

BEIJING REVIEW



Questions on the
Ideological Front



Foreign Policies
Of W. European
Countries



New Scientific
Achievements

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

The Ideological Front

President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Hu Qiaomu emphasizes the need to rectify "Left" deviations in the guidelines and at the same time oppose bourgeois liberalization tendencies, develop criticism and self-criticism and correctly apply Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art (p. 15).

Scientific Achievements

Significant successes have been achieved by Chinese scientists in research work. Notable examples are the construction and testing of a new type of miniature electric rocket for use on satellites and spaceships and the synthesis of yeast alanine transfer-ribonucleic acid (p. 5).

Industry Looking Up

China's industrial output value in 1981 rose by 4 per cent

over that of 1980, with light industry showing an increase of 13.6 per cent.

With output on the increase, the prices of TV and radio sets, watches and polyester fabrics have been reduced (p. 7).

The Party and Its Leaders

Improper handling of the relationship between the Party and its leaders resulted in such grievous deviations as the personality cult, life-long tenure for leaders and over-concentration of power. The CPC Central Committee has attached great importance to correcting these mistakes (p. 19).

Tibet Thrives

Implementation of the Party's policies on Tibet has brought about encouraging economic and cultural development in that region (p. 8).

W. European Countries' Foreign Policies

The first part of an analytical article on the basic ideas behind the foreign policies of the West European countries in the light of the complex situation there (p. 21).

"The Other Coast"

A TV play based on the true story of a girl who started anew after five years in prison. The play has struck a sympathetic chord and won widespread acclaim (p. 28).



Celebrating the Spring Festival.

Papercut by Jin Tan

BEIJING REVIEW

Published every Monday by
BEIJING REVIEW
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing
The People's Republic of China

Vol. 25, No. 4 January 25, 1982

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Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese and German editions

Distributed by GUOJI SHUDIAN, (China Publications Centre), P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription prices (1 year):

Australia.....A.\$12.50	U.S.A....US\$13.50
New Zealand...NZ.\$14.50	U.K.....£6.80
Canada.....Can.\$15.60	

Commodity Prices

The Chinese Government recently announced an increase in the prices of cigarettes and alcoholic drinks. Doesn't this contradict your statement that commodity prices are basically stable? What is the trend for this year?

China's commodity prices were basically stable in 1981. Prices remained unchanged for daily necessities closely linked to the people's life such as grain, edible oil, sugar and cotton cloth. Retail price indices were estimated to rise by 2 per cent in 1981 as against 6 per cent in 1980 (including the price increases for cigarettes, liquor and wines). It is true, however, that the prices of some commodities rose.

The wage increase still greatly exceeded the price hike during this period, in spite of the rise in the prices of some commodities in unauthorized or disguised forms. The rural population's income in 1981 was 18,000 million yuan more than in 1978, due to the increase in the state's purchasing prices for agricultural and sideline products. The average wage (including bonuses and subsidies) for the workers and staff members of undertakings and enterprises owned by the whole people rose by 24.7 per cent in 1980 compared with 1978, while commodity prices went up by 10.1 per cent during the same period.

Generally speaking, the living standards of both the urban and rural population have improved. However, the standard of living of some urban families whose members did not get a wage increase and received little in bonuses has not improved and

has even dropped as a result of the price rise.

Some commodity prices, in particular the prices of non-staple foodstuffs (including vegetables), rose too quickly. In 1980, retail price indices rose by 6 per cent, with prices of non-staple foodstuffs going up by 13 per cent. Commodity prices remained stable and some dropped in the first six months of 1981, but many went up in the latter half of the year, particularly the prices of vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs.

The prices of some commodities were raised and others reduced last year. The State Council twice approved price increases, the first for bamboo, wooden and leather products, and the second time for cigarettes and alcoholic drinks. Simultaneously, the state decided to reduce the prices of some other items including polyester-cotton, polyester-viscose fabrics, television sets, refrigerators, honey and walnuts.

Some enterprises failed to carry out state pricing policies; they instituted unauthorized and disguised price rises in order to make more profits and give workers and staff more bonuses. The prices of some commodities on the peasants' markets also went up because supply fell short of demand.

The price rise was an added burden to the people. As a result, the price problem became one of the most heatedly discussed questions at the National People's Congress held at the end of last year. The price rise of non-staple foodstuffs, vegetables in particular, and the many problems in production, plan-

ning and management are being tackled by departments concerned.

To keep commodity prices basically stable is an unshakable principle of our government. For this purpose, the State Council recently issued a circular on stabilizing commodity prices (see p. 7). Measures are being taken by responsible departments at all levels against unauthorized and disguised price increases and other activities that violate government policies. Consumers are encouraged to supervise prices and combat illegal activities.

In Beijing, departments concerned under the municipal people's government organized joint checkup groups to check the weighing apparatuses and measuring instruments of different stores. *Beijing Ribao* (Beijing Daily) and *Beijing Wanbao* (Beijing Evening News) published a special telephone number that consumers may call if they observe pricing irregularities. The standing committee members and deputies of the Shanghai municipal people's congress organized themselves into five groups to inspect market management and price control. Supervision by the people over commodity prices will undoubtedly help improve the situation.

The best way to stabilize commodity prices is to develop production and reduce costs. As long as a basic balance of state revenue and expenditure is achieved, industrial and agricultural production continues to develop, and the people's bank savings continue to increase, commodity prices will remain stable this year.

— Economic Editor Wang
Dacheng

LETTERS

Articles on the Party Resolution

Your articles about the "cultural revolution" often answer the foreign readers' questions. I am grateful for this. The two articles ("Had the 'Cultural Revolution' Mass Support?" and "The 'Cultural Revolution' and the Struggle Against Bureaucracy" — Ed.) in issue No. 49, 1981 of Japanese edition used a "question-and-answer" format which I found very convincing. Veteran readers have many such questions. They also have a tendency to misunderstand the status quo in China. For these reasons, I hope you will continue to do so. Your effort in this respect should be commended.

Hiroumi Takano
Beijing, China

China and the Third World

Your magazine enables me to know more about the Chinese people's numerous achievements. They made a deep impression on me.

I try to analyse your methods of thinking and actions and your changes in the cultural and political fields in 1981. And I planned to write to you after the Cancun meeting held in my country. Now, having observed the stand and attitude of the Chinese people, I am convinced that you have matched your thinking with actions. I have been positively impressed by your understanding of the inequalities which exist between the north and the south. Chinese people's solidarity with our third world is important in this turbulent world.

Godofredo Dotor Trigos
Iguala, Mexico

Seychelles

I was interested in the issue (No. 49, 1981) which reported what occurred in the Seychelles. I never paid any attention to what

was said about that in the papers here, because their reporting tends to be inaccurate, misleading and emotional. I was careful to note that something was going on. I wish you had printed a map showing the location of the Seychelles.

I always enjoy "Notes From the Editors." I often read your letters from readers and especially like to notice the countries they emanate from. I check the "International" section for articles on world events which interest me, but I do not always read all the articles under this heading.

Rosemary Henderson
South Yarra, Vic., Australia

Democratic Management of Industrial Enterprises

I was especially interested in the article on democratic management and Provisional Regulations Concerning Congresses of Workers and Staff Members in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises in issue No. 36, 1981. Because I am interested in the day-to-day mechanics of running a factory, I would like to see an article illustrating the implementation of the provisional regulations. I have been a factory worker before. I am also curious about the purpose of trade unions and their role.

Douglas Hinton
Kenner, La., USA

Truthful Reports

Beijing Review is an important and interesting magazine. The development of events in the world has proved that your comments and views on the problems concerning the people of all countries are correct.

Events in Afghanistan, the Golan Heights, Kampuchea and El Salvador — as well as events in Poland — are manifestations of the struggle between the superpowers. They still favour hegemonism and global military clashes.

Ventura Puentes Yengas
Bogota, Colombia

Your magazine provides us with information about your country as within China.

I like the articles and documents because they are true and reliable. This is not the case in other countries. You, to be more accurate, your government, are good at correcting your mistakes.

Jorge Medina Aluarez
Lima, Peru

I read *Beijing Review* with great interest every week. Therefore, I can always follow events in China. French newspaper reports about China are not always true and correct. Your magazine frequently tells us things about international events which we don't know.

Pierre a Simone Bellanger
Paris, France

A New Reader's View

The amount of detailed information in each edition of your magazine is surprising, and its weekly appearance makes it even more impressive. Your layout and format is attractive. The indexing system and cross references work well and the ease with which one can read articles is also pleasing.

As I am a new reader of *Beijing Review*, my suggestions and opinions of your magazine may be somewhat premature. Anyway, here they are:

"Notes From the Editors" is an excellent way of presenting interesting and important features of China. The subject of this section each week is always well chosen.

My opinion of "Events and Trends," "Opinion Digest" and "Culture and Science" is similar to that of "Notes From the Editors." The details covered in each article and the clarity of the text make them very impressive. *Beijing Review* provides the most comprehensive information about current affairs and trends within China.

I would like to see in the "International" section more articles about China's developing relations with some of the lesser known countries.

Jonathan Gordon-Till
West Yorkshire, UK

Beijing Review, No. 4

SCIENTIFIC

New Achievements

Chinese scientists have successfully synthesized yeast alanine transfer-ribonucleic acid (T-RNA), the Chinese Academy of Sciences announced recently.

This synthesis, achieved by adding alanine to protein, is as significant to the international scientific community as China's 1966 discovery of a method for synthesizing bovine insulin, according to Yu Wen, secretary-general of the academy. The new accomplishment indicates that China's research into the synthesis of biological macromolecules has developed apace with the advanced world level.

Details about the synthesized T-RNA, produced by the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Shanghai Biochemical Institute in co-operation with other units, will be announced later.

According to Yu Wen, this is but one of the 1,015 achievements of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1981. In basic scientific research, he said, some items are of a relatively high level, and in the practical development of new techniques and new technological processes in the service of the national economy, significant results have been obtained. On the strength of experiences previously gained in the Tengchong and Changchun areas, scientists used China-made multi-spectra scanners and microwave radiometers in conducting environmental remote sensing operations last year in the Tianjin-Bohai Bay area and in geological remote sensing operations in Ertan where a hydropower station will

be built. Valuable data have been collected.

In the field of genetic engineering, the theoretical groundwork has been laid for research into molecular genetics and gene engineering and experimentation has begun.

Laser technology has also developed steadily, as marked by the successful production of two new lasers—the high-precision tunable ring dye laser and the pico-second mode lock laser. Technical innovations in the gallium arsenide laser for optical communications increased its durability to more than 10,000 hours.

Breakthroughs were made in the production of rare earth steel alloys and the methods to fill the furnaces, thus opening prospects for new uses of rare earths.

Scientific research linked to production also saw advances. With the restructuring of the economy and product mix in high gear, coupled with burgeoning technological transformation in many enterprises, production departments across the land have increasingly incorporated scientific methods and discoveries. Over the past year, the Chinese Academy of Sciences has signed 200 contracts to provide technological training and education to industrial enterprises.

The marine diesel engine booster designed by the academy in co-operation with certain shipyards performs better than its counterparts abroad. A workshop using the fermentation method devised by the academy to produce amino acids will be completed, with a planned capacity of 10 million bottles of amino acids annually.

Successful Testing of Electric Rocket

China has for the first time successfully constructed and tested a new type of miniature electric rocket for use on satellites and spaceships to ensure proper direction while in orbit.

Telemetric examination shows that the two pulsed plasma thrusters fixed on this rocket performed normally and the whole experiment proceeded according to plan. The two thrusters, which are of a new type of micro-thruster, were produced at the electric propulsion laboratory of the space science and technology centre under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The successful test has ushered in a new stage in China's research of electric rockets.

Producing small thrusting force, with high special impulse and long durability, the electric rocket moves quickly and facilitates flexible operation.

The scientific research of electric rockets of various types is being carried out in many countries, and China is the fourth country to have succeeded in testing this type of micro-propulsion rockets. The other three countries are the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan.

The recent test was aimed at studying the electric rocket's performance in the vacuum environment of space, verifying the results of researches and experiments conducted on land and to clarifying the rocket's impact on other systems, so as to promote the further study and use of this new technology.

New technology for boosting farm production includes nitrogen-fixing green algae as an effective fertilizer for late paddies, monoploid seeds, virus and micro-organism insecticides and insect sexual information agents, as well as new expertise for transforming deserts and marshy land.

POLITICAL

More Such Good Cadres Are Wanted

Citizens of Liaoning Province's Fuxin city call 50-year-old Lin Sheng "a good mayor who works wholeheartedly for the well-being of the people." This is because he devotes more energy to city construction than any of his predecessors.

Called the "city of coal and light," Fuxin produces 10 million tons of coal and 4,500 million kwh of electricity annually. Its population of 700,000 face heavy pollution and poor public facilities.

Lin Sheng, known as a man of action, was elected in August 1980. He first investigated the workers' difficulty in commuting during the rush hours. He took the bus with the workers and listened to their complaints. After further investigation, the city government decided to ease the problem by increasing the number of city buses and building two bridges across the Xihe River, which divides the city into two sections.

The Fuxin people's government led by Lin Sheng did 13 other good things for the people in the past year, including a clean-up campaign which changed the city's appearance and the building of a central heating system benefiting 50,000 households and 160 work units.

Lin Sheng has plans for numerous other improvements over his three-year term. Many people have already pledged to vote for him again at the next election.

To work wholeheartedly in the interests of the people is a requirement for leading cadres

at all levels of the Party and government.

However, during the 10 chaotic years (1966-76), the Party's fine style of work characterized by close ties with the people and concern for the people's well-being was seriously damaged. Some old habits and ideology left over from the old society were revived. As a result, some leading cadres developed a bureaucratic style, were dilatory and irresponsible in work and oblivious of practical problems.

When the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was convened at the end of 1978, the Party and the People's Government called on leading cadres at all levels not to give empty promises but to do solid work in the interests of the people. Many cadres throughout the country enthusiastically responded to the call and gained popularity among the people.

Tang Zhigao, deputy mayor of Hohhot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, received the affectionate title of "our vegetable mayor" for his efforts to overcome the shortage of vegetables in the city. He began by reading the records at the vegetable distribution company and then listened to the opinions of various people involved, until he fully understood the reasons for the inadequate vegetable supply. He often went to groceries to shop or work alongside the shop assistants. Thanks to his efforts, people of the city can now get fresh vegetables at any season of the year.

Leading cadres of the municipal Party committee and the municipal government of Tianjin have been highly commended by the people for their work



Using a minibus as a mobile office, Wan Zujun (third from right), head of Changde County in Hunan Province, and other leading members often go to the rural areas to help solve problems in production.

in solving the acute housing shortage caused by the 1976 earthquake. By the end of 1981, all 33,000 households that had lived in makeshift housing since the earthquake were moved to permanent dwellings. Key to the rapid improvements was the leadership's planning, organizing, rebuilding, repairing and distribution of housing.

ECONOMIC

Higher Industrial Output Value

China's 1981 industrial output value totalled 519,000 million yuan, an increase of 4 instead of 3 per cent as planned over the 1980 figure, with light industry showing an increase of 13.6 per cent while heavy industry was scaled down by 4.5 per cent.

Energy. All areas overfulfilled the state plan. Crude oil output outstripped the annual state plan by 1 million tons, and the state plan for crude oil export was also overfulfilled. Electricity output surpassed the yearly target by 14,000 million kwh, the output of coal was 29 million tons more than planned. Natural gas was also produced in greater quantities than called for by the state plan.

Light and Textile Industries. Of the 35 textile products produced within the state plans, 32 exceeded their annual quotas. Approximately 5,000 new products were produced on a trial basis. New designs and specifications numbered more than 70,000, over half of which are now being mass produced. The proportion of light industry in the total industrial output value

increased from 46.9 per cent in 1980 to 51.3 per cent last year.

Heavy Industry. Annual state plans for rolled steel, steel, pig iron and 10 non-ferrous metals were overfulfilled. Materials supplied to consumer goods production accounted for 60 per cent, compared with 40 per cent in 1980, of all non-ferrous semi-finished products.

The output of washing machines, electric fans and other electrical appliances for household use as well as of light industrial equipment produced by the First Ministry of Machine Building last year was 60 per cent higher than that of the previous years.

Most chemical, building-material, pharmaceutical and timber industrial production governed by state plans outstripped the yearly targets.

Transport and Communications. The 1981 annual plans for the transportation of all major materials, with the exception of salt, were fulfilled ahead of schedule. Passenger and freight turnover in civil aviation rose 23 per cent as compared with the 1980 figure. The volume of work handled by the postal and telecommunications services was 3.5 per cent larger than that of the previous year.

Prices of Watches, TVs and Radios Reduced

The State Council approved reduction of the retail prices of China-made wrist-watches, black-and-white TV sets, transistor radios and pure polyester fabrics, including stretch fabrics, as of January 15, 1982.

Prices of more than 100 brands and types of men's wrist-

Please Dial 55-2320

In order to make it convenient for the people to supervise the control of prices, the Beijing municipal price control bureau announced that they can report cases of arbitrary and disguised raising of prices to its office (Tel. No. 55-2320). The office received 222 calls within two days after the announcement, including inquiries about the price situation. Information given by the people was relayed to departments concerned. The bureau also sent its own men to investigate, verify and handle serious cases in violation of the state price policy.

watches were cut 10, 15 or 20 per cent.

The retail prices of all 12-inch black-and-white TV sets were reduced.

Retail prices of some brands of transistor radios dropped by 10 per cent.

Price reductions on China-made pure polyester fabrics, including stretch fabrics, ranged from 10 to 15 per cent.

Circular. A recent State Council circular said that retail prices of all manufactured goods and farm products on which prices have already been fixed by the state must not be raised. Retail prices of all goods sold at negotiated prices can only be lowered, and no raising of prices is allowed.

The purchasing prices of farm produce are to be kept stable, the circular added.

The circular called on the people's governments at all levels to organize departments concerned to carry out a series

of price check-ups and to mobilize the people to expose violations of the rules of commerce and deal resolute blows at illegal activities such as speculation, profiteering and price gouging.

Progress in Tibet

The Tibet Autonomous Region's 1981 total grain output reached 475,000 tons and the increase in cattle and sheep surpassed 15 per cent. Resurfacing of a major highway is under way and a geothermal power transmission line was completed.

These were some of Tibet's achievements last year, made

previous year, and there was a marked increase in sideline occupation incomes for both collectives and individuals. Of its five prefectures, annual per-capita income averaged 290 yuan in one (the Ali Prefecture), 230 yuan in another (the Shannan Prefecture) and 200 yuan in Tibet's capital city, Lhasa. Per-capita income in Tibet as a whole averaged 200 yuan, 20 yuan more than that of the previous year.

Greater private incomes brought about a brisk demand for consumer goods. The market supply was largely replenished with Tibetan products, although some items were shipped in from Shanghai and elsewhere.

Capital construction has been reduced during the period of economic readjustment, but China's policy of supporting minority nationalities in developing their economy remains unchanged. Thus, 1,205 kilometres of the 1,940-kilometre-long Qinghai-Tibet highway have been resurfaced with asphalt and widened to 7 metres. This is significant because in the last three decades, over 70 per cent of the materials to aid Tibet have been shipped across this highway. Built in the 50s, it links Lhasa with Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province. Now, with the steady increase in goods flowing into Tibet, the gravel surface of the highway can no longer meet the heavy demands of transportation. However, laying asphalt has been a slow and difficult procedure because the weather is capricious and the topography complicated. The resurfacing project, which began in 1978, is scheduled for completion in 1984.

On the energy front, to utilize the abundant geothermal resources in Tibet, a generator

with a capacity of 1,000 kilowatts was installed in Yangbajain, northwest of Lhasa in 1977. Another generator with a 3,000-kilowatt capacity will be installed and commissioned soon. China's first 110,000-volt geothermal power transmission line was recently completed from Yangbajain to Lhasa.

Finally, on the eve of 1982, a newly built colour TV relay station in the Shannan Prefecture enabled Tibetan peasants and herdsmen to enjoy television for the first time in their lives.

More Mineral Deposits Discovered

More than 110 mineral deposits were discovered by survey teams under the state geological department last year and the reserves of another 130 mineral deposits were verified.

A general geological survey confirmed the existence of an oil- and gas-bearing structure with large reserves in northern Sichuan Province in southwest China, and of five other fairly rich oil- and gas-bearing strata in north China, south Songhua-jiang-Liaohe plain in northeast China, Ordos in Inner Mongolia, north Jiangsu Province in east China and the Tarim basin in northwest China's Xinjiang.

Brown coal deposits, estimated to have a reserve as large as 2,000 million tons, were discovered in the Baiyanhua basin in Inner Mongolia's Wulanchabu League. The reserve of the Yongcheng Coal Mine in central China's Henan Province was verified to be 1,240 million tons.

New discoveries in 1981 also included 13 non-ferrous metallic deposits, and estimates were expanded for the reserves of 31



A Tibetan woman tending sheep.

possible by the further implementation of a Party Central Committee directive on Tibet issued in 1980.

The region experienced good harvests and productive livestock-breeding despite serious natural adversities during the year. The farmers and herdsmen got more grain, meat, butter, sheepskin and cash from public distribution than in the

other deposit areas. Molybdenum deposits with large reserves were found in Laiyuan County in north China's Hebei Province. Evenly distributed, the highly concentrated ore reserves are shallowly buried and are of great value for industrial exploitation. In southwest China's Yunnan Province, which has the largest tin reserves in the country, a tin deposit was recently found with the highest possible concentration of the ore. More than 30 veins have been discovered thus far, most of which are shallowly buried and are suited to open mining.

Twenty-nine large deposits of non-metallic materials of industrial value have been discovered recently. They include kaolin deposits along the coast of east China's Fujian Province, crystalloid graphite deposits near Jixi in northeast China's Heilongjiang Province and marble in Beijing's Fangshan and Miyun Counties. High-quality attapulgite clay, a decolorant and ingredient in drilling mud for the petroleum industry, was found in Luhe and Xuyi Counties in Jiangsu Province. This is the first time such a clay deposit of industrial value has been found in China.

SOCIAL

The Lost and Found Office

If you lose something in Beijing, you should have a last look at the Lost and Found Office on Xidan Street in the West District.

The office is operated by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and is responsible for returning things found in the city's public places.

When an article is turned in to the office, the police register the time and place where it was found and its description. They use all available clues to find the owners of lost articles, including addresses, commuter tickets, hospital registration cards and postal receipts.

The work of finding owners of lost items is complex and it frequently requires several phone calls and letters.

Many articles are delivered to the office every day.

One night Qi Wenjie, a veteran worker in the Beijing Powder Metallurgy Institute, found a briefcase while waiting for a bus at Tian An Men Square. It contained vouchers, invoices, some other articles and 300 yuan. When the owner of the lost briefcase didn't show up after an hour, he got on a bus and took it to the Lost and Found Office.

Yang Mu, a middle school student, was on her way to a family reunion dinner on the eve of last year's Spring Festival when she found a watch. She immediately took it to the Lost and Found Office, but when she arrived it was closed. Instead of going home and returning the next day, she knocked on the door until she attracted the attention of the man on duty inside.

Even young children know how to handle lost articles. When a four-year-old boy recently found a one-cent coin, he

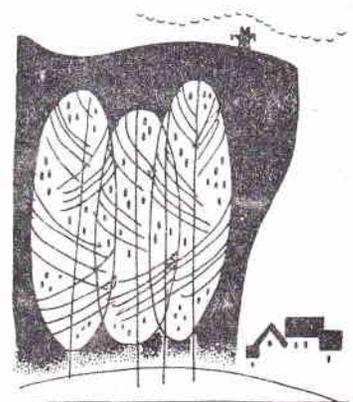
	Watches	Wallets	Money (yuan)
1980	681	1,356	39,877
1981	1,054	1,437	47,357

Of these, 285 watches, 1,209 wallets and 10,435 yuan have been reclaimed by their owners.

asked his father to take him to the Lost and Found Office. "Our teacher in the nursery told us to hand in anything, even one-cent coins, to the police or the teacher," said the young boy.

Like every other major city in China, Beijing has numerous lost and found offices. Every bus company, railway station, big shopping centre, university and college has one. In addition, each hotel, factory, government unit, middle or primary school and neighbourhood office has a lost and found officer. After approximately two months, these departments forward unclaimed articles to the Lost and Found Office under the public security bureau.

In order to maintain public support for the practice of turning in lost articles, schools, factories, and neighbourhood committees use posted notices and meetings to praise those who turn in the things they find.



US-Soviet Nuclear Weapons Talks Resume

THE US-Soviet talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, resumed in Geneva on January 12 after a three-week recess, may turn out to be prolonged and fruitless.

The first round of the top secret talks, conducted from November 30 to December 17 last year, did not diminish the gap between the positions of the two sides.

Disagreements

Official statements and press comments indicate that they still have deep disagreements with regard to the subject and range of the talks. The United States insisted that the talks deal solely with land-based medium-range missiles, but the Soviet Union contended that they should address all US weapons systems deployed in Europe, including naval and airforce systems as well as the nuclear arms of Britain and France.

The two sides also differed on the number of nuclear weapons in Europe. Brezhnev claimed a more or less balanced distribution of nuclear arms, slightly in favour of the West, with the East possessing 975 missiles and the West 986, while Reagan put the nuclear balance between the Soviet Union and the United States at a ratio of 6:1, an absolute Soviet supremacy.

With regard to the quality of nuclear weapons possessed by both sides, the United States also claimed that the Soviet

Union added to its European nuclear arsenal during the past few years 250 to 270 SS-20 missiles, whose quality surpasses that of the US nuclear weapons in Europe. The Soviet Union, however, claims that the new SS-20 missiles are normal replacements.

Before the talks both sides offered ambiguous suggestions about ways of disposing of nuclear weapons. The United States proposed "dismantling" the weapons while the Soviet Union called for a "temporary suspension of disposition" and a "reduction" or "substantial reduction." Neither has clearly described techniques for disposing of the missiles after "dismantling" or "reduction."

Disarmament and Arms Race

No substantive results can be expected from the talks until these differences are resolved. The situation which developed after they signed the strategic arms limitation treaty can be cited as an example of what will probably occur unless such differences are resolved. Immediately after they concluded the disarmament talks and signed the agreement, they began a new arms race. More-

over, the more they talked about disarmament, the more they produced and deployed higher quality weapons.

The hundreds of Soviet and US missiles presently deployed in Europe can be traced to the series of talks held during the past ten years or more at Soviet suggestion: the strategic nuclear arms negotiations, the talks on troop reduction in Central Europe in Vienna and the Conference on European Security and Co-operation in Helsinki. While these talks were going on, the Soviet Union managed to overcome its backwardness and gradually catch up with the United States in nuclear arms.

Although the present negotiations on nuclear weapons cannot be reasonably opposed, few positive results can be expected if the two superpowers continue to act as they did in the past. How then are the two superpowers to comply with the demand that they eliminate the threat of nuclear war? They have no alternative but to unconditionally undertake the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons and then to work for the gradual and complete destruction of nuclear weapons through genuine negotiations. Otherwise, negotiations and agreements are useless.

— Chen Weibin

French Move in Indochina

BECAUSE the Vietnamese authorities have persisted in their aggressive actions against Kampuchea, many countries have suspended economic aid to Viet Nam. But France recently gave aid to Viet Nam.

This has aroused opposition and uneasiness among the ASEAN countries. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson recently told the ambassadors of the five ASEAN countries that France aid to Viet

Nam is "a logical extension of the co-operation programme between Paris and Hanoi carried out since 1977."

Something Is Awry. Cheysson suggested that France cannot very well turn its back on the long-term programme concluded with Viet Nam. The fact is that many countries signed similar programmes with Hanoi and these countries did suspend their aid to Viet Nam. Now, the question arises: Is their action, by Cheysson's logic, "illogical" or, rather, wholly justifiable and righteous in upholding the norms governing international relations?

The French Foreign Minister said that despite the signing of a 32 million US dollar aid agreement with Hanoi, France "continues to press for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia." Something is awry here, too. Hanoi is now in dire need of foreign assistance to fuel its military machine, which has bulldozed Kampuchea. The supply of assistance by any country has the effect of aiding and abetting Hanoi to carry on the war of aggression in Kampuchea, even if it is not so motivated. This can hardly be called pressing for Viet Nam's withdrawal.

ASEAN Countries Are Uneasy. The mass-circulation Paris paper, *Le Monde*, has provided some food for thought as to what is behind the French flirtation with Hanoi. An article in the paper of January 10, entitled "Representatives of the ASEAN Nations Are Disturbed by the Rapprochement Between Paris and Hanoi," said: "Bangkok is convinced that a 'French solution' for the Cambodian crisis is being contrived behind the back of the ASEAN; it sees in the recent conclusion of the agreement with Hanoi an inopportune change in French diplo-

macy at a time when negotiations have got under way, for good or ill, for a coalition government of the three movements of Khmer resistance against the Vietnamese."

The article also reported that "a responsible Thai diplomat told us: 'We now have the feeling that France has something up its sleeve. That France is taking some initiative alone makes us uneasy. It has not communicated with us in advance. Don't do anything behind our backs, there is a limit to a 'realistic policy'."

Le Monde said that suspicion about French intentions is "groundless." One can only wish that the respectable paper is right. Covert manoeuvres to strike a deal with Viet Nam after the United Nations has passed one resolution after another demanding Viet Nam's withdrawal from Kampuchea would stigmatize the image of France's Socialist government. It might also arouse the suspicion that the French authorities intend to regain some of the interests they had in Indochina during the colonial days.

— Xin Ping

Mubarak Consolidates State Power

Report From Cairo

PRESIDENT Hosni Mubarak, who took office in Egypt a little over three months ago after Anwar Sadat's assassination, is working hard to consolidate state power.

Insure Security

Since Mubarak took office, Egyptian authorities have concentrated on security and domestic economic problems. Although the state of emergency has not been ended and government institutions are still heavily guarded, signs of improvement are evident in the security situation.

The Prosecutor-General has ordered the release of several hundred people arrested last September. He said this is being done for humanitarian reasons.

Nonetheless, several thousand people have been arrested for committing offences endangering social security and the trials of the 24 men charged with assassinating President Sadat are being speeded up.

Meanwhile, the government has adopted measures to ensure increased democracy. Mubarak has consulted opposition parties for advice and suggestions on domestic and foreign matters and some professors and journalists have resumed working following the repeal of some of the decrees which banned their activities.

Improving the Economy

Two factors provide the key to stabilizing Egypt's political situation: improving the economy and raising the people's standard of living. The nation's economy has suffered during recent years because of long-drawn-out wars. The open economic policy initiated in 1974 is also the source of serious economic problems.

Mubarak told the press shortly after he became president that Egypt should concentrate on the national economy. He listed seven key economic problems in his November speech to the nation, including rationalization of consumption, better

import management and a cut in public spending. A national meeting is being convened to study the country's future economic prospects.

The open economic policy, which was not all bad, produced some benefits. For example, income from oil, overseas remittance, tourism and the Suez Canal reached 6,000 million Egyptian pounds. Foreign investments also increased, but mostly in consumer goods and services.

Unfortunately, Egypt is increasingly dependent on imports for daily necessities. This has undermined industrial production and generated inflation.

Mismanagement of the open economic policy generated hordes of speculators. According to the Egyptian newspaper *Al Akhbar*, a new class has emerged, one which has reaped huge profits.

Deputy Rashad Osman's case is exemplary. An ordinary worker in the 1960s, Osman has become a billionaire through collusion with high officials. He is now under detention and the government has frozen his assets. The government has also promised to make a thorough investigation of his case.

Leadership Changes

President Mubarak has reorganized the cabinet in order to strengthen Egypt's economic leadership. The new leaders are presently planning economic reforms. However, many observers contend that they have their hands full because Egypt's long-standing economic problems will be difficult to solve.

At the first session of the new cabinet, Mubarak asked

for emphasis on politics, economics and social stability. Knowledgeable observers suggest that Egypt will require a considerable period of time to solve its internal problems

while striving to achieve a peaceful international situation beneficial to Mubarak's efforts to consolidate state power.

— *Chen Peiming*

Why Limann Was Deposed

FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT Jerry Rawlings, who recently seized power in Ghana, is faced with a difficult task.

The country is beset by numerous political and economic problems. Rawlings has announced the formation of a "people's defence organization" composed of former Chief of the Defence Staff Nunoo Mensah, former Commander of the Army A. Quainoo and Lieutenant Asmah to clean up the country. He has also arrested Hilla Limann, the country's former president.

This is the second time Rawlings has taken over power in Ghana by staging a coup. He initiated his first one on June 4, 1979. After ruling for about four months, he handed power over to Limann, who was elected President in July under provisions of the country's new constitution.

Key Problems. International observers believe that Ghana's steadily deteriorating economy and serious corruption among government officials are primarily responsible for Limann's downfall.

When Limann took over the presidency in September 1979, Ghana was in a mess. The economy was on the brink of bankruptcy and the nation was faced with mounting domestic and foreign debts, ram-

nant speculation, and soaring prices. Moreover, commodities were in extremely short supply in state-run shops and the annual inflation rate exceeded 100 per cent. These problems produced many hardships for the Ghanaian people. Limann promised to improve the economic situation and establish national unity and stability. But during the two years and three months he was in power, the nation's economic and political situation continued to deteriorate. The nation was also repeatedly disrupted by strikes.

Corrupt government officials were responsible for many of the nation's problems. Although Limann promised to end government corruption, he failed to do so. Moreover, many of his officials contributed to the problem by participating in the corruption.

Instability Will Probably Continue. Limann's downfall also results from his failure to competently handle his relationship with Rawlings and other members of the military. Though Limann promised not to meddle in military affairs before becoming President, he did. He forced Rawlings to retire, discharged high-ranking officers appointed by Rawlings and exiled some members of the former revolutionary council. Several aborted coups have taken place in Ghana since March 1980.

Most of them were co-ordinated by disenchanted members of the military.

Located in West Africa, Ghana has a large population, abundant natural resources and the potential to be wealthy. However, the country has been

repeatedly undermined by coups and economic crises since 1966. Rawlings has staged a successful coup, but it will be hard for him to change the situation in Ghana in a short period. Instability will probably continue.

— Yang Guilan

Africa's Economic Readjustment And Reform

MOST African countries have devoted considerable efforts to economic development in order to consolidate their political independence.

Although many have achieved notable success, they have also encountered numerous difficulties.

Their economic development plans have been particularly hampered by improper policies resulting from inexperience in management and construction, natural calamities, the global economic and energy crises and war. As a result, many African countries are faced with unstable political situations.

Some have responded by devising particularly innovative approaches to economic development.

Structural Reforms. Structural reforms have been implemented in some African countries in order to promote agricultural production, grain production in particular. For example, Niger has implemented a system of combining the state-owned agricultural economy with small-scale peasant farming. The Nigerian Government has also signed contracts with peasants through agricultural organizations. Zaire has decided to transform its state farms into privately owned ones. Mali has encouraged individual labourers to operate small and medium-

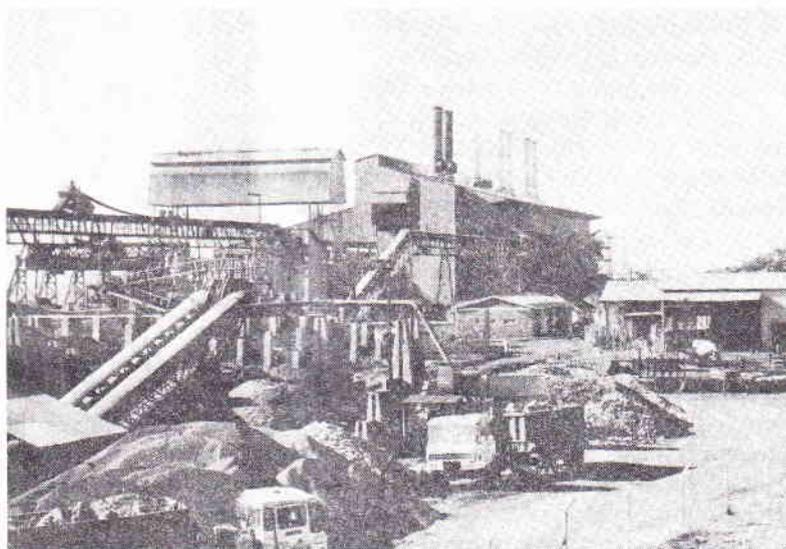
sized farms and announced the establishment of a development bank. It has also set up free grain markets which encourage peasants to increase their production.

The governments of Somali, Egypt, Togo, Benin and Ghana and other countries have instituted a policy of ensuring reasonable prices for grain producers. Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, Guinea and Zimbabwe have increased purchasing prices for farm produce. These measures have yielded marked results by enhancing enthusiasm and promoting farm production.

In industry and commerce, some countries have altered their extremist nationalization

policies and established industrial economic systems designed to motivate the initiative of individuals and simultaneously develop state-owned, co-operative and private enterprises. They have pursued an open-door policy towards foreign countries. The Guinean Government is gradually changing some state-owned enterprises into autonomous ones which will assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses. Last year, the government decided to close down most of the poorly run state-owned shops. Private business was being restored. The Government of Mali is simultaneously developing state-owned and private and co-operative enterprises, with the private enterprises as the principal part. Individuals are being encouraged to establish small and medium-sized enterprises. Most of the poorly run state-owned enterprises have been transformed into private or co-operative ones.

After its decision to abandon nationalization in 1975, the Zairian Government canceled the state's monopoly control of transport and communications. Some poorly managed



Zimbabwe's biggest chrome-smelting factory.

state enterprises were disbanded or amalgamated.

The Tanzanian Government has relaxed its restrictions on the private economy during the past two years and a system of material rewards has been implemented in state-owned enterprises. The Congolese Government has also relaxed restrictions on foreign businessmen and companies and attempted to promote financial and economic autonomy. Remarkable achievements have been made.

The Zambian Government has also eased its restrictions on foreign capital and a diversified economic policy has been instituted.

Consolidating Organizations. Some African countries are seriously attempting to strengthen their economic management, reduce the scale of capital construction, oppose graft and embezzlement, curtail administrative expenditures, increase exports and reform organizations. While implementing the "Mobutu plan," the Zairean Government has made great efforts to consolidate financial and economic management, crack down on graft and embezzlement, smuggling, speculation and profiteering. It is also attempting to control inflation and reduce its administrative expenditures. Public departments are being consolidated, some leading bodies have been amalgamated and the production of exports is being rewarded in Senegal. After the armed forces headed by Joavo Bernardo Vieira took political power in Guinea-Bissau in November 1980, the government abandoned the impractical tactics which the former regime used to build modern facilities. Agricultural

development is now cited as the nation's primary economic objective.

The economic readjustment and reform in African countries is conducted under complicated international and domestic conditions. They will

meet with numerous difficulties and obstacles and they are still making explorations. Nevertheless, their achievements thus far indicate that the readjustments and reforms are necessary and promising.

— Ling Daisen

Soviet Ingenious Self-Exposure

LIEUTENANT Commander Pyotr Gushin, the captain of the Soviet Whisky-137 submarine which ran aground during its illegal reconnaissance operations in Sweden's military restricted zone last October, has been sentenced to three years in prison when he returned to the Soviet Union.

It's hard to understand. Moscow initially claimed that the submarine "strayed" into Swed-

There can be only one answer: Commander Gushin was too careless. Armed with nuclear arms and reconnaissance instruments, the submarine which stealthily penetrated into Swedish territorial waters for ulterior motives should not be discovered by Sweden. Now the Soviet submarine incident has been exposed to the world and the Soviet Union's hegemonist character has been brought to light. It demonstrates that the sweet words of the Soviet Union — "good-neighbourly relationship," "a non-nuclear zone in Northern Europe," "detente" and "disarmament" — are entirely worthless.

Soviet spies, who are deployed all over the world, have been discovered and seized in many countries. But Moscow was really furious about this grave incident because it produced serious results. As a consequence, the Soviet Government has imprisoned Gushin.

Captain Gushin's sentence reveals that the Whisky-137 submarine penetrated deep into Swedish territorial waters in October 1981 not because of a navigational equipment "failure," but for illegal reconnaissance operations inside Sweden's restricted military zone.

— He Li



ish waters because of a navigational equipment "failure." The Soviets also claimed they had no evil intentions. They said that such incidents are "unavoidable." If it were true, why should the captain who preserved the submarine be put into prison instead of being awarded?

Questions on the Ideological Front

(Highlights of a speech delivered at the forum on ideological questions sponsored by the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee on August 8, 1981)

by Hu Qiaomu

- **Persist in correcting the "Left" guiding ideology and at the same time oppose the bourgeois liberalization trend.**
- **Unfold criticism and self-criticism in order to promote socialist democracy.**
- **Analyse scientifically Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art and affirm and develop it.**

SINCE the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held at the end of 1978, the Party's policies have remained consistent, including policies on literature and art, culture, academia and intellectuals. They have not been, must not be and will not be allowed to be erratic.

Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has stressed correcting "Left" guiding ideology and opposing the bourgeois liberalization trend in society. It is necessary to conduct struggle on two fronts. It will not do to adopt a policy of non-recognition or a policy of non-interference in any field. Struggles on the two fronts complement each other.

These opinions have been clearly expressed in the Party Central Committee's resolutions and the speeches of leading comrades since 1979. These include Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory speech at the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists held in 1979, the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in February 1980, Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech delivered at the forum on script writing in 1980 and the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1981.

Opposing Party leadership is the core of the bourgeois liberalization trend of thought. This trend is, to a great extent, a consequence of the "cultural revolution." It was because of

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the "cultural revolution" that some inexperienced young people and vacillating Party members have doubts about or have lost hope in the Party and socialism.

The building of socialism in peace time is a more profound and arduous revolution than previous ones. The Party's leadership did make mistakes in this process, but one should not use them as an excuse to weaken, eliminate, or undermine Party leadership because that would cause a serious disaster. The Chinese Communist Party has summed up its historical experiences, improved its leadership and strengthened its ties with the masses. Therefore, it will be more capable of shouldering the heavy historical tasks incumbent on it.

Correctly unfolding criticism and self-criticism and necessary ideological struggle is aimed at developing socialist democracy. Publicizing and implementing the correct ideas of the majority and correcting the wrong views of the minority are necessary for achieving socialist democracy. In our large country, though there are some people who persist in "Left" errors and who seek bourgeois liberalization, they constitute only a very small proportion of the total population.

The Party Central Committee has decided that in conducting criticism, attacks from all sides, forced submission and exaggeration of mistakes are not allowed. This decision is the product of our historical experience. It is necessary to make a distinction between correct and wrong criticisms. If a wrong trend of thought with widespread influence is not criticized and checked, it will spread like an

epidemic jeopardizing the morality, stability and unity of society. This could even bring about disasters like the "cultural revolution." At the same time, criticisms should be realistic, fair and reasonable, and conducted out of a desire for unity. In this way those criticized and the general populace will enhance their political consciousness and an atmosphere of genuine socialist democracy will prevail.

Socialist Democracy Versus Bourgeois Liberalization

As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, the bourgeois liberalization ideological trend arose as a counter to the "cultural revolution" and as a consequence of defilement by foreign bourgeois ideology. The weakness of the Party's ideological work was also a contributing factor.

The "double hundred" policy (letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend), in essence, is the conducting of democratic discussion in the academic sphere and free contention in the arts and the practising of criticism and self-criticism so as to develop the correct and advanced and overcome the wrong and backward. The aim of this policy is thus to ensure a healthy development of socialist science and culture. Some comrades distort this policy as freedom from all principles and want to publish whatever they like and hold that no one should criticize or interfere with their work. This inevitably blurs the principled demarcation line between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism, and thereby denies the necessity of the Party's correct leadership in ideological work.

The "double hundred" policy is the Party's basic, long-term policy for developing socialist science and culture, but it is not the Party's sole policy for ideological work. There are a series of other policies, including serve the people and socialism, seek truth from facts, integrate theory with practice, weed through the old to bring forth the new, make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China, ensure the leading position of Marxism in the social, political and ideological spheres and practise unity-criticism-unity among the people. If the above-mentioned wrong view on the "double hundred" policy is not corrected, the

* The four fundamental principles are adherence to Communist Party leadership, the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

result will be a distortion of the "double hundred" policy as a bourgeois liberalization policy that violates the four fundamental principles.*

On the superiority of the socialist system in China. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation, China abolished the system of exploitation, established the socialist public ownership of the means of production and the basic political, economic and cultural systems of socialism. Although these systems still need to be improved, they have taken root in China, withstood severe tests and demonstrated their immense vitality. However, some comrades fail to recognize China's great achievements in socialist construction over the last 20 years or the superiority of our socialist system.



Writer Liu Shaotang (left) with peasants in Beijing's Tongxian County, gathering materials for his works about the socialist modernization drive.

On the question of socialist democracy. There is no doubt that the Party is only part of the people and is a product of society at a certain historical stage. The Party is an instrument in the hands of the people; its sole task is to serve the people, serve the greatest interests of the absolute majority of people. Only the Communist Party, which is the most advanced political force, can represent the interests and wishes of the broadest sectors of society. The unity among China's various nationalities can only be achieved under the leadership of the Party. The socialist democratic system cannot be established, developed, consolidated and perfected without Party leadership. Some comrades set socialist democracy in contradiction to Party leadership, as if the people, being masters of the country, and Party leadership are mutually exclusive. They oblit-

erate the essential distinction between socialist democracy and capitalist democracy; they seldom conscientiously study and criticize the class nature, hypocrisy and limitations of capitalist democracy.

They do not regard unhealthy trends and the practices of privilege-seeking and bureaucracy which exist within the Party as legacies of the old society and the "cultural revolution." They fail to see that our Party has made and continues to exert herculean and effectual efforts to correct and eliminate such phenomena.

There are some specific ideological questions in literature and art. There are people who deny that social life is the only source of artistic creation. They regard creative works as self-expressions of individuals and maintain that artists bear no responsibility towards society and can divorce themselves from the guidance and influence of the advanced ideology and from the Party's leadership in the development of the arts. Some comrades think that literature and art should propagate so-called abstract human nature and disregard the social nature of man. Certain comrades blindly copy the fads of the West, including vulgar and decadent ones, or cater to the rank taste of a tiny minority.

It is necessary to emphasize here that these liberalization tendencies do not characterize the whole ideological front. One must not be hypersensitive and think that bourgeois liberalization exists almost everywhere simply because we are now criticizing it. That is absolutely not the case. We must affirm the great successes achieved in the theoretical, literary and art circles since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Liberalization emerged in the name of emancipating the mind. The Party Central Committee holds that the emancipation of thinking primarily means that the cadres and masses should free themselves from the trammels of the "Left" mistakes committed during and before the "cultural revolution" and from the shackles of the "two whatevers" (to firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly adhere to whatever

instructions Chairman Mao gave) and return to the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The emancipation of thinking must continue. But some comrades misinterpret it; they believe that by emancipating the mind, they can give up the experiences which had been tested in practice and gained by the Party and the people in the prolonged revolutionary struggles, and can deviate from the four basic principles.

Since the founding of New China, we have waged excessive and too many struggles in the ideological and cultural fields. The results were grievous and we are determined not to repeat these errors. This lesson has been cited in the Party Central Committee's relevant documents issued since the Third Plenary Session. However, we must draw a clear line of demarcation between correct and wrong criticisms. "A snake's bite should not cause one to fear the well's rope for three years," as a Chinese saying goes. Life influences people's thinking; people's ideology, especially systematic advanced thinking, in turn affects life. So ideological workers must not think poorly of themselves.

The basic task of the whole country is to successfully develop the economy. We should not vacillate on this point. But one must not think that people's ideas will automatically be enhanced when the economy improves. On the contrary, in some economically developed countries many people lack ideals and faith and feel life is inane.

In present-day China, if we only engage in building a socialist material civilization and do



Vocalist Li Guyi singing for commune members in rural Anhui Province.

not work hard to foster socialist spiritual civilization at the same time, people will be selfish, profit-seeking and lacking in lofty ideals. In that case, how much will our mental outlook differ from that in capitalist societies? Therefore, we should develop socialist political science, ethics, education, science and culture at the same time as we develop the socialist economy. We should strengthen leadership in the economic, organizational, political, ideological and cultural fronts.

Correct Understanding of Mao Zedong's Thinking on Literature and Art

It is necessary to firmly safeguard and develop the essence of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art while not repeating certain incorrect formulations.

One of the most important tasks of the Sixth Plenary Session was to scientifically affirm Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and expound Mao Zedong Thought. Thanks to the collective efforts made by many comrades over a long period, this task was accomplished at the session. It is necessary to seriously study Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

The basic spirit of the *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* has played an important role in our history. We must uphold it now and in the future. In those talks, Chairman Mao said that literature and art are a reflection of life in human society; life is the only source of literature and art. Life can be reflected from different stands; proletarian and people's writers must mirror life from the stand of the proletariat and the people. They must solve the problem of stand in deed and not merely pay lip service to it. Since the people are the masters of the country, the writers must go deep into the midst of the people, primarily the workers, peasants and soldiers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the populace. Writers must take the stand of the proletariat and the people and create literary and artistic works to unite and educate the people, inspire and impel them forward, and fight against the enemy, transform the old society and old ideology and build a new society and new life. All these ideas are correct.

In today's socialist society, the Party Central Committee has put forward the principle that literature and art should serve the people and socialism. This is the application and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art under socialist con-

ditions. Serving the people must not be set against serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Although the latter cannot replace the people as a whole, they nevertheless constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. Compared with the formulation of serving politics, serving socialism is worded more clearly. Serving politics can be and has been understood as serving a certain current policy, an interim political task, a political event or even the "arbitrary order" given by a political leader. Serving socialism is a broad concept. World outlook, ideals, characters, faith, will, wisdom, courage, sentiments and morals that foster the development of socialist new people, all serve socialism.

At the same time, it is necessary to adopt a scientific and analytical approach to Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. Practice in the past has proved that in the *Talks* at the Yanan forum, the formulation of subordinating literature and art to politics, of drawing a hard and fast line between political standard and artistic standard, of totally attributing a person's social character to his class nature, of comparing those writers, who came to Yanan because they opposed the Kuomintang rule but who still retained many petty-bourgeois habits, with the Kuomintang members and equating them with the big landlords and big bourgeoisie — all these are inappropriate formulations and have had a negative influence on the development of literature and art since the founding of the People's Republic. A concentrated manifestation of this was Mao Zedong's frequent launching of turbulent mass criticism of literary and art workers and in the two written instructions on literary and artistic work issued in 1963 and 1964 (the Party Central Committee has announced its negation of these two instructions). These errors were one of the causes of his subsequent launching of the "cultural revolution." It should be recognized that Comrade Mao Zedong did not adequately understand or put due confidence in contemporary writers, artists and other intellectuals, therefore, he mistakenly regarded them as part of the capitalist class. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques took advantage of this to ruthlessly persecute writers, artists and intellectuals. We must not forget this painful lesson.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," issue No. 23, 1981. Subheads are ours. — Ed.)

The "Relationship Between Leaders And the Party"

by Yin Chengshan

ADOPTED at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in June 1981, the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China pointed out: "In the communist movement, leaders play quite an important role. This has been borne out by history time and again and leaves no room for doubt. However, certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement owing to the failure to handle the relationship between the Party and its leader correctly, had an adverse effect on our Party, too." What were these grievous deviations and how did they adversely affect our Party? These are the questions which many people want to clarify.

The cause of revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party receives support from revolutionary forces of various countries, and constitutes a component part of the international communist movement. Many of the fine traditions of the international communist movement have yielded positive effects on the building and development of the Chinese Party, but the serious deviations resulting from the improper handling of the relationship between the Party and its leaders which occurred historically in the international communist movement have indeed left a negative effect on the Chinese Communist Party. The main grievous deviations are the personality cult, the life-long tenure of leaders and the over-concentration of power.

In the international communist movement, historical materialism, which was founded by Marx and Engels, expounded the role of the people and individual leaders in the making of history and, therefore, provided a scientific, theoretical basis for correctly handling the relationship between the Party and its leaders. Marx and Engels made their contributions not only in theory but in practice set a good example in correctly addressing this problem. When Marx knew that someone was singing his praises, he stated categorically that he found

such practices disgusting. On many occasions Engels stopped socialists in various countries from organizing activities in celebration of his birthday. He said that he always detested such occasions. Marx and Engels achieved true unity between theory and practice and thereby set a good example for the international communist movement in their times.

Following Marx and Engels, in leading the Russian Bolshevik Party work, Lenin also made tremendous contributions, both in theory and in practice, to the correct solution of the problem on the relationship between the Party and its leader. Lenin for the first time put forward the system of democratic centralism to be enforced within the Party, thereby fundamentally solving the problem of the Party's organizational principle. While he was writing *The State and Revolution* on the eve of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin contemplated the problem of the appointing and dismissing of state functionaries after the revolution of the proletariat was accomplished.

However, immediately following the October Revolution, a civil war broke out in the first half of 1918. The landlord class and the bourgeoisie launched an armed rebellion in coordination with the armed intervention by over 10 capitalist countries in an attempt to strangle the newborn Soviet government. Under these circumstances, Lenin's tentative ideas could not be implemented. On the contrary, the Bolshevik Party stressed a high degree of centralism under the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to win military victory and defend the Soviet government.

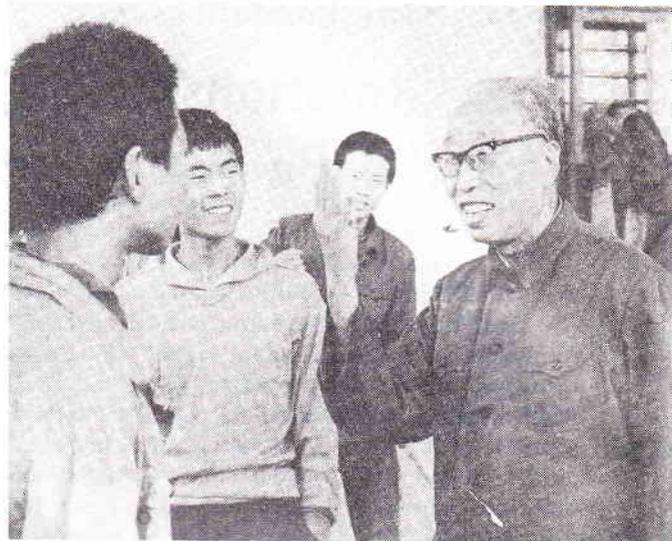
The "Left" trend of thought began to spread at that time, which set the leaders completely against the Party and the masses. The exponents of this "Left" ideology attempted to topple the true Marxist leaders under the cover of the slogan "Down with the leaders!" while at the same time they promoted so-called new leaders who talked rank stuff and nonsense. The "Left" trend of thought was extremely harmful at that time.

In his book *"Left-Wing" Communism — An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin penetratingly expounded the relationships between the leaders, the political party, class and the masses. He aptly pointed out that the proletarian party "will not merit the name until it learns to weld the leaders into one indivisible whole with the class and the masses." That Lenin's exposition was correct and necessary was proved by its positive effect on the international communist movement. Directed mainly against the absurd theories of the "Left" trend of thought, Lenin's exposition emphasized the identity between individual leaders, the Party's collective and the masses, and the necessity to uphold absolute centralization and vigorous discipline of the proletariat.

However, it failed to present a theoretical analysis of the need to develop inner-Party democracy and strengthen the masses' supervision. There is no doubt that proletarian leaders play an important role in the communist movement and in mobilizing and organizing the masses, but they should at all times place themselves among Party members and the masses and accept their supervision, and should never be divorced from the masses.

As the successor to Lenin, Stalin in his later years violated the basic principle of historical materialism in handling the relationship between the leaders and the Party. He mistakenly exaggerated his own role and set his own power in opposition to the collective leadership. Stalin began to make mistakes while he accepted and encouraged a personality cult. In his later years, the prevalence of this personality cult precipitated the process of Stalin's practice of arbitrary decision-making and his violation of the principle of collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism. At the same time it rigidified his life-long tenure of office as the leader of the Party and the state.

In the international communist movement, Stalin also enforced concentrated leadership. For a long period, the relations between the Third International, which was in reality led by Stalin, and the other Parties became such that the former directly interfered in the internal affairs of the latter, trying to liquidate or replace the initiative of the other Parties. The programmes, lines, major change of personnel and plans of action of the other Parties were basically subordinated to the decision of the international and in compliance with its orders. In later dealings with other countries



Wei Anmin (right), Mayor of Hefei, Anhui Province, discussing with peasants in the suburban Changqing Commune their experiences since the adoption of responsibility system in production.

in the so-called socialist camp, Stalin practised great-nation chauvinism and again interfered in the internal affairs of certain countries.

In pointing out here the grievous deviations committed by Stalin in his solving the problem of the relationship between the Party and its leaders, our aim is to draw a lesson and liquidate their negative effect on our Party. We do not mean to negate Stalin's great merits and outstanding contributions. At the very onset of its founding, the Chinese Communist Party was given leadership and support by the Third International which made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. The Seventh Enlarged Conference of the Communist International held in November 1926 included the Chinese question on its agenda as a central topic for discussion. Thereafter, Stalin offered many correct opinions concerning the Chinese revolution. From the time of its founding, the Chinese Party trusted and respected Stalin, the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. It was precisely because of our firm belief in Stalin that we failed to promptly perceive the deviations committed by the Soviet Communist Party in solving the problem concerning the relationship between the leaders and the Party and their adverse effect on the Chinese Party.

Stalin also put forward some mistaken ideas in guiding the Chinese revolution; the Chinese Party has always held itself responsible for these and has never shifted the blame on to Stalin. For many years, the Chinese Party has failed to seriously guard against the nega-

tive influence from the Communist International on the matter of leaders. After Stalin's death, the Chinese Party began to recognize these problems, but at that time the Khrushchov renegade clique emerged in the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of the so-called "opposition to personality cult," they totally negated Stalin. Although the Chinese Party conducted criticism of Stalin's personality cult, it was also necessary to duly affirm and protect Stalin's prestige. This inevitably affected our ability to sum up and draw lessons from Stalin's mistakes, and so we failed to probe theoretically into the matters concerning personality cult, the leaders' life-long tenure of office and over-concentration of power, and to carry out an overall checkup and reform in our practical work.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee marked a great turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our Party since the founding of New China. The Party began to comprehensively and conscientiously correct the "Left" mistakes committed during and before the "cultural revolution." First of all it helped the cadres and the masses rid themselves of the previously

prevalent personality cult and of the spiritual shackles of the "two whatevers"—to firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave. It restored and developed the fine tradition of organizational principle which had taken shape after the Zunyi Meeting in 1935 and had been reaffirmed at the Party's Eighth National Congress held in 1956. Collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism have been restored, inner-Party democracy and people's democracy have been developed, the system of leading cadres' life-long tenure of office which was actually in existence has been abolished and the problem of an individual concurrently holding too many posts has been solved.

In addition, the Party Central Committee stressed the principle that neither democracy nor centralism should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. It also upheld the need to safeguard the prestige of the proletarian leaders and the need to oppose personality cults. To support these principles, the Party Central Committee issued the instruction on "giving less publicity to individuals." □

Basic Ideas Behind the Foreign Policies Of West European Countries

by Guo Fengmin

IN the current unstable international situation, West European countries, represented by the European Economic Community, are seeking to gradually develop into an independent political force. In recent years, a political tide has emerged which has been called "Neo-Gaullism" (or semi-Gaullism) by some European and American scholars. Unlike de Gaulle, who was headstrong and aggressive in carrying out his policy, West European countries have adopted a relatively tactful method of developing an independent policy to pursue their interests. They want to preserve the US-European alliance, but not by blindly following the United States. They are on guard against the Soviet Union while continuing to deal with it diplomatically. This tendency is demonstrated most strongly in West

Germany, then in France, and its influence is growing in Britain and Italy.

Relying on its growing strength, Western Europe wishes to become independent in every aspect of its foreign policy. Its relations with political forces around the world are undergoing "redefinition." This process of transformation will be affected not only by future changes in the pattern of international power balance and the domestic scene of West European countries, but also by developments in many regions, particularly in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Therefore, it will prove complex and will probably continue for a comparatively long period.

I. Western Europe and "Detente"

The West European countries have tended to emphasize the need to maintain "detente" with the Soviet Union. In view of the develop-

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ing situation in Europe since World War II, their attempt to pursue the policy of "detente" involves many factors. "Welfare state" expenses make it very difficult for the governments of Western Europe to greatly increase military spending. Soviet markets, fuels and raw materials have a relatively strong appeal to the West European countries faced with serious economic difficulties. These factors motivate the West European countries to do their best to avoid tension by attempting to maintain "detente."

Nevertheless, the West European countries have considerable economic and military strength, and they have their own calculations for supporting "detente," not entirely resulting from their weakness or the lure and pressure of the Soviet Union.

Each country in Western Europe regards "detente" with different expectations. But the bourgeoisie of several major countries has sought to use "detente" to gradually alter the "bi-polar division and rule in Europe" established at the Yalta Conference. This is what the detente designers have in mind and also the strategic objective which de Gaulle relentlessly pursued but couldn't achieve because of insufficient strength. Given the changed circumstances, West European countries are trying to gradually achieve this goal in an indirect manner.

In the early 1960s, the bourgeoisie of the West European countries realized that confrontation between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact had reached an impasse. Neither side could easily change the status quo of Europe through military means. So they concluded that continued advocacy of the "cold war" policy would only aggravate the "bi-polar division and rule in Europe." However, it is possible, if "detente" is implemented, for Western Europe to impose certain restraint on the Soviet Union and strengthen its position vis-a-vis the United States. Some Europeans believe that in the stalemate between the two superpowers, this policy will provide Western Europe with the key to a greater opportunity for diplomatic manoeuvring.

The West European countries are also interested in using "detente" to influence Eastern Europe. Given the current international setup, many West Europeans believe that Eastern Europe has a direct bearing on their long-term best interests. If Eastern Europe can become more free from Soviet control, it will, to a

certain degree, develop into a "buffer zone" between the Soviet Union and Western Europe. This would dramatically change the strategic situation in Western Europe. Therefore, West European countries are trying their best to seek, through "detente," the development of international conditions beneficial to East European independence. West Germany, in particular, hopes to develop, through "detente," its Intra-German "Special Relationship" with East Germany in order to foster the internal ties of the German nation.

In order to improve their own situation and that of Eastern Europe, the West Europeans have sought to gradually shift emphasis from "cold war" to "dialogue" in their policy towards the Soviet Union and from indifference to wooing Eastern Europe. This change was initiated in 1966 when de Gaulle advanced "detente, conciliation and co-operation" and promoted the establishment of a "Europe of Europeans from the Atlantic to the Urals." It was provided impetus in 1969 when Willy Brandt implemented "Ostpolitik" and recognized East Germany. The change finally led to the convening of the 1975 summit "Conference on European Security and Co-operation."

The essence of the agreement reached at this meeting was that the borders formed in Europe after the war should not be changed by force. The meeting also produced a call for the development of broad political and economic relations between Eastern and Western Europe and for the "interchange of personnel and ideas" between the two areas on a limited basis. CESC has enabled the West and the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe to influence and infiltrate each other, thus bringing risks to both sides.

The situation has undergone tremendous changes during the past five years. On the one hand, political and economic relations between Eastern and Western Europe have rapidly developed. On the other hand, Soviet superiority of nuclear and conventional weapons in Europe has increased. Moreover, its expansion along the periphery of Western Europe now constitutes a grave menace.

These circumstances have produced complex question for the West European countries. What should be done in the future? There is a heated debate among them. Some people think "detente" has yielded positive results and has bright prospects. But others have suggested that Western Europe is in danger of "falling

"captive to detente" and has to make gradual concessions in the face of Soviet expansion.

The dominant opinion in the West European countries at present is to push for "detente" cautiously while reinforcing their limited defence capabilities. This "dual tactics" is exemplified by Western Europe's intention of deploying medium range missiles and its call for arms control talks with the Soviet Union.

The prerequisite of Western Europe's "detente" policy is to maintain a military balance between the West and the Soviet Union (including a global strategic balance and a regional balance of Europe). The objective is to promote a mutual relationship and gradual evolution between Eastern and Western Europe. Therefore, the West European countries have to undertake the risk of "wire-walking." This policy is presently being tested by a series of questions. The sharpest questions among them involve the issue of whether Poland can solve the problems without outside military intervention and the best way to achieve a balance of theatre nuclear forces in Europe. This complicated situation clearly shows that "detente" depends on many factors that cannot be controlled by the West European countries. This is the fatal weakness of "detente."

"Detente" has also strengthened the possibility of greatly increased Soviet pressure on West European countries. The Soviet Union has recently launched its "peace offensive" in an attempt to undermine the Atlantic Alliance's resolve regarding the deployment of new theatre nuclear weapons in Western Europe and produced discord between Europe and the United States.

To sum up, the "detente" policy of the West European countries is determined by their actual strength and their position. They have taken great pains to design it and will not easily abandon it. However, "detente" has produced numerous risks for Western Europe. This policy will be constantly tested and will probably suffer serious setbacks.

II. Western Europe's Demand for Independence From the United States And Its Limits

In order to counter the Soviet Union, Western Europe continues to ask for military protection from the United States. But an increasing number of people in Western Europe believe that in the 80s, the Europe-US alliance must be fundamentally reformed. The reason

is that the alliance is unsuited to present conditions. This is evident in two basic areas — the military and monetary fields.

In the military field, West European countries have always regarded US nuclear protection as the basis of the North Atlantic alliance, but it is being undermined by the emergence of an approximate balance between Soviet-US strategic nuclear forces. The United States freely admits that its nuclear strategy (including the policy of US-Soviet negotiations on limiting strategic nuclear weapons) gives priority to protecting American territory from nuclear attack. But Western Europe insists that NATO's nuclear strategy should be based on a common strategy for the protection of US territory and Western Europe on the same basis. If Washington separates American soil from Western Europe in working out its nuclear strategy and policy, Western Europe will have to seek its own way, to set up an independent defence system or to seek compromise with the Soviet Union. West European countries are doing their utmost to tie up Washington. In his speech at the International Institute for Strategic Studies four years ago, Helmut Schmidt was the first to raise the problem of the balance of theatre nuclear forces in Europe. He urged the United States to make up its mind to deploy missiles in Western Europe that can strike Soviet territory. Afterwards, West Germany, manoeuvring between the United States and the Soviet Union, gave impetus to negotiations on European theatre nuclear forces. According to the West German press, Schmidt said: "We must remain in the position to keep the role of lever action between the East and West."* This demonstrates that West Germany (but also other West European countries) is subtly advocating a change in the US monopoly position of policy decision-making regarding nuclear strategy in the Europe-US alliance.

In the monetary field, Western Europe maintains that Washington should observe "international discipline" in adopting its monetary policy. But the United States claims that its monetary policy can only be decided in accordance with domestic needs. In recent months, high US interest rates have reflected this contradiction. West European countries have complained that high US interest rates are absorbing funds from the West European market and weakening the monetary position of West European countries. The United States insists that it is beneficial

* *Der Spiegel* July 27, 1981.

to the West if the US economy is improved by high interest rates. Washington has asked Western Europe to adopt a co-ordinated policy in this field. However, economic conditions in Western Europe are different from those in the United States. West European governments are by no means willing to accept policies imposed by the United States through one-sided measures. Contradictions in monetary policy between Washington and Western Europe are sharpening. The US dollar-based international monetary system has played an important role in the economic development of the West. Now, no matter whether exchange rates for the US dollar move up or down, the West European economy will be adversely affected. The international monetary system will have to be rearranged sooner or later.

Tensions between the United States and Western Europe have exposed the contradictions in the structure of the Europe-US alliance established during the early postwar period. Western Europe has to rely on nuclear protection provided by the United States. The US dollar is assured as the international currency. These are two fundamental flaws. They were latent as long as the US was unchallenged. But conditions have changed. The present situation is unfavourable to the United States in terms of the balance of strength between the Soviet Union and the United States as well as between the United States and Europe. Therefore, it is very difficult to maintain harmonious relations between Washington and Europe within the context of the alliance formed during the early postwar period. US-Europe relations will be extremely unstable in the future. Western Europe will urge that the alliance be transformed in ways which permit it greater independence.

The ways in which the alliance will be reformed are not yet clear. Because of the large number of countries in Western Europe, consensus will be difficult to achieve. Therefore, the fundamental policy of West European countries will probably be guided by efforts to implement gradual changes. For instance, in the military area many co-ordinating organizations have been set up by West European countries. Consultations have extended from arms production to defence policy. Some EEC member states have established a European monetary system. Through such measures, the West European countries hope to create conditions favourable for the gradual reform of the Europe-US alliance.

West European countries advocate that member states carry out individual policies in foreign relations at the same time as they make preparations for reforming the alliance. In order to satisfy the US demand for "burden sharing," they put forth the idea of "division of policy" and "sharing of role." During the past two years, this policy has exposed an absence of a common strategy between Western Europe and the United States. It has also exposed Western Europe's desire to enjoy greater foreign policy independence.

Some people are convinced that the Western alliance is enmeshed in its gravest crisis since World War II. The joint report delivered by the four most influential research institutes in Europe and the United States on international relations made the point: "The current trans-Atlantic crisis cannot be considered as just one of a series of short-term episodes. It is more far-reaching."* Some Westerners are worried about the possibility of a major confrontation between Western Europe and the United States. According to the Western press, a key consultant to the Reagan administration said: "If there were no workable NATO in three years, I wouldn't be surprised."** Such comments and recent developments demonstrate that the status quo of Europe-US relations is strained.

Nevertheless, the alliance continues to be the foundation of Western Europe's policy towards the United States. Western statesmen say that no one would like to accept responsibility for undermining the alliance. French Defence Minister Charles Hermu said not long ago: "France and other European countries should try to redefine relationships within the Atlantic alliance." He continued: "Prior to the establishment of a new alliance, we cannot withdraw from an alliance to which we belong."*** The common aspiration of West European countries is to establish a new alliance, ease the contradictions between Europe and the United States and avoid tensions. As a result, they are attempting to improve their relations and to co-ordinate policy with the United States. Nonetheless, it will be impossible for the alliance to avoid future troubles because the issues of unequal relations remains unresolved.

* *Western Security: What Has Changed? What Should Be Done?*

** *The New York Times*, July 12, 1981.

*** *Le Monde*, August 12, 1981.

III. Mutual Needs and Different Intentions

West European countries realize that if they are to become a genuine independent force in international affairs, they must establish more unity. To attain this goal, every country has to make concessions. Therefore, their current policy is to exploit all areas which (with EEC at the centre) produce greater unity. In a word, they retain the "option of Western Europe's unity."

In recent years, two factors have gained prominence in the mutual relations of West European countries.

The first is their continuing economic difficulties. Because of the economic crisis, economic contradictions between the West European countries are not only sharpening, but expanding. This results from differences in the policies of the various national governments, each of which has its own economic problems. Therefore, it is difficult to co-ordinate a united economic policy for all countries.

The second is the strengthening of West Germany's position. Generally speaking, West Germany is a little better off economically than most other countries in the West. It tends to be politically prominent because of its developing relationship with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The shadow of "German question" looms up again in people's mind and overtly or covertly affects the policy-makers of the countries concerned.

Facts in recent years proved that unity in Western Europe would not be fundamentally undermined by the two factors mentioned above. Some observers believe that feelings of nationalism have increased in Europe during recent years. However, the West European countries still hope to strengthen their common position through unity. But several major countries, particularly West Germany, France and Britain, have been clearly seeking to attain their objectives as well as to interact with others.

West Germany's policy is being called "Neo-Gaullism." On the one hand, Germany seeks to strengthen its political position and safeguard German national interests. On the other hand, it seeks to avoid the possibility of becoming isolated. To attain this end, West Germany is attempting to strengthen its relationship with the allied countries of Western Europe, that is to say, relying on Europe's unity

to reinforce its own international political position.

France has carried out a complex policy regarding West Germany. French concern about West Germany's future seems to have increased during the past two years. Some Frenchmen are worried that the Soviet Union might propose the establishment of a neutral German Confederation which could prove very attractive to West Germany. The basic policy of France is to promote Western Europe's unity with West Germany for the purpose of preventing West Germany from gravitating towards the Soviet Union. Although France's new President, Francois Mitterrand, disagrees with the idea of a "French-West German Axis," he still emphasizes the importance of European unity and close co-operation between France and West Germany.

Britain does not appear to be as sensitive as France on the "German question." Many Britons even believe it is much easier to co-operate with West Germany than with France. Britain is experiencing numerous pressures because of its participation in EEC and many Labour Party leaders have advocated withdrawal. This action would create more problems for Britain than it would solve. Nonetheless, some Britons prefer to place greater emphasis on the "British-American special relationship."

West Germany, France and other West European countries have their own intentions, but they all tend to agree on the need for West European unity. Some Western scholars say that West European unity (with French-German relations as its foundation) is the most delicate relation in modern diplomatic history. This results from the contention of the two superpowers. West European countries have the strategic need to resist hegemonism, but their own national interests and strategic goals are not the same. Some of their goals are contradictory.

Absolute unity is presently impossible. If the West European countries want to implement a close union, the most important thing for them to do is to make some breakthrough in achieving a strategic consensus on a higher scale and eliminate the problems created by their economic crisis.

(To be continued.)

(Abridged translation of an article which appeared in the quarterly "Journal of International Studies," No. 2, 1981. — Ed.)

OPINION

Spiritual Civilization

WHILE building a highly developed material civilization, China is fostering a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization. To achieve this, for a period of time we should focus our efforts in the following work.

—The Chinese Communist Party should have the best proletarian party style. During the Yanan period of the 1940s to the 1950s, our Party's style of work proved to be the best in its history. The Party took wholehearted service to the people as its sole purpose. Integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism—these are the three fine work styles of the Party. For decades since then, the Party has enjoyed high prestige among the people. Facts have proved that when the Party style of work is good, the general mood and outlook of the society improves.

—There should be a high degree of unity and identity among the people of all nationalities, strata and social communities. In this way, no force on earth can defeat and no enemy can destroy our country. Now we still have some problems on matters of unity which can only be solved through long-term efforts.

—Our country should promote a highly democratic life and establish strict discipline and a good social order. China's democracy and legal system,

democracy and discipline are not perfect; they should be constantly improved so that the situation of stability and unity can be consolidated and developed.

—We should have a varied and rich cultural life, a fine environment and improved sanitation. This greatly affects the nation's health and its mental outlook.

Material and spiritual civilizations are closely related. A well-developed economy lays a good foundation for spiritual civilization. However, spiritual civilization will not come automatically just because material prosperity is achieved. Spiritual civilization promotes the building of material civilization. During the Yanan period, the Chinese Communist Party was beset with material difficulties, but through the rectification movement, the Party set an example for the whole nation in its style of work, in unity between Party, government,



Third-grade pupils of a primary school in Jiangxi Province's Nanchang city help a paralytic pupil to school every day.

army and people, in democracy and discipline and in cultural life. People call Yanan the "sacred place of revolution." It can thus be seen that a developed socialist spiritual civilization, an enhanced political consciousness of the people and a soaring enthusiasm for labour will boost social progress and economic development.

(“Renmin Ribao”)

LIFE

A Letter Asking to Adopt A Daughter

ON November 30 last year, the *Xian Evening News* published a letter from an elderly man who wished to adopt a daughter. Within 20 days, 800 girls wrote to

or visited the man, offering to look after him.

Wang Zengwu, 75, is a childless retired worker. Last year, his wife suddenly became hemi-

plegic because of cerebral hemorrhage. Just at the time he read a piece in the newspaper about a young woman in Shandong Province "flying" to Hebei Province to look after an old man. Wishing he could have a daughter "fly" to his aid, he wrote a letter to the paper explaining his situation.

In just a few days, more than 300 girls visited them, asking to become their adopted daughters. Some even brought doctors with them.

By December 21, the old couple had received 582 letters from both urban and rural women of eight different provinces, 30 of which enclosed photographs.

One letter said: "To respect and support the aged is the Chinese people's traditional virtue. Though I am not your own daughter, I would be glad to look after you. In our socialist country, young women like me can help you as your own daughters." Eight girls invited the old couple to come to live with their families.

Reading these heart-warming letters, Wang Zengwu was moved to tears.



Who will be their adopted daughter? The old couple felt it hard to choose.

Students at the nearby health school offered a solution by asking to be their daughters collectively. The school authorities supported them, suggesting

that all the 600 girl students in the school become the Wang's adopted daughters. The old couple agreed happily. At the end of December, the students began taking turns looking after the old couple.

(Xinhua News Agency)

PEOPLE

From Thief to Director

LU Chunmao was born into a worker's family in 1951 and spent a happy childhood. But when he was 12 years old, his mother died and his father married again. His new stepmother was cold to him, making his loneliness all too apparent. After agonizing over his choices, he decided to leave the family and try to earn his own living. He made a little money by picking odds and ends from refuse heaps, but slowly began to rely on the bad habit of stealing for his income. Predictably, he was finally caught red-handed by the police and sentenced to three years in a juvenile reformatory.

Lu fell ill soon after arriving at the reformatory. Cadres there looked after him with care and helped him analyse the reasons why he committed crimes. Their warm concern inspired him to mend his ways.

During his incarceration, he not only turned over a new leaf, but also learnt the skill of mould-casting. Upon his release, he was recruited into a farm machinery factory, where he worked hard, determined to make up for the loss he had caused to society.

He was warmly praised by his co-workers for his hard work

and diligence in learning new techniques, and eventually was appointed leader of a workshop at the factory. The combined hard work of the workers has enabled the factory to grow from an enterprise with 11 workers producing only small farm tools to a plant with 100 workers capable of manufacturing such products as water pumps.

With the rapid development of production, the factory required more technicians. Lu selected two other released delinquents with appropriate skills to work at the factory, who also applied their knowledge of mould-casting towards greatly improving production. Consequently, the three one-time delinquents were honoured with invitations to become members of the Xinbin County's technical co-operative committee.

Lu, who is happily married and settled now, was awarded the title of advanced worker for several successive years because of his contribution to socialist construction. In September 1980, he was named director of the farm machinery factory and elected as a deputy to the ninth people's congress of the county.

(*"Guangming Ribao"*)

TV SHOW

"The Other Coast"



The 80-minute colour TV play *The Other Coast* was adapted from a true story first published in the *Liaoning Ribao* (Liaoning Daily). It was nationally televised by the Central Television Station in December last year and attracted much attention.

1. Influenced by some bad people, Liu Yanhua broke the law, was arrested, convicted and put into prison. When she was released five years later, she pledged: "So long as the human race is not extinguished and the earth does not turn in reverse, I will not go back to prison." When she returned home, however, she encountered severe social discrimination and cold treatment from her family. Her younger brother threw her luggage out of the house and, pointing an accusing finger, said: "You are not my sister. Get out of here."

2. Liu Yanhua recalled her life before she was put behind bars. Once she saw an old man who wanted to jump into the river and kill himself because his 400 yuan was stolen. Her conscience tortured her until she returned the money, which she knew that one of her confederates had stolen. The old man mistook her for a "good girl" who did not pocket the money she found and was moved to tears. Liu Yanhua felt ashamed. . . .

3. Rejected by her family and society, Liu Yanhua left the city and settled down in a small mountain village. But the villagers treated her with no more warmth than she had met in the city. The production team leader put her under the supervision of Gao Yuangang. Knowing Liu's inglorious past, honest and tolerant Gao was unwilling to work with her at first.

4. As time passed, Gao gradually got to know Liu. Seeing the sweat on her face and her calloused hands, he was deeply touched by this "mute girl" who immersed herself in work and spoke few words. He began to feel love for her. When his mother advised him to be on guard against this "female devil," he said with perfect assurance: "She is also a human being!"

5. Alone and lonely, Liu Yanhua fell ill. Because she did not come to work, Gao Yuangang went to her house to see what had happened. When he saw Liu collapsed on her bed because of high fever, his heart was filled with tender affection. Lightly,

he put a wet towel on her forehead. Liu Yanhua was moved. Tears ran down her face.

6. Then, Gao Yuangang's younger sister died of a wound afflicted in a quarrel with a rascal in the village. The Gao family did not know what to do. Unexpectedly, the reticent Liu Yanhua volunteered to help them bring a lawsuit against that criminal. At its conclusion, a just verdict was passed in favour of the family.

7. The long period of working together united the two young people more and more closely until one day Gao Yuangang proposed marriage. With a heavy heart, Liu Yanhua re-

plied: "You don't know my past." Gao said earnestly: "You made some mistakes in the past. Now you have changed. You should have the same chance for happiness that everyone else has." Liu Yanhua said with sorrow: "Your family will not agree to our marriage."

8. But, Gao Yuangang convinced his parents to approve the match. When he brought the happy news to Liu Yanhua, Liu could hardly believe it was true. She cried with joy.

9. They were married. Thus ended Liu Yanhua's unfortunate years. She regained happiness and respectability as a human being and began a new life.

Letters From Viewers

The Other Coast was extremely popular across the country. During the first week after it was shown, some 200 viewers wrote to the Central TV Station, expressing their approval and enthusiasm. Following are some excerpts from the letters:

The TV play *The Other Coast* was so moving that my whole family unanimously agreed that it deserved an award — something we've rarely felt in recent years. The theme was not new, nor its story complicated or unusual, yet it vibrated through our hearts. There was no preaching, no explicit calls to action, but the message was clear and penetrating.

— Xu Yizhi

The Other Coast moved the viewers with its believable story, simple style of action and distinctive performances. It made people think about some basic questions: How should families, relatives, friends, neighbours and society deal with delinquent youngsters? Are there still "sparks" and "lights of hope" on them? The scriptwriter and director of *The Other Coast* have given us the correct answer.

— Zhao Fengzhou

The Other Coast was so great a success that even people like me who seldom weep had wet eyes while watching it. I am a branch committee member of the Communist Youth League. Being proud of my own plain history, I often show contempt for those who once made mistakes. Now, from the play, I have got a new message which will help change my outlook.

— Yin Jiancheng

The play *The Other Coast* fully displayed Liu Yanhua's determination to mend her way and Gao Yuangang's noble qualities. It impressed viewers deeply that Liu Yanhua could fulfil her strong desire for a new life. The casting of the principal actor and actress was also successful. The acting was simple, natural, realistic and life-like.

The play had its shortcomings, too. For instance, the depiction of the education Liu Yanhua received from the Party and society was too weak, and the structure of the first act was relatively loose.

Nevertheless, it was a moving TV play of significance.

— Ding Lang



The Director's Words

The Other Coast is based on a true story. Liu Yanhua and Gao Yuangang are a couple



Wang Lan (centre), who directed "The Other Coast," graduated from the Department of Directors in Beijing Institute of Cinematography in 1962, and now works as a director in the Central Television Station. On his left is Li Honglin, a correspondent from "Liaoning Ribao" and the scriptwriter.

who live somewhere in the northeast now. Naturally a TV play cannot portray life exactly as it occurred, and in some respects, Liu Yanhua's ex-

perience is even more complicated and touching than the dramatization.

Xiang Hong, who plays Liu Yanhua in the TV play, is of a bright and cheerful character and likes moving about. But the character Liu Yanhua is just the opposite. When Xiang was chosen for the role, I was not sure she was the right woman for it. But, when she read the script, she was deeply touched and moved to tears. In order to prepare for the role, she went to stay with Liu Yanhua for a period, and also visited the jail where Liu Yanhua had been imprisoned. The two women became good friends and Liu Yanhua told Xiang Hong many things which she had never told anyone else. Xiang Hong said that her contacts with Liu Yanhua helped her understand the painstaking efforts a person who committed mistakes must make

in order to win the trust of the people again.

Ma Chongle, the actor who plays the role of Gao Yuangang, is, too, a vivacious person. But, after he stayed with Gao Yuangang, he became more thoughtful. He was inspired by Gao's fine quality of daring to challenge the habitual force and gained new insight into the role. He said: "My original idea for the part did not work. Though Gao Yuangang is a reticent person, he knows what he is doing."

The rich nourishment the actor and actress absorbed from the soil of life produced quite a satisfactory effect. One audience praised: "They do not seem to be performing. They are two people of flesh and blood who we recognize from our daily life."

— Wang Lan



From left to right: Gao Yuangang, daughter of Gao and Liu, Ma Chongle (who played Gao) Liu Yanhua and Xiang Hong (who played Liu).

WILDLIFE

Monkey Isles Discovered

A large macaque population has been found on four islands off the mouth of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River in Guangdong Province. Living in dozens of packs, about 1,000 monkeys are

estimated to inhabit the islands, according to the Guangdong scientists who observed them. Macaques (also called Ganges monkeys or Guangxi monkeys), are the primates widely used in medical research.

The Neilingding, Shangchuan, Dangan and Erzhou Isles are part of the Dawanshan Islands, a cluster of 150 islands off the

South China Sea coast of Guangdong Province. Evergreen tropical and subtropical rain plants thrive on the isles, providing ample food and sanctuary for the monkeys.

Similar natural habitats for monkeys are rare in China. Scientists have proposed that the islands be designated as a special protected area.

Yanan Papercuts



Camel caravan.



by Wang Zhanlan



Cock-fighting. by Feng Shanyun



Silkworm breeding.

by Bai Fenglian

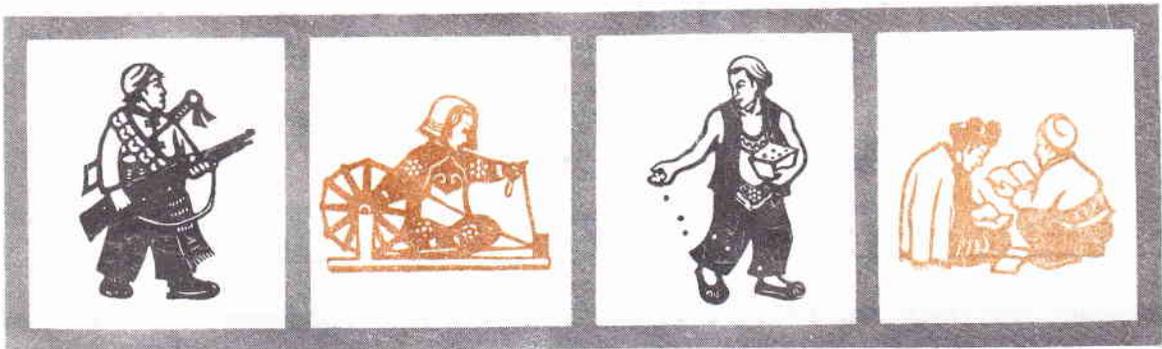
Transporting manure.

by Zhang Peiyun



Papercuts made by Gu Yuan in 1943.

Yanan papercuts are a folk art with strong local flavour. The majority of Yanan women are skilful at making papercuts and use their craft to reflect everyday life at the grass roots. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), many artists went to the revolutionary base area in Yanan. They learnt and popularized this folk art, and gave it new themes and forms.



Radio Peking

English Language Transmissions

(beginning Oct 31, 1981)

	GMT	Local Standard Time		Metre Bands	kHz
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	25, 19	11650, 15120, 15520
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	25, 19	11650, 15120, 15520
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	25, 19	11650, 15120,
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00	(E.S.T.)	30	9820
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	25, 19	11650, 15120, 15520
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	25, 19	11650, 15120
THE SOUTH PACIFIC	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	30, 25, 19, 16	9860, 11600, 15435
		20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		11763
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	30, 25, 19, 16	98460, 11600, 15435,
		21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		17765
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	25, 19 16	11600, 15280, 17700
		19:30-20:30	(Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00	(Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
		18:30-19:30	(Rangoon)		
	13:00-14:00	20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	25, 19 16	11600, 15280, 17700
		20:30-21:30	(Singapore)		
		21:00-22:00	(Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
		19:30-20:30	(Rangoon)		
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	25, 19	11600, 15165
		19:00-20:00	(Rawalpindi)		
		20:00-21:00	(Dacca)		
		19:40-20:40	(Kathmandu)		
15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	25, 19	11600, 15165	
	20:00-21:00	(Rawalpindi)			
	21:00-22:00	(Dacca)			
	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)			
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	25, 19	11600, 15165
		19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
	17:00-18:00	19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	25, 19	11600, 15165
		20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		9470,
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	40, 31, 26	7480, 9440, 11515
		19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)		
		20:30-21:30	(Lagos)		
	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30	(Cairo)	40, 31, 26	7480, 9440 11515
		19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)		
		20:30-21:30	(Accra, Freetown)		
	21:30-22:30	(Lagos)			
	22:30-23:30	(Cairo)			
EUROPE	19:00-20:00	20:00-21:00	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	43, 30	6860, 9860
	21:00-22:00	22:00-23:00	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	43, 30	6860, 9860