the fields and replanted them, and cultivated the new crops.

All the seven counties in the prefecture reaped in bumper harvests under these conditions. The total output did not decrease, but, for the first time, went above 1.5 million tons, the highest level in history.

Jia Changzhi, former Party secretary of Jiashan County in the northern part of Chuxian Prefecture, recalled that last July water in a lake in Jiashan went up rapidly and the 22-kilometre-long dyke was in danger. In the evening when the county announced this, 13,700 commune members rushed to the site. After five days of hard work, the danger was fended off. Why did the commune members, who were responsible only for their family's production rally in face of such a natural calamity? They realized that no matter how well the rice in



Animals raised by individual households.



their own fields grew, it would come to nought if they did not join hands to fight the flood.

Jia Changzhi revealed: "At first I was not sure myself if the commune members under this responsibility system could be mobilized to fight such a big flood. Now I think, with necessary ideological education and organizational leadership, this system in production is excellent, because the peasants work not only for the state and the collective, but also for their immediate interests. That is why they are as active in fighting the flood as they are in production."

### Let the Peasants Choose

Now most production teams in Fengyang County have adopted the system of fixing output quotas for households, but there are also some which practise fixing output quotas for production groups or keep the team as a production unit. The opinion of the county people's government is: Let the peasants choose; no unitary pattern should be forced. In poor production teams like Xiaogang, fixing output quotas for households is a good way to eliminate poverty and provide the peasants with enough to eat and wear. However, in areas where the collective economy is fairly developed and mechanization and economic development have reached a higher level, the peasants do not want to implement this system of fixing output quotas for households. They want to establish responsibility systems which suit their own conditions and can further develop their collective economy.

The Jiangzhuang Production Brigade in the mountainous area of southeastern Fengyang County is one such case. It is composed of 2,250 people who are divided into 11 production teams. Taking advantage of its remoteness, its Party branch reduced to the minimum the influence of "Left" ideology when the gang of four held sway. Since the early 1970s, it has led the peasants to develop agricultural, industrial and domestic sideline production in a planned way. They have planted 80,000 trees, cultivated 80 hectares of economic forest, raised 2 million fish and set up seven industrial enterprises. Their income from industry and sideline occupations has surpassed that from agriculture and the total value of fixed assets and collective accumulation is 1.09 million yuan. Everyone is guaranteed 350 kilogrammes of grain annually. In agricultural production, tractors have replaced heavy manual labour and the peasants are

satisfied with the low-cost co-operative medical service. In addition, the brigade has a permanent construction team to build houses for the brigade members. Already 40 per cent of the brigade members have moved into new houses.

In order to carry forward the strong points of collective management and overcome its shortcomings, i.e., not clearly defined responsibility and inflexibility, since the beginning of this year, the Jiangzhuang brigade established a new responsibility system in production. The brigade-run enterprises carry out independent accounting and have introduced a more flexible system of awarding compensation. Most of the wages are fixed (decided according to skill, amount of labour and productivity); the rest is given as bonuses based on monthly production figures. With regard to agricultural production, rice and wheat, two major crops, still remain under the care of the production teams or groups, while other crops (oil-bearing crops, cotton, maize and sweet potatoes) which are not planted in large quantities are the responsibility of households with fixed output quotas.

Jiangzhuang adopted this formula completely on their own accord and it has received approval from the county Party committee. If necessary, the brigade has the right to change it in the future.

### Farm Output and Commune Members' Income In Chuxian Prefecture

	1979	1980	Percentage increase
Total output of grain (1,000 tons)	1,416.5	1,608.5	13.6
Total output of oil-bearing crops (ton)	49,530	75,710	52.9
Per-capita income from agriculture (yuan)	82	103	25.6

Note: The responsibility system in production began to be implemented in 1979. By 1980, 85 per cent of the production teams in Chuxian Prefecture had adopted this system.

Since the introduction of the responsibility system, agricultural production and the standard of living in Chuxian Prefecture have gone up (see table). Its achievements represent the hope of China's backward countryside to eliminate poverty and develop prosperity. □



## **Reasons Behind Death of Taiwanese Professor**

**D**R. Chen Wencheng, a Taiwan-born mathematics assistant professor at Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon University, was found dead on the campus of Taiwan University on July 3 after having been interrogated by the Taiwan Garrison Command. Taiwan authorities issued a report which stated that he had suffered 13 broken ribs, a fractured pelvic bone and internal injuries.

Taiwan authorities claimed that Chen had "committed suicide to escape punishment," but his relatives and friends as well as the general public in Taiwan and the United States believe he was murdered.

Thirty-one-year-old Chen Wencheng was born in Taibei County and studied mathematics at Taiwan University and a mathematics research institute. In 1978, he became Doctor of Mathematics at the University of Michigan and later he took the job at Carnegie-Mellon University. On May 20, he went to Taiwan with his wife and son to visit relatives. They had planned to return to the United States on July 1, but were prevented from leaving because of an "incomplete exit procedure." On July 2, Chen was taken into custody by the Taiwan Garrison Command. A spokesman of the command said that Chen was questioned "because somebody in the United States had informed on his actions there."

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### **Public Opinion in Taiwan**

Chen Suzhen, wife of the deceased, said: "My husband always led a normal life. Aside from playing in ball games and swimming, he was always busy teaching." Chen Wencheng's elder brother told Taiwan reporters that on July 1, Chen Wencheng had planned to "return to the United States to engage in a large-scale research project. Committing suicide was out of the question." Mathematics Professor Lai Dongsheng of Taiwan University remarked that two weeks earlier, Chen Wencheng had "men-

tioned he would be conducting some special research in an American university and he was full of confidence."

The coroners' report that Chen died "from a fall from a high place" has been seriously questioned. According to Taiwan papers, the special group set up by the Taibei police to investigate the case disclosed, "From Dr. Chen Wencheng's wounds, it can be found he did not fall from a high place." "It seems he was assaulted." The police, after a simulation test conducted on July 4, concluded that "it was not possible" that Chen "had fallen from a high place."

Dr. Chen's relatives refused to claim his body, for they could not accept the investigatory report that Chen suffered a fatal fall.

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### **Secret Agents**

The Taiwan authorities have set up a huge secret service network on American college campuses to collect information about and inflict harm on students from Taiwan.

The task of these Taiwan secret agents is to supervise, investigate and threaten Taiwanese, including American citizens of Chinese descent and overseas Chinese. They regularly report to the Taiwan authorities the number of Taiwanese students in American universities, the leaders of student unions, names of "pro-Communist" students and their main activities, and "enemy information." As any views aired by Taiwanese students which differ from those of the Kuomintang are reported, a number of Taiwanese on returning to the island are often persecuted or even murdered, and their relatives pressured.

The "North American Affairs Co-ordinating Committee" functions as a command centre of the Taiwan secret service network in the States. Information is sent to Taibei by "couriers" via this committee which enjoys diplomatic im-



## Refutation by People On the Mainland

A RESPONSIBLE member of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, in his August 11 statement regarding Professor Chen Wencheng, said: His death has aroused the indignation of the overseas Chinese, the returned overseas Chinese and their family members on the mainland. They all have denounced this political atrocity and demanded that the Taiwan authorities give a serious reply. We fully support this just demand. The Taiwan authorities must immediately stop their persecution of Taiwan compatriots and guarantee their democratic rights.

A spokesman for the provisional preparatory group of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots urged the Taiwan authorities to make a thorough investigation of the death of Chen Wencheng, guarantee that no such political persecution will occur in the future, and guarantee the freedom

of Taiwan compatriots abroad to visit relatives and friends on the island. The spokesman also urged the Taiwan authorities to disband its terrorist secret service and terminate the "martial law" which has lasted for more than 30 years.

The preparatory group was set up in Beijing on July 14 for the purpose of uniting with Taiwan compatriots residing on the mainland, helping the Party and the government implement the policies regarding the Taiwan compatriots and strengthening their links with Taiwanese on the island and abroad. The All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots is to be founded by the end of 1981.

The Taiwan compatriots in Beijing and Fujian Province and the Taiwanese in the Communist Youth League and other mass organizations also held meetings denouncing the Taiwan authorities for this atrocity. The headquarters of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, one of China's eight democratic parties, also issued a statement to the press, condemning the Taiwan authorities for this atrocity.

munity and is eventually put into a file kept by the Taiwan Garrison Command.

According to the US Representative Jim Leach, a Republican from Iowa, Taiwan authorities are involved in spying activities on American university campuses. Many have testified to the existence of a spy network, including one person who had once worked for it.

### American Public's Strong Dissatisfaction

The American public opposes the activities of these secret agents. The death of Chen was questioned by both citizens and some Representatives and Senators. Suspicious that it was a political murder, they demanded that the Taiwan authorities stop their spying activities against Taiwanese in the States.

Stephen Solarz, a Democrat, Chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said that he and his colleagues are very concerned about the death of Professor Chen, who had apparently been murdered.

In a letter to the State Department on July 10 Jim Leach demanded that the size of the Taiwan "information network in the States" be made clear. He also wanted information released on the number of Taiwanese faculty and students in American universities who had been forced to restrict their activities out of fear of

retaliation by the Taiwan authorities, and how many of them were afraid of returning to the island for fear of interrogation by the Taiwan authorities.

Richard Syert, President of Carnegie-Mellon University, said that Chen Wencheng might have been murdered because of his political views. "He had a permanent profession and a bright future," therefore the assertion that he committed suicide is "foolish." The president expressed dissatisfaction with the US Government in this matter, stating that it was afraid of hurting the feelings of the Taiwan authorities.

The Taiwan secret agents' activities were described by a Pennsylvania Representative as an affair no sovereign state could tolerate. He said nothing could better illustrate the apprehension and misery of the Taiwanese than a photo which was carried in a Pennsylvania paper showing the memorial service for Chen Wencheng in Pittsburgh. The Taiwanese wore paper bags over their heads to avoid identification by the Taiwan authorities, and to prevent the possibility of retaliation against their relatives at home.

Eight Chinese papers in New York front-paged the mysterious death of Chen Wencheng for several days running. The *New York Daily News* in its July 9 editorial called for a thorough investigation of the case. □



## MUSIC

## Reviving "Guqin" Art

Only some 200 people in China today can play the *guqin*, a seven-stringed plucked musical instrument with a history of some 3,000 years.

Efforts of late years have been aimed at reviving the art. *Guqin* research societies have been set up in more than 10 cities, which have already achieved some success in promoting interest in this music. Concerts consisting entirely or mostly of *guqin* pieces are being performed, with the size of their audiences on the upswing. Even more people now have the opportunity to hear *guqin* music over the radio or on special TV shows. And now records and cassettes of *guqin* melodies can be purchased in Beijing. For those whose interest has been stimulated by all these activities, a film about *guqin* music and the history of the instrument has just been released.

Some *guqin* players have gone abroad to Japan and other countries. They are also training German and British students enrolled in Chinese conservatories to play the ancient instrument. A famous *guqin* piece, *Running Water*, was recorded on gilded copper record and sent into outer space aboard the American spacecraft *Voyager* in 1977.

Having a range of four octaves, the seven-stringed *guqin* was perfected during the Han Dynasty in the early years after Christ. The seven long strings are bridged on a one-metre-long resonator board—the body of the *qin* which is about the same thickness as a

violin. The instrument produces a distinct melody when a player uses his right-hand fingers to pluck the strings and his left-hand fingers to press the strings or move along them. As the sound holes are at the back of the *qin*, its music is deep, subtle and lingering.

A rich legacy of written *guqin* music has been handed down from antiquity. As early as 2,500 years ago, China's earliest collection of poems, *The Book of Songs*, has a description on the popular and stirring *guqin* music. Later, the scholar Han Feizi composed a legendary story about how the music of a *guqin* player Shi Kuang induced incoming cranes to dance. Confucius was also a good *guqin* player. One of the "six art courses" he taught was how to recite poems to the accompaniment of *qin* music.

The earliest *guqin* musical notes still in existence is the sixth century hand-copied piece *Orchid*. The notes were later introduced into Japan and copies came back to China only in the early days of this century. During a seminar on *guqin* music sponsored by the

Chinese Musicians' Association and the Conservatory of China last April, audiences enjoyed a section of *Orchid* which was played along with a 2,000-year-old chime. They described the music as "something out of a fairyland."

*The Wonderful Mystery*, a collection of *guqin* music published in 1425, is China's earliest collection of instrumental music still in existence. Consisting of more than 40 pieces, it is a valuable asset to the history of Chinese music.

More than 3,000 versions of *guqin* notes and 600 tunes have been collected over the course of many centuries. Explanations have been written about the themes, the contents, the structure, the background of the notes and how they have been handed down. In addition, there is a detailed account of how to change the pitch and timbre by different finger positions and different ways of plucking the strings. Even though these notes' description of the changes in rhythm is not very precise, experienced *guqin* players are able to use the information contained in these

## The Conservatory of China

The Conservatory of China was founded in 1964 to develop traditional Chinese music. But not long after its founding, the conservatory was suspended due to the "cultural revolution."

After the downfall of the gang of four in 1976, the conservatory reopened. It offers five courses: traditional musical instruments, opera, vocal music, composition and music theory. In addition, there are a speciality in the literature of music and two departments for composing and research. The conservatory publishes *China Music*, a quarterly magazine, and is preparing to set up an experimental music troupe. A middle school attached to the conservatory has been opened to train talented students.

With many accomplished instrumentalists, singers, composers and music theorists giving lectures, the conservatory boasts of a new contingent of teachers, performers and composers and researchers to ensure that its targets will be met.



collections to produce excellent *guqin* melodies.

The work of publishing ancient notes on *qin* playing was started in 1963, but it was stopped for many years because of the "cultural revolution." Then photostat copies were circulated earlier this year, a 24-volume musical text which plans to include the important works and theoretical articles over the past 1,000 years and more.

In May this year, a two-hour *guqin* concert was held in Beijing. A dozen or so old and young professionals and amateurs performed 10 classical pieces representing the different schools of different times. Among them there were:

*Running Water* now sounding in the cosmos which represents the peak of China's *guqin* art 2,000 years ago. Its depiction of water running down from mountain streams into rivers and seas, is intended to symbolize mankind's acclaim of nature.

The 1,800-year-old *Guanglingsan* tells the story of a brave *guqin* player who takes advantage of an opportunity of performing for the king to kill him in order to avenge his father. The music is impassioned and imposing.

*The Small Reed Instrument* describes the life of a woman scholar who marries a prince in north China during the chaotic warring period. The music delineates her contradictory feelings of sorrow and happiness when she leaves her children to return to her homeland.

*The Plum Blossom* uses a white plum blossom motif to signify man's integrity.

The 300-year-old *Wild Geese* gives audiences a sense of peace by depicting the flying, quacking and parachuting of a group

of wild geese on a flat beach at dusk in fall.

The other items in the concert included vocal music pieces accompanied by *guqin* and instrumental ensemble of *guqin* and other Chinese national instruments.

This concert was specifically intended as a forum for introducing the historical documents of *guqin* music and thus did not include any contemporary pieces. But several radio programmes have broadcast information on the development of a modern *guqin* music which represents a distinct break from the traditional mould. One is a three-movement piece composed by two composers of the Shanghai Philharmonic Society of National Instruments in memory of the late Premier Zhou Enlai. Another, by an instructor at the Central Conservatory in Beijing, depicts the scene of the three gorges on the upper reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River and the working enthusiasm of the navigators there. Efforts to create a modern *guqin* music are increasing and represent an important part of the attempt to keep the music of the *guqin* alive.

## ZOOLOGY

### Rare Crested Ibis Sighted

Seven crested ibises (*Ibis chinensis* L.), an endangered species on the verge of extinction, were sighted in late May this year in Shaanxi Province's Qinling Mountains. Previously, the six crested ibises in Japanese zoos were the only known ones in the world.

The crested ibis is renowned for its beauty. Its body is white; its two wings and tail are pink and its beak and forehead are red. This species was once widely distributed throughout



The three-month-old crested ibis with a length of 0.8 metre and a weight of 1.75 kilograms.

eastern China, Korea, Japan and along the lower reaches of the Heilong River in the Soviet Union. But its numbers have decreased gradually over the last two centuries. Chinese scientists had not spotted any since 1964.

The seven ibises were seen by ornithologists from the Institute of Zoology at an elevation more than 1,200 metres above sea level, in a valley on the southern slopes of Qinling Mountains. They had been searching for this rare species in localities in nine provinces over the past three years. Three immature birds were included in the flock. This is the only known natural propagation of crested ibises in recent years.

Crested ibises are a protected species in China. Six of the ibises are under the protection of local authorities. As the ibises like to live in a quiet environment, people are not allowed to enter their habitat. One of the immature birds has been brought to Beijing because it could not feed normally. Now, it is being carefully raised and is growing well.



### How Films Developed In China

#### The History of China's Movie Industry

《中国电影发展史》

Edited by Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai and Xing Zuwen,

Published by China Film Publishing House,

Renminbi: Volume I (de luxe),  
5.50 yuan, Volume II (de luxe),  
4.90 yuan.

*The History of China's Movie Industry* is a valuable historical work. With China's social conditions and the revolutionary struggle as its background, this two-volume work describes in detail the history of the movie industry before the founding of New China in 1949.

The first film was shown in China in 1896. China's motion picture industry began by showing foreign films instead of producing its own because China had become a semi-colonial country in the middle of the last century when its science and technology were very backward. The first attempt to make a Chinese movie occurred in 1905 with the filming of a traditional Beijing opera.

In the 20s the movie industry experienced an abnormal development because of the speculationist business practices of the imperialists, feudal-compradors and speculators. All films at that time were filled with Western "civilization" and feudal culture.

In 1930 the China Left-Wing Writers' Association led by the Chinese Communist Party was established in Shanghai and in 1932 a secret film group was set

up by the Party. A revolutionary film movement began to take shape. From then on the Party sent its literary and art workers into capitalist-run film corporations, ran its own film corporations and produced films which were anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. These films had a great influence on the society, with some of their theme songs becoming popular throughout the country.

The rise of the Left-wing film movement terrified the Kuomintang reactionaries. In an attempt to squash it, they banned the showing of progressive films, destroyed the progressive film corporations and threatened and persecuted the Left-wing film workers. The Left-wing film workers continued to wage a struggle in the film world by changing their tactics and demonstrating their revolutionary thinking in less straightforward ways.

The progressive film movement made headway during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1946-49). The films produced during these years depicted the struggle against the Japanese aggressors and exposed the dark rule of the Kuomintang. Progress was achieved both politically and artistically.

After the war against Japan broke out, a group of film workers went to the Party-led base areas and, together with the literary workers already there, started to produce films about the base areas, the revolutionary wars and the life of the fighters and local people.

After the founding of New China, two groups of film work-

ers, those from the base areas and from the cities, met and set up the socialist movie industry.

*The History of China's Movie Industry* provides details about major stages in the history of China's film industry, its corporations, trends in movie-making, and some of the more memorable plots. It also explains and analyses the themes, editing procedures, performing skills, audience reactions and the social impact of these films. The work contains an index of 1,300 films (including feature films, newsreels, documentaries and other films) and 800 illustrations, and a list of 900 famous directors, actors and actresses, and playwrights.

This book also mentions the filming activities in China of Joris Ivens, a famous Dutch documentary film-maker, and other foreign friends.

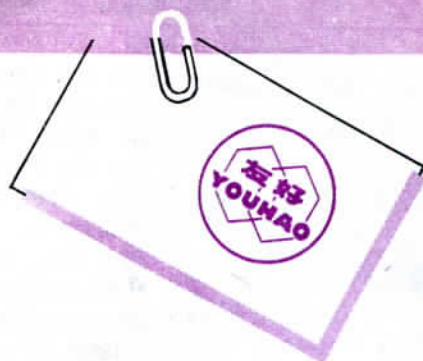
The main editor of the book, Cheng Jihua, is a member of the secretariat of China Film Workers' Association and deputy director of the Institute of Film Critics. In 1950, he began collecting data together with Li Shaobai and Xing Zuwen. They finished the first draft in 1961 and the first edition came out in 1963.

The need to republish this work arose because all previous copies had been destroyed during the "cultural revolution." The authors were jailed and their materials confiscated under the pretext that the Left-wing film workers in the 1930s had been following a revisionist line. Thus, the republication of this work now is a re-assertion of the important and revolutionary role played by the Left-wing film movement in China's revolutionary history.

— Li Mengxue



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