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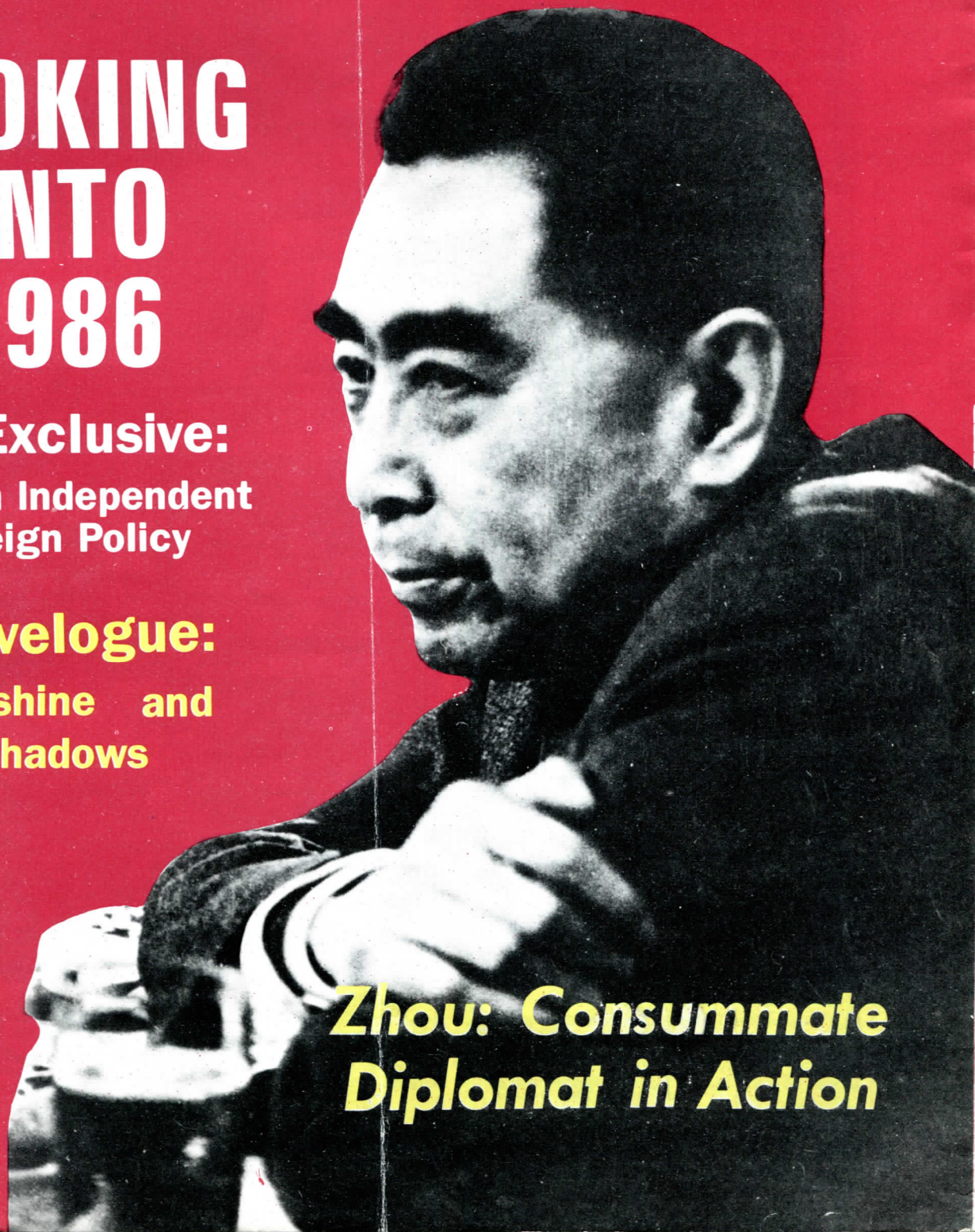
LOOKING INTO 1986

BR Exclusive:

**Qian on Independent
Foreign Policy**

Travelogue:

**Sunshine and
Shadows**



**Zhou: Consummate
Diplomat in Action**



The three-phase transformer with a capacity of 360,000 kilovolt-amperes, China's largest designed and manufactured at the Shenyang Transformer Factory, was recently shipped to Gezhouba — the site of China's largest hydropower station, located on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. This transformer, 8.8 metres long, 3.9 metres wide and 4 metres high, is one of the station's two transformers.



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COVER: Premier Zhou Enlai Attending the March 1963 party marking the fifth anniversary of the publication of *Beijing Review*

Photo by Sun Yifu

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

1985, 1986 and Beyond

A survey of the country's 1985 overall performance centred around the ongoing modernization reforms. The survey takes a look at how China did in the past year and indicates what 1986 and beyond will hold for the nation (p. 4).

The State of Sino-Soviet Relations

In a recent exclusive interview with *Beijing Review*, Vice-Foreign Minister Qian Qichen says that while there has been an increase in economic and personnel exchanges in recent years, political relations between China and the Soviet Union have not improved because three obstacles still stand in the way (p. 14).

In this enlarged issue, *Beijing Review* devotes 20 pages to the memory of the late Premier Zhou Enlai on the 10th anniversary of his death this January. These include a review (p. 48) of the newly published book *Zhou Enlai: A Profile*, a chapter (p. 16) from the book and a roundup of the movies and plays about Zhou (p. 30).

Winds of Change in Cities, Towns

A retired journalist records his observations following a trip to southwest China. His impressions include a building craze and improved living standards accompanied by ominous consumerism. Something important is happening in this land, he concludes (p. 33).

A Call for Soviet Withdrawal

Six years of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan have wreaked havoc upon the Afghans, at the same time posing a threat to Asia's peace and stability. The international community is therefore demanding that Moscow and its occupation and implement the relevant UN resolutions (p. 10).

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1985, 1986 and Beyond . . .

by Lin Wusun

How did China do in 1985, and what will 1986 hold for the country? As the old year rings out, and as we are midway through the 1980s, this seems a good subject to ponder over.

To analyze China's 1985 performance, let us review the year's high-lights.

First, 1985 was a year of imaginative economic reforms.

In the wake of the fruitful rural reforms, the cities began experimenting with their own economic structural changes. This came after China had shifted its national priorities to socialist modernization, setting out the grand task of quadrupling its total industrial and agricultural output value by the year 2000. The outdated political guideline of "taking class struggle as the key link" was discarded. In addition, the mistakes made in the "cultural revolution," were thoroughly repudiated. While socialism—characterized by public ownership and prosperity for all—continues to be upheld, it was decided that the former economic model, largely copied from the Soviet Union and found unfit for Chinese conditions, had to go.

In a series of co-ordinated moves, prices of non-staple foods were decontrolled, wages adjusted and raised, inter-regional and inter-city trade opened up, and enterprises and factories were given more decision-making powers in production, purchasing, sales, personnel and use of profits. Behind all these complex changes is the simple theory that under socialism, while the economy should be planned, it is still based on commodity production. In other words, while a socialist system's macro-economy should be centralized and controlled, its micro-economy would do well to

be enlivened so that each component—be it the individual or the unit—will have the incentive and the scope to bring its initiative into full play.

Of course, the difficult urban reform is still in its initial stage. It will be carried out incrementally, tested by practice, perfected with experience and staggered over many years in order to allow society to gradually absorb its impact.

In the countryside, as a second step in the rural reform, bold moves were made to decontrol prices so as to rationalize the crop pattern, encouraging the production of cash crops rather than concentrating on grain production. The shift also stimulated the development of animal husbandry, forestry, fisheries and sideline production, plus rural industry, transport and services, rather than farming alone. As a result, township industries expanded considerably, absorbing some 60 million surplus farm hands by the end of 1985.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85) has been overfulfilled, signalling perhaps the country's best economic performance since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Here are some of the indicators that illustrate the soundness of the nation's economy.

- State revenue increased by 20 percent in 1985, making it possible for the first time in the 1980s to balance the national budget and eliminate deficit spending.

- Total industrial output, which rose by 23 percent in the first half of 1985, came down to below 18 percent for the entire year. This means that during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, industrial output value rose 11 percent annually, 12 percent for light industrial goods and 10

percent for heavy industrial goods—a reasonable ratio showing a change from the long-time lopsided emphasis on heavy industry.

- Total agricultural output value increased 10 percent annually in the five years. Again, this has changed the uneven ratio where farming lagged behind industry.

- Widespread floods, drought and some severe windstorms, coupled with a reduction in acreage sown, caused food grain production to drop considerably from the 1984 bumper crop. However, 1985's grain harvest was still the third largest since 1949. All cash crops except cotton rose significantly.

- Energy production, stagnant for many years, has again moved ahead. Transportation, communications and other infrastructure industries also advanced.

- Despite the price hikes, which are about 9 percent in 1985, living standards continued to improve, thanks to pay rises, food subsidies and bonuses for urban residents. Better prices for farm products and greater employment opportunities also spurred larger incomes for most people in the countryside. During the five-year plan period, the consumption level rose 7 percent annually.

- Overall, the quality of life has improved. Not only are the Chinese people eating and dressing better, they now have more living space (though still congested in cities) and time and money to enjoy arts and sports.

Then there was the education reform officially initiated in May 1985.

In the long run, the success of the country's modernization programme hinges on how well it employs its abundant human resources. In the age of scientific

and technical revolution, China's 1 billion people will not only be so many mouths to feed, but also an inexhaustible source of potential talent. Provided they are trained to be hard-working, dedicated and professionally proficient, China's millions will be able to do wonders. Herein lies the major role of education, in school and outside school, intellectual, physical and moral, part-time and full-time.

Faced with this herculean task, China's present educational setup is woefully inadequate. There are still 230 million illiterates and semi-illiterates, mostly in the countryside and the backward regions of the country. Nearly 80 percent of the labour force in the industrial sector have only junior middle school (9-year) educations or less.

The educational reform, whose aim it is to change this state of affairs, seeks to broaden and strengthen the base with universal primary education, enrich secondary education by giving more attention to technical and vocational training, and improve college education. Though it will take years to implement this ambitious programme, its conception is timely and far-sighted.

Yet another master-stroke in 1985 was the reform in the cadre system. In a break from the system of life tenure which was in practice in China for centuries, cadres by the hundreds of thousands stepped down from leading posts. The retirements occurred across the board, all the way to the very top. Wherever needed, government ministers and Party politburo and secretariat members were replaced by younger people picked for their dedication and their proficiency. As a result there is now a better age-mix in the leadership, combining experience with freshness. The step was indeed a bold one, meant to ensure orderly transition and political vitality and continuity.

And finally, 1985 was a year of continued and wider opening to the world—to the west, the east

and the third world without discrimination. This has brought not only more tourists, closer economic and technological ties with the world, but also more high-level face-to-face political discussions. Top Chinese leaders trotted the globe, in return to numerous visits by foreign dignitaries. In all these contacts, China's representatives called for peace, disarmament, development and equality. China, they stressed, wants to develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence; it will not, however, tolerate hegemonism, colonialism and racism. Meanwhile, China, backing its words with deed, announced in June 1985 the decision to reduce its armed forces by one million in two years's time.

A great deal of effort has been put into the improvement of moral standards. It is clear from past experience that to achieve socialist modernization, mere "material construction" is not enough. There has to be "spiritual construction." The Communist spirit of service to the people—not me first, not money first—must predominate.

In shaping the public spirit, Communists and other advanced people have a special role to play. Hence, the Party consolidation campaign, which began in 1984 and which will continue through 1986. Abuses of power and cases of corruption have been exposed and the culprits punished by law. However, a great deal still needs to be done.

As the democratic rights are being gradually and painstakingly institutionalized in a land of prolonged feudal rule and distorted proletarian dictatorship, people have begun to speak up more freely. There have been complaints—about price hikes, misuse of official power for selfish ends, bureaucratic indifference to pressing public needs, etc.—and even some student demonstrations here and there. Instead of taking stern counter-measures, Party and government officials have gone

more frequently to the grass-roots to exchange views and explain the situation. This dialogue has brought the authorities closer to the people. There is a saying in China, "Let people speak out and the sky won't fall." Those who gloat or gloom over the now more articulate popular criticisms as forebodings of a falling sky will very likely see a more sunny weather in 1986.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan will be launched in 1986. Its principles and priorities were already formulated at the National Party Conference last September and, together with a detailed draft plan, will be submitted to the National People's Congress meeting next spring for deliberation and approval. The plan, combining reasonable high goals with prudently measured steps, will guide the country's material and spiritual advance.

Meanwhile, serious efforts will be made to consolidate the reform already carried out, while the overheated economy, characterized by a double-digit growth rate, will be cooled down, and top priority will be given to increasing the efficiency of existing enterprises. It is expected that the economy will make steady and balanced progress, and prices will be kept at the present level. This will prepare the ground for further reform, growth and expansion of trade and co-operation with foreign countries.

China is now on a new Long March of reform and modernization. The year 2,000 is planned to be an important landmark when the country will rise from the low-income bracket to a median status. It is envisaged that by 2049, the People's Republic's centennial, China will be close to or on a par economically with the developed countries and, as many people hope, a lot better in social equity and moral standards.

The way ahead is long, the road tortuous, but the course is set. With confidence and determination, China will march on.

Home-Made Line Spins Polyester

A Chinese-built factory production line that can manufacture 15,000 tons of polyester fibre a year, has recently passed state examination in Shanghai.

Six of these automated lines have been on trial operation at the Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant since 1981. They have produced more than 60,000 tons of polyester fibre so far, bringing in 160 million yuan in profits and taxes—enough to cover the research costs. Products processed with the fibre are now exported to Europe, America and Hongkong.

A message of congratulation from the State Council to the December 24 assessment meeting in Shanghai hailed the development as a “major scientific achievement” and a “good example” of co-operation between various departments and localities. It attributed the success of the producers to the adherence to the principles of self-reliance and the absorption of foreign technology.

Hao Jianxiu, a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

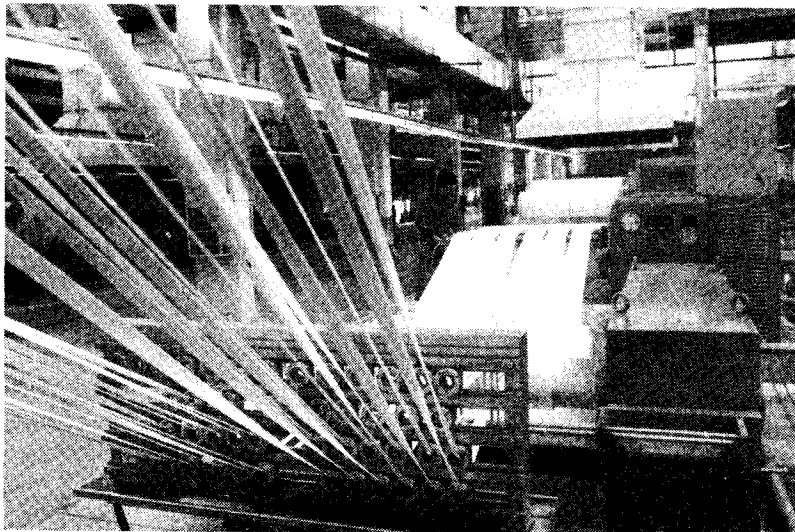
China, and former Minister of the Textile Industry, said at the meeting that the development of the line had not only helped to improve China's technological standards and equipment manufacturing, but had also trained many technicians in the process. The experience of having tackled key problems while developing the polyester fibre line was of guiding significance to China's drive towards modernization, she said.

Hao stressed the importance of the policy of self-reliance while stepping up the development of Chinese-made equipment. At the same time, she said, advanced world technology should be applied to upgrade the country's industry.

Each production line is composed of 141 machines of 73 models, making it among the largest in the world. The creation of this complete set of equipment has pushed China's synthetic materials machinery a huge step towards current international standards. With a few exceptions, the equipment and parts used in the production line were designed and manufactured in China.

The project began in 1981. More than 400 factories, institutes, and universities in 19 provinces and municipalities have become involved in the project.

A corner of the spinning workshop of the No.2 Polyester Factory of the Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant.



China to Launch Vehicle Drive

The Chinese automotive industry must turn out more and better products to compete on the international automobile marketplace, according to officials attending the meeting of the Board of Directors of the China Automotive Industry Corporation, held recently in Beijing.

“Automotive manufacturing should become a key industry in

China and should make large strides forward,” the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out in a proposal on the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) at a CPC National Conference held last September.

An expanded automotive industry should “stimulate the development of metallurgical, engineering, building material and chemical industries as well as light industry,” said Bo Yibo, vice-chairman of the Central Advisory

Committee of the CPC. “It should also become an important source of revenue in foreign currency.”

Further reforms will be carried out in the managerial system in the automotive industry, according to Chen Zutao, president of the automotive corporation. Efforts will be made to invigorate the major enterprises by granting them more self-reliance.

Integration of China's various civilian, military and independent production forces will be carried out to make the country's

Reiterating Support for Arabs

China supports the proposal for convening a UN directed international conference to deal with problems in the Middle East, said Chinese State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian during his recent visit to the Middle East.

The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has rights to take part in the international conference as an equal member, Wu added. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Wu said, China would stand by the Arab people, including the Palestinians, on problems in the Middle East.

Wu set off for the visit on December 10, following Chinese Vice-Premier Yao Yilin's November Gulf tour. Both trips were made to develop co-operation between China and the Arab community.

The Chinese Foreign Minister told his hosts in Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates that China's stand

has always been that Israel must withdraw from the Arab land it has occupied since 1967, that the Palestinians must be returned their national rights and that all people in the Middle East, including the Palestinians, have the right to exist.

Wu refuted as "groundless" the press reports that China has maintained political, economic and military relations with Israel. China will not establish diplomatic relations with Israel as long as Israel continues its policy of aggression and expansion, Wu said.

In a visit with Iraqi leaders in Baghdad, Wu restated China's stance on the Iraq-Iran war and called for the two countries to settle their disputes through negotiations under the conditions acceptable to both sides.

Wu said that the unity of the Arab countries and the unity of the Palestinian people are the key to solving the problems confronting the Middle East.

Before returning home, Wu also visited Bangladesh and Thailand.

automotive industry co-ordinated and specialized.

Efforts will be made to replace out-of-date products, technology and equipment with new state-of-the-art products and technology to bring the automotive products up to the international standards of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Preparations will also be made to develop new products of advanced international level during the Eighth Five-Year Plan period (1990-95).

The export of automotive

products will be increased, while policies will be worked out on the import of vehicles. Restrictions will be imposed on the import of complete vehicles without technology and spare parts.

China's automotive industry has undergone a tortuous road over the past few years. In the early 1980s, production of automobiles was restrained because of an oil shortage, and the concern that transportation capacity exceeded freight volume, resulting in a sharp decrease for some time.

But industry officials and researchers publicized the importance of the automotive industry in communications and transportation and the national economy, bringing the issue to the attention of the government.

Commenting on a report on the development and reform of automotive industry by the corporation last year, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out, "It is inevitable that the automotive industry should make great developments and it may become a key component in the economic growth of the future."

Due to the efforts by the industry officials and the Chinese government, the output of the automotive industry jumped from 190,000 motor vehicles in 1981 to about 400,000 last year. Fifteen new types of vehicles are being manufactured and foreign technology has been introduced to produce heavy, light and compact vehicles.

But the problems facing the automobile industry are enormous, President Chen said. The role of major enterprises has not been brought into full play, while many small units operate at low-efficiency levels. Poor management and a shortage of personnel, low technological levels, high costs and the irrational structure of enterprises—all these are hindering the development of a respectable, prosperous automotive industry in China.

The intense competition of the international automobile marketplace compounds the situation. "The massive import of vehicles in recent years has badly hit the home market," said President Chen.

Despite these problems, Chen said they had not lost their confidence. He called on the automotive industry officials to "get down to earnest work and achieve the great goal with concerted efforts."

by Yan Liquan

News in Brief

A new power plants and shiplocks will begin operation early this year at Gezhouba, China's largest multipurpose water conservancy project. Following the completion of the power plant, the Yangtze River hydroelectric power project will have a total generating capacity of 2.7 million kw, more than three times the electricity generated in the whole of China in 1949.

China has taken the first step towards participating in international space research by launching a nationwide campaign to encourage the country's 200 million young students to take an interest in space experiments.

The Youngsters Space Shuttle Experiment Agreement, signed on December 27 by representatives from the Chinese Society of Aeronautics (CSA) and the US-based Association for the Promotion of Science of China (APSC), involves a two-year programme whereby Chinese middle-school students will offer proposals for a "get away special" or "self-contained payload experiment" to be conducted on a US space shuttle in 1987.

Evaluation of the proposals will be made in late 1986 by the CSA, which will then organize the manufacture of the experimental equipment and deliver it to APSC in the United States before October 1987.

Beijing Exposes Company of Thieves

Ma Xueliang, former director of the Municipal Public Utilities Bureau, was recently charged with accepting bribes of several thousand yuan since November, 1984, and with helping to set up an illegal gas company, according to a report in *Beijing Ribao* (Beijing Daily) on December 16.

Ma, who is now standing trial, was removed from his post after pleading guilty to charges of neglecting duties and seeking personal profit through abuse of power, according to Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong, who reported this case to the city's People's Congress Standing Committee in early December. The committee unanimously agreed to dismiss Ma from the city government.

Twenty-two officials were involved in the case altogether and 10 of them have been arrested, including Zhang Shengyuan, Liu Yuwu and Huang Yuqian—managers and secretary of the Heping Gas Company under the Bureau of Public Utilities. They were either veteran Party leaders or recently promoted younger cadres, the newspaper said.

By June 1985, when their scheme collapsed, the Ma group had earned profits totalling 1.53 million yuan. Of this, 1.08 million yuan was pocketed, 400,000 yuan was squandered on banquets and entertainment, and 130,000 yuan was used for bribery.

"Although I found them benefiting too much from the fraud, I had to keep my mouth shut as myself had taken bribes," Liu Yuwu told the police after he was arrested. Liu, apparently a victim of the corruption, had been honoured as one of the city's special-class model workers in 1984.

The Beijing city committee has

expelled all eight Party members involved in the case. It also has suspended the activities of the gas company's Party committee, pending a complete shake-up, according to the news article.

The struggle waged for three years against serious economic crimes has been intensifying, and Ma's case has not been the only one exposed. In an open trial on November 26, the Intermediate People's Court of Beijing handed down prison terms to 23 government cadres involved in 13 cases of embezzlement, bribery and speculation. The 23 were charged with taking bribes of more than 256,000 yuan. Wang Lou, former Party secretary of Beijing's Miyun County Timber Company, received a 15-year term on charges of accepting bribes of more than 20,000 yuan.

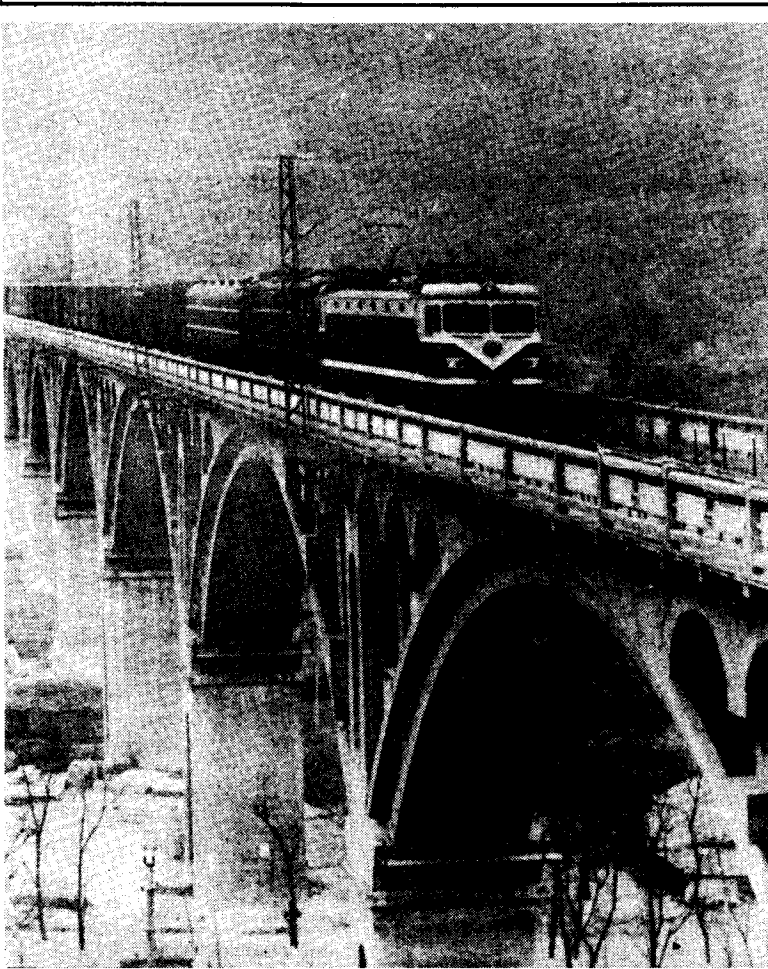
Unethical activities in the construction sector are also rampant. Poor construction quality and high costs have caused widespread complaints.

Another unfortunate trend has been to buy up train tickets and then resell them at a profit. Ticket scalpers have been intimidating passengers at the city's congested railway stations and booking offices.

To deal with this situation, the *Beijing Ribao* said, the Party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection recently approved for publication a circular from the Beijing authorities on its efforts to crackdown on illegal economic activities, irregularities in the city's building industry and also on the ticket-scalping activities.

The circular called on discipline inspection commissions at all levels to strengthen their efforts to expose frauds and illegal activities in their units and regions. It stressed that the current campaign to wipe out the corruption goes hand in hand with the Party consolidation drive.

by Wang Xianghong



Electric Railway Opened to Traffic

The electrification of the Guiyang-Shuicheng section of the Guiyang-Kunming railway, one of China's key state projects, has been completed. The 247-km railway, which opened to traffic on December 17, will play an important role in speeding up transport of materials in Yunnan and Guizhou provinces. The photo shows an electric locomotive train heading for Kunming.

Bank of China Aids Shanghai Venture

The Bank of China has decided to provide loans totalling 90 million yuan and 60 million US dollars for the Shanghai-Bell Telephone Equipment Manufacturing Co. Ltd., a Sino-Belgian joint venture.

Wang Deyan, president of the Bank of China, and Li Zhaoji, vice-mayor of Shanghai, were present at a ceremony on signing the loan agreement in Shanghai yesterday.

One of the biggest joint ventures here, the Shanghai-Bell Telephone Equipment company went into production last October.

China & the World

Moscow Scolded on Afghan Policy. On December 25 China reiterated its support for the Afghan people in their struggle against foreign aggression and demanded an immediate and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said in a statement on the sixth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that a refusal to remove its troops will mean only an unending stalemate for the Soviet Union.

To its discredit, the spokesman said, "In the past six years, the Soviet Union has refused to implement relevant resolutions (concerning Afghanistan) adopted by overwhelming majorities at seven sessions of the UN General Assembly."

Overseas Publications Spur Fresh Ideas. In a bid to introduce and spread new ideas in technology, law and commerce, the government is encouraging enterprises to subscribe to overseas newspapers and magazines. Subscriptions to such publications are expected to quadruple in 1986.

This year, about 800 new subscriptions were made. In 1986, the figure is expected to jump to 3,319, bringing the country's total to more than 12,000. Most of the new subscribers are from small and medium-sized enterprises in small cities and rural areas, which, until this year, had no access to overseas publications.

AFGHANISTAN

Soviet Troops Must Withdraw

The fact that the Afghan people have fought against the Soviet aggression and occupation for six years demonstrates that once the weak, small nation unites and dares to fight, it will surely defeat the aggressors.

Afghan resistance forces have gained new momentum in their armed struggle against the Soviet invasion in the past year, the sixth year since the small Central Asian Muslim state was occupied by its superpower neighbour in December 1979.

Apart from maintaining high moral and becoming better-equipped and more experienced, the Afghan resistance forces have enhanced unity among different organizations and have displayed closer co-ordination on battlefields in the past year.

Last May seven major guerrilla organizations merged into one Islamic Alliance of Afghan *Mujahideen* (holy war fighters) with a joint supreme council. During the battles in Kunar valley and Jaji district of Paktia, thousands of guerrillas belonging to several organizations fought side by side.

Gulbbudin Hekmatyar, the spokesman of the alliance, recently told the press that the Afghan resistance forces now control 80 percent of the territory and so far the Soviets have paid for their aggression with 60,000 deaths among their troops and the army of the Soviet-installed Karmal regime, and more than 400 helicopters have been downed.

In order to stamp out resistance and control the situation, the Soviet-Karmal troops have launched several fierce offensives since mid-May, which were unprecedented in scale.

The Soviet war tactics have

generally been similar in all operations, with indiscriminate shelling and bombing of the populated areas and the guerrilla positions first, and paratroops

and helicopter-borne commandos taking mountain heights and vital routes before attacks by main forces. There were, however, two salient features in the Soviet military campaigns last year:

First, their large-scale offensives were concentrated along the Afghan-Pakistan border to the east. The attacks of the Soviet-Karmal troops in eastern provinces of Kunar and Paktia were cases in point. In Paktia, they attacked a village only one kilometre from the eastern border.

Second, last year's offensives were spearheaded by the Soviet troops themselves instead of the

Afghan guerrillas of the Jaji district of Paktia undergoing rifle practice.



Karmal troops as they had been before. There also was an increase of Soviet paratroops, helicopter-lifted commandos and other troops specializing in ambushes. All this betrayed the ineffectiveness of the Karmal troops and added to the Soviet's death toll. In the August campaign in Paktia Province alone, the Soviet's suffered more than 700 casualties.

The Soviet offensives were designed to break the prolonged guerrilla siege on the Karmal-troop garrisons, to keep supply-lines open, to edge guerrillas out of their bases, turn the areas into unlivable wastelands, and close the border and cut off supply routes for guerrillas.

But, for all their superior weaponry, the Soviets have failed to attain their goals.

In late May of last year, the Soviet-Karmal troops dispatched some 10,000 troops with 60 bombers, 80 helicopter gunships and more than 200 tanks and armoured cars to Kunar Province, in a bid to clear the supply route between the provincial capital and the border garrison Barikot, and thereby squeeze out the guerrillas who had encircled the garrison for 11 months.

The attacks, however, were blunted by the guerrillas, who took advantage of favourable terrain and resorted to guerrilla warfare. During the fighting, the guerrillas killed or wounded more than 1,000 Soviet-Karmal troops and maintained their strongholds in border towns when the enemy retreated.

Similarly, the Soviet offensive in Khost district of Paktia Province was thwarted by guerrillas, who destroyed dozens of Soviet tanks and armoured cars, downed at least four planes and killed some 1,000 Soviet-Karmal troops.

To support the resistance in eastern provinces, the guerrillas in other parts of Afghanistan stepped up their assaults on the Soviet occupation troops. In early

Ten Major Events of 1985

- (1) Mikhail Gorbachev succeeds the late Konstantin Chernenko as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. (March)
- (2) Under France's initiative, Western Europe launches the Eureka programme. (July)
- (3) The National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party is held in Beijing. During the conference, members approve proposals for the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) and replace many older members of the Central Committee with the younger ones. (September)
- (4) Korea's North and South dialogues make progress. Song and dance troupes exchange visits and groups of divided family members reunite for the first time in 40 years. (September)
- (5) The United Nations holds a special session to celebrate the 40th anniversary of its founding, and proclaims 1986 as International Years of Peace. (October)
- (6) Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visits four South American countries, Colombia, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela. (October and November)
- (7) Israeli planes devastate the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis, capital of Tunisia. (October)
- (8) US and Soviet leaders hold summit in Geneva, Switzerland. (November)
- (9) Airplane hijacking becomes increasingly frequent. Since June, US, Egyptian and other countries' planes have been overtaken by terrorists. In October, the Italian cruise liner, the *Achille Lauro* was also hijacked.
- (10) The struggle of South African people against racial segregation gains added momentum. Its scale and consequences reach unprecedented heights.

September and later October, they raided the Soviet embassy and residential quarters of Soviet officers in Kabul with rocket fire.

All this prevented the Soviets from breaking the military stalemate with their troops controlling only the major cities and key communication lines, while the rest of the country remains in the hands of the Afghan resistance forces. One Soviet official reportedly conceded a "marked increase" in Soviet casualties. Radio Kabul has also admitted that there were severe clashes between the Soviet-Karmal troops and the guerrillas in 16 out of 29 Afghan provinces.

The war in Afghanistan has been devastating. It has ruined numerous villages, laid waste to large tracts of farmland and killed more than 1 million people, 95 percent of whom were civilians. The war also has driven more than 4.5 million people to other countries as refugees.

At the United Nations General Assembly session last year, 122 countries adopted yet another resolution calling for Soviet pullout from Afghanistan, further isolating the Soviet Union in the international arena. After the Soviet-US summit in Geneva last November, it was said that Moscow expressed its willingness to seek a political settlement of the

Afghan issue. However, at the same time the Soviet troops launched a winter offensive on the Afghan battlefield. The recent sixth round of indirect talks between the Pakistan foreign secretary and foreign minister of the Karmal regime has made no substantial progress, because the Soviet Union again refused to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. All this proves that Moscow does not maintain sincerity towards the political settlement of the Afghan issue.

The Renmin Ribao, (People's Daily), on December 26 ran an article by its commentator saying that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has not only disrupt

ted the peace and stability of this region, but also constitutes a threat to the security of China. The Chinese people are quite concerned about this, hoping that the Soviet Union will eliminate this threat and promote the development of Sino-Soviet relations by actual deeds. They firmly support the just struggle of the Afghan people and demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops unconditionally and let the Afghans solve their own problem by themselves without any foreign intervention, in order to restore independence, sovereignty and the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

by Ma Guang, Zhang Zhinian

JORDAN-SYRIA

Former Foes Reconcile Disputes

After six years spent glaring at one another across a political divide, Jordan and Syria now seem to beam with the glow of reconciliation.

Jordan, known as a more moderate Arab nation and Syria, considered one of the more radical, are experiencing a thaw in their long chilly relations. On September 16, 1985, Jordan's Prime Minister Zaid al Rifai and his Syrian counterpart, Abdoul Raouf Kassem, met for the first time since 1978 in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia. At the meeting a series of agreements were reached on critical issues, such as ceasing hostile propaganda against each other, lifting a trade and tourist exchange lid and restoring the railway and highway network between Damascus, the capital of Syria, and Amman, Jordan's capital.

On October 21, Rifai and Kassem held a second meeting in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. After the meeting the two

agreed to never renege in their pledge against partial or single-handed reconciliation with Israel. To abide by the resolutions of the Arab summits and the 1982 Fez peace plan, and to support an international meeting on Middle East peace. Both sides also agreed to continue constructive dialogues and meetings for the sake of further co-operation.

On November 12, a high-ranking delegation of Jordanian officials paid an official visit to Damascus when Rifai, who headed the Jordanian delegation, met with Syrian President Hafez Assad. It was reported Kassem was going to pay a reciprocal visit to Jordan soon. To crown all, Jordan's King Hussein and President Assad met towards the end of last year.

The improved relations have

succeeded in eliminating behind the back threats by the two countries, and have therefore strengthened their political and military positions in coping with Israel.

"Misunderstandings between the two countries have been relieved," said Rifai in a letter to King Hussein. "The two countries, after a long period of separation, are going to join hands again," he said.

Disagreement between the two countries has traditionally been directed not against one another, but at the other's policies with regard to the Middle East peace talks, the Iran-Iraq war, Lebanon and Egypt. As Israel is still occupying the West Bank and the Golan Heights, Jordan and Syria have common interests in opposing Israeli expansion, recovering the occupied territories and seeking a just settlement to crisis in the Middle East.

This common ground has formed the basis for the two countries' reconciliation. Jordan warming towards Syria is also meant as a way to resist pressure from the United States and Israel and is a display of its determination to abide by a joint stance with the Arab world on the Middle East issue. Jordan persists in seeking a peaceful, negotiated settlement to problems in the Middle East. When it signed the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement in February 1985, Jordan expected to make up a joint delegation with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for talks with the United States and Israel. The United States, however, would not admit the PLO and thereby threw an irretrievable wrench into the scheduled talk. Instead, together with Israel, the United States pressed Jordan to renounce the PLO. Upset and disappointed by the US actions, Jordan declared in a joint communique with Syria: There would be no partial and separate reconciliation with Israel.

The communique, which emphasized that an international meeting on the Middle East issues should include both the Soviet Union and the United States, indicated that Jordan hesitates to place its hopes solely on Washington.

Jordan's reconciliation with Syria, observers say, is going to put some pressure on the PLO, too, which has so far not accepted the United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, which recognize the sovereignty and security of all states in the region, but fail to guarantee self-determination for the Palestinian people. The PLO

has remained steadfast in its desire to set up a Palestinian state.

On the side of Syria, the reconciliation with its former nemesis strengthened its position and influence in Middle Eastern affairs. Syria does not categorically oppose peace talks. What Syria opposes are talks that don't include all parties involved or those that are held under unfavourable conditions. In fact, Syria could not continue to divorce itself from the Middle East peace process so long as it hopes to retrieve the Golan Heights.

by Yuan He

OPEC

Trying Hard to Prevent a Price War

OPEC has warned non-member countries about a possible oil price war if they continue to increase output and reduce price.

Following OPEC's December 9, 1985 announcement of a new strategy aimed at securing a fair share of the world's oil market, the oil price on the world oil market briefly dropped drastically. The price, however, soon became stable, and the anticipated price war was prevented.

Several major oil markets witnessed dramatic oil price changes during the first three days after the declaration of the new strategy. The price of Britain's North Sea crude oil dropped US\$5 to US\$21.8 per barrel, the record low price for the past six years. It also fell by US\$1.25 on the spot-markets in New York and Western Europe on December 17, while the price of sulfur-bearing oil of Texas, America's standardized crude oil, went down by US\$1.

Western observers believe that apart from the growing psychological tension, speculation also has been a crucial element in forcing down the price of oil. The rumour that the OPEC, or Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, members would break through their production ceilings provided speculators with an opportunity to buy oil at lowered prices.

OPEC's Chairman Arturo Hernandez Grisanti of Venezuela, said his organization did not intend to declare a price war but wanted instead to retrieve its previous share in the international oil trade. Second, Grisanti said, the organization, which has stuck to its principle of maintaining a stable international oil market, was searching for a more flexible and practical method to keep market stable. The chairman

called on non-OPEC member countries, including Britain, Norway and the Soviet Union, to cooperate with the organization. He warned that oil price would plummet further if these countries refused to assume responsibility for a stable market and persisted in increasing output and exports, while reducing their prices.

Observers believe OPEC decided to change its previous policy of restricting output for a stabilized price only in principle, and that in reality the organization continues to hold to the old policy, much to the disappointment of some of its member countries. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, one of the organization's more important members, kept its light crude oil price unchanged at \$17.95 per barrel from December 5 to 19. Mexico, a non-OPEC member country but a crucial oil producer, last December also announced its plan to maintain its oil price at the present level. A Mexican representative is reported to have said that reports that Mexico would cut its oil price were incorrect.

It is also reported that the Soviet Union has agreed to export oil to Finland until some time in 1986 at a price of around US\$26 per barrel, a reduction of about US\$2. Britain, which has kept silent over OPEC's warning, is likely to maintain its North Sea oil price at the last December level.

It is reported that OPEC will hold a special ministerial meeting in January 1986 to size up the current oil situation and discuss policies regarding oil production and pricing in the hope of taking concerted actions among member countries.

by Ren Yen



Qian Qichen Reviews China's Foreign Policy

Towards the end of 1985, Vice-Foreign Minister Qian Qichen answered questions concerning China's foreign policy and major international issues in an exclusive interview with "Beijing Review". The full text of the interview follows.

Beijing Review: China was quite active in its diplomacy this last year. How would you evaluate the significance and success of China's independent foreign policy?

Qian Qichen: Independence is the cornerstone of China's foreign policy. At different periods following the founding of New China, we had resisted pressure from various sources to safeguard our state sovereignty and independence. Taking into consideration our past experience and analyzing the current world situation, we now have further stressed the principle of independence—adding to it yet new dimensions.

The basic points of our independent foreign policy of peace stand as follows: China never allies itself or establishes strategic relationships with any big power; it opposes all forms of hegemonism, and defends world peace; it seeks to establish and expand friendships and cooperation with all nations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; and it firmly sides with the third world nations.

People throughout the world today desire peace and development. However, the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—threaten world peace with their arms race and contests in some of the "hot spots" of the world. In this

situation, China, with its 1 billion people, vast territory and rich natural resources, and devoted to socialist modernization drive, is an important peace-keeping factor, a war-checking factor. Because it can best help preserve world peace and stability by pursuing an independent foreign policy for peace, the policy has won the support of the Chinese people. And because the policy meets the desire of the people around the world who strive for lasting peace, stability and common development, it has received their deep appreciation. China is rock-firm in pursuing its independent foreign policy of peace, and no big power should expect China to change its course.

BR: What is the Chinese attitude towards the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and their rivalry in some of the "hot spots" of the world?

Qian: China is unequivocally opposed to the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race. On this issue we appeal to both the United States and the Soviet Union to halt the arms race. For it takes two to run a race, not one. If there were only one party interested in a military buildup, it would not be an arms race. Now that both the United States and the Soviet Union have the capability to destroy each other more than a dozen times, it is



Qian readying for questions.

XUE CHAO

absurd for them to continue the arms race. On the question of regional conflicts, we criticize the responsible parties, no matter who they may be. We base our attitude on the merits of each individual case. Some people are critical of the Chinese approach, asserting that class concept should be applied to each case. We do not agree to this point of view. In our view, whether a particular move or policy in a region is right or wrong cannot simply be determined by judging which social system and ideology the responsible party adheres to, but by judging if the action helps to ease international tension, maintain world peace and promote common prosperity. We oppose any nation, no matter what its politics, that interferes in other nations' internal affairs under whatever pretext, or sends troops to invade other countries, wages a prolonged war there and suppresses the resistance by weak nations.

BR: Deng Xiaoping once boiled the international situation down to an "East-West, South-North" issue. What does that mean? What are the

effects of the North-South relations on East-West relations?

Qian: The "East-West, South-North" concept is a vivid, scientific generalization of the overall world situation. In essence, it means the world faces two fundamental problems that concern the future of the human race—peace and development.

East-West relations refer to those between the United States and the Soviet Union, and between the two major military blocs in the world. When their relations become strained, the danger of war escalates. The world's people want to see the tension in their relations eased because they want to check war and to preserve peace.

North-South relations refer to those between the developing and developed countries, or between the poor and the wealthy nations. The third world countries, about 130, occupy a vast territory and possess huge natural and human resources. But they are still developing nations, to varying degrees. To speed up their development, they stress self-reliance and South-South co-operation, or co-operation among themselves. At the same time, they are calling on the developed countries to adopt a positive attitude towards North-South dialogue, to change the unfair international economic order and to promote the common development of the world economy.

The issue of North-South relationship is not merely an issue of economic development. From a long-term point of view, a peaceful and stable world cannot be built with just a few nations enjoying an abundance of wealth while the majority live in poverty.

BR: Why does China attach special importance to its unity and co-operation with the other third world nations? How are the relations between China and these countries?

Qian: Altogether, the third world countries, which are scattered throughout a vast area in Asia, Africa, Latin America and

Oceania, possess three-fourths of the world's population. Having shaken off the yoke of colonialism, they now are facing the task of safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty, while developing their national economies. This is a major goal that aims to consolidate political independence by achieving economic independence. The emergence and growth of the third world is a major event in contemporary world history, and its influence on the whole international situation is growing. The third world nations are the main force for the prevention of war and the maintenance of peace. They also are an indispensable factor in the struggle for the development and common prosperity of the world.

China is a developing, socialist country, belonging to the third world. It is China's basic foreign policy to strengthen its unity and co-operation with the other third world nations. The Chinese people always have scorned the ideology and behaviour that show dislike towards the poor and favour towards the rich, and that display arrogance to the weak and cowardice to the strong. In its actions, China upholds the principle that all nations, big or small, are equals. We share a common destiny with the other third world countries, and we show good faith in our dealings with them. We support their just struggle and uphold their legitimate rights and interests in international affairs. In handling our relations with the other third world nations, we strictly abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and never interfere in their internal affairs. We respect their domestic and foreign policies and back their efforts to strengthen solidarity and co-operation among third world nations. When we engage in co-operation or provide aid to them, there are no strings attached to our assistance, nor do we ask for any special privileges. Instead, we try our best to help them stand on

their own feet and to work for mutual development. It is precisely because of this approach that China in recent years has expanded and cemented relations with a growing number of third world nations.

BR: How are the current relations between China and the Soviet Union? And what are the crucial issues that are affecting normalization of their relations?

Qian: Sino-Soviet relations in the areas of economy, trade and technology have developed somewhat in recent years, and personnel exchanges are increasing, to the benefit of both sides. Sino-Soviet political relations, however, have not improved. Such relations have not yet been normalized, because three obstacles* still stand in the way. On China's part, we sincerely wish that Sino-Soviet relations make genuine improvements, and for this purpose China has made sincere efforts and adopted a series of measures in recent years. What is inconceivable is that the Soviet Union, while repeatedly expressing the desire to improve relations with China, has tried, under various pretexts, to dodge discussion on ways to remove these existing obstacles. They agree to talk about the easing of international tensions and the elimination of regional conflicts, but at the same time show an unwillingness to talk about the Afghanistan and Kampuchea issues. It seems the Soviet side has a misconception that it can get around these obstacles, or that the obstacles will vanish by themselves. This calculation of the Soviets is unrealistic, and unwise. On matters of principle, on matters that concern China's security interests and the upholding of international justice, China is unshakable in its resolve.

*The three obstacles are massive concentrations of Soviet troops along the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia, Soviet backing of Viet Nam in its aggression against Kampuchea, and Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan.

ZHOU ENLAI

Consummate Diplomat in Action

"Beijing Review" pays homage to the genius of Zhou Enlai as China's foremost diplomat and head of government on the 10th anniversary of his death (January 8). We here present an article "Consummate Diplomat in Action," which is taken from a chapter of a new English-language book just published by the Foreign Languages Press, Beijing: "Zhou Enlai—A Profile," written by our former colleague Percy Jucheng Fang and his wife, Lucy Guinong J. Fang, formerly of Radio Beijing International. Slightly abridged for reasons of space.

by Percy Jucheng Fang and Lucy Guinong J. Fang

Zhou Enlai's career as a diplomat is often dated from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, July 7, 1937, when he publicly assumed charge of foreign affairs for the Chinese Communist Party. Actually his work in this sphere went back to the Xi'an Incident of 1936. The need to provide information on this momentous event led Zhou to recruit the services of two sympathetic foreign journalists who happened to be in Xi'an at the time. One was Agnes Smedley (1892-1950) of the United States, the daughter of a Colorado miner who identified herself with the cause of the Chinese Revolution and wrote *The Great Road*, Zhu De's biography. The other was James Bertram, author of *North China Front*, a New Zealander. They prepared manuscripts for Radio Xi'an and Zhou Enlai edited and cleared the more important material, English as well as Chinese, that went on the air.

Institutionally, the Party's first regular office dealing with external affairs was set up in the first year of the war in Wuhan (central China) as part of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army's Wuhan Office. It was called the International Information Section. Housed in a nondescript hotel room which was used both as an office and bedroom, the I.I.S., in its embryo stage, had only a staff

of three or four people and a couple of dilapidated typewriters. Here Zhou Enlai received visitors and journalists from abroad and directed the I.I.S. in its routine work of translating Mao Zedong's writings. Among those who called to see Zhou for news and views—some frequently and some only occasionally—were a trio of American writers: Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, and Edgar Snow. These Americans are held in fond memory today by the Chinese people as the "three S's." Rewi Alley the poet, another New Zealander, was also a frequent caller at Zhou's office, sometimes to discuss matters concerning his industrial co-operatives project. Host and guests talked mostly about the war and China's future.

When one predicted 20 years from now they'd be proud to have known Zhou, another said, "Why, I'm proud right now!"

It was also here in Wuhan that arrangements were made for foreign visitors who sought safe-conducts to Yan'an. From Wuhan Norman Bethune (1890-1939), the Canadian surgeon who had served in the Spanish Civil War, and the young Indian doctor, Dwarkanath Santram Kotnis (1910-1942),

set out for the Liberated Areas where they were to lay down their lives in the war waged by the Chinese people against militarist Japan. Kotnis and B.K. Basu were with the Indian Medical Mission to China headed by Dr. L. Atai. Dr. Basu recalled Zhou Enlai in those days as a man bursting with energy, knowledgeable and well-informed, who analysed the war and political situation with rare acumen. The correspondents at Zhou's press conferences were many, posted by the United States, Britain, France, etc. Basu remembered one of them predicting that perhaps twenty years from now they would be proud to have known Zhou Enlai. "Why twenty years from now?" Basu interjected. "That's too far into the future. I'm proud right at this moment!"

The young staff Zhou collected for the I.I.S. were green but hard-working and eager to learn. He put great stress on using one's brains and laid down *wu qin* for the foreign service personnel. *Wu* means five, and *qin* means to get busy with—busy with five things: 1) Busy with one's eyes—busy reading and above all studying Marxist literature and Mao Zedong's writings, and the Party's policies and directives; 2) Busy with one's ears—busy seeking out people as sounding boards to find out their views of the war, the Kuomintang, the future of the

CONSUMMATE DIPLOMAT

country, etc., and relaying their opinions back for reference; 3) Busy with one's tongue — busy disseminating the Party's policies and principles and repudiating wrong ideas and views; 4) Busy with one's hands — busy with personal attendance to everything that must be done. The point is to rely on oneself, not on others; and 5) Busy with one's legs — busy with legwork, going out to make friends and not staying indoors waiting for somebody to knock on the door.

Equally valid for other spheres of endeavour, these rules were faithfully adhered to by his staff in Wuhan. Though shorthanded, they managed to achieve much in the space of a year.

Wuhan fell to the Japanese in October 1938. The office of the Eighth Route Army moved to Chongqing, the upriver wartime capital, and in April the following year a Foreign Affairs Section replaced the International Information Section. It was put under the South China Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, with Zhou Enlai in charge. While in Wuhan, Zhou had to content himself with a skeleton staff, now, in Chongqing, he had more men and women to do the job, but the problems became more complex as the months went by. The Foreign Affairs Section, which met regularly under his guiding hand, adhered to the guidelines embodied in his review of the first stage of the war.

According to Zhou Enlai, the Japanese invasion posed threats to the Western powers, and in particular jeopardized British and American interests in China. Since London and Washington were bent on keeping their foothold in the country, the last thing they wanted was the outbreak of civil strife, which would only benefit the invaders. Such being the case, the Party must work on the Americans, the British and the French, and especially the Amer-



Reading "Morning News" on a trip abroad in March 1964. DU XIUXIAN

icans, to win them over to Yan'an's point of view. That would compel the Kuomintang to think twice before attacking the Communists in force and making peace with Japan. While it was important to rely on their own strength, Zhou Enlai pointed out, they must do everything possible to gain international support, moral and material, to carry on the war of resistance, for if they allowed themselves to be isolated that would make things easy for the Japanese.

To win sympathy and support for the resistance war—that was the line of action Zhou Enlai charted for the Communist delegation staff as they moved among Chongqing's foreign community. They sought out the embassy people and aid-China groups and made friends with them, called press conferences for foreign correspondents and encouraged sympathetic visitors to call at the delegation headquarters. Zhou Enlai himself played a big part in all these activities, and by sustained efforts he and his aides succeeded in breaking the ban which forbade all political parties other than the Kuomintang to have contact with the diplomatic corps in the wartime capital. Though Chiang's regime kicked up a furor, much of what it wanted to conceal—its corruption, its incompetence, its manoeuvres to sue for peace with Japan in order to turn their guns instead against the Communists—stood nakedly revealed before the world.

Since much has been written about Zhou Enlai the diplomat in the war years and the late 1940s, there is little point in going over old ground again except to point out that while he spent a good deal of his time with the upper echelons of American military and diplomatic circles, he also made a point of cultivating the friendship of ordinary American G.I.s. His trips back and forth from Yan'an were made on aircraft put at his disposal by the U.S. Army, and to

show his appreciation he personally invited the crew to dinners in Yan'an, a job he could well have delegated to his aides. He played host himself because it gave him a chance to mix and talk with young Americans. He also asked enlisted men and N.C.O.s of the U.S. Engineers Corps to dine with him after the work of setting up a radio station for his delegation had been completed. His easy approach and informal ways produced a favourable impression on the Americans, and they said so without reserve, which did not put Chiang Kai-shek in very good humour.

A top-flight preceptor of statecraft, Zhou responded to the pulse of his country and stood firm when it came to what was good for China.

For a time after the outbreak of full-scale war between the Kuomintang and the Communists, Zhou Enlai's responsibility for directing the Foreign Affairs Section was taken over by General Ye Jianying. As Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, Zhou Enlai was engrossed in military matters and not until nationwide victory was in sight and he and Mao Zedong had moved in May 1948 to Xibaipo in Hebei Province, the last stop before their leapfrogging march onto Beijing, did he resume his duties as the Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs.

With final triumph in the air, the cadres of the Foreign Affairs Section were anxious to get their teeth into jobs which now seemed to beckon to them. Zhou Enlai, aware of their impatience, had work cut out for them in the interregnum: 1) To carry on with the translation of Mao Zedong's writings; 2) To train a sufficient number of people well-versed in foreign service work; and 3) To do research on the foreign policies to be pursued after the impending nationwide liberation. As Mao

Zedong put it, China must start afresh in the realm of foreign affairs and formulate its policies on a new basis.

On the eve of the inauguration of the People's Republic, which Chairman Mao Zedong was to proclaim at ten a.m. October 1, 1949, on Tiananmen tower, Zhou Enlai turned up at the Foreign Affairs Section for the last time. We have accomplished what has been entrusted to us, he told the beaming young men and women gathered around him. Tomorrow we shall embark formally upon our regular diplomatic work. He gave them detailed instructions on how Chairman Mao's speech next morning, together with his covering letter, was to be delivered to the foreign embassies or consulates in Beijing or Nanjing. Then he left the official seal bearing his name with the staff for stamping the communication to be transmitted to the caretaker diplomatic corps. It was the first document that went out in Zhou Enlai's name as Foreign Minister. In his first decade as Premier he concurrently held the portfolio of foreign affairs, turning the job over to Marshal Chen Yi after the two major international conferences in Geneva and Bandung. Nevertheless he remained the dominant personality in China's foreign relations through the Cultural Revolution years to the day he breathed his last. No other Chinese leader bequeathed as deep an imprint on his country's diplomatic front.

Zhou Enlai is remembered not only as a skilful performer but also as a top-flight preceptor of statecraft. Directives to his staff contained not only precise nuts and bolts but explanations of the whys and wherefores. One speech delivered at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the first years of the People's Republic afforded a glimpse into his thinking.

In the life of a nation, he told a crop of fledgling foreign service officials, it must be ready at all times to wage two kinds of war—



Addressing the Asian-African Conference in April 1955.

QIAN SIJIE

a war of words and a war of swords. The war of words includes both spoken and written words. Diplomacy falls within the province of the war of words. There may not be a war of swords every year, but as sure as day turns into night, there will be a constant war of words, every day of the year. Those who work in the sphere of diplomacy are expected to fight their battles with words all the time, and to make a success of it. He warned them of the difficulties and obstacles in their way, for the new China, as distinct from the old, had no precedent to go by and must strike new ground. While it is out of the question to follow the practice of the capitalist countries, Zhou maintained, the approach of Soviet diplomacy does not suit China in all respects either. Quite early on, the Premier had put some distance between China and the Soviet Union, for Zhou Enlai was

no dogmatist who sanctified every bit of Soviet experience, as was the case of quite a few top officials in those days. He knew the Soviet Union, having made a study of that country as a young man, but he responded to the pulse of his own country and stood firm when it came to what was good for China.

He laid down the policy to win over the peace forces, influence the status-quo forces and isolate the forces bent on war.

His analysis of the international situation then with reference to the capitalist world boiled down to one central fact — that it is divided and not a solid, impenetrable bloc. As he put it, the old world of capitalist countries is divided into three parts: first, the bellicose

forces which do not hesitate to go to war; second, the forces which stand for maintaining the status quo; and third, the forces which stand for preserving peace. In pursuance of this analysis, he laid down China's foreign policy as follows: To win over the peace forces, to influence the status-quo forces and to isolate the forces bent on war — in other words, to build a united front for peace in the international arena. Chance and challenge were there for China to bring its influence to bear on these forces, he said. He cited a minor instance which, in a way, illustrated his point.

Columbia University celebrated its bicentennial in 1954 and invited China to the ceremony in New York. Barely a year had elapsed since the conclusion of the Korean armistice and nothing but antagonism existed between China and the United States. Perhaps it wasn't a propitious



With Zhao Ziyang in March 1973.

DU XILIAN

Shaking hands with a youngster during a visit to Algeria, in 1963.

DU XILIAN



moment, even on a cultural level, for contact to be made between the two countries. While declining the invitation, Guo Moruo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, nevertheless cabled China's congratulations to the university. In reporting the message of greetings, Xinhua News Agency mentioned only Guo Moruo, with the name of the President of Columbia University, Dr. Grayson Kirk, omitted. In academic etiquette, this constituted a slight. But there was more to it, as Zhou Enlai indicated when he dressed down the editors responsible for the slip-up. It was not only bewildering to people who read the news, he said, they must wonder why there was the name of the recipient of the invitation but not that of the sender. More important, a chance to influence people went by default.

The method he had of making amends for the shortcomings and oversights of his subordinates is typical of Zhou Enlai.

Seldom did the Premier allow such opportunities to slip through his fingers. The late Dag Hammarskjold, the United Nations Secretary General, was in Beijing in 1955 to use his good offices to obtain the release of captured American airmen who had violated China's airspace. It was winter. Seeing the U.N. Secretary General out to his car, Zhou Enlai found a European-looking stranger sitting beside the driver's seat in freezing weather. On inquiry he was told that the man was an American, Mr. Hammarskjold's security aide. The information got his back up. How could you let such a thing happen here, the Premier berated his aides, letting a guest shiver in the cold? Why was he not asked into the heated lobby? Someone

offered an explanation. Well, he was an American. Who would want to have anything to do with an American? It is easy to understand why Hammarskjold's bodyguard was treated as a pariah. The Korean war had just ended and the United States was still the number one enemy. But the Premier thought on a different plane. What we are against, he explained to them, is U.S. imperialism, not an ordinary American functionary. How can you treat a guest like that? Make sure, he added, that he is invited to our next reception. On the eve of Hammarskjold's departure from China, the Premier gave a dinner in honour of the U.N. official. Not only was his American security aide invited, Zhou Enlai saw fit to raise his glass to toast him.

The method he had of making amends for the shortcomings and oversights of his subordinates is typical of Zhou Enlai. In the war years in Chongqing he frequently took advantage of Guo Moruo's standing offer to use his home at Tianguanfu, a rendezvous easy of access and not too conspicuous, to meet with friends politically inclined to the policies espoused by the Communist Party. For it was then not convenient, much less safe, for non-Party people to be seen at the headquarters of the Communist Party delegation. It was closely watched by Kuomintang sleuths, disguised as street cobblers, tea-stand owners, and other more shady types milling around the place. Visitors coming out of the delegation headquarters would be tailed to their homes, their names, and addresses taken, and often hounded and harassed until they thought it better to keep away.

One day Zhou Enlai made up a list and asked his aides to send out invitations for a get-together at Guo Moruo's residence. The appointed hour arrived, but one invitee did not turn up. Zhou wondered why. The aides discovered to their horror that they

had forgotten to send the missing guest his invitation. Zhou quoted an old Chinese saying to reprimand the culprits: "No one will be happy at the table if one guest is left out in the cold." Maybe you regard it as a small matter, an unintended slight, he said. But the person in question will probably take it as a deliberate snub. In that case, it is no longer a small but a big matter, especially in these times when the political struggle with the Kuomintang is so complex and delicate. Isn't there a Chinese phrase "put yourself in the other's place"? Zhou told his aides to chew over his words. Having dressed them down, he sent his car to fetch the forgotten guest, who upon arrival was greeted with profuse apologies.

In Geneva... How the "Talleyrand of China" was going to perform was a matter of intense interest. All were impatient to file a juicy story home.

The Geneva Conference on Korea and Indochina in 1954, the first major international conference since World War II, was Zhou Enlai's first exposure to the complexities of diplomacy in a big way. It was also the first international conference after the Korean war which brought China and the United States, the two chief protagonists, to the negotiating table. World attention was focused on the Palais des Nations (the old League of Nations building) where the two mortal enemies were poised to take up Asia's problems and to cross swords with one another. All eyes were on Zhou Enlai, who brought along a two hundred-member delegation. How the fabled virtuoso, called "the Talleyrand of China," was going to perform on the world stage was a matter of intense interest to the press corps assembled in Geneva. All were

impatient to file a juicy story home.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, leader of the U.S. delegation, was a hardliner who pursued a policy of hostility to and non-recognition of the Chinese People's Republic. Although members of the two delegations crossed each other's path practically every day in the conference hall, Dulles permitted no contact between his delegation and the Chinese. He encouraged a glacial glare if members of the U.S. delegation were to come face to face with the Chinese in the hall or the lobbies, and he himself vowed to have nothing to do with the Chinese delegation unless his car happened to bump into Zhou Enlai's. It was not surprising that in this frigid aura there was a persistent story about Dulles refusing to shake hands with the Chinese Premier in an unexpected encounter in the lounge of the Palais des Nations.

Richard Nixon referred to it in his *Memoirs* as an "insult" and Henry Kissinger described it as a "slight" in his *White House Years*. It would not be in Zhou Enlai's nature in such circumstances to take affront as something personal. No public act of his, at home or abroad, was motivated on a personal basis. What he did was done in the name of his country or government. In Geneva he represented China, and if the U.S. Secretary of State should choose to be insolent, it would not be towards Zhou Enlai as an individual but towards China as a country that the insolence was intended.

What if John Foster Dulles had behaved less belligerently in Geneva, or the Eisenhower Administration had held a less rigid position *vis-à-vis* China in the years immediately following Korea? Would the course of history as it affects the United States have been somewhat different? That is a big if.

Dulles left Geneva shortly after the conference went into its first



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Accompanied by Kim Il Sung, Zhou greets Pyongyang residents who lined the streets to welcome him during his 1970 visit to Korea.

session, and leadership of the U.S. delegation fell upon the shoulders of General Walter Bedell Smith, Eisenhower's wartime Chief of Staff. The general was asked by a newsman at one stage of the conference, which lasted from April to July, whether and what kind of contact he had with Zhou Enlai. His only contact with Mr. Zhou Enlai was, he joked, sharing the same long rolling towel in the men's room. Bedell Smith, loosening up a bit in the conference's concluding weeks, sought out the Premier's interpreter in the lobby and made conversation. Though they were just shooting the breeze, there was something significant about the gesture. Zhou had a hunch that not everybody in the U.S. delegation saw eye to eye with Dulles regarding China, and he decided on a direct approach to the acting U.S. delegation chief.

His opportunity came soon. As he walked into the lobby one day, Zhou Enlai saw Bedell Smith pouring coffee into his cup. He went straight to the American's

table and extended his hand. A startled Bedell Smith was apparently off guard but made a swift response. He had a cigar in his left hand and hastily took the coffee cup with his right, as if to indicate he had his hands full. At any rate the Chinese Premier had broken the ice. They carried on a brief cordial conversation, which ended with the American delegation leader praising China as a country with an old and great civilization and complimenting Zhou on the magnificent contribution China had made to the world.

For all his shrewdness, Dulles had overlooked adding a rider to his ban on handshakes — no arm-nudging allowed.

Some time later, Bedell Smith found a chance to resume the rapport just established. It was the closing session and Zhou Enlai was engaged in a conversation in the lobby. The American went

over to say hello to the Chinese Premier. Commenting on the conference, Bedell Smith said he thought it had been fruitful and availed himself of the opportunity to express his warm feelings for the Chinese people. He told the Premier how much he was impressed by his diplomatic savoir-faire and how pleased he was to have made his acquaintance. To which Zhou Enlai responded: "Didn't I extend a hand to you first the last time we met?" The American was rather put out by this reminder of his "hands full" antic, and as he tried to laugh away his embarrassment he gave the Chinese Premier a nudge in the arm before taking his leave.

Why did the acting head of the U.S. delegation never gather enough courage to shake hands with the Chinese Premier? It was baffling to the Chinese delegation and remained so for some time. Only much later was the puzzle unravelled. John Foster Dulles, while still in Geneva, had forbidden it — no handshakes

with the Chinese. That explains Bedell Smith's inexplicable juggling with a cigar in one hand and a cup of coffee in the other when Zhou Enlai approached him in the first encounter and the nudge in the arm instead of a handshake in the second. For all his shrewdness as a successful Wall Street lawyer, Dulles had overlooked adding a rider to his ban on handshakes—no arm-nudging allowed.

While he wasted no opportunity to work on members of the American delegation, neither did Zhou Enlai let any challenge go unrebuked. The Indochina question came up for discussion, and speaking for China, he put forward a proposal. Finding it useful for resolving the question, Bedell Smith said so in so many words. Squabbling ensued in the U.S. delegation, some taking exception to the acting leader's favourable response to the Chinese proposal. Walter Robertson, a senior member of the U.S. delegation who had served with the U.S. team to the tripartite (Kuomintang, Communist and United States) Military Mediation Group in China following the war against Japan, disagreed with his boss. Bedell Smith, unable to sink the delegation's differences, made an excuse to absent himself in Berne. Robertson, substituting for Smith as the chief American spokesman, attacked the Chinese proposal at the next session. Zhou Enlai responded, asking if the U.S. delegation meant what it said. "The acting head of the U.S. delegation who spoke at the last session said that the Chinese proposal was useful in this discussion," Zhou Enlai retorted. "And now you, Robertson, have gone back on his word. Whom are we to believe, you or your delegation leader? Let me remind you, Robertson, that we have crossed swords with you before. If you are spoiling for a fight, we are ready to take you on again." The conference records carry no mention of Robertson's reply, if any, to this rebuttal.

In the end Dulles' restriction went by the board. Through the good offices of the British Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden, the U.S. delegation met with the Chinese to discuss procedures for negotiations on the repatriation of personnel held by each side. This finally led to Sino-American talks at the ambassadorial level, which turned out to be a record-breaking negotiating marathon lasting on and off for the next fifteen years.

Despite U.S. stonewalling, the Geneva Conference got over the last hurdle to reach an agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Indochina and provide it with a political settlement. But as events were to prove, the deal came to naught because of Dulles' opposition. The net result over the years was the trauma of U.S. involvement in a no-win war in Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s.

Although this will-o'-the-wisp goal overshadowed everything else in Geneva, from China's point of view—or, to be more precise, in Zhou Enlai's estimate—the long-drawn-out ambassadorial talks between China and the United States were nevertheless worthwhile, if only because the negotiations in Geneva and later in Warsaw led to the release by the United States of the China-born rocket expert, Professor Qian Xuesen (Chien Hsueh-sen) of the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, U.S.A., who had helped build the first American guided missile. Qian Xuesen, a civilian given the rank of colonel in the U.S. army while working on the missile project, was detained for a period of five years merely because it was feared that the ICBM expert might want, which he did, to return to his home country, which had become a Communist-led People's Republic. Eventually Beijing got Washington to agree on releasing Qian, and the professor and his wife Jiang Ying, a German-trained musician, and their two children left American shores for China on board *S.S. President Cleveland* on

September 17, 1955.

At a conference years later, Zhou Enlai, speaking of Geneva, stated that it was worth all the trouble of keeping the Americans company at the negotiating table in order to get Qian Xuesen back, although the marathon talks with the United States, he said, had produced little else that could be considered positive.

There were side-shows to the main drama in Geneva. Zhou Enlai carried on talks inside the conference hall and outside with the main cast. Sometimes discussions were held at his lakeside villa, which was also frequented by parliamentarians from other European countries and well-known figures who wished to meet the Chinese statesman. Among them was Charlie Chaplin, the genius of the cinematic world. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden got to know the Chinese Premier well in Geneva, and their frequent contact led to an agreement to set up a liaison office at the *chargé d'affaires* level in each other's capital.

A time-bomb was planted in the wings of the plane.... By a fluke of luck, Zhou Enlai was not on the flight.

Perhaps of greater significance from a long-term view was Zhou Enlai's journey in June to India and Burma in between sessions of the conference, for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence concluded during his visits was instrumental in broadening what China had championed all along—a united front of Third World countries against imperialism. The Five Principles first initiated by Zhou Enlai are: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence. This five-point guide

to international conduct underlies the subsequent Ten Principles adopted at the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia — Zhou Enlai's second major international conference.

On his way to the Afro-Asian Conference scheduled for April 18-24 in Indonesia's summer resort city of Bandung, the Chinese Premier narrowly missed an assassination attempt on his life. Though not in the best of health after an appendicitis operation, he deemed the conference so important that he decided to be there at any cost. It was his plan to travel on April 11 with his staff on a chartered Indian airliner, *Princess Kashmir*, which would stop over in Hong Kong to pick up members of the delegation. A time-bomb was planted in the wings of the plane by Kuomintang agents during refueling at Kaitak Airport, and the plane blew up in the skies just as it was approaching the coastline of North Borneo. Eleven people, not including members of the crew, lost their lives, among them eight from China, and one each from Vietnam, Poland and Austria.

By a fluke of luck, Zhou Enlai was not on the flight because a late invitation to be in Rangoon, Burma, to meet with the Burmese, Indian and Egyptian Prime Ministers made a change of plan necessary. It spared China an incalculable catastrophe.

From Geneva to Bandung was a milestone. If Geneva was designed to solve the legacy of colonialism and the problems arising from the Korea and Indochina wars, Bandung was called to discuss how best to preserve the independence, economic as well as political, of the new-born countries in Asia and Africa from predatory imperialist powers. Many of the speeches delivered on April 18, the opening day, set the tone for the conference — to strengthen the ties of solidarity against imperialism and colonialism in Asia and Africa. But the difference in social systems and

political ideologies, plus mutual apprehension and misunderstanding fostered and fuelled by the former colonial powers, tended to drive a wedge between participants. From the start a discordant note jarred on the prevailing theme of unity and common cause. A couple of delegates spouted a welter of rancour — “the menace of communism,” “subversive activities,” “absence of religious freedom,” etc. Such innuendoes had China as their target. Tension gripped the conference. It called for a prompt response.

As China was due to speak the following day, Zhou Enlai decided to distribute his prepared speech rather than deliver it at the afternoon session. In the little time left him after the morning session he drafted a new supplementary speech during the lunch hour to answer the veiled attacks, sending it page by page to the staff for translation. When called upon to address the gathering, the agile and astute diplomat who the year before had produced such a powerful impact on the world in Geneva mounted the rostrum.

***W*e have no bamboo screen (bamboo curtain), he said, but there are people who want to put some smoke screen between us.**

“The Chinese delegation,” he declared, “has come for the purpose of seeking unity, not of picking quarrels. We Communists never disclaim our belief in communism nor do we deny that socialism is a good system. Nevertheless there is no point for any one to trumpet one's ideology or political system, since such differences do exist among us.

“The Chinese delegation is here to seek a community of views and not to raise points of difference. Is there a basis for finding a community of views among us? I think there is. And that is because

most of the countries in Asia and Africa have been through periods of misfortune and suffering, and continue to experience such, thanks to colonialism. This is recognized by us all. If we seek common ground and remove the misfortune and suffering imposed on us by colonialism, then it is easy for us to understand and respect each other, to be sympathetic and helpful to each other....”

After making China's position clear, Zhou Enlai went on to take up the allegations about the absence of religious freedom in China and the bugbear of “subversive activities.” He knocked the bottom out of these tales and invited all delegates to the Bandung Conference to visit China at their pleasure and see for themselves what the country was like, especially the coastal and frontier provinces. As if addressing the ill-wishers, he assumed a conciliatory tone to assure them that China did not mind people who knew nothing of the true situation having their share of doubt. We have no bamboo screen (bamboo curtain), he pointed out, but there are people who want to put some smoke screen between us. The Chinese Premier's speech, seeking concurrence while shelving differences, served to get hidden obstacles out of the way and did much to put the conference on the right track.

For the week-long conference Zhou Enlai virtually worked around the clock, getting no more than three hours of sleep each day. It was a worthwhile sacrifice, for the Ten Principles, embodying the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in spirit if not in letter, crowned the Bandung Conference with success and laid the cornerstone of the code by which the countries of Asia and Africa — and later on Latin America — came to guide their bilateral and multilateral relationships. History will certainly not slight his monumental contribution to the people of the vast region that today is called the

Third World.

Though not of the Chinese delegation's doing, Taiwan nevertheless cropped up at the conference because there were some hazy ideas floating about on the situation at the time in the Taiwan area. Guided by the principle of seeking a community of views and pigeonholing differences of opinion, Zhou Enlai put China's case before the delegates, though he did not ask that Taiwan be included in the conference's agenda. Outside the conference hall, he held talks with the heads of government of many countries and was closeted specifically with the leaders of the Burmese, Ceylonese, Indian, Indonesian, Pakistani, Philippine and Thai delegations to explain China's position.

Eventually Chinese and American diplomats held talks in Warsaw, taking the first step in the long journey to Shanghai.

There are two sides to the question, the Chinese Premier pointed out. First, Taiwan is Chinese territory. When and how Taiwan is to be liberated by the Chinese people is a matter that is strictly and exclusively China's business. It is an internal affair and brooks no interference by any foreign country. Second, the cause of tension in the Far East, and particularly in the Taiwan area, must be traced to the occupation of China's territory Taiwan by the United States alone. While the Chinese government is willing to hold talks with the United States to settle this side—the international side—of the question, the sovereign right of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan cannot be prejudiced in the least. Premier Zhou Enlai availed himself of the opportunity presented by the conference to make an announcement which contained an amicable note to Washington: "The

Chinese and American people are friendly with one another. The Chinese people do not want war with the United States. The government of China is ready to sit down with the government of the United States to negotiate."

Eventually Chinese and American diplomats held ambassadorial talks in Warsaw, taking the first step in the long journey to Shanghai where the history-making Joint Communiqué signed by Premier Zhou Enlai and President Richard Nixon on February 28, 1972, at the conclusion of the President's visit to China ended two decades of confrontation and began a new period of conciliation between the two countries. The international side of the Taiwan question, in so far as it affects the United States, was thus at last resolved, to the extent that "the United States Government does not challenge" the position held by the people of China, "that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China." In 1979, a quarter century after the Warsaw talks, China and the United States normalized relations on the understanding that the latter terminate its diplomatic ties with Taiwan, abrogate the U.S.-Taiwan treaty and withdraw U.S. armed forces from the region.

After Bandung Zhou Enlai's next major move in the world arena was a trip in 1956 to broaden China's diplomatic horizons, billed as a tour "in search of friendship, peace and knowledge," which took him to eleven countries in Asia and Europe. It was a time when among other things China was planning to explore and develop its oil industry in a big way. Wherever he went, he took a special interest in visiting factories and refineries and their installations. He thought China could learn from their experiences.

But his longest trip abroad—a record for any prime minister in

the world—was made between December 1963 and February 1964, an itinerary which included visits to fourteen countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. He was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, on this seventy-two-day tour. It was during his journey through the African continent that Zhou Enlai enunciated the Eight Principles governing Chinese aid to foreign countries, introducing a new concept in international relations which won immediate favour with Third World countries for the spirit of genuine equality and disinterest underlying these principles.

Zhou Enlai had made an exhaustive study of the question before going on the tour. There was on his desk in Zhongnanhai an updated dossier on China's foreign aid programme filled with marginal notes in his own handwriting. He made a point of inspecting Chinese aid projects in the countries he visited to see how they were being carried out and what problems required further attention. He compared the aid programmes furnished by other countries and found they had something in common in that the aid extended was in most cases profit-motivated, with strings attached and privileges extorted, favouring the donor out of all proportion. Aid under these conditions inevitably made the recipient more and more dependent on the donor.

Zhou Enlai had China's recent past and the colonial history of the Third World countries in mind when he deliberated on China's economic relations with these countries. Since China and all other underdeveloped countries had suffered exploitation by the big powers, he decided that China's aid must be of a different kind, free from any taint of exploitation. Thus were formulated his now famous guiding stipulations: To respect strictly the sovereign rights of the recipient country, to attach no strings of

any kind, to enable the recipient country to stand on its own feet and develop without outside interference, to require Chinese personnel working on aid projects to share weal and woe and live and work in the same conditions as the local personnel in similar positions.* He regarded the last mentioned the most important, a challenging proposition to aid personnel psychologically not quite prepared to put up with harsh conditions in a foreign land.

Sates, big or small,
must be treated equally;
the smaller the state, the
greater the respect must
be shown it.

Sometimes there were conflicts of interest because some aid projects, when completed, would compete with China's traditional export items. But if a country expressed its interest in seeking assistance to build a particular factory, say, a textile mill, sugar refinery, tea plant, cigarettes factory, etc., Zhou Enlai would try to get his government, as far as possible, to extend such aid as requested. In that event, China would not only undertake to build the project in question but also teach and pass on experience, say, of how to grow cotton, sugar cane, tea and tobacco. For the whole idea of disinterested aid, as Zhou put it, is to make it possible for the recipient country to achieve self-reliance in know-how as well as in supply of raw material. He often reminded government departments charged with foreign aid projects to remember that if China had no interest other than just to look after itself that would be selfish nationalism, and if China set itself up haughtily as a benefactor that would be big-nation chauvinism.

*Premier Zhao reformulated these principles in 1983 which he termed as equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form and achievement of common progress.

The one aid project undertaken by China that took much of his time and gave him more headaches than others was the construction of the railway which connects Tanzania with Zambia, popularly known as the Tanzam or Friendship Railway. Tenders had been offered to several Western countries when the plan was first broached. All declined. It was clearly not a profitable proposition, and moreover the difficulties and hazards involved in cutting through almost impenetrable jungles to lay tracks seemed insurmountable. The two countries turned to China hopefully, but not very confidently. They knew China was not a rich country either and it had a heavy railway building programme of its own to fulfil. To their gratification Beijing agreed to bankroll and construct the projected trunk line.

It took six years of unremitting effort to complete this 1,800-kilometre railway to link landlocked Zambia with Tanzania on the eastern seaboard. By the time it was ready to be commissioned, in July 1976 to be exact, Zhou Enlai had left this world. It was fitting that the people of Tanzania and Zambia, as they staged festivities to celebrate the opening of their railway to traffic, should pay tribute to the man who had done much to help them turn a dream into reality by observing minutes of silence that day to honour his memory.

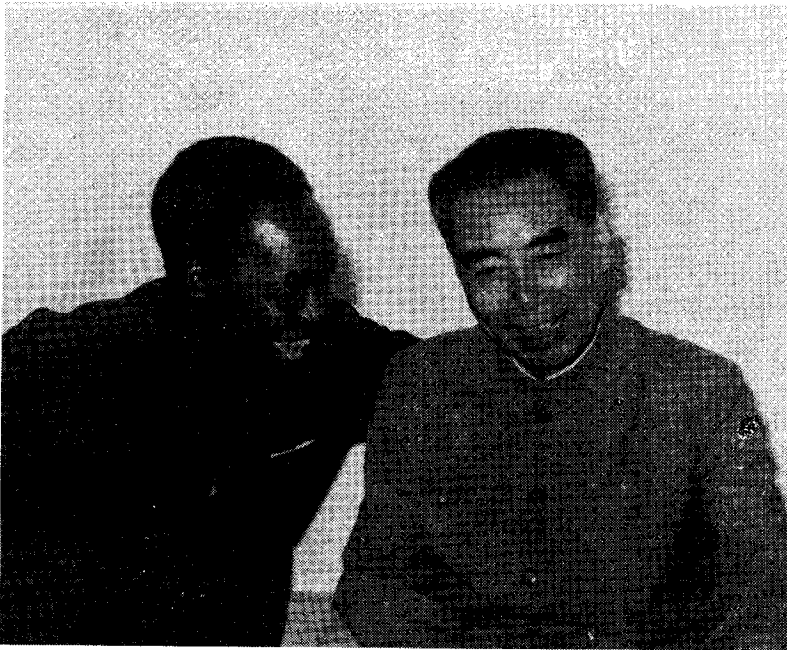
Another precept of which Zhou Enlai kept reminding his staff on that tour is that states, big or small, must be treated on an equal footing, and that the smaller the state, the greater the respect must be shown it. One incident speaks volumes for this principle, which he strictly observed throughout his premiership.

A few days before Zhou Enlai's arrival in Accra, the capital of Ghana in West Africa (a country with a population of eight million, roughly the same as Beijing's, and with an area slightly larger than Hebei Province in which Beijing is

located) a coup threatened to topple the regime of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the President. Nkrumah was then putting the finishing touches on the preparations to welcome the distinguished visitor from China. There was talk among the Chinese staff of postponing or scratching the visit for security's sake. Zhou disagreed. The more the hosts found themselves in trouble, he explained, the more they needed support, and the more we should go as originally planned. He asked the Ghanaian government to dispense with protocol, doing away with the usual welcome and send-off formalities at the airport, in order to ensure President Nkrumah maximum safety. For good measure he suggested that the scheduled talks, the banquet to be given in his honour and other activities, all take place in the castle where the Ghanaian leader was staying. He gave little thought to his own personal safety.

In contrast to Ghana, his visit to the Sudan shed light on this characteristic of his in a different context. Khartoum had proposed that Premier Zhou Enlai and the host ride in an open car from the airport to the guesthouse to allow people in the capital to get a glimpse of their Chinese guest. The situation in the Sudan then being rather fluid, the Chinese delegation staff demurred. When informed of such non-arrangements, the Premier rapped the over-anxious aides and told them to arrange with Sudanese officials an open motorcade from the guesthouse to the airport on the day of departure, in order to make amends.

One lasting impression left behind by Zhou Enlai in the countries he visited was his folksy style. He went out of his way to meet ordinary people. When it was time to say goodbye, he would seek out the car drivers, the guesthouse and hotel kitchen staff, the aircraft crew, and the plainclothes security men to thank them all for making his visit a



With Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere in June 1965.

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pleasant and enjoyable one. He sprang the biggest surprise on the reporters covering his tour by the unusual kindness he showed to the "untouchables" employed by the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi. He shook hands with them, one and all, pumping sympathy and commiseration into his handshakes. At the bottom of the social ladder, the "untouchables" in India, regarded as following the most degrading occupation, cleaning toilets and sweeping floors, are traditionally outcasts shunned and spurned by all except people within their own caste—a system of exploitation and oppression rather than an attitude to the calling that keeps the harijans in thrall, downtrodden and degraded.

Among China's top leaders Zhou Enlai had more face-to-face dealings than any other with the Kremlin leaders. He negotiated with Stalin at the turn of the 1950s in Moscow, and later maintained that for all his foibles and failings Stalin was a great proletarian revolutionary. He took strong exception to the way the late Soviet leader was reviled by his successors and told them to their

face that their policies were deviating from orthodox Marxism. In a Moscow confrontation with Nikita Khrushchev Zhou Enlai challenged his paternalistic claim to speak for the international communist movement and castigated his crass analysis which condemned Stalin for all the things that had gone wrong in the Soviet Union.

In the second half of 1956, two events fraught with peril rocked Moscow-dominated Eastern Europe. One was the outbreak of demonstrations in Poznan, Poland, and the other was the insurrection in Budapest, Hungary. Both came in the wake of the "de-Stalinization" pushed earlier in February by Khrushchev and his collaborators. In Poland it was a domestic uproar because the Poznan workers, fed up with the way things were going in the political and economic spheres, took to the streets to give vent to their discontent, whereas in Hungary it was a different matter, nothing but a counter-revolution, compounded as it was by the intrusion of hostile forces from outside the country. There protest marchers not only opposed the

constituted authority but decided to overthrow it and take Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact. In both cases Khrushchev lost his nerve, moving Warsaw Pact armies about to threaten Poland with the use of force, while to deal with Hungary he sent Soviet troops into the country to quell the insurrection without even a fig-leaf in the shape, say, of an "invitation" from the injured country which marked his successor Brezhnev's rape of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan ten years later.

On his visit to Moscow in January 1957 to discuss the East European situation with the Soviet leaders, Zhou Enlai rapped them for interfering in Poland's internal affairs and brandishing the big stick to thwart any line of policy or action that ran counter to the Kremlin's.

From Moscow he journeyed to Poland and Hungary. In Budapest, where the guns had yet to fall silent, he brushed aside risks to speak to a rally of activists at which he hauled the Soviet leadership over the coals for not observing the principles of equality of nations and proletarian internationalism. This stirring speech brought tears to the eyes of veteran Hungarian Communists.

Polemics on tenets of Marxism-Leninism brought the split between Beijing and Moscow into the open in 1960. Under Khrushchev the Soviet Union threw its weight about—not only in relations between states but also in relations between the two Parties. Sino-Soviet relations, which had grown increasingly sour for some time, now reached a new low. Khrushchev put the screws on, fondly hoping that China would be intimidated into hewing to the Soviet line. Without warning he tore to pieces several hundred agreements and contracts with the Chinese government, withdrew en bloc Soviet personnel working on aid projects, and stopped shipping essential equip-

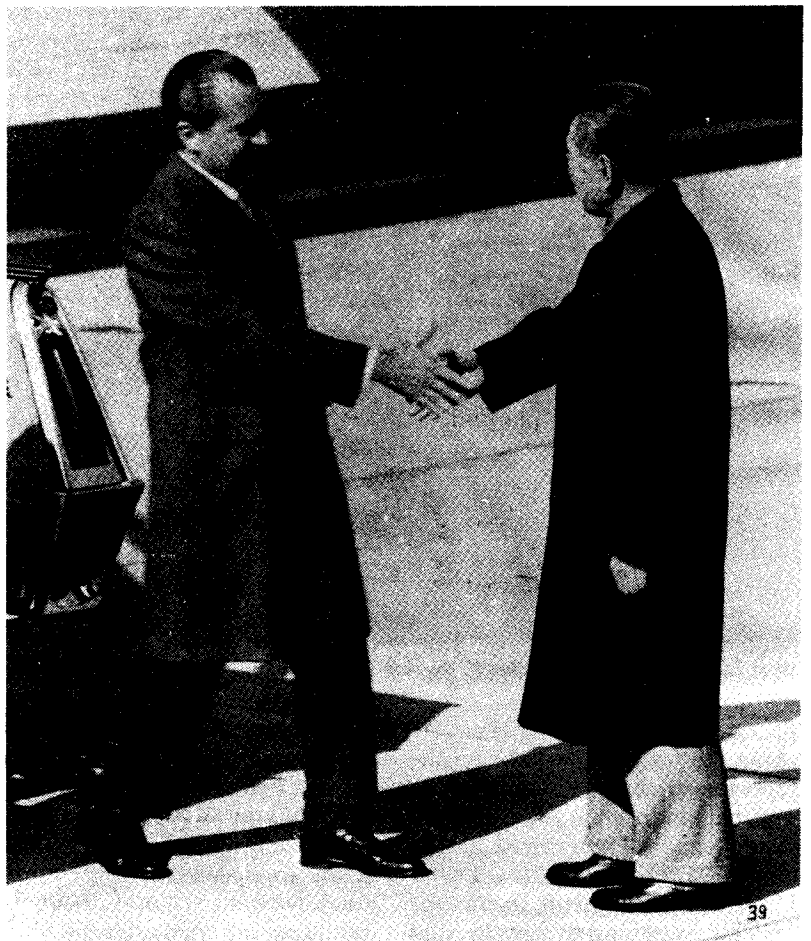
ment to China. What is more, Moscow dunned Beijing for repayment of loans contracted during the Korean war.

The Soviet leader thought he had China by the throat, for in terms of farm production 1960 was a bad year for the country. There had been crop failures, thanks in part to erroneous policies in the rural areas. China indeed went through a very difficult time.

But Zhou Enlai, as head of the government, and as directed by Mao Zedong, responded to the Soviet pressure by stepping up the polemical struggle and organizing the nation in a united effort to offset the havoc wrought by the Soviets and nature. As a result, things began to hum again the following year and in October, when he attended the Twenty-second Soviet Party Congress in Moscow, China had economically turned the corner.

The Twenty-second Party Congress, if noted for nothing else in particular, is remembered for the profanity heaped on Stalin once again. The dead leader not only became the object of abuse at the sessions, his sarcophagus was also defiled and removed from Red Square, with his body reburied elsewhere in an unceremonious manner. Zhou Enlai let Khrushchev and his cronies know where China stood on this matter. He led the Chinese delegation to Red Square and left a wreath before the Lenin mausoleum. Then he searched out Stalin's new resting place and laid before it a bouquet of flowers bearing an inscription—an act of defiance and contempt for his desecrators. "To J.V. Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist," it said. That done, Zhou walked out on the Soviet Congress without waiting for it to wind up its business and flew home.

When *The Spirit of '76* carrying U.S. President Richard Nixon landed on February 21, 1972, at the Beijing airport to



Meeting Richard Nixon at the Beijing Airport in February 1972.

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begin what Nixon described at the end of his visit as "the week that changed the world," seventy-three-year-old Premier Zhou Enlai stood rod-erect near the ramp to welcome the first American chief executive ever to set foot on Chinese soil. Immaculate in a gray tunic topped by a dark overcoat to brave the inclement February weather, the frail-looking Premier, unbeknownst to the world, was actually a very sick man. He had suffered from heart failure since 1966 and now was cancer-stricken. The tell-tale shadows that etched Zhou Enlai's kind and alert face accentuated his poor health.

But the week from February 21 to 28, 1972, saw him engaged in session after session of talks and negotiations with the American president, showing no signs of

fatigue as he accompanied the Nixons to the social events in the evening as well. Nixon noticed his interlocutor taking some pills halfway through their four-hour meetings and thought they were for high blood pressure. But Zhou's ailment was much more serious.

Death was less than five years away. Yet he soldiered on, as firmly in the driver's seat as ever.

In the meantime he soldiered on, as firmly in the driver's seat as ever, first in his Zhongnanhai office and, when no longer able to be there, from a hospital bed. As co-architect with Mao Zedong of the new approach to the United States, he gave his entire attention to Nixon's visit, undertaking to

negotiate for his country in matters big and small and orchestrating the activities which climaxed in the signing of the famous Shanghai Communique on Nixon's last day in China.

Concluded on February 28, 1972, the Joint Communique is a unique document in the annals of international affairs, the outcome of a long and intense negotiating process of give-and-take. It is unique because, unlike most international agreements which employ banalities and platitudes to gloss over differences that cannot be composed in the negotiation process, this joint communique lists and defines the points of difference as well as the concurring opinions between the two countries.

All this reminds one of the policy Zhou Enlai adopted back in 1955 in the Indonesian city of Bandung—seeking concurrence and shelving differences. What sets Bandung apart from Shanghai is that while the differences in Bandung were left unrecorded in the Afro-Asian concord of Ten Principles, the Shanghai Communique catalogues and sets forth the discordant points at length. It was Zhou Enlai all over again.

At daggers drawn for two decades, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America had been exchanging venomous invective without cease since the Korean war of the early 1950s. While the People's Republic was pilloried as international "criminals" or "outlaws" in the American media, the United States was cast in the role of "arch imperialist" in the Chinese press. So before that historic handclasp between the American President and the Chinese Premier at noontime on February 21, 1972, could melt all the rigidity and sterility of the hostile years, much had to be done on both sides of the Pacific to defuse the enmity accumulated down the years and explain to the people the need for turning over a new page in Sino-American relations.

Through Edgar Snow, the American writer, Mao Zedong had earlier sent an open and clear signal suggesting that Richard Nixon, if he so wished, would be welcome to visit China either as President or as a private tourist.

The State Council under Zhou Enlai took the opportunity to enlighten all sectors of the people on the changing factors in the international situation that called for exploration of a new avenue to set China on the course of resuming contact with the United States. Reports carrying essential information on the United States were relayed through government channels at all levels, together with explanations as to why President Nixon, hitherto roundly abused in the Chinese press, was invited to China as a guest of the government.

Near the end of the Nixon visit, the Premier called on Rogers. It was a touching gesture, vintage Zhou Enlai — the consummate diplomat.

Indeed, for quite some time before the Sino-American rapprochement actually took place, the triangular relationship of China, the Soviet Union and the United States had undergone some changes. By massing a million hostile troops on its borders with China, the Soviet Union had brought the strained relationships between the two countries to breaking-point. The circumstances of the time made it possible for a change from collision to conciliation in China's relationship with the United States. So the corner was not too difficult to turn.

If from the start the reception accorded the American visitors was low-key, merely courteous and correct, that was only to be expected. Twenty years of name-calling hostility could not be transformed overnight. Moreover, the two countries, then without diplomatic relations did

not recognize each other officially. But Chairman Mao Zedong's unscheduled meeting with the American President within hours of his arrival was a sure sign that the hosts had a warm welcome in store. The coverage of Nixon's first day and night in Beijing and the make-up of *People's Daily*, the Party organ, with six photographs the following morning, pointed to a more amicable reception than was first envisaged. Zhou Enlai also saw to it that an escalating format of warmth be timed to give expression to these sentiments. It came on the third evening of the Nixons' visit. Zhou Enlai took them to watch a programme of table-tennis exhibition matches and gymnastics in a newly-built stadium. There the capacity crowd frequently burst out clapping, often in unison, as much to cheer the performers as to bid welcome to the Premier's honoured guests.

Zhou Enlai went out of his way to make his guests feel at home. The negotiations with Nixon were held alternately at the Great Hall of the People and at the Guesthouse in Diaoyutai (The Fishing Terrace) where the American President was installed. Such arrangements gave the distinguished visitor a feeling of staying in an official residence, rather than in a guesthouse, to host the negotiations. Surely President Nixon must have felt that way when he stood at the door of his "official residence" to greet the arrival of Premier Zhou to conduct official business.

As noted before, Zhou Enlai always made sure that none of his guests had cause to complain of "being left out." Secretary of State William P. Rogers was not included in the American party when it met with Mao Zedong, and it was National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger who sat alongside the President at important talks. Near the end of the visit, the Premier paid a special call on Mr. Rogers. It was a touching gesture, vintage Zhou Enlai—the consummate diplomat.

Zhou Comes Alive on Screen, Stage

... In an avalanche of movies and dramas, it was a 50-year-old actor who has brought the beloved premier back to his people

by Lao Wang

Ten years after his death, Zhou Enlai is still very much alive in the hearts and minds of millions upon millions of Chinese. His writings as presented in his two-volume *Selected Works* are widely read and have been assimilated into the canons of the Chinese Communist Party. His career and achievements have been written up in numerous memoirs and novels.

But perhaps more than anything else, his image as one of the giants of modern Chinese history, and his character as the soul that embodies the Chinese people, have been projected through an avalanche of popular films and dramas in the last decade. And it is Wang Tiecheng, the 50-year-old

actor, who has brought the beloved premier back to his people. Wang has performed the part of Zhou Enlai in 13 plays, films and TV dramas, during which Zhou appears as the young leader of popular uprisings, an underground revolutionary leader, a man who loves and guides underprivileged children—and finally as the premier of New China, a statesman wholly dedicated to his people.

At One With the People

Perhaps one of the most memorable performances by Wang was a scene in the film *The Great River Flows on*, which depicts Premier Zhou directing a struggle against a Huanghe (Yellow River) flood. The mighty river, running more than 5,400 kilometres long through northern China, was once considered the fountainhead of ancient Chinese civilization. But it has also become known as "China's sorrow," for it passes through the badly eroded loess plateaus of the northwest, carrying with it loads of top soil and sand, causing frequent floods in its lower reaches. Whenever this occurred, it would victimize residents along its banks.

In the movie, the scene takes place at a perilous moment in the battle against the flood. Night descends as the local peasants are hard at work reinforcing a dike. Someone discovers in the darkness that the premier is among the long queue of labourers passing baskets of soil from hand to hand. He has just flown in from Shanghai by helicopter. Faced with the choice of whether to order a break in the dike to divert the flood, the

premier hesitates. To do so would save people in the lower reaches, but villages and farmlands along the new course would have to be abandoned, affecting the lives of 2 million local farmers. He considers another option and wonders if it would be possible to make the dike strong enough to bear the thrust of the roaring river. After inquiring about the history of local floods, the premier passionately tells the local people that they must mobilize themselves to reinforce the dike.

"The Party Central Committee is here with you," declares Zhou. "To each inch of rising water, we will add one yard of earth to the dike."

Every bit of the sequence is historically accurate, according to Wang. The actor also recalls a trip to the area where the flood took place, where he met an old boatman who told him of another moving encounter with the late premier. The old man had been one of those whom the premier had asked about the history of the local floods and for ways to fight them. When the two climbed to the top of a hill, the premier discovered that the old man had lost one of his worn-out straw sandals at the foot of hill. Not willing to let the boatman walk with a bare foot, the premier insisted on retracing their steps to pick up the sandal and put it on the old man's foot. The old boatman said he only discovered later that the man he accompanied was none other than Zhou Enlai.

"It was exactly through these details that I got acquainted with the premier's personal style and had a glimpse of his unique character," recalled Wang. "This and other episodes became, as it

Wang tiecheng with Deng Yingchao
(Mme Zhou Enlai) in 1979.



were, the seeds of my artistic creation. Gradually I began to feel as the premier did, that one should always be one of the *laobaixing*, the millions and millions of common people, rather than behave as a 'hero' standing high above them. I believe this makes my acting more convincing."

The Human Touch

Both *Xian Incident* and *Storm Over Zhongshan* are films about important historical events. The first recalls the 1935 incident in the northwest Chinese city, in which General Zhang Xueliang, the head of the Kuomintang (KMT) Northeastern Armies, seized his superior, Chiang Kai-shek, to force him to change his non-resistance towards imperialist Japan. Zhou Enlai, then vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, flew to Xian at the risk of his life to help the general conduct negotiations, which eventually succeeded in making Chiang acquiesce to Zhang's proposal. It was then that the national united front against the Japanese invaders was formed.

The second film depicts the crossing of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River by 1 million People's Liberation Army troops during the last stage of the civil war in the late 1940s, leading up to the capture of the KMT capital of Nanjing, and the collapse of Chiang's rule on the mainland. There is an episode about the friendship between Zhou Enlai and Zhang Zhizhong, a high-ranking KMT general. As early as 1945, before the civil war broke out between the Communists and the KMT, General Zhang had flown to Yanan to accompany Chairman Mao to Chongqing, the wartime capital of the Nationalist government, for peace talks with Chiang. In his contacts with Mao, Zhang revealed himself to be a man of upright character doing his best to promote some form of national unity. By 1949 the regime to which he belonged was close to its demise. Zhang was sent as the

chief representative of the KMT government to the already liberated Peiping (now Beijing) to negotiate with the Communist leaders for an armistice. Objectively bearing in mind the true interests of the nation, Zhang accepted the draft peace agreement, based on an eight-point proposal put forward by the Communist Party for the formation of a new-democratic coalition government. The proposal, however, was rejected by the KMT leadership. For a while, General Zhang was indecisive about his next step. Zhou Enlai told Zhang to take his time. Later Zhou took him to the airport where a plane soon landed, and walking down the plane were none other than Zhang's wife, daughter and son. With a smile, General Zhang grabbed Zhou's hands in his own and said: "You are indeed a true friend!" For it was Zhou who had personally arranged for Zhang's family to flee the KMT-controlled areas, with the help of Shanghai's underground Communist organizations. From then on a new chapter was opened to General Zhang's long-term cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party. He died in 1969, after taking up for two decades the posts of vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and vice-chairman of the National Defence Council.

To provide a fuller reflection on film of Zhou Enlai's life in this period, Wang Tiecheng proposed to the director that he add the following details based on a sketch taken from one of the recently published memoirs: During the negotiations, Chairman Mao and other Communist leaders stayed in a summer house by the foot of Fragrant Hills in Beijing's western suburbs. General Zhang was staying downtown in a hotel at the former legation headquarters in Dongjiao Minxiang in the inner-city of Beijing. It was very tiring for Zhou, who had to shuttle back and forth across the city. The film portrays how he used to ask for a



Wang Tiecheng brings back Zhou Enlai in the film "Storm Over Zhongshan."



Zhou Enlai comes to life in the stage play "Young Newspaper Sellers."



Wang Tiecheng as Premier Zhou in the film "The Great River Flows On."

piece of steamed bread and some seasoned vegetables from a common canteen, and hastily nibbled away on the simple meal while busily poring over the important documents in hand. In the next scene, he walks up towards the KMT negotiators in his characteristic smart suit and charming smile.

As Wang recalls, one story he read in preparation for the performance moved him a great deal. It was about the friendship between Zhou Enlai and General Fu Zuoyi, another senior KMT officer. As Mayor of Peiping, General Fu answered the call from the Communist Party and in early 1949 peacefully handed the city over to the People's Liberation Army. His bold move saved the 700-year-old ancient city — residential quarters of the ordinary people and royal palaces as well — from the baptism of war.

According to one of the memoirs, Premier Zhou, while attending a formal occasion after liberation, was asked by General Fu to lunch with him at his house the following week. The Premier accepted the invitation with pleasure, as he remembered that day happened to be General Fu's birthday. One hour before lunch, when Fu phoned to confirm the engagement, he found the premier still in bed. Zhou had worked around the clock the night before. Although the general insisted on not disturbing the premier, Zhou's secretaries decided to wake him. When the premier was told about the call, he got up immediately and blamed himself for having forgotten about the invitation. "Strange that I didn't remember. This is the first time in my life I have ever done this," he was said to have commented to his aides.

Wang Tiejcheng also has played the part of Zhou in two other films about his friendship with public figures.

The first one is about Li Siguang, the prominent geologist whose theoretical studies played a major role in the discovery of

Chinese petroleum resources and the development of today's famous Daqing Oilfield. Here the premier was shown as a man full of sympathy and understanding, always encouraging on China's scientists. The other film, *Fire Dragon*, touches on Zhou's concern for Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty that fell in 1911. Pu was once the puppet ruler of northeast China under Japanese occupation. His early life in the court had made him a good-for-nothing dependent on others even for the simplest needs in life. With care and encouragement from Premier Zhou, Pu Yi eventually became a trained horticulturist who was able to support himself.

I began to feel as the premier did, that I should always be one of the "laobaixing," the millions upon millions of common people, rather than behave as a 'hero' standing high above them. I believe this makes my acting more convincing.

Although the premier and his wife never had any children of their own, they were known internationally for their extraordinary love for the young. Zhou had taken care of many orphans of martyrs, the most famous among whom is Vice-Premier Li Peng. In his role as premier, Wang Tiejcheng has more than once acted out this paternal side to Zhou. *Young Newspaper Sellers* and *Xige*, two plays produced by the China Children's Theatre in Beijing, were both of this genre, in which Zhou appears as a man who helped underprivileged children and youth discover some warmth in the world.

Young Newspaper Sellers por-

trays Zhou's love for the newsboys of the *Xinhua Daily*, published by the Communist Party in war-time Chongqing. In a moving scene, Zhou takes off his own scarf and puts it on a little girl who, being an impoverished orphan, has offered to sell herself on the street because she cannot afford to support herself. She is saved by the *Xinhua* workers who recruit her as a "newsboy." In this play, as a veteran Party member Zhou pays special attention to raising the political consciousness of children, helping them to understand revolutionary ideas and to become skilled in dealing with their enemies.

Wang's first portrayal of Zhou was in the play *The Turning Point*, staged in the summer of 1977. This one detailed Zhou's struggle against the leftist opportunists during the Long March. Zhou took enormous risks to protect many innocent victims of the "leftist" persecutions in the 1930s. When this play was put on in Beijing, just after the decade-long "cultural revolution," it touched a tender spot in the hearts of the audience. Almost every gesture in the 15-minute episode, recalled the actor, won eager response, and the play was time and again interrupted by applause. Members of the audience would crowd to the front rows to sit close to the stage; some had come from other cities in nearby provinces to see their hero come alive again before their eyes.

According to Wang, in his 21-year acting career since his graduation from the Beijing Central Drama Institute in 1953, he has rarely seen such strong responses to a play.

"This illustrates the love and reverence people hold for the late premier, and also helps me to understand the role of artistic creation. Artistic images recreate the realities of the past. Here they have once again presented the beloved premier, who still, to this day, encourages his people to work ever harder for China's renaissance."

Sunshine and Shadows

Notes on A 100-Day Journey in the South

The wind of change is blowing in cities, towns and hamlets. In which direction? A retired journalist—retirement cannot suppress old instincts—records below his observations following a tourist trip to south and central China. His impressions include a building craze, an improved, more secure life accompanied by ominous consumerism, people enjoying scenic spots yet complaining in tea-houses. And much more. Something important is happening in this land, he concludes, a stirring, as if the dragon is about to take off.

by Duan Liancheng

A few years back, I used to travel extensively around the country, but always as a reporter on assignment and never a carefree observer. Upon retirement I made up for the years of hurry by travelling as a tourist to my faraway hometown of Kunming, capital of the southwestern border province of Yunnan. After a leisurely stay there I went to neighbouring Sichuan, the province with a hundred million people famous as a pioneer in the ongoing nationwide economic reform. I cruised through the famous Changjiang (Yangtze) gorges, took a good look at the central China city of Wuhan and then returned to Beijing.

On this 100-day journey I was never burdened by the need to solicit appointments with officials, decipher press handout gobbledeygook or chase after people in the news. Instead I strolled through ancient temples and browsed at shopping centres. I chatted with ordinary folk in tea-houses, with which Sichuan abounds, and talked politics with new acquaintances aboard trains and the Yangtze steamer.



Monkey business: The author at Mt. Omel. Local tourist trade includes a photograph taken with a monkey.

Old friends at *Beijing Review*, hearing me yarn about my trip, urged me to write down what I saw and heard and thought. Hence this unassigned assignment and unintentional report.

Coming home after a four-decade absence, I looked carefully around Kunming and its outlying areas, and naturally made comparisons with the past. In the 1930s, when I was a small boy, Beijing (then called Peiping) was a distant dream world. The few young people who had the mettle and means to go to Peiping and sit for entrance examinations at China's prestigious universities must, first of all, apply for a passport and two foreign visas. For unless they chose to ride or hike to Sichuan with gypsy-like caravans and sail down the Yangtze on hazardous wooden junks, they had to ride the bumpy, French-built, narrow-gauge railway to the port of Haiphong in French-occupied Viet Nam, head north again to British-occupied Hongkong by steamer, leapfrog back to Guangzhou (Canton) and then go north to Peiping. It was not until the 1960s that a rail link was completed between Beijing and Kunming. Now there is a daily express plying between the two cities, though the journey takes 60 hours. Daily air flights cover the distance in 3.5 hours.

Still, transportation is anything but convenient. As the market-oriented economy thrives, business people by the million are

scurrying around the country on selling, purchasing and other missions. Foreign tourists often complain about China's transport snags. They may not know that for a Chinese traveller to get a sleeping berth on train usually requires an overnight vigil in front of the booking office, even in subzero winter weather. Scalping is not unusual.

An old-timer asks, "Have the Americans changed? They are here again but behave quite well."

Kunming has grown far beyond the old city walls, now demolished to make way for a ring road. There are many new buildings. Clusters of factories with tall smokestacks sprawl over what were once suburban paddy fields and graveyards. In the early 1940s Kunming became an important US air force base. As a result, a garish street came into being called Nanping Jie (nicknamed "Little Shanghai"). Nanping Jie has long since been overshadowed by new thoroughfares and shopping centres and now looks shabby and cramped. But even "Little Shanghai" has become a much more pleasant place. Gone are the ragged shoe-shine boys and beggars, the "jeep girls" wearing heavy makeup and forced

smiles, and the drunken American G.I.'s necking with their Chinese "girl friends" in public or flinging firecrackers from rickshaws into groups of pedestrians for the fun of it. Though their valour in fighting the common foe was widely appreciated, these free-wheeling "Big Noses" affronted conservative Kunming in many ways. An old-timer asked me: "Have the Americans changed? A lot of them are here again, but they seem to behave quite well."

Though a far cry from the antique, dilapidated town that it was, Kunming has a long way to go before becoming a modern city. Many urban districts are still crowded with old, green-painted, "pigeonhole" houses. One can hardly find a public telephone in the busiest commercial districts.

An abstract slogan has brought about tremendous practical changes. It has turned China into a "land of building sites."

What impressed me were the building sites to be seen everywhere. Apartments, stores and office buildings were being erected and new roads being laid. Trucks carrying building materials followed each other nose to tail, stirring up small duststorms and creating traffic jams. Nevertheless, it was an inspiring scene of growth and vigour. I later found the same building zeal in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan, as well as in Chongqing and Wuhan. Construction was also going on full blast at the rural county seats and townships around Kunming and Chengdu. The emerging two-storey brick houses and paved streets, though modest, were in stark contrast with the remaining clay-walled houses and dirt roads.

Some visitors have been impressed by the scale of construction in Beijing in recent years. I would say it is a nationwide phenomenon. The country has shifted the emphasis of its work — to use our political jargon — from class

struggle to construction. This seemingly abstract slogan has brought about tremendous practical changes. It has turned China's 9.6-million-square-kilometre territory into a vast building site. All of this rouses my patriotic pride; I seem to see in my mind's eye a colossal dragon shedding its millions of old, blighted, wounded scales, readying itself for a thrust into the sky.

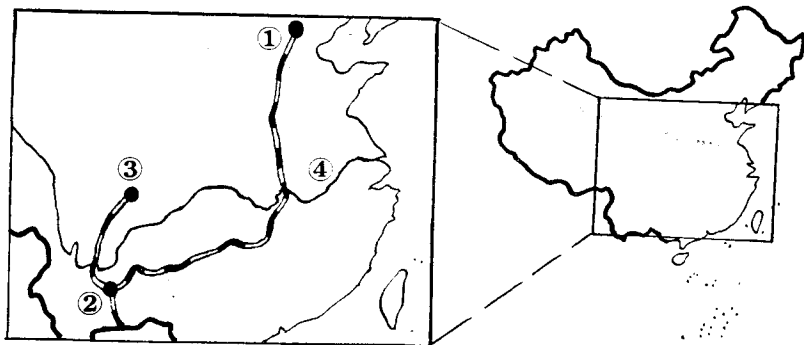
Relatives and friends have told me that the 1950s was also a time of rapid construction. But before long "fits and starts" appeared in the nation's political and economic life. A long-time railway engineer told me with a wry smile that during the 1958 "Great Leap Forward" some people hit upon the bright idea of laying wooden tracks. He was assigned to one such project. Whole forests of top-quality timber were felled for this purpose, but cars kept capsizing on the wooden rails. One shouldn't write off the "Great Leap Forward" altogether though, for I know personally how, among other achievements, China's now booming watch and bicycle industries were started from scratch in Shanghai by sober-minded people in those largely mad years.

Scenic Dianchi near Kunming, a rare 340-square-kilometre lake on a 1,800-metre plateau, bears scars from our less productive past. During the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), the ultra-Leftists in power decided to fill up part of the lake in order to grow more grain. Hundreds of

thousands of people, from aging professors to fledgling school-girls, from bench workers to shop assistants, were hurled into the "great battle." They carried dirt and rocks by means of shoulder poles, wheel barrows and small junks, and dumped the loads into the water. Large tracts of land were created, but paddies refused to grow properly there. Fish diminished drastically. Local inhabitants even tried to convince me that the resultant ecological imbalance had affected the "spring city's" mild weather. There had been two fierce snowstorms in the past decade, such as had never been seen before. Talking on the subject, Kunmingers invariably praised Zhou Enlai for, they said, it was the late premier who bluntly told the "fanatics" to halt. Grand View Pavilion in the suburbs used to be a splendid vantage point from which to look at Dianchi's sparkling blue waters hemmed in by picturesque hills. I mounted the pavilion in anticipation of fondly remembered sights and was shocked to see nothing but patches of sickly looking plants. I felt conned to have paid 30 fen as admission for this "grand view."

Without the "fits and starts" of those years, people say, life would have been much better now. Similar comments were heard elsewhere. The popular disgust with errors of the past seemed to me a strong guarantee against their recurrence.

What gratified me most in my hometown was the end of



(1) Beijing (2) Kunming (3) Chengdu (4) CHANGJIANG R.

its sluggish tempo of life and state of seclusion. Though I had stopped over in the city several times before, I didn't have time to linger and reminisce. Now I could stroll around and give free rein to my memories. No longer to be seen were the small depressions dotting the cobbled streets—hoof-prints left by caravans over the centuries. Nor could I find the tiny holes on the stone pavements around houses, which had been bored year after year by rain dripping from the eaves.

In those early days, the shop owners, a comparatively well-off section of an impoverished population, got up late. They would bask in the morning sunlight and chat for hours before opening business. At 12 o'clock every day, a cast-iron cannon would fire a muffled shot from an old city tower. This was called the "noon gun"—a welcome time-piece, as clocks were rare. When the provincial governor went to work or came back from his office in a heavily curtained sedan, armed guards led the way and pedestrians had to stop. I still remembered distinctly how my grade school pals and I stood in awe on the sidewalk. Few common people knew what was going on elsewhere in the country, let alone abroad. The "spectacle" of "criminals" being shot on a suburban execution ground would be news talked about over and over for months on end. The unbearably slow pace of life was a sign of social stagnation.

Now Kunming is as bustling as any other Chinese city. Everywhere you see people hurrying to work, study or play. Here a building is going up, and there a new store has opened. Plenty of *waishengren* (people from other provinces) are milling around, and *waiguoren* (foreigners) are a common sight. I saw a young Western woman strutting down a street in a pair of shorts without attracting much, if any, public attention. One of the slogans frequently seen nowadays is "time is money and efficiency is life"—a

fashionable adage originated in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, one of the country's windows which has been thrown wide open to the world.

Besides fuller stomachs, a relaxed political atmosphere and better human relationships have improved the rural quality of life.

I paid a visit to my native village, a mountain hamlet in the suburbs. Only a few elders could recognize me after a long and hard look. They were overjoyed and invited me to have dinner at their homes. By repeatedly declining I made them suspect that I still believed entertaining guests was too much a financial burden on them. One senior citizen said frankly: "Don't worry. We aren't all that poor. I daresay every family has some grain and bacon, too, left over from last year." In chats here and there, I found the villagers generally liked the "responsibility system"—the rural reform replacing collective cultivation of public land with, in most places, household management of parcelled-out plots, with each family responsible for its gains and losses. But some young peasants complained that as it took them only three months or so to do the farming on the limited plots, they needed work in the slack seasons. Diversification of the rural economy is obviously a pressing task, as the "responsibility system" has markedly raised work efficiency. "We don't want to loaf around for the greater part of the year, you know," they said, "we want to work more and earn more."

A few families have built new two-storey brick houses which, though rather bare of furnishings, would be the envy of city dwellers because of their spaciousness. In the evening you could hear cassette recorders or TV sets

blaring out local opera arias from some farmhouses. *Beijing Review* editors have told me that some foreign readers are puzzled as to why they harp so much on this peasants-buying-TVs theme in their reports. But I could hardly fail to notice their welcome presence in a backwoods area where absolutely no family owned, or dreamt of owning, such fancy goods five or six years ago.

The old generation seems to have retained the traditional attitude that "self-content makes for happiness." An octogenarian had this to say: "It's often said that socialism is good. Maybe we have really reached socialism in these past few years. What do you say?" But the young and the middle-aged are not all that complacent; they expect a much better lot.

In the village I also sensed a relaxed political atmosphere and improved human relationships. For years, practically every rural community had some "class enemies"—landlords and rich peasants, so classified in the early 1950s, plus counter-revolutionaries and "bad" elements of all shades and hues. These people had been made to work under the villagers' surveillance year after year, and most of them didn't dare to stir up any trouble. But all the same they continued to "wear hats" (the popular way of saying political stigmas). And their children and grandchildren were treated as an alien and potentially hostile force. In addition, there were others "criticized and struggled against," branded and defamed for one reason or another in incessant "class struggles." All this had naturally resulted in open antagonisms or hidden estrangement in human relationships.

Now most of the old-time landlords and rich peasants have died of old age, and the overwhelming majority of the survivors have had their "hats" removed. Their offspring are no longer subject to discrimination. People wronged in various "struggles" have by and large been

cleared. I felt that the easier social atmosphere actually played a much greater role than TV sets and cassettes in improving the rural quality of life. The same holds true in the cities.

I don't mean to say that all the previous class struggles were whipped up and meaningless. How could China be what it is today without the revolutionary wars, the land reform and other struggles to clean up the rotten old society? The question is: After those necessary struggles had come to a victorious end, should class antagonism continue to be taken as "the key link" in all fields of endeavour? The nationwide turmoil caused by the "cultural revolution" — the so-called "life-and-death struggle" against a phantom new bourgeoisie — and the increasing stability in recent years have proved in opposite ways the fallacy of the ultra-Leftist theory.

A mild political atmosphere — and fuller stomachs — have bred a better emotional mood. Humour, which has been so much a part of our national character, seems to be reviving. A visit to the Stone Forest near Kunming made me feel this point keenly. The place is so named because the vast expanse of fantastically-shaped karst columns formed 200 million years ago looks like a forest from afar. It's a unique sight attracting a continuous stream of Chinese and foreign tourists. Local girls of the Sani minority nationality serve as guides. They dress up in the colourful traditional costumes as "Ashimas," Ashima being a popular heroine of folklore. A vivacious Ashima led my group through the labyrinth of natural wonders. She enlivened her narration with occasional jokes: "Look at that rock. It's called Longing-for-the-Husband Stone. Doesn't it resemble your wife waiting eagerly for you to come home?" The amused audience applauded, and then urged her to sing a folksong. She gracefully obliged — with a Sani love song. A hardy youngster in the group

burst out with a wooing solo in the Sani way. They continued the musical dialogue as the group moved on in merry laughter. Such joviality is rare among us Chinese. Not yet completely freed from the centuries-old straitjacket of feudal etiquette, we are usually restrained in public.

Hunger gone, humour back. Many shops bear human-interest names and even public notices show "a milder temper."

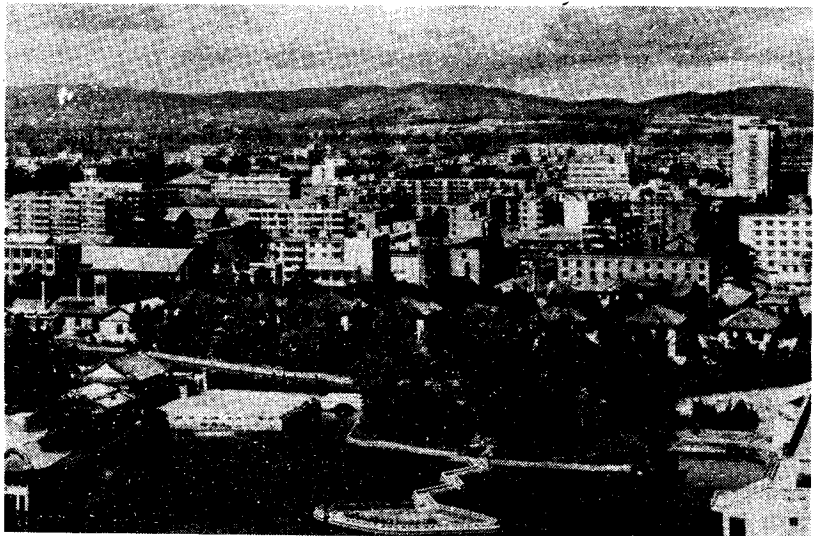
Visiting a small town called Songyang outside of Kunming, I was delighted to see a traditional red-paper couplet posted on the door frames of a newly opened private barber shop. The first line read: "Nothing wrong with having a shampoo and shave," and the second line: "Scissors and razor brighten you up." On the cross-beam was written: "Spring glows on your face." And the shop was named "Spring Glow Parlour." The humour lies in its sly references to past slogans (humour, alas, is often untranslatable). The "nothing wrong," for instance, is obviously meant as a jibe at the super-revolutionary idea dominant in earlier years that

any attempt at beautification was a sign of a "bourgeois way of life."

In other towns and cities. I found many human-interest names of new shops and service facilities. A MacDonald-type fast food establishment calls itself *Ha Ha Hao* (Ha, ha, good) with a "thumbs up" as its signboard; a backlane inn is named *Honglajiu* (Cranes Come to Rest); a snack bar is called *Haozailai* (Come Back If We Are Good), and so on. Up north in the port city of Tianjin, there is a stuffed bun restaurant nationally famous for both its food and its name: "Dogs Won't Touch It." Banned during the "cultural revolution," the name was rehabilitated a few years ago amidst popular acclaim. Perhaps emulating "Dogs Won't Touch It," Chengdu has a restaurant displaying a big plaque: "Rodents' Tower." How this unsavoury name can attract patrons is a mystery I didn't have time to unravel, but it was doing brisk business. All these seeming trifles add up to a relaxed political atmosphere and popular mood. A few years back, you would see everywhere shops either named with lifeless numerals (state-owned No. 1 retailer, for instance) or grandiloquently calling themselves "Long March Dumplings," "East-Is-Red Barbers" and the like. How on earth can dumplings

A bird's-eye view of Kunming.

XINHUA NEWS AGENCY



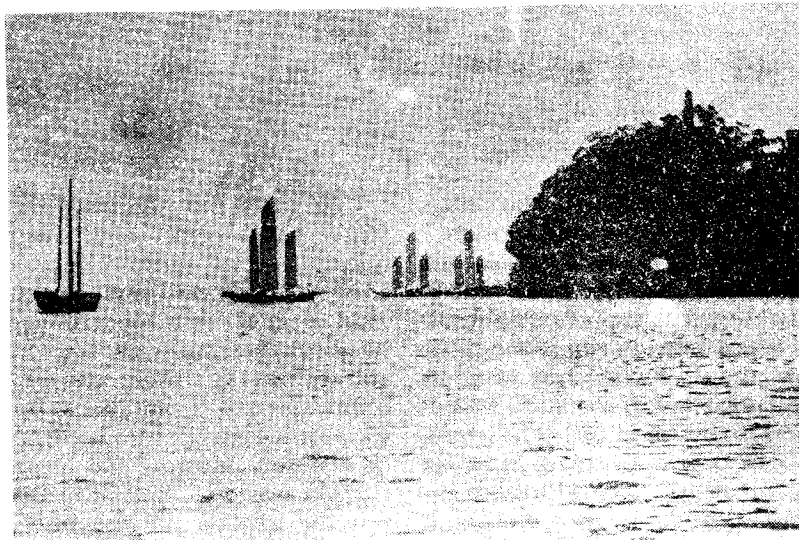
have anything to do with the epic Long March and haircuts with the political song "East Is Red"? I used to wonder and deplore the vulgarization, the stereotyping and uniformity.

Even notices on building sites show a "milder temper." Traditionally they used to read: "Important construction site. Passage strictly prohibited." In Kunming I chanced to see a few new ones saying: "Comrades, sorry for the inconvenience. Please keep away for safety's sake." In feudal times, official mansions were always flanked with two huge placards emblazoned with tiger heads and sharply ordering "out of bounds" and "strict silence." Their modern varieties showed that old ideas are dying hard. So even building site notices are being "modernized."

A decent livelihood breeds better morality," says an old saw. I found morality improving. Enchanted by the natural beauty of the Western Hills overlooking Dianchi Lake, I left behind on a pathway a quality transistor radio which daily provides me with the latest world news. As I hurried back in search of it, a middle-aged couple came down the steep path, the man holding high the set and both shouting for the loser. Thankfully I asked their names and work units. They modestly declined, obviously not caring to receive any letter of commendation. I begged them to let me treat them to a soft drink at the roadside stall. The man almost accepted, but his handsome wife nudged him in disapproval.

A few days later, absent-minded again, I lost a brand-new woolen sweater. The next day I found it hanging high over a street-corner fruit stand for the loser to recover. To show my appreciation I bought a few kilos of bananas at the stall, and the vendor, a rustic granny, picked out the best ones to reciprocate my goodwill. But our society isn't entirely moral. Local papers soon reported that a few young thugs were severely pena-

lized for burglarizing foreign tourists' hotels. Yet things had improved a lot in recent years, local people assured me. I knew what they meant. In 1972, during a stop-over in the city, I met a helpful young fellow who pushed me into a jammed bus and, while I was saying thanks, trotted away with my hip-pocket wallet. The loss of a cherished old photo filled me with rancour.



Lake Dianchi.

REN SHIYIN

It's a sweet and sour homecoming. More irritating than anything else is the bureaucracy.

The hometown visit this time wasn't all pleasant, either. The verdant hills behind my native village had turned bare and the clear rivers and brooks I knew so well had become dried up or muddy. Ecological disruption is no less serious at other places. Though peasant homes are better stocked now, the outward appearance of the villages remains as untidy as of old. A complete facelift will require many years of effort. More irritating than anything else is the bureaucracy. There are long queues every day in front of the booking office of the state-operated airline as people wait to register for a chance to buy

tickets. Lack of proper rules often leads to disputes. I witnessed a verbal war between two opposing groups, fought with the choicest four-letter words and followed up by clouts and kicks. But the "leading comrade" of the booking office sat sedately at her desk as if nothing were happening. This and other unpleasant or pleasant experiences prompted me to write a small essay for the local evening

paper. I thought it fair and well-balanced, certainly not a muckraking piece. But I got not a single word in reply after writing three times to inquire if they had ever received my manuscript.

I travelled from Kunming to Chengdu. The railway is an engineering wonder, one-third of it consisting of tunnels cut through rugged mountains. For kilometres you rarely see daylight, as if you were on a city subway. Some Japanese and Western technicians were on the train on business trips. Their presence recalled an earlier episode. When I came here in 1972, the newly commissioned Chengdu-Kunming line was a "state secret." It was not reported publicly, nor listed in train schedules. People learnt about its commission only through the

grapevine. I happened to have seen in Beijing a map of China compiled by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for public sale. Lo and behold, the Chengdu-Kunming railway was clearly marked on it. In an era when satellites scan the earth round the clock, this type of "security" is a self-mockery. I learnt on the train that now a number of once top-secret defence plants in this part of the country are turning to civilian production and opening their doors to foreign businessmen and technicians in a bid to introduce new technology. Every country has its secrets to guard, and rightly so. But undue emphasis on security is tantamount to a self-imposed technological blockade.

After 24 hours on the train I arrived in Chengdu. It was close to midnight when I felt like having my forgotten supper. The meal, eaten at a small, round-the-clock restaurant, plus a glass of good local rice liquor, cost me 2.5 *yuan* (less than US\$1.00). The stress placed on service trades in recent years has yielded rewarding results. In the cities and towns I visited, the much complained of "eating difficulties" — far too few restaurants, the situation made worse by their short working hours and rather grudging service — had largely been overcome. (This remains a hard nut to crack in Beijing, with its daily floating population of one million.) Chengdu's catering services, in my opinion, should be awarded top prize for the great variety of traditional delicacies at reasonable prices.

Privately owned restaurants and snack bars had been appearing like "bamboo shoots after a spring rain," local people told me. The business requires small investment but yields quick returns. On one occasion I roamed a Chengdu street unable to make up my mind which speciality to taste. The owners kept beckoning to passers-by. I was "pinned down" by a particularly hospitable hostess. The hot and spicy beancurd with rice I ordered was a

nice lunch, and the cheapest dish on the menu, costing just 24 *fen* (less than US\$0.10). I felt doubly happy that the woman didn't give me the "white eye" (the Chinese term for snubbing). There I was, a cordially invited Beijing customer who turned out to be more stingy than a country bumpkin. Such a wonderful experience. I daresay, can hardly be shared by foreign tourists plying between deluxe hotels and plush restaurants.

Socialism does not mean asceticism. But consumerism may lead to Mammon worship.

Chengdu's old shopping districts have come alive with numerous small shops. The wide cross-city boulevard completed in 1984 is lined with modern new buildings bearing such fashionable names as "trade centres," companies and corporations. But socialist-inclined people need not be alarmed. Most of the bigger firms, I was told, belong in one way or another to the public sector. The "Underground Bazaar" in the heart of the city was extremely interesting. In earlier years, there was always talk about "winds sweeping the tower, forecasting a storm," a subtle way of saying that war was inevitable and imminent. Great efforts were then made to dig tunnels deep across the land in anticipation of a holocaust. Many cities have now turned their underground shelters into storage areas, shops, restaurants, cinemas and even hotels. Chengdu did a good job of transforming long sections of tunnel into a glittering marketplace with hundreds of state, collective and privately owned stores. The bright light, the multi-coloured tinsels hanging everywhere give the place a festive air. The whole bazaar and supporting facilities, I was told, created jobs for close to 5,000 unemployed young people, particularly young women whom factories are loathe to hire for bench work. I would

call the place a "Pageant of Chengdu beauties," too. Many salesclerks are young women wearing light makeup and earrings, polite and engaging. A few are the ultra-modern, "glamorous" types.

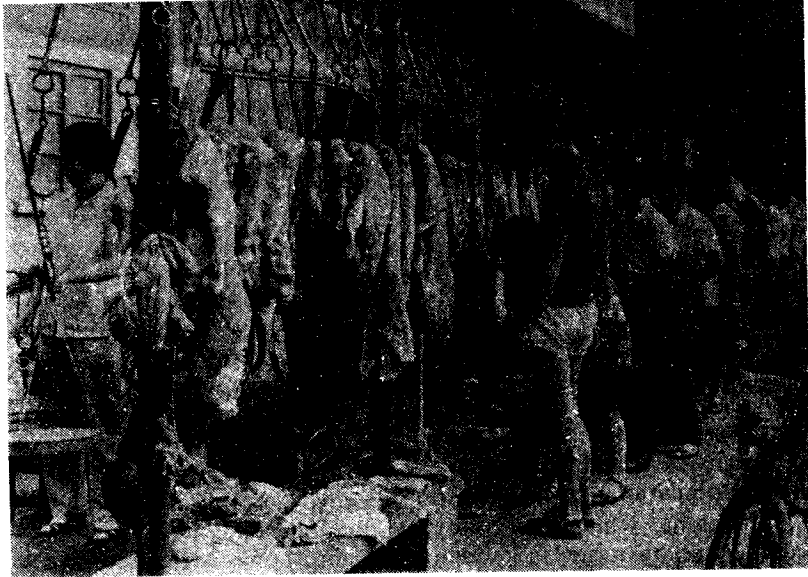
A closer look at the commodities, however, reveals that most of them are not closely related to the day-to-day needs of ordinary people — there are, rather, electric appliances, fashionable garments, cameras and accessories and rings and necklaces. That is why window-shoppers far outnumber real buyers. Many stalls try to attract attention with loudly played cassette recorders. The Hongkong, Taiwan and Western pop music constantly banging into your ears is a great irritation.

It was heartening to notice the rise of consumption in town and country. But at the same time I sensed an upsurge of consumerism. People have rightly discarded the ultra-Leftist notion linking socialism with asceticism. And it is also true that proper measures to stimulate consumption can gear up production and boost the economy. But consumerism is obviously a different matter. It will lead to the kind of fetish of materialism and Mammon worship plaguing many "affluent" Western societies.

Several months earlier, my friends and I who share some "orthodox" ideas were annoyed by a sudden media barrage promoting consumption. One commentator, for example, lamented that the Chinese people were afflicted with the "small peasant mentality." Some old peasants would conceal their swelling bundles of banknotes in earthen jars or underneath their mattresses, only to find later that the money had rotted or discoloured. People should spend to help energize production, he advised. We took issue with this and similar arguments, believing that consumerism was already smouldering all around and that the media could only do the public a disservice by fanning it. As soon

as their life began to improve, many people started aiming at TVs, refrigerators and other "big-ticket" items. While buying a private car is not yet possible, trendy youngsters wearing sunglasses are eyeing imported motorbikes, perhaps seeing the astronaut-type safety helmet and the girl riding pillion as "necessary" accessories. Lust for money has become more pronounced. In spite of fatter pay envelopes, complaints of low income are widespread. So is the "red-eye disease" (popular expression for envy). A few wicked souls have gone out of the way to acquire ill-gotten fortunes. Quack medicines and deadly fake liquors appeared. People have been shocked and demanded stern countermeasures. Several hardened criminals have been executed. But worse things might be in the offing if Mammon had its way.

While worrying about the floods of luxury goods and scenes of revel I chanced to see on the trip, Beijing's *People's Daily* brought me welcome relief. In a front-page commentary (November 5, 1985), it declares bluntly: "A problem we must tackle now is 'premature' consumerism. What does it mean? Consider these examples: Some enterprises have done little to boost production but a lot to increase bonuses and fringe benefits. Some units have thrown financial regulations overboard by importing luxury cars and other consumer goods. *Wanyuanhu* (households earning 10,000 *yuan* or more a year) at present are negligibly few, but for a time their level of consumption had become a favorite topic in the media, thus stimulating unrealistic desires for consumption." As the economy grows, the paper predicts, people will have better food, but not daily feasts, improved housing but not luxury flats, more comfortable clothing but not wardrobes full of wool and silk, and some household electrical appliances but not an "electronic household." It emphatically enjoins the nation to keep to the



Peasants selling pork at urban markets.

XIAO LONGLIAN

tradition of hard work and frugality in both public construction and private housekeeping. Reading these lines, I scribbled in the margin: "It's good that they've got their good sense back." The views expressed by *People's Daily* are not just idle rhetoric and may serve a useful purpose throughout the country.

Rock music won't rock the nation, youngsters argue. But the spread of commercialized and sensualized art is disturbing.

Making a fetish of materialism, in my opinion, is also a complement to cultural decadence. It inevitably leads to the spread of commercialized and sensualized arts, both indigenous and imported. In a Chengdu restaurant I heard a band banging out from the upstairs dance hall a piece which originated in old Shanghai's night joints. In downtown Wuhan I was irked even more by a shop's sound system blaring out a song considered obnoxious by serious-minded people even in the old China.

Hearing my objections to this type of music, some youngsters politely criticized me for being "over-scrupulous," reminding me that it was not pop and rock, but the super-puritan "cultural revolution," which actually rocked and almost wrecked the nation.

Admittedly "over-scrupulous," still I cannot dispel my suspicions about the new "video parlours" found even in small towns. Often operating in makeshift buildings, this new entertainment business is attracting full houses of youngsters. All the screenings, shown with video recorders, are *kungfu* stories from Hongkong. "Well-informed" people tipped me that pornographic material is sometimes passed off as "martial arts" in late night shows. Then there are those lurid tabloids and photographs. I saw sellers of these things at bus depots, including an old crook stealthily bargaining with a few lads over a "nice album" he promised to deliver.

To conclude with our political terminology, greater efforts are urgently needed to "build spiritual civilization." "Material and spiritual civilizations" are the two legs of our modernization drive. How to harmonize the two seems to me a paramount concern.

(To be continued)

Measures to Aid the Elderly

"BEIJING RIBAO"

(Beijing Daily)

Establishing special centres and homes for the elderly would help improve the life of China's retired population.

At present, China has more than 12 million retirees. Though the majority of these men and women have adequate pensions, because of senility and other problems associated with aging, many will find it increasingly difficult to care for themselves. The problem of care is especially acute among the nation's elderly who live alone.

One of the biggest difficulties for the aged is getting regular medical care. Old people often suffer severely from chronic illnesses. Those whose finances are sound and whose housing is adequate can afford to pay someone to take care of them. Most of China's elderly, however, do not have that advantage. Although retirees are privileged to free health care, many cannot withstand the difficulties involved in taking a bus to the hospital, others are incapable of conducting the various procedures required of hospital patients. Some elderly patients who require hospitalization often cannot receive timely treatment because the hospitals lack beds.

Elderly confined to bed have occasionally been known to merely give up on life because there is seemingly nothing left for them. Others who live in unhappy home situations have found their health deteriorating because of their unfortunate home life.

Addressing these and other problems confronting China's

elderly and helping older people live their sunset years as worry-free as possible have become one of the nation's priorities.

One of the possible solutions to the problems experienced by the elderly is establishing a number of centres for the aged, which will be intended for those retirees with difficulty leading normal lives. At present, however, China has a relatively poor financial foundation for such a programme. The nation also lacks the necessary managerial experience to oversee such centres.

Problems such as funding, land allotment, construction and management cannot be solved overnight. The establishment of such centres, therefore, has not been easy. It has been suggested that in order to promote the idea of living centres for the elderly in China, the state should begin experimenting with the idea in those areas with the most urgent need and resources. Until that can be done, there are a number of measures that can be taken in the meantime. They are the following.

1. Hospitals should set up outpatient departments for the aged, and doctors experienced in geriatric care should be chosen for

the elderly patients. Every retiree (males aged 65 years and above; females, 60 and above) should be allowed to see a doctor by using only an identification card or a residence booklet. If an elderly person needs medical care, he or she should be given special treatment that would include simplified registration, payment and medicine purchase procedures.

2. Because so many retirees live far from their assigned hospitals, their former units should allow them to seek medical advice closer to their homes. Elderly patients should also be permitted to make their medical payments with subsidy coupons.

3. In order to guarantee that the elderly be given emergency medical treatment when required, the departments concerned should pay great attention to installing more public telephones in residential areas.

4. Mutual aid associations or groups for the aged should be established according to regional requirements. A deputy leader of the local residential committee should be entrusted with the responsibility for this work and with investigating the elderly's health and living conditions.

If these measures find enough support and are adopted by the departments concerned, the lives of China's elderly population are certain to improve.

A Trip to Taklimakan Desert

"SHUKAN DAobao"

(The Herald of Books and Periodicals)

Bai Hua, a noted Chinese author, recently reported on his adventures in the Taklimakan Desert which is located in China's northwestern autonomous region of Xinjiang.

"The vast desert," Bai Hua wrote, "is devoid of life, trees, grass, birds and water. There is sand everywhere, giving the desert its only colour—yellow." Bai Hua said the region's barrenness surprised him. "I had imagined Xinjiang to be ablaze with colour and dotted with tents and huge

flocks of sheep. During my trip to the Taklimakan, what I found was the vast emptiness that gave the desert its name, which in the local language, Uygur, means 'the sea of death.' It is only by going to Taklimakan that one gets a true understanding of the meaning of the name, for it is truly a desolate place."

Despite the desert's lack of life, however, Bai said he thought the area had good prospects. "Taklimakan's future holds hope," he said. According to results from a recent geological survey, the Taklimakan may hold rich oil deposits—so abundant that they can be compared favourably with that in the entire Middle East. Relying on the huge amount of oil in the region, northwest China may be slated for

some wide-range development.

Such prospects, however, Bai said, are seriously hampered by the desert's harsh climate, where the temperature is 70 degrees centigrade during the day and can fall to below zero temperature at night. The terrible sand storms, which generally blow for more than ten days at a stretch, can submerge entire cars in sand.

"Furthermore," Bai said, "the desert's many dunes, some of which are several hundred metres high, make travel difficult. Such conditions made me realize just how difficult are the lives of the members of the Taklimakan oil prospecting teams. They are heroes, and they deserve our respect, because they have given their youth and love for the sake of the country's prosperity."

Hugo's Love Of Chinese Culture

"WEN XUE BAO"

(Literature Gazette)

Like his compatriot Voltaire (1694-1778), who received a great deal of acclaim for his 18th century play *The Orphan of China*, which was adapted from a Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) opera, French author Victor Hugo was also well versed in Chinese culture.

In 1848, Hugo (1802-1885), who is perhaps best known for his poetry and novels such as *Les Miserables* and *Notre Dame de Paris*, drew up a gigantic plan that called on all French people to educate themselves in Chinese culture.

In 1861, when the allied armies of Britain and France occupied Beijing and destroyed the imperial Yuanmingyuan Palace, Hugo was one of the few Westerners to stand up and condemn his government for oppressing the Chinese.

Hugo loved China and respected Chinese culture. A literary example of his creation, *The Vase of China*, was the last poem he wrote before he fled to Brussels in 1851. The poem showed the obvious influence of Chinese poetry on Hugo, both in style and form.

Hugo's painting also shows some influence by Chinese culture. One of his paintings is a Chinese official in ancient oriental attire sitting in front of a table. On the table is a dish of fish. On the painting are the words "Vegetaria Meal," which in Chinese sound similar to the saying: Holding down a job without doing a stroke of work. The words are meant as a criticism of bureaucrats who occupy high posts but do nothing. Although Victor Hugo never visited China, he bore a profound knowledge and understanding of its literature and culture.

Curbing Careless Construction

"ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO"

(China Legal News)

One important reason for the runaway expansion of capital construction is that China still lacks a capital construction law.

For a long time, legal means were not consciously used in the field of capital construction. Because of the lack of clear-cut responsibility, policy-makers have not been held responsible for the poor investment result of projects undertaken. Waste and losses have been quite common due to poor judgment of the designing, policy-making and supervisory departments, with no individual taking any legal responsibility into account. Under such circumstances, some departments, regions and workplaces care only about how much investment is made, but not about the return on

the investments. They therefore have stretched their hands out to the state for more funding, leading to the current excess in capital construction.

There are five reasons behind the runaway increase in capital construction:

1. Some projects are rashly undertaken without adequate feasibility studies.
2. Not enough attention is paid to preliminary budgets. More often than not, the final account goes beyond the original budget.
3. Plans for investment are worked out year by year, without mid- and long-term plans.
4. Construction companies only pay attention to canvassing new business orders and beginning new projects, but show little care for the final completion of projects in accordance with contracts.
5. The various specialized banks vie with each other in granting credit for capital construction.

Grain and Oil Exports Move Up

The 1985 export volume of the China National Cereals and Oils Import and Export Corp rose 3 percent over that of 1984. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan period (1981-85), the corporation also registered a 50 percent increase in foreign exchange earnings over the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1976-80).

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, the corporation's export trade increased steadily every year, averaging a rise of 3.3 percent a year. The import volume in 1981 was the highest in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period and went down yearly, decreasing at an average rate of 13.7 percent a year. Import volume, however, still rose by 49 percent between 1981-1985 as compared with the Fifth Five-Year Plan period.

In the past five years, the structure of import and export commodities has changed significantly. The export of cereals and oils has made rapid progress. The export volume of the two in 1985 hit an all-time high, reaching 7 million tons and outstripping the

import volume for the first time in recent years. The export volume of cereals and oils in 1980 accounted for 26.8 percent of China's total exports of cereals, oils and foodstuffs. In 1985 that figure reached 47 percent.

The regions to which China is now exporting its commodities also have changed. Exports to Japan, the Soviet Union and East European countries have increased rapidly. China's cereals and oils exports to Japan accounted for 16.5 percent of total exports of cereals, oils and foodstuffs in 1980 and 25.4 percent in 1985. The export volume to the Soviet Union and East European countries rose from 10.69 percent in 1980 to 20 percent in 1985.

Joint Ventures Extended

The Chinese government has decided to extend the duration of Chinese-foreign joint ventures from 30 years to 50

years. It was also decided that certain types of joint ventures could even extend their contract period beyond 50 years with the special State Council permission.

The decision will revise Article 100 of the Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Joint Ventures, which stipulated that the duration of a joint venture engaged in an ordinary project is usually 10 to 30 years.

Enterprises whose duration will be extended to more than 30 years include mainly these projects requiring large investments, long construction periods and low profit margins, and particularly those in which foreign partners provide advanced technology or technical know-how to produce internationally competitive goods. Such advanced technologies include sensor equipment, composite material technology, genetic engineering, long-distance telecommunications and biophysics.

Kidney bean seeds being carefully selected for export by a Yi nationality peasant of Nanhua County, Yunnan Province.

Zhou Zhongyao



Foreign Exchange Reserves Climb

China's foreign exchange reserves for the third quarter of 1985 totalled US\$12.592 billion, or US\$1.74 billion more than at the end of June 1985.

Among the total foreign exchange reserves for the third quarter of 1985, the state reserves in the third quarter amounted to US\$3.377 billion, which was US\$2 billion less than in the second quarter, while the reserves of the Bank of China, the nation's foreign exchange bank, came to

US\$9.215 billion, which was US\$3.733 billion more than was held during the previous quarter.

In addition, third quarter gold reserves stood at 12.67 million ounces, while outstanding foreign loans ran to US\$4.487 billion.

Dongfeng S1100 diesel engines produced by the Changzhou Diesel Engines Plant in Jiangsu Province have entered the international market.



Encouraging Export Production

Businesses in various cities throughout China are being encouraged by city authorities to manufacture quality and internationally competitive products.

In one such city, Shenyang authorities have mapped out a series of measures aimed at improving area products. One of the Shenyang measures stipulates that enterprises earning more foreign currency for the state will have the right to use a portion of

the foreign currency. The more foreign currency that business should earn, according to the stipulation, the more foreign currency that company will retain. These enterprises will also enjoy preferential economic treatment from the state.

The Shenyang authorities say they hope the city's enterprises will earn about US\$100 million in foreign currency in 1986. To this end, beginning from January 1986, more than 50 percent of Shenyang's large and medium-sized enterprises will begin exporting their products. Foreign trade departments and scientific research units in the city also have sent people to scout out what successful exporters are doing. In order to tackle some key technical problems, they have drawn up programmes for public bidding. Technical forces in the city have been organized to take part in the activities of dealing with some key technical problems, so as to improve the competitiveness of the products on the international market.

To meet the needs of the international market, a number of export commodity production centres have been set up on the outskirts of Qingdao, in eastern China. Qingdao has established prawn, abalone and shellfish farms, graphite, marble and granite export commodity production centres, as well as cereal, oil, peanut, apple, grape, rabbit, ox and mink production centres.

These commodity production centres have ensured the steady supply of products for export. By October 1985, the purchasing volume of export products outside Qingdao came to 230 million yuan, meeting the city's 1985 target ahead of time. It is estimated that Qingdao's total purchase volume will reach 300 million yuan in 1985, showing a 50 percent increase over the previous year.

China Opens Route To Latin America

To expedite China's transport of export goods to Latin America, the Chinese Ministry of Communications has decided to open a sea route to Latin America beginning from the second quarter of 1986.

The opening of the route is expected to shorten delivery time between China and Latin America, while also promoting trade between the two.

Provisions of the agreement to use the route involve the following:

China will send or charter vessels to transport both large and small amounts of import and export goods.

As of April 1986, the Chinese container ships, which visit the United States twice monthly, will berth once a month in Panama, from where China will sell its goods to Panama's neighbouring countries.

Each month China also will send a regular ship loaded with its cargo to Latin American countries. That ship will then return home with Latin American goods.

News in Brief

The export volume of fodder in Shandong Province, east China, reached US\$43.5 million in 1985, a 3.3 times increase over 1981, the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

In December 1985 the Beijing Administration of the CAAC and a Hongkong engineering company reached an agreement on the establishment of an aviation hotel in Beijing. Covering an area of 24,000 square metres, the project is expected to be completed in 1987.

Bittersweet Portrayals of Elderly

As in many parts of the world, China too struggles with the problem of providing adequate care for its elderly. China's most recent census, taken in 1982, indicated that men more than 60 years old and women more than 55 years old make up 9.27 percent of the national population. Furthermore, the survey showed that the average life expectancy in China increased from 36 years in 1949 to 68 years in 1982.

Just as other sectors of society have come to recognize the importance of addressing the problem of the aged, so has contemporary Chinese theatre. An example of that concern has been displayed recently by the Beijing People's Art Theatre, which in December staged two plays about the lives of China's and America's elderly.

The Morning Strollers

In the morning in Beijing, one often finds groups of old people out doing their *qigong*, or deep-breathing exercises, gymnas-

tics, chatting or simply walking. Local people call such activities *liuzaore*, which means strolling in the morning, if it is done in the evening then it is *liuwanre*, meaning strolling in the evening.

Li Wanfen, who wrote *The Morning Strollers*, was once one of these strollers during a period when she was in poor health. She said the experience taught her a great deal about the lives of China's retirees. "I did not expect these old people and hospital patients one sees out on the streets in the morning to love and care for each other. But they do. We did *taijiquan* (shadow boxing) or *qigong*, and then we would just chat. It wasn't too long before we came to know one another quite well. Whenever one of the morning strollers in my area became ill, some of us would find a good doctor for him or her, and bring the patient gifts of fruits and other food. During a normal morning we would talk about family troubles, such as whose son was no good, or whose daughter-

in-law showed no respect for her parents-in-law. Invariably we would all feel much better once we'd aired our troubles."

The Morning Strollers is most effective in its illustrations of the love and concern that can exist among the elderly. These feelings are most vividly portrayed in the play's love affair between Grandma Guo and Du Mangzhong. Guo, who was widowed when she was young, has to work hard to raise her only son. Once her son gets married and has a son of his own, Guo becomes economically dependent on him and reciprocates by doing all the household chores. Despite her efforts, Guo's son and daughter-in-law treat her poorly and accuse her of being overly reliant on them. Du Mangzhong, an elderly unmarried gardener, who fell in love with Guo 10 years ago, courts Guo, who because of her feudal ideas, feels she cannot return his love. She says she would rather suffer in an unhappy home than be laughed at for marrying as an old



woman. Her "morning partners," however, manage to persuade Guo to marry Du, which in fact, thanks to their efforts, she finally does.

The Morning Strollers, which is adapted from a novel that focuses on this couple's love, delves into its characters' lives and background, and attempts to explain that the tradition of showing the elderly devotion and love, as well as showing consideration to the young, is still important, even as China's extended families get smaller.

Li said in writing *The Morning Strollers* she was hoping to create a piece all ages could enjoy. She has succeeded. "The play is for both the old and the young," Li said. "The contradictions and misunderstandings between the two generations have created too much pain. Despite their different views on careers, life, love and morals, they desperately need to work on mutual understanding and respect."

The Gin Game

The 1977 Pulitzer Prize winner *The Gin Game*, written by D.L. Coburn, has been one of the American stage's most enduring successes.

The play, which revolves around two retired people involved in an ongoing gin match at a retirement home, depicts the life and loneliness of America's elderly.

When Weller first meets Fonsia at the home he challenges her to a game of gin rummy in an effort to overcome his loneliness. Fonsia, however, proves to be the better player and beats Weller. After his defeat, Weller gets quite angry and challenges Fonsia to a second match, which he loses again and after which he becomes increasingly angry and frustrated. As the game goes on, Weller loses again and again and in so doing becomes

uncontrollable. He gets puzzled, excited, angry and finally desperate. In the finale as Weller's emotions storm to the surface, his hands begin to waver and his voice to tremble. He stares at Fonsia instead of his cards. What he is seeing, however, is not just another old person, but the change of his fate. As the old man feels sure of another loss, he jumps up from his seat, hits the table with his walking stick and finally collapses with exhaustion.

Although the play is American, it has touched many a heart among Chinese audiences. The two Chinese who portray Weller and Fonsia brought to life the personalities and life of America's older people for the Chinese stage. As the two prominent members of the Beijing People's Art Theatre, Yu Shizhi who plays the role of Weller, and Zhu Lin, who is Fonsia, have deeply impressed audiences with their performances. The play's director Xia Chun, director of the Beijing People's Art Theatre, should also be commended for his contribution to adapting the script for the stage and for prompting such admirable acting out of Yu and Zhu.

Yu Shizhi's ability to create the tormented Weller has sparked strong emotions—both happy and sad—from his audiences. Though it appears it is the game that makes him angry, it is in fact Weller's hard life as a businessman that makes him lose his temper.

During his 40-year stage career, Yu has acted nearly 30 different roles, including a pedicab-driver, a clown in Beijing Opera and a mad man. Yu performed as the teahouse's owner in Lao She's *Teahouse*, which created a huge stir in Western Europe in 1980 and in Japan in 1983. In *The Gin Game*, Yu successfully evokes Weller's feelings and actions. Weller, for example, smokes heavily when he is agitated or depressed and tends

to hold a cigar between his lips as he is playing cards. Weller also seems to be always sniffing from a running nose. Yu performs both the smoking and the sniffing as if they were his own natural quirks. As an aggressive old man, Weller also gets nervous easily. When he does, his head starts to shake and he develops a facial tic. Again Yu does those mannerisms too, with an apparent ease.

Zhu Lin's impressive portrayal of Fonsia has also delighted audiences. Fonsia, a woman deserted by society and her children, only reluctantly plays the card game and does not care if she wins or loses. After the first game, she announces matter of factly, "I've won." After she wins the second game, she begins to gloat about her ability to her challenger. As she wins again and again, and the old man gets increasingly frustrated and angry, Fonsia starts to have mixed feelings about her success as a card player. She at once feels emotions that range from satisfaction to pity and fear. Toward the climax, with her emotions mounting, Fonsia breaks into a near desperate cry.

"Fonsia is wiser and more realistic than Weller," Zhu Lin said. "Weller comes into her life at a time when she's feeling lonely. Though she finds Weller honest, kind and humorous, and actually considers marrying him, she chooses not to because of his violent temper and occasional rudeness. This is Fonsia's tragedy," Zhu said.

Together, *The Morning Strollers* and *The Gin Game* provide audiences an opportunity to at once be entertained, mystified and even saddened by the complex lives led by the elderly in the two very different societies. The combination has, it is hoped, provided valuable insight and added concern for the trials and joys of aging anywhere.

by Hong Lanxing

China's 1985 Top 10 Sports News

China's top ten sports news items of 1985, as chosen by China Central Television and *Sport News*, are as follows:

1) In 1985 the nation's athletes won the largest number of gold medals ever in China's sports history. In bagging their 46 golds, the Chinese athletes broke five world records and set one world best result in tournaments at home and abroad. Of china's five world records, four were set by speed boating contestants at the Fourth World Marine Model (power boat) Championships in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, in August. The fifth record-setting win came

when Li Xin cracked 599 points in the world men's small bore standard rifle contest at the Beijing Invitational International Shooting Tournament. The world best result was set by Yan Hong in the women's 10-km walk at the Chinese National Marathon and Walk Race. Yan Hong strode home first, clocking 44 minutes 14 seconds.

2) China's National Women's Volleyball Team carried home the gold cup at the Fourth World Cup Tournament held in Japan November 8-20. The event marks the team's fourth consecutive victory since winning the Third

World Cup in 1981, the Ninth World Tournament in 1982 and the gold medal in the 23rd Olympic Games.

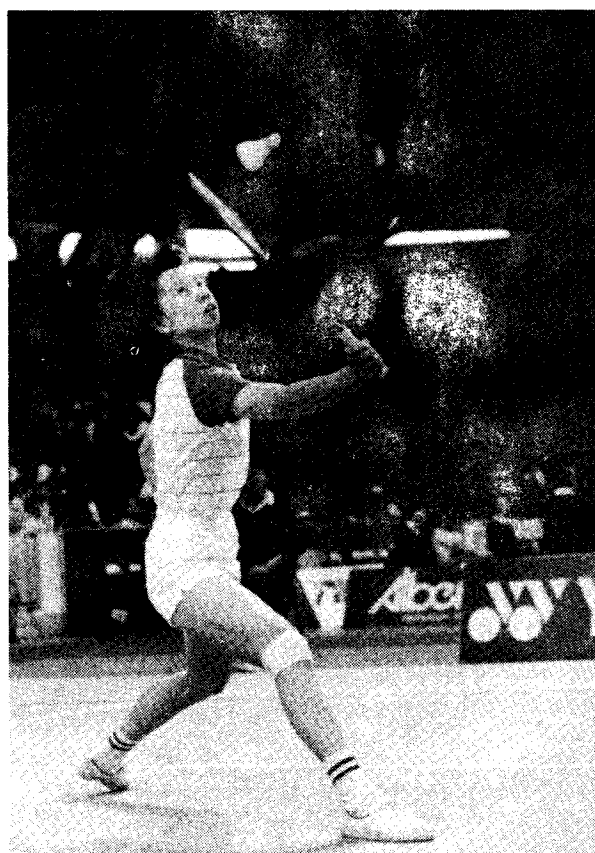
3) The Chinese *go* team logged its first ever victory against the Japanese *go* team on November 20 in Beijing, where China's player Nie Weiping overcame Japan's *go* "saint," Hideyuki Fujisawa, to give China an historic win of eight games to Japan's seven.

4) With 8,000 players competing in 17 events, the First National Junior Sports Meet was held in China's Henan Province in October. The event was used as a test of and inspection opportunity

The men's table tennis team won first place at the 38th World Table Tennis Championship; Han Aiping took the women's singles title at the 4th World Badminton Championship.



XU BU



CHENG ZHISHAN

for China's athletic hopefuls.

5) The Second National Workers' Games was held in Beijing, from September 7 to 15 after a 30-year hiatus. With 4,600 participants in all, the meet spotlighted China's worker athletes.

6) The First FIFA Under-16 Kodak Cup World Tournament, the largest soccer tourney in China, was held from July 31-August 11. During the tournament China's young booters entered the quarter-finals.

7) China's First National Peasants Track-and-Field Meet, which was held in Wangsheren Village in Shandong Province, hosted 247 peasant athletes from 25 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities. The meet was

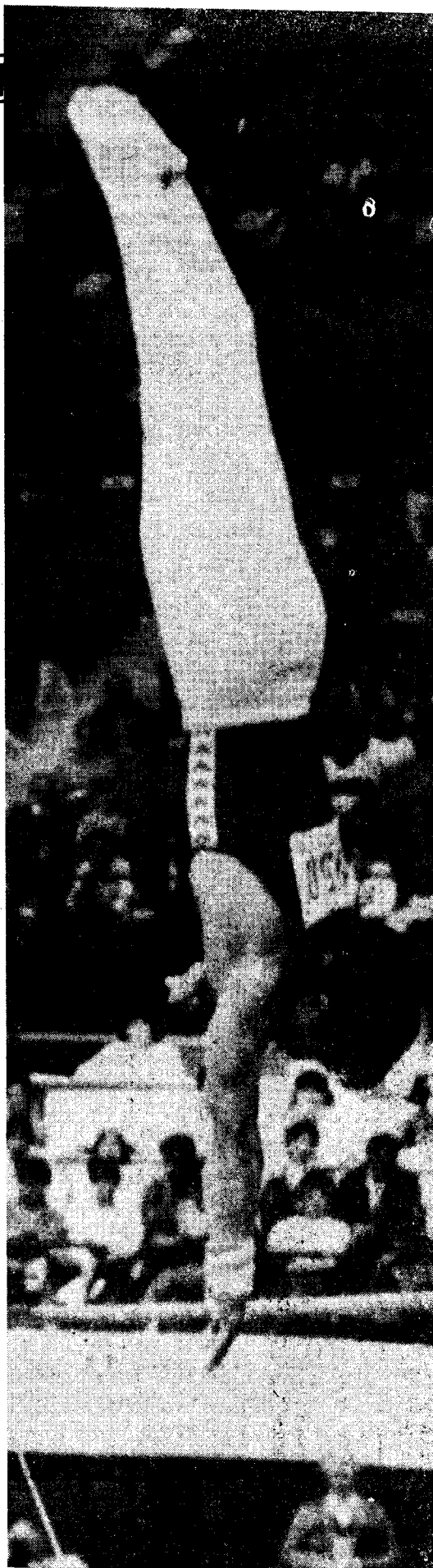
China's largest sports event ever sponsored by non-government organizations.

8) At the 90th Representative Conference of the International Olympic Committee, He Zhen-guang was selected as China's first representative member of the Executive Committee of International Olympic Committee.

9) During the Xian *Wushu* International Invitational Tournament, representatives from 16 countries and regions established the International *Wushu* Federal Preparatory Committee, marking one step further to promoting *wushu* as an international sports.

10) China's national soccer team lost to the Hongkong Team by 1:2 on May 19 in the preliminary qualification match for 1986 Mexico World Cup.

Chinese and US players competing for the First FIFA Under-16 Kodak World Cup; Tong Fei, the world gold medalist in horizontal bar.



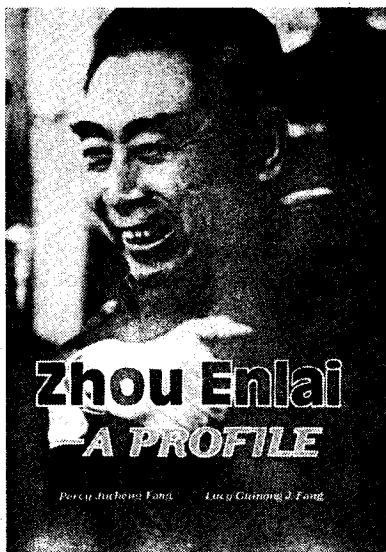
Zhou Enlai Remembered in Biography

Ten years ago this month I learned of Zhou Enlai's death from the banner headlines on a New York City newsstand. Buying every paper in sight, I headed for the nearest coffeeshop, where I sat and read every word of the long and generally respectful obituaries, all the while crying helplessly as if it were a personal loss. Which it was.

In virtually every country Zhou was mourned as someone the world could ill afford to lose—even among those who had little friendship for China and no sympathy at all with Zhou's Marxist-Leninist convictions. Within China the grief was immensely deeper and sharper at the passing of this man who since youth had served his country, his people and the socialist cause with all his multitude of talents and with limitless grace, integrity and selflessness.

In time for the tenth anniversary of Premier Zhou's death on January 8, 1976, the Foreign Languages Press has issued *Zhou Enlai—A Profile*, by the husband-and-wife team of Percy Jucheng Fang and Lucy G.J. Fang. Neither a full-scale biography nor a heavyweight political analysis, the book offers instead a more personal look at the human being, some of the forces that shaped him, the history he helped shape, and his relations with all kinds of people.

The book was written not in Chinese, but English. The Fangs, both retired journalists (he from *Beijing Review* and she from Radio Beijing International) studied for a time in Britain in the 1940s and recently spent a few years in the U.S. Their English is colloquial and appealingly free of the officialese and Chinglish that mars some Chinese publications. They write with the authority of



Zhou Enlai—A Profile

By Percy Jucheng Fang and Jucy Guinong J. Fang

Published by Foreign Languages Press, Beijing

Distributed abroad by China International Book Trading Corporation and in China by Beijing Foreign Languages Bookstore

insiders on events they have lived through and with a good eye for what will interest a foreign audience.

Warm and perceptive on Zhou Enlai as man and leader, the book has a number of touching or humorous anecdotes that will be new to readers abroad. Foreigners will especially appreciate the authors' lively language and trenchant views of people and events.

Zhou had pre-eminently the common touch. Readers accustomed to government heads who never move a step without heavily armed guards and large entourages will be tickled by the

accounts of Zhou's casual excursions into the streets of Beijing in the company of one or two aides. He rode buses and chatted to passengers and conductors to check out the state of public transport. He arrived unannounced at department stores, to the amazement of clerks who found themselves selling razor blades or other trifles to their country's premier, and being gently cautioned to serve their regular customers well.

Zhou counted among his friends not just top government and Communist Party officials, but a wide range of artists, writers, scholars, and quite ordinary people such as the barber at the Beijing Hotel who had for years cut his hair, former bodyguards, and a Japanese ping pong player. On countless trips within China and abroad his easy relations with high and low and genuine concern for the poor and oppressed earned him undying affection.

The Young Revolutionary

The chapters on Zhou Enlai's childhood and youth present no particularly new information, but move quickly and clearly through the story of his birth in 1898 to a once-prosperous mandarin family, the shabby-genteel poverty of his youth, and his early political awakening. In his later years many Western reporters would approvingly note his silken manners and characterize him as a mandarin intellectual (the implication in part being that other Chinese leaders were somewhat less "civilized"). This must have amused Zhou, whose long record of revolutionary activism made the label ludicrously inappropriate.

As the authors note, at his

Tianjin middle school he was already organizing a progressive student association and writing fiery editorials for the school paper. Like others of his generation he was deeply concerned about China's backwardness, imperialist encroachments, and the weak-kneed response of the warlord government which had seized power soon after the 1911 overthrow of the Qing Dynasty. Former classmates also recalled his cleverness, charm, and enthusiasm for schoolboy theatricals.

Zhou's skills as organizer, propagandist and negotiator made him a leader in the citywide student sector of the famous May 4th Movement of 1919, which demanded social and political reform and resistance to foreign domination. After one particularly stormy demonstration he and other leaders were arrested, imprisoned and threatened with execution. Before the May 4th Movement he had studied briefly in Japan, where he first encountered Marxist ideas. In 1920 he went on a work-study program to France, and was soon organizing Marxist study groups among overseas Chinese in France and Germany. Returning home a full-fledged Communist in 1924 (the Party had been founded in Shanghai in 1921), Zhou quickly came to play a significant role in the Communist-Kuomintang united front against the northern warlords.

In 1925 he married Deng Yingchao, a comrade who had been a leader among women students in the May 4th days in Tianjin, and a formidable organizer in her own right. Years later, the Fangs report in their chapter "Family Circle," Deng Yingchao commented to a friend, with a twinkle in her eye, that she still kept a hundred or so postcards Zhou had sent her from Europe. It was to be an extremely happy

marriage, a lifelong personal and political partnership.

In 1927 Zhou led two successful armed uprisings. In Shanghai in April Chiang Kai-shek suddenly betrayed the Communist-KMT united front and turned on the victorious insurgents. Zhou, high on Chiang's wanted list, barely escaped the carnage. Deng Yingchao, also a target, managed to get safely away from Guangzhou but lost the unborn child she was carrying; the couple would never have another. At different times over the years they were to adopt and care for at least ten children of revolutionary martyrs. The August Nanchang Uprising was directed against the KMT betrayers of the revolution. The city was taken but could not be held, but some of the retreating troops helped establish the first Communist base area, in a mountain stronghold. In the next few years Zhou and Deng did underground Party work in defiance of the "White Terror" unleashed by Chiang Kai-shek, which would ultimately claim hundreds of thousands of victims.

In the early 1930s, Japanese troops occupied large areas of northeast China. Instead of defending the country, however, Chiang Kai-shek launched large-scale military campaigns against the expanding Communist base areas. The book describes only sketchily Zhou Enlai's role in the Communist Party's internal struggles over policy in the late 1920s and early 1930s, in the defence of the central base area, and in the epic Long March beginning in 1934—a few more details might have been welcome. By the mid-1930s a new base area had been established at Yanan in the northwest, Mao Zedong (with Zhou's firm support) was the unquestioned leader of the Communist Party and Red Army, and a call had been issued for a nationwide united front against Japanese aggression.

Zhou Enlai the Diplomat

In the chapter "Consummate Diplomat in Action," the Fangs provide a brief, insightful view of Zhou's diplomatic style and the nature of the foreign policies he helped shape and implement.

Zhou's formidable negotiating skills and ability to work out principled compromises were invaluable during the uneasy Communist-KMT alliance against Japanese aggression from the late 1930s to 1945, and in the urgent but unsuccessful attempts, after the Japanese surrender, to avert civil war in China and persuade the U.S. government that its own interests lay in neutrality rather than all-out support for Chiang Kai-shek.

In the years after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 the country faced grave problems: continuing U.S. attempts to isolate and "contain" China and the Sino-Soviet split beginning in the late 1950s. But Zhou, Mao and the other Chinese leaders also saw great possibilities in the growing independence of the formerly colonized third world nations. An essential of China's foreign policy was that she would never allow herself to be dominated again by another country, but neither would she ever seek dominance herself. Instead she stood for peace and unity. The aim was to unite the third world and peace-loving countries and people everywhere against the aggressive actions of the two superpowers—thus averting a third world war and creating the conditions for peaceful development.

Diplomatic efforts extending over many years, including extensive state visits to Asian, African and European countries by Zhou Enlai—and the fact that China lived up to her stated principles—greatly enhanced China's influence in world affairs and effectively confounded all

attempts to isolate her. Two signal evidences of that success were the 1971 United Nations vote to restore China's rightful seat in that body (a decision heartily cheered by third world delegates) and the rapprochement with the U.S. after 30 years of estrangement. By the time the pictures of Zhou Enlai and U.S. President Richard Nixon toasting one another in Beijing in 1972 were flashed around the globe, Zhou Enlai had long been hailed as one of the world's great statesmen.

But no amount of praise, honours, or power ever went to Zhou's head or changed his modest lifestyle. For 25 years he'd owned exactly two pairs of leather shoes—one of them sandals for summer—worn only for formal occasions and resoled as needed. (This anecdote appeared in the original manuscript of the book; the authors dropped it from final proofs for fear foreigners would not believe it.)

Zhou tolerated no yes-men or flatterers among his aides, insisting that bare facts and honest opinions were needed to arrive at correct decisions. He saw to it that relatives and associates took not even slight advantage of their connections. He was austere in his personal life because China's economy could afford no waste. Yet he did not equate socialism with eternal poverty and self-denial, as some ultra-Leftists did during the "cultural revolution." His last speech to the National People's Congress in January 1975 called for a turn from political struggle to socialist modernization. He believed in developing the economy to raise living standards for all.

Voice of Sanity

Rearranging his study, Mao Zedong finds a listening device, and a Gang of Four henchman quickly orders the murder of the three technicians who installed it so they cannot

talk. Ex-actress Jiang Qing has a noted director jailed because, years before, he'd cast her as a capitalist's mistress—a part she'd very much wanted at the time. An old Beijing nightsoil collector is hounded out of town because, as a model worker, he'd been photographed shaking hands with a top official now in disgrace.

The "cultural revolution" (1966-76) left deep scars, and the book devotes more space to it than to any other topic; at times the Fangs' words blaze with indignation at the injustices done. The book is also strikingly candid on China's political scene and (in the chapter "Not Gods But Men") on Zhou's and Mao Zedong's strengths and weaknesses and the relationship between the two men. In those ten years Zhou Enlai was a rock to cling to, saving and succouring those in trouble whenever he could (at times, even as premier, he was shockingly powerless to help). From the beginning the opportunists Lin Biao and the Gang of Four rightly saw Zhou as a roadblock on their path to power, and accordingly picked off his close associates one by one in preparation for their assault on him. As a result the workload he carried just to keep the country running, getting only a few hours sleep each night, would have staggered six men. Yet he always found the energy to engage in a battle of wits with the opportunists, to reason with Red Guards, or to offer comfort to the disgraced.

How could it happen, this overthrow of all legality and socialist principles? Of course there were the opportunists, who did their best to keep Mao Zedong isolated and ill-informed, and the Parkinson's disease that afflicted him in his last years. However, the Fangs conclude (as did the official Party document on the matter issued in 1981) that Mao must bear a large share of the blame, but that other top leaders who failed

to stop him were also at fault. Without in any way slighting Mao's unequalled contributions to the revolutionary cause, the authors show how, in his increasing arbitrariness and intolerance of criticism, he violated some of his own most cherished principles.

Why did Zhou not openly oppose events which, as they developed, so horrified him? Clearly he thought it best for the country, and for the victims he could help, that he stay at his post. But did old habits of deferring to Mao, of negotiating and compromising, did the very mellowness of his personality lead him to avoid, even in a small degree, an open confrontation? (This is to oversimplify greatly the authors' very nuanced arguments.) If there was a flaw, his staunch, superhuman efforts to limit the damage earned him the Chinese people's eternal gratitude.

Three months after his death, outraged by the Gang of Four's crude attempts to downplay the honours that were their beloved premier's due, Beijing people spontaneously devised their own tribute. On the traditional festival to remember the dead, wreaths appeared at the Monument to Revolutionary Martyrs in Tian'anmen Square, first a few, then thousands. The poems posted up there expressed grief at Zhou's loss and, courageously, rage and contempt for the Gang of Four. It was part of Zhou's legacy that in his name so many dared stand up to tyrants.

The legacy lives on—in the authors who lavished such energy and care on this book, in the press workers who often stayed up till 3 a.m. to get the text and index out on time, in the designer who hunted up rare photos and drafted design after cover design until he came up with a winner, and in so many others, Chinese and foreign.

by Dell Bisdorf

**Traditional Chinese
Paintings by Feng Jinsong**

Feng Jinsong, born in 1934 in Huangpi County, Hubei Province, is the president of the Hubei Academy of Fine Arts. His speciality is flower and bird paintings. Traditional Chinese painting, Feng says, must be rooted in the national arts but also should reflect life today.



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