

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

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## Myths vs Reality in Tibet



**CHINA'S  
WORKING  
WOMEN**



A woman working on the fresco.

*Zhang Jifeng*

Music and Dance of Tang Dynasty, an embroidery fresco 8 metres in length and 3 metres wide, has been recently completed in Xian's Jinjiang Embroidery Factory. The fresco has already been exhibited in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing.

The completed work.

*Zhang Jifeng*



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<b>Wang Donghai</b>	

# HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

## The Lhasa Riot and Dalai's Statement

■ Commenting on the recent riot in Lhasa (p. 5), *Beijing Review* editor says it was designed as an echo to the Dalai Lama's current activities aimed at separating Tibet from China. He refutes Dalai's accusations against China while criticising the United States for allowing the Tibetan exile to carry out his political activities on US soil (p. 4).

A letter by a British resident in Beijing who recently returned from Tibet throws light on some of the developments there (p. 34).

## Moscow's Asia Policy Takes on New Look

■ To advance its political and economic interests, the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev has been adjusting its policy towards the Asia-Pacific region. Characterized by a conciliatory stance towards China, the United States, Japan and other US allies, the new policy has achieved little to date (p. 14).

## Planning and Marketing Unify

■ Whereas commodity economies were regarded as capitalist, breakthroughs in both economic theory and practice have been made since the reform, including efforts to unify planning and market regulation (p. 17).

## Work or Family, or Both?

■ The high employment rate of women in urban areas indicates the increasing emancipation of Chinese women. But working women find they must still do much of the family work in their roles as wives and mothers and they are now having to make certain choices between work and family (p. 20).

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(in Canadian and US issues only)

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# The Tibet Myth Vs. Reality

by Zhu Li

The riot which disrupted the peaceful atmosphere in Lhasa on October 1 and resulted in 6 deaths and 19 serious injuries was by no means accidental. Although still under investigation, there are many indications that the incident was designed in faraway quarters as an echo to the Dalai Lama's separationist activities during his visits to the United States and Europe.

Such activities, which have never ceased since the Dalai Lama and his followers fled their homeland after an abortive rebellion 28 years ago, have intensified in recent years.

Trying to deceive their compatriots as well as the world public, they have resorted to rumour-mongering and demagoguery in addition to tampering with history.

In a September 21 statement during his US visit, the Dalai Lama wanted to make people believe that Tibet was an independent country before what he called a "Chinese invasion" in 1949-50. This is a hoary lie that flies in the face of facts.

Historical records show that growing political and other ties dating back to the 7th century led Tibet to become part of China more than seven hundred years ago. Since then, China has maintained its sovereignty over Tibet despite changes of dynasties and many other social upheavals.

During the hundred years after the Opium War of 1840, Tibet fell victim to imperialist aggression as did many other parts of China. There were two open invasions, in 1888 and 1904, by Britain, and "creeping" alienation of Tibet's

border areas continued for most of the first half of the 20th century. Even during those difficult years, when foreign powers were manoeuvring to detach Tibet from China by encouraging separatism there, none of them went so far as to recognize Tibet as an independent state.

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***The recent riot in Lhasa was designed as an echo to the Dalai Lama's current activities aimed at separating Tibet from China. In trying to deceive people, he and his followers have resorted to rumour-mongering and demagoguery in addition to tampering with history.***

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Prime Minister Nehru of India was quite objective when he stated in 1954, "I am not aware that at any time during the last few hundred years, Chinese sovereignty, or if you like suzerainty, was challenged by any outside country." The use of the word "suzerainty" was introduced and promoted in reference to Tibet by some people who were trying to weaken and eventually destroy China's authority over that part of its territory.

The Dalai Lama, in the same statement, made a big fuss about so-called immigration of Han people to Tibetan-inhabited areas and lamented that the Tibetans have already become a minority in

the autonomous region. What are the facts? According to 1986 statistics, there were 2,024,938 people in the whole region, of whom 1,937,379 were Tibetans. The 73,534 Hans accounted for only 3.6 percent of the total population; most of them went there to help with work in scientific, educational and cultural fields.

His statements deploring the untimely deaths of 1 million Tibetans and the imprisonment of another 1 million in labour camps were equally ridiculous. The Tibetan population in the autonomous region was 1,206,200 in 1959; it has increased to almost 2 million today. Other Tibetan-inhabited areas have also witnessed rapid population growth. If 1 million Tibetans had suffered unnatural deaths, how could these increases have been possible?

To counter similar false charges, a senior court official in Tibet said recently that the region has one prison and two labour camps with a total of 974 inmates, 97.2 percent of whom were convicted on criminal charges. Only 28 were imprisoned for their counter-revolutionary activities.

The Dalai Lama was putting the cart before the horse when he hypocritically proposed making the whole of Tibet a zone of peace and stated that the tension along the Sino-Indian border was the result of the stationing of Chinese troops in Tibet. The hard fact is that, like many other border disputes among third world countries, the one between China and India is an outcome of the old colonial policy of "divide and rule" as well as direct imperialist aggression.

I could go on refuting the many other absurdities in the Dalai Lama's statement, but would like to stop and ask: Why should the Dalai Lama have been allowed to carry out his separationist activities and make such wanton attacks on China in the United



States? The Dalai Lama as a religious figure is one thing. As a former top leader of a serf society now living in exile and engaging in political activities, he is another.

It was particularly noteworthy that the Dalai Lama was allowed to make his political statement before a meeting of the US House of Representatives Human Rights Subcommittee. This is a gross violation of the norms for international relations and an act of interference in China's internal affairs. Besides, providing a forum for a figure representing a serfdom of the recent past—a serfdom in its cruellest form—to speak on human rights is really ironic, and will certainly add no glory to the US Congress.

Chinese leaders have more than once reminded the United States not to stretch its hands too far. This is a good piece of advice. It would be in its own interests as well as in the interests of world peace if the United States would concentrate on minding its own affairs.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

*BEIJING REVIEW* will begin in issue No. 42 (October 19) a series of articles on Tibet. The first will be entitled "Tibet Opens to the Outside World." Also, answers by officials of the State Nationalities Commission on questions about Tibet.

## Demonstrations Disrupt Peace in Lhasa

Two demonstrations aimed at splitting Tibet from China took place in Lhasa, the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, on September 27 and October 1, causing injuries and deaths.

The first demonstration took place at 10 am on September 27, when 21 lamas and five other people took to the street, carrying a flag of "the snow mountains and lions," a religious icon of Tibetans, and shouting "Tibet wants independence" and other slogans. The demonstrators made agitational speeches at the Jokhang (Qoikang) Temple Square and then moved on to the regional people's government building.

The demonstrators hit and injured several police officers who were on the scene trying to maintain public order. The incident lasted less than an hour and some demonstrators were held for questioning.

The demonstration aroused strong opposition from people on the scene, who condemned the demonstrators as engaging in splittist activities under the cover of *kasaya* (monks' robes).

Prominent local patriotic figures all expressed their strong opposition to these activities.

During the second incident, on October 1, six people were reportedly killed and 19 policemen were badly injured.

In the morning, as people in Lhasa were peacefully celebrating National Day, more than 10 people wearing *kasaya* and several dozen unidentified people marched in the downtown street of Bajiaojie. They carried the same kind of flag as in the earlier demonstration and shouted the slogan "Independence of Tibet."

When policemen came out to stop them, the rioters threw stones at the policemen and bystanders, set the Bajiaojie Street police substation on fire, and destroyed number of motor vehicles. Some rioters went so far as to snatch away guns carried by policemen and opened fire at the police and bystanders on the spot. The rioters and onlookers did not disperse until dusk.

Police officers said that throughout the incident they strictly observed the orders of the higher authorities not to open fire.

The Bajiaojie Street police substation burned down by the rioters.

XINHUA



Some patriotic monks and laymen of the upper strata said the riot was instigated and engineered by the clique of supporters of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai recently made a speech at the House of Representatives Human Rights Subcommittee of the US Congress on his "five-point plan" concerning the question of the "status of Tibet," continuing to trumpet for the "independence of Tibet."

"I am pained to learn that a few people started a riot in Lhasa at a time when we enjoy such a good life," Lhunzhub Tabkyai, president of the Tibetan Branch of the Chinese Buddhists Association, said on October 3.

"Now many temples damaged during the 10-year (1966-76) turmoil have been repaired or

renovated and the monks are leading a normal religious life," he said "It is my sincere hope that the monks and laymen in Tibet will distinguish between right and wrong and stand firm against the splittist activities by a handful people."

Lhalu Cewangdoji, also vice-chairman of the CPPCC Tibet Regional Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said, "It is simply intolerable that a handful of splittists act against the popular feelings to trumpet for 'the independence of Tibet' in defiance of the fact that Tibet has since ancient times been an inalienable part of the sacred territory of China, and at a time when Tibet has made such great achievements in its construction."

## China Revives Its Post Code Project

International Post Day, October 9, saw the return of post codes in China's cities.

An ill-advised campaign to introduce the codes in 1980 came to a premature end. Today, China has evolved to the point where the codes seem to be a natural step.

The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has been carrying out a month-long campaign to familiarize people with the codes. Probably few Beijing residents remember exactly when white metallic plates with red characters, which read "Our area's post code (six digits)," began to appear on the city's streets. The codes have also quietly appeared on post office walls and counters. Although no one was forced to use the codes, people gradually got used to seeing them. And the ministry's current post code campaign has met little resistance.

"This time we plan to take three to five years to spread the post codes to all of China's cities," said Wang Liangtang, a ministry official who is working on the post code plan. There are 2,440 urban post offices nationwide, Wang

said. "As a first step, we advise senders to write their own codes on their envelopes." If people follow this advice, he said, the second step—to write the addressee's code too—will come naturally. International mail is temporarily excluded from the plan and foreign offices in China will not be asked to use the codes, he added.

Introducing post codes, as many developed countries have done, will speed up mail handling, increase the accuracy of mail delivery and reduce the amount of unclaimed mail. The step is an indispensable part of China's modernization programme, Wang said. "It must be practised; we have made a firm decision."

In China, envelopes are addressed differently from in the West. Instead of writing the sender's name and address on the top left, the Chinese put them on the right bottom, or the left bottom if writing vertically. Also, Chinese people put the address and name in reverse order, in a Westerner's view—the province comes first, then the city or county, the street address, and

finally the name of the sender or addressee. These practices do not hinder postal modernization.

But problems lie in the fact that most mail is addressed by hand and some people do not write legibly. Moreover, postal employees rely on translations for mail addressed in the languages of national minorities. These factors, together with the increase in the volume of mail, have aggravated the difficulties in mail sorting and delivery.

To improve the situation and to bring mechanization into the sorting and delivery process, the ministry first tried to introduce post codes nationwide on July 1, 1980, after experimenting in some regions.

"We thought it would work smoothly, because it was part of modernization, and we knew people wanted modern things. Besides, it's not hard to spread something in this country once the authorities decide to do so," Wang said. As it turned out, however, the reformers met enormous resistance, from both the general public and some postal authorities and employees.

In a September 25, 1980, editorial, *Shichang Bao* (Market News) criticized the ministry for forcing people to use the codes against their will. "People demand to brake. Now, postal policy-makers, what are you going to do?" the editorial asked.

The next day, *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) reported that Zhu Xuefan and Fan Shiren, both former leaders of the ministry, suggested that the post codes be given up because they were too advanced for China's conditions. Fan, a strong opponent of the reform, discovered that in Jilin Province, the proportion of the people who used the codes dropped steadily from 40 percent in early July to 20 percent in September. The major reason, he said, was that it was too inconvenient for people to write the codes.

After that, *Renmin Ribao*

printed many readers' letters, all criticizing the codes. By the end of the year, the ministry had to make a self-criticism, admitting that pursuing post codes was inconsistent with the principle of "seeking truth from facts" and reflected the bureaucratic style of the ministry's leaders. The ministry also said it would correct its mistakes and improve its work. Although it insisted that it would continue to publicize the post codes, the whole programme was actually suspended.

Wang said that what the newspapers did was one-sided and non-objective — their attitude was not a seek-truth-from-facts one either. "As a matter of fact," Wang said, "we had evidence that the majority of people supported our reform, even if we had our faults. We wrote to *Renmin Ribao* but it didn't print our opinion; it didn't print the views of other people in favour of the codes, either. That's unfair. That was a propaganda attack."

Wang said the mistake the ministry made was a methodological one, not a fundamental one. There was nothing wrong with the reform itself. "But we were too hasty — overanxious for quick results — and we underestimated people's inertia. It's very hard to change a even small habit; it takes time. Now we know how to do it," he said.

Wang said inconsistency among the postal authorities was a major reason for the failure last time. This time, he said, they are basically unified. They will take the lead in promoting the use of the codes. From January 1, 1988, post offices must use post codes on all their business letter.

The current post code campaign seems to be going smoothly. The mass media are cheering for the reform, and *Shichang Bao* has apologized for its arbitrary criticism. The ministry has received letters from all over China and overseas, supporting the use of the codes.

Most people think that post codes, like so many modern

things, were imported from the West. But according to Tong Ruchang, a 70-year-old former postman who is working with Wang, the Kuomintang government used post codes in Shanghai early in 1948. "The code was simple, just two digits. It made the letters go faster," Tong said.

by Li Halbo

## New Plans to Ease Energy Problem

China's businesses and administrative departments will have to pay more for electricity, in a bid to alleviate power shortages. Huang Yicheng, vice-minister of the State Planning Commission, made this announcement at a meeting on plans for next year's economic development and reform.

Faced with serious shortage of electricity, China has done a lot to develop its electricity industry. Facilities which can generate 7,000

megawatts were put into operation last year. This year, 8,000 megawatts will be added to bring the country's total generating capacity to 100,000 megawatts.

"Since last year, the average annual increase rate has remained stable at nine percent, which is among the highest in the world," Huang said, "But China's power industry can't meet the demand yet, and the country is plagued by shortages of electricity."

To ease this problem, some new measures have been worked out.

"The charge for electricity is one of the four steps designed to alleviate the country's electricity shortage. The money collected will be paid to local governments but must be spent on developing electricity sources," Huang said.

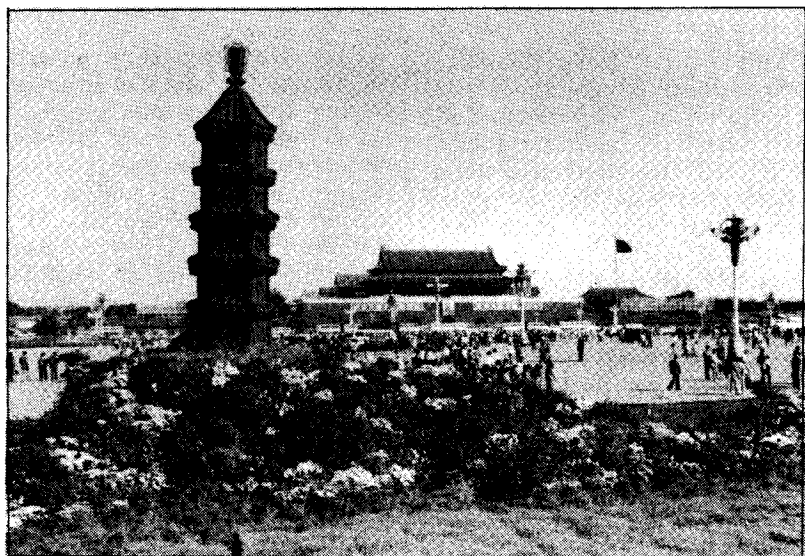
The other steps include restructuring the current management system; rationing electricity for each province, autonomous region and municipality; and determining the amount of electricity supply must be stopped,

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## National Day Celebrations

Tian'anmen Square was colourfully decorated with flowers to celebrate the nation's 38th birthday. The tower, 6.5 metres high, is modelled after one in Yanan, Shaanxi Province.

SONG LIANFENG



and can resume construction only when the supply is available," the vice-minister said.

He also told the meeting that beginning next year, the state will earmark more loans to technologically upgrade electrical enterprises, in addition to funds already set aside for this purpose.

"We will try to solve the problem in most regions of the country over the next five years to make full use of existing production capacity."

Besides the four steps outlined by Huang, experts have suggested setting up a hydroelectric development corporation in Lanzhou, Gansu Province, which would be in charge of the construction of 15 power stations on the upper reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River in Gansu, Qinghai Province and the Ningxia Autonomous Region.

Four stations, one in Ningxia and three in Gansu are already in operation. The Longyangxia station in Qinghai, which has a 178-metre-high dam, the highest in China, is to put its first generation unit into operation soon.

## Beijing Opera — Rise or Fall?

Only after Yang Kun, a pensioner, bought another TV set, did he and his wife conclude their seemingly endless argument with their two daughters about whether to tune in to Beijing opera. As Beijing opera fans, Yang and his wife are always eager to catch traditional Chinese opera on the TV screen. But their daughters feel the opera is difficult to understand and its pace is too slow. They prefer TV dramas, comedies, and singing and dancing performances.

Differences over Beijing opera are also reflected in public places. Although the opera's audiences

are declining, fans are often seen giving impromptu renditions of Beijing opera songs for their own enjoyment—and that of anybody else in the vicinity. Beijing opera is China's traditional form of drama, dating back 200 years. It requires special acting skills including singing, dialogue and acrobatic fighting. Not only must actors and actresses have good grasp of artistic skills, the audience also needs a certain amount of knowledge to appreciate the drama.

The Jixiang and Changan theatres in Beijing, where Beijing opera is often staged, have more than 1,100 seats each and they put on more than 200 Beijing opera performances each year. But the managers of both theatres said the majority of the audience is older than 40. Manager Zhang Gui of the Changan Theatre estimated that there are some 5,000 fans of Beijing opera in the Chinese capital, most of whom are elderly people. "Only when well-known actors appear in excellent traditional plays are young people attracted to our theatre, which can then sell 80 percent of the tickets compared to 50 percent for ordinary plays," Zhang said.

He said it is an exaggeration to say that Beijing opera is facing a crisis, but its audiences are older and more selected.

Zhao Haisheng, 26, a government employee, said that although Beijing opera has unique artistic attractions, its themes are too remote from reality and the stage performances and means of artistic expression are too old-fashioned. "I would rather spend the time watching a football match," he said. His feelings are typical of the younger generation. According to a survey, ballet and the symphony attract many middle-aged intellectuals and college students. And popular songs, disco music and sports appeal to most young workers and students.

Zhu Hongzhi, manager of the

Jixiang Theatre, explained that 5,000-odd Beijing opera dramas are drawn from classical works and are rich in historical anecdotes. "Therefore, young people are unable to appreciate them without a sound knowledge of Chinese history," he said.

Dramatist Zhang Juefei argues that interest can be developed. An effective way is to teach young people how to understand Beijing opera. Troupes often go to factories, schools and other work units to give lectures on Beijing opera and coach local performers. When the Central Television Station announced its plan to hold a Beijing opera competition among performers later this year, thousands of people applied. The contest is also a good way to popularize the art form.

People involved in Beijing opera feel optimistic about its future. There will be no problem of small audiences if more established actors make their appearance on the stage, they say. The most urgent task is to raise the artistic skills of the young actors.

Young people in China worship stars of different professions. Many people go to theatres just out of admiration for famous actors. Li Weikang, a young Beijing opera actress, made her reputation among the younger generation when she played the heroine in the TV serial *A Four-Generation Family* adapted from a novel with the same title by Lao She (1899-1966), which shows the life of the people of Beijing during the War of Resistance Against Japan from 1937 to 1945. Since the TV series, young people swarm to the theatre whenever Li appears on the stage in Beijing opera.

Experts say this kind of shift of attention helps popularize Beijing opera. They noted that even in the past, not many young people attended. Perhaps when people grow older their interest in traditional opera awakens. ■



## Bi-weekly Chronicle (September 21-October 4)

### POLITICAL

September 23

■ At the weekly news briefing, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman says that "Senator Helms' malicious attack on China at the US Senate hearing is a gross interference in China's internal affairs and yet another demonstration of his stubborn anti-China position. We hereby express our indignation."

At a recent hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Helms accused China of violating human rights and cracking down on intellectuals.

September 30

■ Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang says that the coming 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China will make a comprehensive summary and systematic exposition of the practice and theory of building socialism while carrying out reform and the open policy in China in the past nine years.

Zhao says, "We will put on the agenda of the congress the issue of political structural reform."

Zhao also reiterates other major state policies on domestic and foreign affairs at a reception he gives in Beijing to mark the 38th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

### ECONOMIC

September 23

■ According to Liang Xiang, deputy head of the preparatory group for establishing Hainan Province, Hainan will become China's largest special economic zone and will adopt more flexible policies than other special economic zones to attract foreign technology and investment. The new province will be given more autonomy and decision-making power in foreign trade, project approval, financing, banking,

land use, employment and personnel.

September 29

■ An eight-day national conference on the national plan for next year's economic development and reform closed in Beijing. The participants discussed and agreed to the reform plan put forward by the State Council. They stressed that the stability of prices is the most important factor in the country's economic development.

The plan includes reforms in planning, investment, goods supply, foreign trade and finance, as well as further reforms in enterprises.

October 1

■ The No.1 Automobile Plant in Changchun, Jilin Province, has developed new engine models for all types of trucks it produces. The models meet the latest international standards.

The retooled plant now can produce 68,000 trucks a year. New models of other trucks are being produced in Nanjing and Jinan.

■ A 71-kilometre-long ring highway around Tianjin, the Largest industrial and port city in north China, opens to traffic on National Day.

The first-class highway, 50 metres wide, was completed in 10 months, with a total investment of 320 million yuan (about US\$86 million).

### CULTURAL

September 29

■ The State Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Materials reports that two large Shang Dynasty sacrificial pits have been discovered in Guanghan County, Sichuan Province.

About 300 items were found in the No.1 pit, which dates back to the 14th century BC. In the No.2 pit, about 400 objects were found, dating back to the 13th century BC.

### SOCIAL

September 23

■ People in parts of China watched the country's last annular eclipse of this century this morning. Millions of primary and middle school students left their classrooms to watch the rare spectacular with sunglasses or darkened transparent materials.

In Beijing, people saw a partial solar eclipse which reached its maximum at 9:50:50 am. Scientists predict that the next annular eclipse will happen in 2008.

September 30

■ Guo Shu'e, a peasant woman from Xuguang village in the Fengcheng Manchurian Autonomous County in Liaoning Province, risked her life to prevent a passenger train from derailing on September 25.

On that evening, Guo heard a big tree, uprooted by the wind, fall on the tracks near the village. The tree was too heavy to move. She was sawing it when a fast-approaching train hit the tree and knocked her unconscious. She is still in hospital.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 29

■ In a message of congratulation to Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang says the Chinese government will continue its unremitting efforts to promote stable, good-neighbourly relations with Japan on the basis of the China-Japan joint statement, the peace and friendship treaty and the four guiding principles for Sino-Japanese relations. He says China hopes that problems between the two countries will be solved soon.

CORRECTION: In NOTES FROM THE EDITORS, issue 36, "Springtime of Art," the festival will be held "twice a year" should read "once every two years."

ANGOLA

## Seeking Peace in Southern Africa

*Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visited France as part of a West European tour to promote peace in southern Africa.*

Angola, one of the African frontline states, has maintained close military, economic and political connections with the Soviet Union, Democratic Germany and Cuba since it gained independence from Portugal 12 years ago. But Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who recently paid a formal visit to France on the first leg of a West European peace tour that was to include Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, said in Paris that Angola would like to open up to all friendly nations. The French newspaper *Le Monde* commented that the Angolan president's visit to Western Europe was a sign that Angola has begun to pursue a policy of opening up to the West.

France established diplomatic relations with Angola soon after the latter gained independence, but dealings between the two countries have always been cool. Dos Santos told reporters in Paris that Angola is no longer upset about the visit to Paris last year by Jonas Savimbi, a leader of Angolan anti-government forces, and that he expected the meeting with French leaders to be positive.

Dos Santos met both French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac during his stay in Paris. One of the central themes of their talks was the search for peaceful ways to resolve conflicts in southern Africa. Angola wants France to play a role in the region. Reports say Angola is brewing a plan for a political solution to the region's problems and has approached the United States about it. The plan calls for the implementation of the resolution on

Namibian independence passed by the United Nations nine years ago and a halt to South Africa's support to Angolan opposition forces. Under these conditions, Angola will agree to withdrawing Cuban troops stationed south of 13 degrees south latitude. Angola suggested that such an agreement would be signed by South Africa, Namibia, Cuba and Angola.

According to French newspaper reports, the aim of the Angolan president's visit was to obtain the support of France and other West European countries for its plan. Angola recently carried out successful negotiations to exchange prisoners with South Africa and other countries, and South Africa has expressed the desire to resume dialogue with Angola. Some members of France's parliament have visited South Africa, and people are placing hopes on French diplomatic actions in the region. Chirac

said the problems in southern Africa should be resolved through negotiations and dialogue. He reiterated that France condemns Pretoria's apartheid policy without reservation and solidly supports the independence of Namibia. Reports said these firm stands satisfied dos Santos.

Economic problems were another important theme in talks between the leaders. Angola has been spending more than half of its financial resources on the civil war every year, and to date the war has cost the country a total of US\$12 billion. In addition, the Angolan economy faces problems resulting from poor management, falling oil prices and greatly reduced national income. "War and economy have become an uncompromising contradiction," dos Santos said.

Angola urgently hopes for a peaceful and stable international situation to facilitate its internal construction. It is seeking not only diplomatic co-ordination from France, but also help in economic matters. Dos Santos told Mitterrand that Angola wants to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and reduce its external debt burden of more than US\$3 billion. Mitterrand offered immediate support to Angola in its effort to join the IMF.

by Zhang Qihua

US-POLAND

## Relations to Be Fully Normalized

*An exchange of ambassadors for the first time in four years between the United States and Poland is expected after the recent visit to Poland by US Vice-President George Bush.*

The vice-president of the United States paid a four-day official visit to Poland from September 26 to 29. The visit by George Bush, the highest-level trip by a US official in 10 years, signals the beginning of normalization of Polish-US relations.

In the 1970s, three US

presidents visited Poland. Former President Richard Nixon made the trip in 1972, Gerald Ford went in 1975 and Jimmy Carter in 1977. But relations between the two countries deteriorated rapidly after 1980, when Poland experienced its greatest political unrest since World War II in the form of

large-scale strikes organized by the Solidarity trade union. As a result of the tumult, the country's economy plunged into a deep crisis. To stabilize the political situation and defuse the workers' movement, the Polish government imposed martial law and declared a nationwide state of emergency at the end of 1981. The military was authorized to take over local governments; several hundred dissidents were detained; and Solidarity was outlawed.

The United States, deeply disturbed by these events, reacted first by imposing a series of economic sanctions against Poland on the grounds of violations of human rights by the Polish government. Washington then recalled its ambassador from Warsaw, reducing diplomatic ties between the two countries to the charge d'affaires level. After that, bilateral relations were frozen.

Relations improved, although not substantially, when Poland lifted the state of emergency in 1983, held elections to the local people's congresses the next year, and granted amnesty to all political prisoners. Washington allowed the Polish airline to resume flights to the United States.

Still, relations remained strained. The two countries expelled each other's diplomats from time to time, and in May 1985, Poland banned flights by US Air Force planes carrying supplies to the US Embassy in Warsaw. This added new tension to Polish-US relations, which were just beginning to ease.

But Poland's economic and political situation has been stabilizing, and last year Warsaw launched flexible diplomatic overtures internationally and a series of domestic reforms. Poland expressed its wish to improve relations with the United States, and the United States, in February this year, lifted all economic sanctions against Poland. The recent agreement in principle between the two superpowers on the global elimination of

all intermediate nuclear weapons also helped set the stage for Bush's visit.

Bush was warmly received in Poland. Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski met him twice and the two leaders held talks on a variety of topics. The talks were reported to have proceeded in a business-like and constructive atmosphere. They focused on economic issues, including bilateral economic links and the operations of international institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Paris Club of Western creditor nations. To help Poland overcome its economic difficulties, Bush agreed to strengthen economic co-operation between the United States and Poland and to increase US aid to Poland. He also expressed his willingness to lobby for more commercial loans to Poland in the Paris Club.

During the visit, concrete steps were taken to improve bilateral relations. The leaders signed a protocol that revives co-operation in science and technology and agreed to exchange ambassadors.

But the visit also showed that differences, mainly political ones, are still an obstacle to better Polish-US relations.

In a televised speech to the

Polish people, Bush emphasized respect for human rights and the right to set up independent self-governing organizations, an apparent allusion to the outlawed Solidarity trade union. "We in America have watched and suffered with you. We love you, we respect you, and you will never be alone," he said.

At a banquet Bush said the United States welcomes measures taken by the Polish government leading towards domestic reconciliation and that he hopes continued dialogue with other strata of Polish society will help lay the foundation for improved relations between the two countries. However, he also said on another occasion, "I want to make it clear that our intention is not to disrupt or divide, nor is it to interfere."

Over Polish government objections, Bush met Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity, and other opposition leaders. Reports say Bush told Walesa that he had asked that Solidarity be legalized and Walesa thanked Bush for "the US administration's understanding of our problems." Obviously this is something that the Polish authorities do not appreciate.

by Zheng Qin and Wen Youren

## JAPAN-US

### Nakasone Visits Washington

*Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone recently paid a visit to US President Ronald Reagan. The leaders reaffirmed their countries' close political ties but made no progress towards settling their trade disputes.*

It was probably Nakasone's last US visit (September 18-23) before his term as prime minister expires towards the end of this month, and the trip was seen by Washington as a fitting end to Nakasone's diplomacy.

The Japanese leader has visited the United States seven times and

has held 12 summit talks with US leaders in his five years as prime minister. With this visit Nakasone was hoping to lay the foundation for future visits by his Liberal Democratic Party successor. The visit focused on the individual friendship between Reagan and Nakasone and on generalities

regarding the alliance between the two countries. No progress was made towards settling their trade differences.

The leaders made no joint statement after talks, but they exchanged a document that they both signed, in which they affirmed the solid foundation of US-Japanese relations and stressed that co-operation should not be affected because of changes in leadership. Reagan praised Nakasone for his achievements in diplomacy with the United States and said he expects Nakasone, as an elder statesman, to continue to play a role in the development of US-Japanese relations.

As observers noted, however, the economic relations between Japan and the United States have not improved in direct proportion to the development of the friendship between the leaders. During the talks, Reagan urged Japan to stimulate its production and expand its domestic market; adopt visible measures to reduce its huge trade surplus with the United States; and drop the barriers to US companies' participation in construction of the new Kansai international airport in Osaka, western Japan. Nakasone asked the US president to use his power to halt the passage of protectionist bills in Congress and withdraw US tariffs on Japanese semiconductor chips. Reagan refused these requests on the grounds that Japan had made no progress on opening its domestic market or on other issues.

Nakasone saw his US visit as a summary of his five years of diplomacy. Addressing the UN General Assembly session, he stressed that Japan, as a member of the "global village," will follow the road of peace.

But at a time when many countries are reducing their arms and the US-Soviet nuclear disarmament talks are progressing, Japan is taking the road to becoming a big power with high military expenditure, which has aroused the worries of other Asian

nations. The US leadership is also reported to be keeping a close watch on Japan's military expansion.

Although Japan's political alliance with Washington was strengthened during Nakasone's first visit to the United States in January 1983, economic relations between the two countries have been strained in recent years by mounting bilateral trade frictions. US trade deficits have increased rapidly since Nakasone came to office. The United States sees

Japan as both an important political ally and a major economic competitor.

Washington has become increasingly impatient with Japan's unfulfilled promises. The international media speculate that Japan could find itself in an isolated position in the world. However, all of Nakasone's pledges to the United States and all the differences outstanding between Tokyo and Washington will be left to the next Japanese cabinet to reconsider and handle again.

by Sun Dongmin

## OMAN

### Thinking About a Future Without Oil

*What will the world's oil producers do when their petroleum reserves dry up? People in Oman have started to address the problem.*

The Sultanate of Oman, located on the southeast edge of the Arabian peninsula, is mostly gravel and desert. But it has a great source of revenue under the dry ground. The discovery of petroleum in 1964 marked the start of a new age.

The Omani people have traditionally been divided into herdsmen, peasants and fishermen. Until 10 years ago, the country's annual per-capita income was less than US\$100.

Oman is not the richest of the Arab oil producers—its proved reserves of oil total 4.2 billion barrels and its output capacity is 650,000 barrels a day. But its oil income is still considerable, particularly since the country has only 1.5 million people. In 1983, per-capita income reached US\$6,000. The country's national income rose above 3.4 billion rials in 1985, more than 30 times higher than 15 years earlier.

As a result of oil, luxurious traditional Islamic houses with arched windows sprung up in

clumps. Hundreds of thousands of labourers flocked in from Southeast Asian countries, India and Pakistan. Traffic, telecommunications, desalination and municipal facilities were set up with the best equipment and the latest technology. Petro-dollars assured Oman's speedy modernization.

But while Oman's wealth comes from oil, some of its problems do, too. From the end of 1982 to 1985, the price of oil fell from US\$40 a barrel to US\$27. In July last year, the oil price started a slide to as low as US\$8 a barrel. Now Oman's crude oil is sold for US\$18 a barrel. The cut in income has been a serious blow to the country. Oil accounts for 90 percent of government financial income and 99 percent of export income. In 1986, Oman's national economy contracted for the first time.

In light of this development, the government decided to retrench. It revised the budget for the Third Five-Year Plan, made major cuts in spending for capital construction, reduced imports, dismissed

foreign workers, devalued the rial, and generally slowed down economic development. As a result of these measures, a government official said, Oman's economy has already begun to improve. Some economic indexes picked up early this year and economic growth is forecast to reach 4 percent this year.

Oman's economic problems have been more short-lived than those of its neighbours, because the government was quick to pose the question of how to lessen dependence on oil. The government has given agriculture and fishing No. 1 priority in its long-term strategy, followed by industry, mining, and then oil. It also raised a call for economic diversification. These moves will not only help ease the difficulties resulting from falling oil prices but

will also prepare the ground for economic development after the oil age.

There are rich fish resources off the coast of Oman, mainly sardines and tuna. But most of the country's 78,000 fishermen still pilot old-fashioned boats and fish output is only 300,000 tons a year. The government has set up a fishery promotion fund, which has provided more than 1,300 aluminium boats to fishermen. Oman has also begun to co-operate with the United States, Japan, Singapore and other countries in the exploitation of fish resources, and has started to export fingerlings.

The bright prospects for Oman's fishery augur well for the gradual many-sided development that will form the next chapter in the country's history.

by Lin Jiaoming

ber that inflation during the second quarter stood at 4.2 percent, far below the projected 5 to 6 percent. Continuing his predecessor's tight-money policy to fight inflation, Alan Greenspan, the Federal Reserve Board chairman, announced in early September the first raise in three years in the key federal interest rate—the discount rate—from 5.5 percent to 6 percent. A spokesman for the board said the decision reflects its intention to deal effectively and in a timely way with potential inflationary pressures.

The financial markets also were buoyed by data showing a narrowing government budget deficit this year. According to the Treasury Department, the US budget deficit eased to US\$21.73 billion in August from US\$22.21 billion in July. The shortfall between income and spending is now significantly smaller than a year ago. The Reagan administration forecast in August that the budget deficit for fiscal 1987 would fall to US\$158.4 billion from 221.14 billion in fiscal 1986. Some US economists said optimism about a congressional compromise to make the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-balance law more effective raised some hopes about easing a major problem that has been hurting the prospects for the dollar's future and contributed to the rush for US stocks.

A stronger dollar helped spark the rally in the stock market. Concern about the Persian Gulf war has pushed the dollar up sharply in foreign exchange trading recently. On the news of the US helicopter attack on a mine-carrying Iranian ship and an Iranian attack on a British vessel on September 21, the dollar rose further against some leading currencies. It is usual for international investors to buy dollars during periods of international tension. They do so in an attempt to hedge against possible losses, financial market analysts said.

by Xin Di

## UNITED STATES

### Stock Market Shows Resilience

*Many reasons have been given for the sustained rally in US stocks, among them fears associated with the Gulf war.*

Despite wild gyrations over the past few months, the US stock market has remained bullish. Many traders and financial analysts believe that the Dow Jones average of industrial stocks, the most widely followed market trend indicator for international investors, will probably keep rising in the months to come, although its course may be bumpy.

The fate of the stock market is closely tied to the economic performance of the United States in particular and the world in general. The bullish prediction is based on improved prospects for the US economy. The Dow Jones average topped the 2,000 level on January 8 and rose to a peak of 2,722.42 on August 25. It subsequently dropped more than 200 points because of the unsettled outlook for the US economy and inflation.

But the US Commerce Department reported in mid-September that the country's gross national product edged up 2.5 percent in the second quarter of this year, bringing the annual growth rate for the first six months to 3.5 percent. The rate is higher than many economists expected at the beginning of the year. The Reagan administration set the growth target for 1987 at 3.2 percent. Government officials and economic forecasters agree that the goal may be within reach. Beryl Sprinkel, an economic adviser to the White House, said the latest economic statistics indicate that prospects are extremely good that the economic expansion will continue into 1988.

A lower inflation rate is another reason for the sustained strength of the stock market. The US government reported in Septem-

# A Look at Gorbachev's Asia-Pacific Policy

*The Soviet Union has been rethinking its policy towards the Asia-Pacific region, with a view to giving the area more prominence in its global strategy. Checked by various factors, however, the Soviet effort has achieved little to date.*

by Jia Bei

Soon after Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the office of general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Kremlin set out to adjust its global strategy. One major adjustment has been in its policy towards the Asia-Pacific region—Moscow wants to increase the region's role in its plans.

The policy adjustments are manifest in many fields:

—In line with a general shift towards taking a "conciliatory" stance towards the United States, Moscow publicly recognized US political and economic interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

—The Soviet Union has tried hard to break the deadlock in relations with China by positively appraising China's economic reform and withdrawing a small number of troops from Afghanistan and Mongolia. Formerly it denied the existence of what China terms the three major obstacles to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations: Soviet support for Viet Nam's aggression in Kampuchea; the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; and some 1 million Soviet troops stationed along Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders that pose a threat to China.

—Moscow has paid greater attention to Japan's role in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, describing the country as "a power of top importance." It restored exchange visits between the two countries' foreign ministers, which had been suspended for 10 years; gave Japanese people permission to visit the graves of their ancestors on Hobomai-shoto and Shikotan-to islands off northern Japan, which have been occupied by the Soviets since World War II;

and announced that Gorbachev would visit Japan.

—It stopped criticizing the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Australia and New Zealand for their military relations with the United States. Instead it has been trying to play up their disputes with Washington.

—It shifted its position on its SS-20 missiles in Asia from refusing to discuss them to agreeing first to cut and then to remove all of them, if the United States does the same with its intermediate nuclear forces in the region.

A flurry of Soviet diplomatic activities in the Asia-Pacific region has accompanied these policy adjustments.

## Behind the Soviet Moves

In Europe, where Moscow has put great strategic emphasis for years, the Soviet Union matches the United States in medium-range missiles and has the upper hand in shorter-range missiles and conventional weapons. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference signed in 1975 clearly defined the Soviet sphere of influence in Europe. However, in the East, Gorbachev faces two grave problems.

In the 1970s, the Soviet Union took advantage of detente and the post-Viet Nam War syndrome in the United States to station soldiers in Afghanistan and offer support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. These activities have further complicated

Sino-Soviet relations and put many Asia-Pacific nations on guard against the Soviet Union. Moreover, Moscow's relations with Japan are strained by the Soviet occupation of the four Kuril islands, which is a problem left over from World War II. Moscow will not even admit it has a territorial dispute with Japan, let alone return the islands.

Making use of Soviet weakness in the area, the United States turned to Asia with the aim of strengthening its relations with Japan and ASEAN nations and assuring that its Japan-Guam-Australia-New Zealand strategic defence line remains intact. It began deploying missiles and bringing in other advanced weapons to the Asia-Pacific area. It was also actively seeking to further develop its economic and trade relations in the region. The Soviets believe Washington gives top importance to the Asia-Pacific area in its global strategy. Moscow realizes that its own influence in the region is limited, and admits that the area poses the biggest problems for the establishment of its hoped-for international security system. It has therefore become urgent for the Soviets to end their diplomatic deadlock in the Asia-Pacific area and halt the US military buildup and the formation of an anti-Soviet alliance.

Moreover, the idea that the 21st century belongs to the Asia-Pacific area is taking hold, and the Soviet Union is very eager to get in on the action. Moscow has clearly realized that some advanced capitalist countries, such as the United States, Japan, Australia and New Zealand are concentrated in the region. So are such

newly industrialized nations and regions as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as some countries that have increasingly close ties with developed nations, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. Over the past 10 years, the Asia-Pacific region has greatly increased its economic importance to the capitalist world. Despite some instability in the area, it possesses enormous potential for economic growth. Since Moscow depends on the area for the development of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, it is worried that the United States might strengthen its worldwide strategic position by co-ordinating its economic interests with Japan, Canada and major West European capitalist countries in the Asia-Pacific and other regions.

Moscow believes that the Asia-Pacific area plays an important role in deciding the world's political structure because four major nations—the Soviet Union, the United States, China and Japan—are located there. It fears that the political influence of the United States in the Asia-Pacific area might grow with the increase of its close relations with the region; that China's international role might increase with its success in economic reform; that Japan might grow into a power equal in political importance to the United States as its economy grows further; and that the ASEAN nations' political role might increase. These factors work against Soviet ambitions to hold sway in the area.

Militarily, the Soviet Union fears that the United States will turn the Asia-Pacific region into an offensive nuclear base to exert protracted pressure on it. It is also afraid of being caught in a two-way squeeze once the United States, by strengthening its military co-operation with Japan, establishes a US-Japan-South Korea military axis corresponding

to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Because of its economic stagnation since the 1970s, the Soviet Union's ability to impose economic influence on Asia-Pacific countries has been limited. Politically, Moscow has also failed to win the confidence of these countries. Thus, it thinks it is facing a comprehensive political, economic and military challenge in the region. It has become an urgent diplomatic goal for the Soviet Union to improve its political and economic relations with countries in the region and get them to affirm its identity as an Asia-Pacific power; to expand its influence and cause the political pattern of the region to shift in a direction favourable to itself; and at the same time to seek funds, technology and markets to develop its national economy.

### General Pattern

A rough outline of the Soviet Union's Asia-Pacific policy can be seen from its actions during the past two years and its policy adjustments:

(1) Focusing on disarmament, peace and regional security, Moscow is attempting to gradually rally the whole region to its call for an Asia-Pacific security system. By improving relations with all the countries of the region, the Soviets hope to break up the US military alliance in the area and force the United States to dismantle its military bases, withdraw its troops and stop its military actions.

(2) The Soviet Union has been trying to promote its diplomacy in the region by improving its relations with China and Japan, and strengthening its ties with India. Moscow is seeking to normalize political relations with China and Japan and win these countries away from the United States by strengthening economic and trade relations, and scientific, technological and cultural co-

operation with them, and even by making some concessions when necessary. To consolidate and strengthen its ties with India, the Soviet Union is offering New Delhi economic and military aid. It adopts a prudent attitude towards contradictions and frictions among China, Japan and India, and tries not to offend any of them so that their economic relations and political influence with other Asia-Pacific countries can help bring about changes in those countries' attitudes towards the Soviet Union.

(3) To improve its relations with all other Asia-Pacific nations, including the United States, Moscow has adopted a humble posture and lessened its criticism of the foreign policies of US allies, the ASEAN countries, Australia and New Zealand. It maintains that Asia-Pacific countries and the Soviet Union should seek common ground while reserving their differences and says that it will not impose its ideology on them. It acknowledges US interests in the region. All in all, it tries to give a good impression so that the Asia-Pacific countries will recognize its role in the area and permit the expansion of its influence.

(4) The Soviet Union sees strengthening its economic and trade connections, and scientific, technical and cultural co-operation as the main means of implementing its strategy. By separating economics from politics, it seeks to dodge political differences and promote the gradual improvement of political relations by strengthening bilateral economic and cultural relations. Moscow also seeks to increase its role in multilateral economic organizations in the region and to join the Pacific Economic Co-operation Conference. It is doing this not only because of the material benefits involved, but also to win people over by playing protector of third-world interests and to prevent the United States from isolating the Soviet Union through regional

economic integration.

(5) Moscow intends to take advantage of regional differences and instability and of contradictions between Asia-Pacific countries and the United States to sow discord in their relations with the United States and further its own aims. The Soviets closely follow the political situations in the Philippines and South Korea; the trade frictions and economic contradictions between the United States and Japan, as well as other Asia-Pacific countries; the contradictions between the United States and Asia-Pacific nations on defence and the question of establishing a non-nuclear zone in the area; and regional differences of opinions on the Kampuchean problem. Disarmament, the resolution of problems in the region's hot spots and developing economic co-operation are the main themes of Soviet propaganda.

(6) To improve its strategic position in the region, Moscow is seeking to strengthen its military presence in Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia and to infiltrate the South Pacific area. By so doing, it hopes to threaten US ocean defence and transport lines, and to put psychological pressure on the Asia-Pacific countries.

(7) The Soviet Union is making efforts to break out of its isolation in the Asia-Pacific area. It wants to further strengthen the puppet Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea and the Kabul regime in Afghanistan; build closer relations and co-operation with these regimes and help them increase contacts among themselves; and extend its influence in the communist and workers' parties of Asia-Pacific countries and bring their activities into the orbit of Soviet policy. The Soviet Union hopes to raise its prestige by developing links to these parties and, if necessary, by persuading them to promote its policies. In the meantime, it will adopt the suggestions of Asia-Pacific coun-

tries and strengthen its connections with non-governmental organizations in the region so as to promote a shift in official attitudes in a direction favourable to Moscow.

### Little Effect

Gorbachev's Asia-Pacific policy is more flexible than that of his predecessors, but his efforts in the region have produced little effect. The Soviet Union's suggestion for an Asia-Pacific security system has been ignored. Its application to join the Pacific Economic Co-operation Conference has been rejected. Its relations with China, Japan and the ASEAN countries have not made substantial progress. And its scheme for scientific and technological co-operation with the Japanese government has not obtained results because Japan refuses to separate politics from economics and is demanding the return of the four Kuril islands. At the same time, US-Soviet tensions in the region have not eased and their diplomatic struggle continues unabated. The Soviets' move into the South Pacific area is being closely watched and countered by the United States.

Gorbachev's Asia-Pacific policy has run into trouble for a number of reasons.

The Soviet Union's Asia-Pacific policy is subordinate to its global strategy. Although Moscow has made some adjustments to its policy, its strategic aims in the region have not changed. While talking about peace, it has increased its military strength in the Far East. It has reorganized the command system of its three armed services in the Soviet Far East; developed its Pacific Fleet into the country's largest; built a powerful radar station near Nahodka on its eastern coast; deployed nuclear weapons on Sakhalin island and ground-to-ground and ground-to-ship offensive cruise missiles on the Kuril

islands; and expanded its naval base in Cam Ranh Bay, Viet Nam. It even attempted to extend its naval cruising area to the South Pacific after the disintegration of the United States-Australia-New Zealand pact. All these moves have heightened the vigilance of the Asia-Pacific countries and have made them suspicious of Moscow's sincerity about peace.

The current Soviet leaders still maintain the old policies on the two Asian hot spots—Afghanistan and Kampuchea. While they would like to be free of the Afghanistan problem, they are afraid that the rickety Kabul regime will collapse and affect their strategic interests in the region. After Gorbachev became general secretary of the CPSU, he said he would speed up the political settlement process in Afghanistan. But immediately after that, Moscow stepped up its attack on the Afghanistan resistance forces. Although the Soviet Union has withdrawn six regiments of its ground forces from Afghanistan, it has been evading the key question of total troop withdrawal. Similarly, the Soviet policy on Kampuchea has shown no sign of change. Moscow continues to support the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and has been increasing its economic and military support to Viet Nam. Economic aid to Viet Nam in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan is twice the amount in the previous plan. Last December, Yegor Ligachev, a member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU, went to Viet Nam to participate in the Sixth National Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, at which Viet Nam's leaders were replaced. The aim of Ligachev's visit was to co-ordinate policies with the new leaders and encourage them in their invasion of Kampuchea so as to strengthen the Soviet Union's position in Southeast Asia. In short, Moscow's present positions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea can in no way ease its



contradictions with China and most other Asia-Pacific nations.

Because the Soviet Union insists that there is no territorial question between it and Japan, it can neither advance its political and economic relations with Japan nor succeed in creating discord between the United States and Japan and changing the political situation in the Asia-Pacific region. It is difficult for Moscow to win the approval of the Japanese government for setting up a regional security system that includes as Soviet territory the four islands over which Japan claims sovereignty.

The Soviet Union has a limited influence on the Asia-Pacific economy. US trade with the Asia-Pacific region accounted for 30 percent of the country's total in 1983. Soviet trade with Japan,

Australia, New Zealand and ASEAN countries in 1985 accounted only 0.37 percent of the Soviet Union's total foreign trade. Although the Soviet Union intends to expand its economic ties with the Asia-Pacific countries, it has few products that could find a ready market and is unable to provide the high technology which the new industrial nations in Southeast Asia urgently need. The Soviet Union also has a limited capacity to buy products from the developing countries in the Asia-Pacific region, so it cannot provide a market for their exports facing US trade protectionism. Because of the difficult conditions in the Soviet Far East, Asia-Pacific countries find it an unattractive place for investment. All these factors reduce the effectiveness of Soviet attempts to use economic

means to increase its influence in the region.

After two years of testing their new policies, Soviet leaders have begun to realize the complexity of the Asia-Pacific situation and the difficulty of what they were attempting. Despite the problems, Moscow cannot give up its efforts to reach its aim. But as long as the Soviet leaders do not reverse their hegemonist stand and policies, immediately withdraw their troops from Afghanistan, stop supporting Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and start respecting the national sentiments of the Asia-Pacific nations, they will find it hard to improve relations with these countries, or the Soviet Union's position in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole. ■

## DISCUSSIONS ON ECONOMIC THEORIES

# Unifying Planning and Marketing

by Liu Guoguang\*

**B**efore the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in 1978, the prevalent outlook on economic structure in China was that a socialist economy would *ipso facto* entail a planned economy, and its moves were totally regulated by planning. Commodity economy and market regulation were regarded as capitalist. So, the confrontation between socialism and capitalism was equated with planned economy versus commodity

economy and market. During the past eight years, with the rich experience in the reform, breakthroughs have been made in economic theory.

### Commodity Economy

The argument that socialist economy is incompatible with commodity economy and market regulation runs counter to contemporary practical demands for developing scientific socialism. Marx and Engels envisaged the future socialist society as a large factory, in which all social labour, economic resources and products would be distributed according to

set plans. There would be no market mechanism, no commodity and money circulation. However, such a society is based on highly developed productive forces, highly socialized productive processes and economic development beyond the stage of a developed commodity economy. In a socialist country lacking these prerequisites, especially in its early stages, indiscriminate adherence to the theories of Marx and Engels would "idealize" the economy which is actually concrete, complex and changeable. Heavily influenced by its natural economy, a socialist country like China will only appear to move towards the society envisioned by Marx and

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Engels, but in fact reform its social economy in the direction of traditional natural economy. The result will reduce socialism to an immature and rough social form.

Modern socialism, particularly in its early stages, should proceed from the realistic level and aim at the development of its social productive forces. It must introduce market mechanisms, develop a commodity economy and establish a socialist economic structure with unified planning and commodity economies and combined planning and market regulation while retaining and perfecting planning regulation. This is a basic conclusion from China's socialist economic construction.

In the 30 years prior to economic reforms, Chinese economists discussed the role of the law of value in socialist economies. They also came up with many good ideas. For example, the late economist Sun Yefang advanced the theory of "basing the planning system and statistics on the law of value." Economist Gu Zhun raised the idea of "automatic regulation" which is similar to the notion of "market regulation." These ideas were either expressed bashfully or criticized as "revisionist," resulting in the long dominant position of theories opposing markets and commodity economies.

Only since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978 has China made a definite stand in support of the organic unity of planning and the market. After four or five years of discussion a consensus of opinion was finally reached. It is marked by the approval at the Third Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee in 1984 of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Reform of the Economic Structure." The decision clearly states that "socialist economy is a commodity economy based on public ownership." It also points out that "a planned

economy by no means excludes the application of the law of value and the growth of a commodity economy; they in fact form a unity. It would be wrong to set one against the other." The decision not only breaks away from long-standing rigid economic theories on planning and commodity economies, and planning systems and markets, but also shows the way to achieve China's economic restructuring which aims to unify planning and market regulation. It is the first significant step towards reforming economic theory in China.

### Planned Market Economy

Theoretically defining "socialist economy" as "planned commodity economy" is important for three reasons:

1) It distinguishes the socialist economy from the scattered, autarkic natural economy. This makes breaking away from the concept of a self-sufficient, closed-door, natural economy and replacing it with a socialist adaptation of the commodity economy the prime task of China's socialist construction, since the traditional force of the natural economy is the major barrier to the growth of social productive forces in the country.

2) It differentiates socialist economy from the future product economy (where products are directly distributed by the state, not through markets) in a society of plenty. China's current position with an undeveloped productive force, with products far from being abundant, and backward in technologies and management renders it impossible to skip over the stage of commodity economy to practise product economy. It is also unrealistic to practise product economy in a natural economy environment. Enforced product economy will merely result in a traditional economy with centralized planning resembling the

supply system of military communism. The national economy would be stagnant, and distribution egalitarian, making it very difficult to bring out the superiority of the socialist system.

3) It differentiates the socialist economy from the unplanned commodity economy of capitalist societies. Commodity economies can be classified into the anarchic commodity economy and the planned commodity economy. Over the past 30 years and more, China has accumulated a great deal of experience in management planning which will be most useful in establishing a planned commodity economy. The experiences of Western countries in developing commodity economies should be absorbed wherever they are applicable to China's conditions. But on no account should the anarchic commodity economy of Western countries be indiscriminately copied.

In short, China's economic reform aims to establish a planned commodity economy with its own characteristics through strengthening planned guidance and macro-control during the institution of a commodity economy and application of market mechanisms. This theoretical starting point sets three tasks for developing China's economy: 1) Discarding the influences of natural economy in the internal economic structure; 2) Checking the premature leap to a stage of product economy; 3) Eliminating the influence of laissez-faire economism from the Western capitalist world. Any ambiguity in these tasks for economic development may lead away from the true objectives. Advances must be unswervingly in the direction of a planned commodity economy.

### Changing Conceptions

Establishing the concept of "planned commodity economy" requires a break with three obsolete standpoints: 1) That the

planning system can only be mandatory, from Stalin's idea that "planning is not forecast, not suggestion, but mandate;" 2) That planning should embrace all fields, including not only the macro-economy but also the micro-economy. This concept stemmed from the simplistic understanding of Marx's and Lenin's vision of future society as a syndicate, or a large factory; 3) That the most effective method of implementing plans is through targets in terms of material products and direct planned distribution. This stems from the influence of natural economic theories.

With reforms in the planning system three new concepts have emerged: 1) Planned administration does not necessarily mean mandatory planning, but encompasses both mandatory and guidance planning. Mandatory planning should gradually be replaced by guidance planning, which takes into account market situations, so that the latter will become dominant. 2) Planning is not all embracing. In general, it does not cover concrete micro-economic activities, but mainly deals with the balance of the macro-economy in the light of market force co-ordinating micro-economic factors. 3) It is not necessary to adopt or rely on the target system (such as fixing concrete production figures) for the regulation of the economy. More emphasis should instead be placed on the application of economic policies and economic levers, such as price, taxation, and interest and exchange rates.

With the new system based on a unified planning and market structure, the concept of planning has also changed.

## Expansion of Market

The idea of a "planned commodity economy" has given rise to a new understanding of market. It has been long held that

in a socialist economy only consumer goods are commodities. Commodities are limited to those items obtained without ration coupons, and only these commodities are actually regulated by market. The means of production are not regarded as commodities, and thus not allowed to enter the market. Funds, technology, labour service, real estate and other key production factors are totally excluded from the market arena. China's economic reforms have led to expanded market regulation through planning guidance and an broadened concept of market.

Now consumer goods and means of production are all recognized as commodities, and are saleable on a much larger scale. Not only is the existence of commercialized goods accepted, but markets now extend to funds, labour service, technology, real estate and essential elements of production. Of course, many problems with the nature of markets selling production elements and limitation on their management still need to be discussed. But the new concept of a socialist market system embracing both commodity and other production factors is an important development in socialist economic theory.

## Different Models

The unified planning and market concept has triggered other important theoretical questions about targeted models of "unity" and interim measures to be adopted. Strictly speaking, before the reforms, all socialist countries in the world, while theoretically adopting the view of "the mutual exclusion of planning and market," in practice never totally abolished markets. Markets before the reforms, however, did not regulate the national economy, and they were relegated to the "forgettable corner" of the largely unified system of planning. The economy before the reform

was therefore largely under a unified system of planning. In light of the new concept of unified planning and market, economists have proposed several models:

1) The model of "**plate unity**" holds that operating beside the original unified system of planning is a parallel regulatory market;

2) The model of "**interlocked unity**" assumes an infiltration of the opposite factors. Planning regulation abides by the law of value, but market regulation is subjected to the guidance and restriction of macro-planning;

3) The model of "**collidal unity**" regards planning and market not as two parallel plates each regulating the national economy, but as a unity that can regulate the national economy at various levels. The planning system has the main function of regulating the structure of the macro-economy, while market controls micro-economic activities. Macro-economic balance is based on the supply and demand changes in the market. At the same time, micro-economic factors must be included in the guidance of overall planning.

Rather than mutually exclusive targets, the above models for unifying planning and market are interacting. The stages of development which can be described from model (1) featuring a largely unified system of planning to model (2), with the two plates of planning and market linking at the initial stage of the reform, then to model (3) where the two plates interlock, and at last to model (4) an organic unity of planning and market within the whole scope of the national economy. At present, China's reforms are in the transitional stage from model (2) to (3). The actual process is more involved than this description. Chinese Marxist economists still face the task of probing ways to alter China's economic mechanism and draw up theoretical models featuring a planned commodity economy. ■

# Career Woman...Obedient Wife... or

by Our Correspondent Wu Naitao

**U**rban women, who used to stay at home managing the household, have in the last 30 years or so become important labour forces in most trades. Employed women numbered 46.88 million in 1986, about 43.7 percent of that year's total number of workers and staff, compared with 7.5 percent in 1950.

Unlike their male counterparts, however, working women still have to do much family work as wives and mothers. Trapped by these circumstances, they must make certain choices between work and family life.

## Three Choices

**Utter devotion to work.** Xu Runhua, 49, has been a nurse at the Beijing Children's Hospital for 32 years and is now director of the hospital's Department of Nurses in charge of 540 nurses. She is also a permanent council member of the All-China Nurses' Association. She has published 15 papers based on her experience in nursing in an academic magazine.

Xu partly owes her success to her husband. As deputy director of the same hospital, he is kept very busy but never fails to assist with household chores.

When their son was born 20 years ago, Xu was head of a ward, and her husband a doctor. Both had to work night shifts. They employed a nurse to take care of the boy, which ate up their bank savings.

There are many women who paid the price for success in their careers. According to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the number of young women who cut a brilliant figure in work in recent years is very impressive.

## Making sacrifice for the success of their husbands.

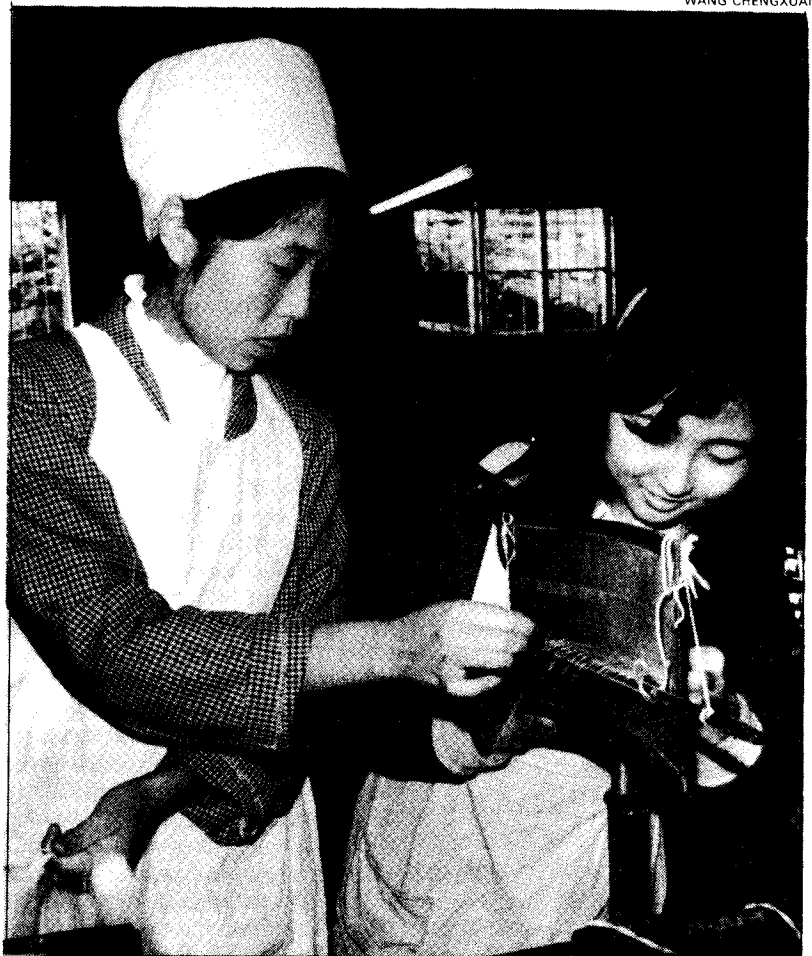
Wages in China are low and household duties are a long way from being socialized, so not all working women can afford and are willing to pay as high a price as Xu Runhua to play their role in society. The chores must be done by husband or wife, or both. Many women decide to do most of them so that their husbands will have more time and energy for

work.

One such woman is Yuan Dan, a shop book-keeper. Whenever her journalist husband goes out of town for reporting, she stays away from the rotation of night shifts to take care of her four-year-old child in the evenings. To her way of thinking since her shop is overstaffed, it is better for her to do most of the chores to ensure her husband's success.

Yuan Wenyan (left), a model worker at the Joint Hanzhong-Dandong Silk Factory in Shaanxi Province.

WANG CHENGXUAN





HUANG JIANQIU

**Li Cuiying, professor at the Dr. Sun Yatsen University in Guangzhou and member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, instructing her post-graduate students in insect classification.**

However, this does not mean women workers like Yuan Dan hope to be housewives. They hope to be economically independent and contribute to society.

**Working hard and enjoying life.** This has become a trend among young women today. Early in March this year, about 1,000 women post-graduates of Beijing University and Qinghua University suggested that women university students should be mentally prepared to seek success in work and a happy family life in the future. "We should shoulder the dual duty entrusted by society and family with a totally new mental outlook," they said in the proposal.

At a meeting of business women enterprisers held in Beijing last year, participants discussed how to better handle the relationship between work and family. The unanimous feeling was that, while working hard, women should show loving care for their husbands and children to ensure a

happy life. He Jingchun, a factory director, is one of these women. The sugar refinery under her control has been making huge profits in the last few years in spite of strong competition in the industry. While being a good manager in the factory, she is also a good wife and mother at home. "Through my wife, I have gained a better understanding of those women who are working hard for the modernization of the country," said her husband with pride and admiration.

### Husbands' Opinions

What does a husband demand of his wife then? A survey of 5,000 men conducted by the women's federation in Baicheng, Jilin Province last year showed that 83 percent preferred to have a wife with some education; 92 percent wanted their wives to be aggressive in their career; and 96 percent

hoped for virtuous wives who would do most of the household chores. This shows that the majority of men hope their wives will not only be faithful companions in life but also strong-minded women in career. When all conditions cannot be met, some prefer a wife with more interest in family life.

In large cities, single men tend to look for a wife who is gentle and soft, obedient and considerate, and good at household management. They set no high demand on her schooling and occupation. As a result, many well-educated and gifted women are having difficulty finding boy friends and husbands. "I don't want to have a wife who has a stronger career than me," said one man.

But Jiang Lijuan's husband, a senior engineer, is different. He encourages and supports her in her work as a middle school teacher. And her mother-in-law takes care of their child, the most energy consuming job in a family. Living in such a good family, Jiang feels full of energy in work. "We are not well-to-do, but the family is saturated with love and care," she said. "Whenever I return home with heavy legs, my fatigue will soon be warmed away." She is commended as a national model middle school teacher, and has been received by state leaders.

**Jiang Yahui, a worker at the Kaifeng Generator Factory in Henan Province, has already completed her work quota for 1991. She is the first in the factory to be ahead of schedule.**

WANG GANGFA





SONG LIANFENG

Women of the March 8 Group of the No.4 Sanitation Co. of Beijing who in 1986 worked 352 days each. The group was named an "advanced collective" by the city.

### Society's View

The government has always stressed equality in education, employment and distribution between men and women. Last year's statistics show that of the leading cadres in factories and government offices at various levels, 27 percent were women. China has a woman State Councillor, provincial governors and ministers. Each year, trade unions and women's federations throughout the country commend women who have distinguished themselves in work. Any bias against women in employment and work will draw attack by public opinion.

However, the traditional concept of a woman's role is deep-rooted. Many women are not promoted on the pretext that they are not as educated as their male counterparts, in spite of the fact that 81 percent of women workers in China today have an education at the junior and senior middle school or vocational school level, as against 73 percent for men workers.

Bai Yao is an accomplished reporter of a national newspaper. She was about to be promoted and sent abroad, an enviable mission, when her doctor told her she was

pregnant and these chances were not fulfilled. After the birth of her baby, Bai worked as hard as before. Some of the stories she wrote even won prizes. But she has not been promoted, and her leaders will not consider her for overseas work or visits. "This is really discouraging," Bai said. "In order to have time and energy to work hard, I employ a nurse to look after my baby. That consumes the bulk of my family's income." Bai also regretted that her leaders often make allowances for her male colleagues when they cannot turn in stories on time because of housework, but think women with children can no longer work as effectively as before.

### Job Discrimination

Although women have demonstrated that they are as competent as men, there are still cases of employers who shun women. One of the main excuses for this is that women usually go through a "difficult period:" pregnancy, maternity leave, which extends between three to six months, and child raising.

When a woman worker is absent for these reasons, her work

must be shared by her colleagues. In those factories where most of the workers are women, this can be a serious problem.

For this reason, the Beijing Children's Hospital limits the maternity leave of women doctors to only 71 days in order to maintain normal operation.

Many employers offer preferential treatment to women staff during their "difficult period." But this has its negative argument: Better employ less women!

### Gratifying Beginning

It is widely accepted in China that taking part in social productive labour is a prerequisite for women to gain emancipation. But historical, social and economic conditions make the achievement of socialization of housework a long process. According to statistics, working women in many provinces spend more than three hours a day performing household duties. The burden on women with younger children is even heavier.

Various employers, trade unions and women's federations have done much to help overcome this problem. Household service companies have sprung up in many cities to provide nurses and help with the chores of young mothers. This is at least one step towards socializing household duties and the full emancipation of women. ■



# High Employment Rate Among Urban Women

by the State Statistical Bureau

**A**t the end of 1986, of China's city people able to work, 62 million were women between the ages of 16 and 54. Fifty-one million of them have been taking part in all kinds of social labour, accounting for 82 percent. The figure is higher than that of the United States (54 percent), Britain (35.7 percent), France (33.3 percent), and the Federal Republic of Germany (32.7 percent), and lower than the Soviet Union (90 percent), the German Democratic Republic (89 percent) and Bulgaria (86 percent). The high employment rate of urban women is an important indication of the emancipation of Chinese women and a concrete demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system.

## Women Workers

By the end of last year, China had 46.88 million urban women workers and staff members, a 50 percent increase over 1978. They accounted for 36.6 percent of the total, up from the 32.9 percent in 1978. Of them, 30.57 million worked in state enterprises (32.8 percent of the total or 43.8 percent more than 1978), 16.05 million worked in collective enterprises (46.9 percent of the total or 60.2 percent more than 1978), and 260,000 in various other kinds of enterprises (47.3 percent of the total).

In terms of the type of occupation they engaged in, 3.01 million were working in primary industry (2.9 percent less than 1978 or 35.8 percent of the total), those working in the second industry increased to 25.77 million (by 47.8 percent, or 37.7 percent of

the total). The number of women engaged in the tertiary industry went up 68.5 percent to 18.1 million (35.3 percent). The percentage of women working in the public health departments, catering trades and other services was as high as 50.

## Improved Education

In the last few years, the political awareness and educational level of these urban women workers and staff members have markedly improved. Compared with 1978, the number of women cadres had increased 74.7 percent by 1986, at an annual rate of 7.2 percent. During this period the men cadres increased at an annual rate of 5.5 percent. In the total number of cadres, the percentage of women went up from 25.9 in 1978 to 28.5 in 1986. Of these, women engineers and technical workers rose by 12.3 percent a year on an average (11.7 percent for men), while the percentage of women scientific researchers went up by 4.7 percent a year on an average as compared with a 3.8 percent of men scientific researchers. The number of women teachers increased by a yearly average of 16.9 percent, higher than the men's 12.8 percent.

Statistics from the 8,000 big and medium-sized industrial enterprises show that of the 6 million women workers and staff members, 4.5 percent have an university education, 82.1 percent a middle school education, 12.2 percent a primary school education and 1.2 percent are illiterate. Many of them have taken up all sorts of studies, sometimes in the face of difficult conditions. In

1986, nearly 600,000 women workers and staff members attended special training classes on a secondary level and 300,000 participated in advanced training schools. Some were even studying for their master's or doctor's degrees.

## Existing Problems

1. A practice of looking down on women is prevalent in enrolling college students or in assigning work for university and technical school graduates and in recruiting workers. Some departments try to reduce the percentage of women workers to be employed. Even commercial departments and light and textile industrial enterprises which are more suitable for women, prefer men to women. Some others arbitrarily demand higher examination marks for women workers and staff members. Other departments refuse to sign contracts with married women, and in the case of single women employees, do not extend their contracts after they get married and have a baby. Some others under various pretext even refuse to accept women university and technical school graduates assigned to them. Discriminatory employment practices against women have made it difficult for them to find jobs. Statistics at the end of 1986 show that among the youth awaiting for jobs, 61.5 percent were women, 1.3 percent more than the previous year.

2. The structure of employment is irrational. In trades and professions suitable to women, such as in posts and telecommunications, education and financial departments, women account for

less than 40 percent. On the other hand, in building, transport, and mining enterprises where working conditions are harsh and labour is heavy, women make up 20 percent.

3. The heavy burden of household chores impedes women

in their efforts to improve their status. A survey of 700 workers and staff members by the Gansu Provincial Statistical Bureau shows that on workdays women have to spend an average of 2.7 hours per day doing household chores, one hour more than their

men counterparts. On Sundays or holidays, 6.1 hours have to be spent, 1.6 hours more than men workers. With their time taken up by work, household chores and sleep, women have little chance to improve their status, either politically or educationally. ■

## THE ABC OF INVESTING IN CHINA (IX)

# How to Hire and Dismiss Employees

by Our Correspondent Yue Haitao

**T**he right to hire and fire employees is one of the basic rights enjoyed by foreign-funded enterprises in China. Employees of Sino-foreign joint ventures are either from the original staff of Chinese businesses before mergers take place or recruited through local and overseas advertisements.

### Picking Up the Best

The main source of employees for Sino-foreign joint ventures is the original staff of the Chinese partners, as this calls for less investment and yields quicker results.

It is agreed by all sides that the choice of a good Chinese partner is of prime importance in setting up a successful joint venture. President of Xerox's Chinese Business Development, South Pacific Operations James E. Shapiro stressed, "The Chinese partners in joint ventures should rank as the best factories in China." These have a large number of qualified workers who can adapt themselves to joint management after short-term training. It is no wonder that the Tianjin-Astor Hotel (see "Trade Union and Party Organizations" in BR, issue No. 36) attributes its initial success to the employment of a large number of the Chinese investor's original staff.

• There are of course unqualified

members in the original Chinese staff. However, examinations are set for all the old staff and new applicants, and those who prove themselves qualified will be employed after a probationary period. The Chinese investing businesses will make arrangements for unsuccessful applicants. The two parties in the Beijing-Hong Kong Shangri-la Hotel cooperated in formulating rules for soliciting applications for all positions. The original staff and new applicants were treated equally, and the best of them were selected and employed after preliminary tests and re-examinations.

According to Western standards, most Chinese enterprises are overstaffed. Joint ventures in China, it seems, can only employ outstanding members of the Chinese enterprises' original staff. Given this, some Chinese partners set the re-employment of all original staff as a condition for cooperation. This is against Chinese government stipulations that the Chinese partner in a joint venture is obliged to make arrangements for any retrenched staff, including the old, sick and disabled. The joint venture need not assume responsibility for their wages and insurance premiums. The feasibility study drafted before the finalization of a joint venture should consider arrangements for

retrenched staff. The Beijing Jeep Corp., a joint venture between the Beijing Automobile Factory and the US Motor Co., employed less than half of the members of the Beijing factory's original staff and the rest were recruited by the Beijing factory's new light-duty truck workshop.

When a joint venture needs to increase its workforce, a submission of employment requirements and an application for a new employment quota must be made to the local labour department. The labour department will set the locality, department and scope for recruiting new workers. The joint venture may advertise for and recruit skilled workers and the labour department can also offer its recommendations. If a joint venture finds it difficult to obtain engineers, technicians and managerial personnel in the locality, it can recruit from other areas with the approval of the personnel department of the unit in charge of the Chinese investing business.

### Foreign Employees

Sino-foreign joint ventures can also employ technical specialists and senior managerial personnel from abroad. The first general managers of most of the recent Sino-foreign joint ventures have



been recommended by foreign partners. In some large ventures, the chief engineer, chief accountant and quality control engineer are also selected by the foreign party. The US partner in the Foxboro Co. of Shanghai appointed the general manager and chief engineer. The Beijing Jeep Corp's US partner appointed the general manager and managers of all functional departments. The Jianguo and Great Wall-Sheraton Hotels in Beijing each employ several dozen foreign staff members, including the general managers, department managers and heads of various service departments. In its early stage of operation, the Beijing Aviation Food Co. Ltd., China's first joint venture, employed a total of 15 staff selected by the Hong Kong investor.

Most of the foreign staff at Sino-foreign joint ventures are efficient and highly experienced. The FRG deputy general manager of the Tianjin Liming Cosmetics Co. is trusted by the company's board of directors and all the employees for his strict management and decisive handling of production matter. With the help of foreign technicians, the China-France Winery Co. Ltd. in Tianjin has produced high-quality *Dynasty*-brand wine which enjoys a ready market abroad.

Employees of joint ventures usually enter contracts with their company. The contracts can either be signed between the enterprise authorities and the trade union organization or between the enterprise authorities and the employees themselves. Labour contracts are legally binding and should be strictly upheld by both parties.

Because employees of joint ventures in China are better paid than other workers, transfers are rare. This serves to stabilize product quality and helps cut costs for training skilled workers. Although it is possible for employees of any joint venture to resign on a month's notice, very

few actually do so.

Some places, such as the Dalian Economic and Technological Development Zone, specify that employees who have received more than three months' training in their enterprises cannot resign before their first year with the firm. Otherwise they will be liable to refund training costs.

### **Obstructions to Dismissal**

In countries dominated by a market economy it is common for enterprises to dismiss incompetent employees or for employees to resign their positions. In China, however, the traditional practice of the "iron rice bowl" (secured permanent job) still presents an obstacle to dismissals, although reform in the labour system was made some time ago.

In areas which opened earlier, such as Guangdong and Fujian, dismissal of employees has become a more common practice and it meets with almost no resistance. The China Hotel in Guangzhou, established in 1984, dismissed an average of four employees a day in its early stage of operation and none of the investors raised any objection. In inland cities, however, it is not so easy to dismiss staff. Since the Beijing Jeep Corp. was established three years ago, it has dismissed three senior and 30 middle-level Chinese employees and eight American staff members. On receiving their dismissal notices, the Americans handed over their work, packed up and went home. Chinese employees, however, behaved quite differently. Although the board of directors had provided explanations, they would not be convinced. They wept bitterly and tried every possible way to find someone to intercede for them, hoping the company would retract its decisions.

China is a socialist country which practises the policy of wide

employment and low wages. The proportion of people awaiting jobs has for a long time stood at 2 percent. Over the past 40 years, state-run enterprises have seldom fired their workers. The labour system began to conduct reforms in this area last year, but the factory director's power to dismiss employees is still limited, extending mainly to those who have violated discipline and refused to mend their ways.

Foreign-funded enterprises in China feel less reserved to dismiss unqualified employees, even though the government labour department must do painstaking work to persuade them to leave. The labour department must also make appropriate arrangements for dismissed workers. The trade union organization in a joint venture can investigate the justifications for decisions by the board of directors. Any differences can be submitted for arbitration to the government labour department. In many cases, relatives and friends of those to be dismissed will plead for lenience from enterprise leaders. The security departments also encourage enterprises not to rashly dismiss employees as this would put pressure on social security. To avoid all these problems joint ventures are generally reluctant to adopt such extreme measures and only use them as a last resort.

If joint ventures are bent on dismissing some employees they should inform the latter's trade union organizations and report the discharge to the labour and personnel departments. Joint ventures should also provide compensation for dismissed workers based on their length of service (usually one-month average salary for each year). Sun Hesheng of the Fair-Well Nutrition Co. Ltd. was dismissed for managerial inefficiency and received compensation equivalent to two months average salary for company employees. ■

## Pollution Prevention Must Come First

**"ZHONGGUO HUANJING BAO"**  
(Chinese Environment)

People in the academic circles both at home and abroad and leaders in charge of economic construction still have some confused ideas about simultaneous development of the environment and the economy. They say that the process of "pollution first and control afterwards" is inevitable; and it is no exception for China and other developing countries. This view is unscientific and cannot stand the test of practice. The reasons are:

1. The historical conditions of developing countries differ from those of industrialized countries. When developed countries were in the stage of industrialization, there were abundant and cheap resources, as well as cheap energy and labour all over the world. In these circumstances, they took the road of "pollution first and control afterwards," because it was possible for them to adopt remedial measures and pay high prices to control the deterioration of the environment caused by the development of production.

But those days are gone forever. Today it is very difficult for developing countries to find all these favourable conditions at the same time. In China, for example, energy and resources have been in quite short supply, although cheap labour is readily available.

2. The way of "pollution first and control afterwards" carries a high price. Experience shows that the cost of "control afterwards" is at least double and can be several times more than that of simultaneous prevention and control. In addition, practice in China and other countries has long since demonstrated that it is not economical to give up the whole and long-term interests for short-term gains.

3. The serious consequences of some environmental problems

have some unchangeable characteristics. Even if we pay high prices for "control afterwards," it is very difficult to retrieve losses. Take rare birds, animals and plants, for example, which are of great scientific value to human beings. They can become extinct in a short time, and can never be recovered.

With the rapid exploitation of natural resources, many species have been pushed to the brink of extinction. We must pay great attention to this problem. Moreover, some environmental problems, such as desertification, unsuitable distribution of industry and cities, improper large-scale irrigation works and traffic projects are very hard to remedy. All this shows that we can make great errors that are extremely difficult to correct, if we conduct economic construction without taking ecology into account.

4. In the early days of industrialization, some of the environmental problems that appeared in developed countries were inseparable from the levels of understanding and technology at that time. Now conditions have changed. Developing countries can learn from the experiences of developed countries and can gain access to their advanced technology. In addition, with the development of science and technology, developing countries have adopted new measures to solve various kinds of environmental problems caused by rapid development. Thus, they can

avoid detours that were taken by developed countries.

During the 1970s, a new science was established to prevent various kinds of environmental problems in the course of economic development. Based on this science, we can apply the methods of systems engineering to analyse construction projects, take measures to prevent environmental problems that arise during construction. Even if problems emerge, we can reduce unfavourable consequences and keep losses to a minimum.

5. In developing its economy, China decided to follow a policy of steady, sustained and coordinated development after summing up the lessons of history. This is the correct course. To implement this policy, we must prevent the pollution of the environment and protect environmental resources while developing the economy.

6. The basic aim of China's socialist system is to bring benefit to people. Therefore, while carrying out construction, we must prevent the pollution of environment and the social effects of pollution, and not take the old way of "pollution first and control afterwards." If, in our attempts to develop the economy to benefit the people, we pollute and destroy the environment, we would be going against the aim of socialist development.

In short, the road of "pollution first and control afterwards" is a tortuous path unsuitable to China's conditions.

(June 11, 1987)

## Changes in China's Marriages

**"ZHONGGUO FUNU"**  
(Chinese Women)

The number of both marriages and divorces in 1986 increased markedly. Last year marriage

registrations totalled 8.82 million, an increase of 532,000 over 1985; divorce figures reached 506,000, or 49,000 more than that in 1985.

Two main reasons can be ascribed to the higher number of marriages: More young people

have reached the marriageable age in recent years and the average age for first marriages has fallen — from 23.8 years in 1984 to 22 years in 1986.

Of all the registered marriages last year, 17.075 million were first ones, while remarried couples, either with a new partner or to former spouses, numbered 571,000.

Last year, 894,000 couples applied for divorces. Of them 506,000 requests were granted, creating the record for recent years. Of the couples seeking

divorce, 214,000 processed their applications through the civil affairs departments and 292,000 cases went through the courts, an increase of 9.2 percent and 11.5 percent over 1985 respectively.

According to a recent survey in some places, up to 70 percent of divorce pleas were made by the female partners and about half of the divorced couples were below 35 years of age.

Last year, the divorced accounted for 7 per thousand of the total married population.

(August 3, 1987)

statistics, money spent on non-staple food accounted for 57.1 percent of the total food consumption.

At the same time, housing conditions have also improved. Many farmers' houses are now bright and attractive. In 1986, the average per-capita housing area was 15.29 square metres, 7.19 square metres more than in 1978. In each of the past six years, the state has provided building materials for 10 percent of China's farmers.

Farmers are beginning to choose ready-made and fashionable clothes. In the past, farmers preferred durable and cheap clothes. Now their clothes have become more colourful and stylish. In 1986, ready-made clothes purchased by farming families doubled.

Domestic electric appliances have entered the homes of farmers. In 1986 the number of bikes, radios and watches for every 100 farming households had doubled or redoubled compared with 1978. Some well-off farmers also purchased washing machines, refrigerators, TV sets, electric fans and tape recorders.

Consumption by farming families has changed in its order — from eating, clothing, fuel, expenditure on daily necessities, and housing to eating, housing, expenditure on daily necessities, clothing and fuel. This shows that when the farmers have enough food and clothing they will turn their attention to improving their housing conditions.

(August 11, 1986)

Cartoon by XUAN SHUZHENG

## Improved Living Standards for Farmers

### "NONGMIN RIBAO"

(Farmers' Daily)

According to a recent survey conducted by the State Statistical Bureau's rural fact-finding group, the living standards of Chinese farmers have undergone great changes since 1979. Findings of the survey indicate that some farmers have become quite well off. From 1979 to 1986, the average annual income per capita saw an increase of 290 yuan, compared with the negligible growth of 90 yuan from 1949 to 1978.

Rural areas now have fewer poverty-stricken households, along with an increased number of well-off households and households in which the essential necessities of life are guaranteed. The percentage of poor households (with an average per-capita annual income below 200 yuan) decreased from 61.6 in 1980 to 11.3 in 1986; households with an average per-capita annual income of between 200 and 500 yuan increased from 36.8 to 60; and those with an income of over 500 yuan increased from 1.6 to 28.7.

With raised incomes, farmers' consumer pattern totally altered.

Money spent on consumer goods increased. In 1986, the

average per-capita amount of money available for buying consumer commodities was 217 yuan, a five-fold growth over that of eight years ago, accounting for 62.8 percent of the total expenditure on daily necessities. In 1978, however, it was only 38.8 percent. This reflects the rapid transformation from a substantially self-sufficient economy in China's rural areas to a new commodity economy.

The proportion of food consumption to living expenses decreased from 67.7 percent in 1978 to 56.4 percent in 1986. In the past grain was the staple food of farmers. But now their food consumption has expanded to include more meat, poultry, eggs, sugar, fish and shrimp. Some high-quality nutrients have also entered their diet. According to 1986

**Mam, please walk slowly!**



## China, USSR Team up in Fishery

According to the aquatic department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery, a Chinese fishery delegation is expected to visit the Soviet Union towards the end of this year to discuss long-term scientific and technological co-operation in the fishing industry. This marks the first possibility of co-operation since the suspension of relations between the two countries over 20 years ago.

In talks held between Chinese and USSR fishery delegations in Beijing last June, a unanimous agreement was reached on the necessity to actively develop co-operation to promote the development of the fishing industry, and the scientific and technological progress of the two countries.

During the talks, the Soviet side proposed that four questions be discussed, including research into natural and artificial proliferation in the Heilongjiang and Wusuliang Rivers, and the establishment of joint fishery enterprises in the Soviet Union. The Chinese side expressed hope that the two countries would co-operate in bioengineering projects and their fishery applications.

Both parties agreed to further discuss the form of co-operation in the Soviet Union in late 1987.

## China Seen as Prime Growth Area

Lockheed sees the People's Republic of China as one of the prime growth areas in the world economy and that is why it has opened an office in Beijing, said a senior executive of the aircraft corporation.

Don Neese, vice-president for the Asia-Pacific Region, Lockheed Corporation International,

told *Beijing Review* that the opening of the Lockheed Beijing Office last July came in the wake of business developments which included the following deals:

—The sale of two L-100 planes to CAAC. The L-100 is the civilian version of the military C-130;

—The sale of a number of information systems to various Chinese institutions;

—The completion of a feasibility study for the airport in the Shenzhen SEZ.

Lockheed had also helped certify the technical performance of the Yun-12 aircraft manufactured by the Harbin Aircraft Plant, said Neese.

He said that discussions are under way for the co-production of Fletcher planes in China. The Fletcher, demonstrated to Chinese Vice-Premier Wan Li in New Zealand in 1986, is designed for agricultural use, such as spraying fertilizers and insecticides. Its manufacturer is the Pacific Aerospace Corp. of New Zealand, of which Lockheed owns 25 percent.

Neese said Lockheed is to hold an aeroplane exhibition in Beijing on October 14-20.

## Tobacco Exhibition Held in Beijing

Beijing International Tobacco Exhibition 1987 was held between September 22 and 28 at the Beijing Exhibition Centre. This is the first forum for exchanging tobacco technology of its kind in China.

Participants included 500 foreign business people from 55 countries in 16 countries and regions, and representatives from the China National Tobacco Corp. and its branches in the various provinces and municipalities.

On display were the latest developments from China and abroad and items including production equipment, testing

and measuring instruments, accessories and cigarettes and cigars. At the same time 23 symposia were held to discuss 18 cultivation and processing projects.

China's tobacco industry has trade and co-operative relations with 150 companies in 32 countries and regions, and it exports to dozens of places in Europe, Asia and Africa, according to Jin Maoxian, deputy general manager of the China National Tobacco Corp.

The Beijing Tobacco Factory exported in the first nine months of this year 3 million yuan worth of goods to a dozen countries and regions including the United States, Japan, Singapore, Federal Germany, Malaysia and Hong Kong.

Jinjian and Changle brand cigarettes which contain Chinese medicinal herbs sell well abroad. The Lingdan brand cigarette produced by Anhui Province and the Pseudo-ginseng brand cigarette produced by Yunnan Province which are helpful for some kinds of diseases have come onto the international market.

To improve the quality of cigarettes, China has in the last two years imported 16 kinds of advanced equipment and technology from Britain, Italy and Federal Germany.

Jin said the exhibition is an example of the new co-operation between China and other countries. China is the biggest cigarette market and the biggest cigarette producer in the world. It needs a great deal of advanced equipment to improve its tobacco production and is eager to export its products and technology. The prospects for co-operation between China and other countries are very good.

## Know-How Import For Clothing Export

Thanks to imported advanced technology, the Mailyard Garment Co. Ltd., in operation



Chinese and Japanese designers cut garments together.

TONG SHIJIAN

for only one year, has achieved national recognition for its production of high-grade Western-style suits. The Western-style clothes worn by all members of the Chinese delegation to the 2nd World Track and Field Tournament held in Rome not long ago, were produced by Mailyard. Some Chinese senior officials and noted public figures also order clothes from the company. By June of this year, the factory had received enough orders for its products for the next year.

The company with Hong Kong investment is located in Huangshi, Hubei Province. With a registered capital of US\$1 million, it has an annual production capacity of 20,000 high-grade Western-style clothes. Mailyard's sewing equipment is mainly from Japan, the United States and Federal Germany.

In March 1986, Mailyard began trial-production. Six months later, it signed a co-operative agreement with Santei Co. Ltd. of Japan. According to the agreement, Mailyard will produce every year 40,000 clothes for the Santei at preferential prices, and in return the Japanese company trains 10 technicians in Japan each year for the Chinese factory. It is also

stipulated in the agreement that every year Santei sends 350 people to assist Mailyard in production and provides more than 10 of the latest styles in world fashion. The co-operation period is 20 years.

Since the agreement, more than 700 Japanese experts and technicians have worked and exchanged experience and market information with Mailyard. The Japanese side has already trained a group of technicians and managerial personnel for the firm.

In the first half of this year, Mailyard produced 86,500 Western-style clothes with top quality items comprising over 99.7 percent. A Japanese wholesale representative said Mailyard's goods are better than South Korean and Taiwan products, and are comparable to similar goods from Japan.

Kimio Tsunekawa, Santei's general manager, said that some companies from Tokyo and Osaka are now selling Mailyard's clothes. According to Tong Shijian, Mailyard's deputy general manager, this year's profits are expected to be 300,000 yuan, and US\$300,000 in foreign exchange. Its foreign exchange revenue is expected to exceed expenditure. ■

## News in Brief

■ China's offshore oil industry has expanded considerably with the injection of foreign capital. From 1979 to August this year China signed 41 contracts with foreign countries for co-operative exploration of China's seas and US\$2.86 billion have come in under those contracts. Since 1979 dozens of foreign oil companies have invested in China's oil industry, including some from the United States, France, Britain and Japan. During this period, China carried out seismic prospecting over a total of 345,000 kilometres of territory, and sunk 162 test wells and found oil and gas in 65 of them. It also explored 120 geological traps and found oil and gas in 35 of them, a success rate of 29 percent.

■ China will hold its first fashion festival on December 8-14 this year in Shenzhen. During the festival various ethnic minority, opera and classical costumes, new Chinese fashions and foreign products will be displayed. Representatives from abroad will be invited to participate.

■ China has been permitted to use UL safety marks on 150 kinds of machinery and electrical products it exports to the United States according to a contract signed by the China National Import & Export Commodities Inspection Corp. and the US UL inspecting institute.

■ Peace and prosperity have returned to Horgos, a Sino-Soviet border port in the far west of China.

Border traffic in both goods and people resumed in 1983, following a 20-year suspension of dealings between the two countries.

Some 239,000 tons of goods passed through the port from 1983 to 1986, and 5,280 people made the crossing, visiting relatives and friends, sightseeing or on business.

In the first half of this year 8,800 tons of cargo and 1,280 people crossed the border. ■

# 'Prince Cao Zhi' — A Play About Fratricide



As the audience enter the theatre, they are faced by a grand imperial tomb from ancient time. The two stone gates, replacing the usual stage curtain, are tightly closed. On each side of the gate, stand a pair of high watchtowers fronted by the stone figures of civil officials and warriors. A beam of dim light is shed on the gloomy gates, possibly from the setting sun over the distant hill. The eerie atmosphere is set for a tragic historical event.

As the grey gates to the tomb open slowly, a crowd of people in long, flowing robes make their entrance to solemn classical Chinese music. The play, presented by artists from the Harbin Drama Troupe as a special contribution to the first China Art Festival, rekindles a story dating back 1,700 years.

The time is one of war and turmoil in feudal society. In the court of the State of Wei, two princes, Cao Pi and Cao Zhi are driven to bloody fratricide in their struggle for the throne.

Director Chen Li describes the theme of the play as the conflicts between humanity and the desire for power. "The play is a revelation of the human tragedy of brutal fratricide—the dying out of human nature."

In the long history of Chinese feudal society, it was far from rare for members of the family to resort to murder to gain the throne. So why did the playwright choose the Cao brothers? Zhou Shushan

explains: "I did not want to present a simple story of fratricide, nor the conflicts between the persecutor and the persecuted. I wanted to make a profound exploration of ambivalence in the human mind."

The playwright has not resorted to old clichés, the usual story of a kind-hearted scholar and cruel king. Cao Zhi, though possessing an outstanding literary talent, great ambition and an honest nature, was born self-indulgent and self-willed, and this eventually leads to his tragic downfall. Cao Pi's jealous nature and strong

desire for power gave reign to his inhumanity and brutality. But he suffered the pangs of conscience. The hesitations in his treachery, and guilt in his cruelty illustrate the feudal society's alienation of man. The character, which the playwright spent much efforts in delineation, grows full-fledged amid dramatic conflicts.

The play begins with a poetry competition in which Cao Zhi's outstanding talent won the praise and respect of the ministers as well as his father. His elder brother, Cao Pi, seeing this as a threat to his position as crown prince, started

A Scene from "Prince Cao Zhi"

WANG HUI



to conspire against his brother. When Cao Zhi was about to go to the battle-front in place of his father, Cao Pi, afraid of his brother's possible success, made him drunk so that he would lose favour with his father. Although moved to tears by childhood reminiscences with his brother, Cao Pi still gave in to his evil ambition and desire for power.

After ascending the throne, in an attempt to remove the threat posed by his brother, Cao Pi ordered him to complete a poem within the time taken to make seven steps. On failing this Cao Zhi was to drink a cup of poisoned wine as his punishment. Facing such merciless persecution and driven by hatred and indignation, Cao Zhi made out a memorable poem:

*Burning bean stalks heat  
the pot,  
To cook the sobbing beans  
within.  
Both are from the same root,  
Why to meet with such a cruel  
end?*

Then he shouted out in despair, "My heaven! We are so-called brothers!" He was about to drink when Cao Pi almost instinctively covered the cup with his hand, a response which reveals the contradictions in his mind.

To protect his throne, Cao Pi made his brother Duke of a distant region. However, Cao Zhi's devotion to his office further aroused Cao Pi's suspicion and he resorted to cold-blooded murder. The queen saved her brother-in-law at the cost of her own life and Cao Pi became much hated for his evil actions.

The play's success is largely due to the artists' excellent performance. Liu Yingtao, who plays the role of Cao Zhi, graduated from the Beijing College of Cinematic Art in the 1960s and has since played many successful roles. In this play he renders the personality of Cao Zhi to perfection—an honest feudal scholar imbued with idealism.

Lu Jiudong, who began his

career as an actor at the age of 17, is outstanding in his vivid and penetrating presentation of Cao Pi's inner world. His comprehensive understanding of the play explains this success. "Cao Pi is not simply a flat character. He experienced a violent inner-struggle and this is at the heart of the character."

The stage designing deserves special mention. "I have drawn a lot of inspiration from the carved stones of the Han Dynasty," said Lu Wei, the designer. "By mingling the scenes of the past and

present, and reviving the dead in the tomb, I was able to create a world of romance in which the audience is made to share in the joys and sorrows of the characters."

The heavy gates closed, signifying the end of an era, the end of the joys and sufferings of the historical figures and of the ambitions of Cao Zhi and the lonely king Cao Pi. But the closing of the gates on the tomb will not stop the further contemplation of history by the audience.

**By Hong Lanxing**

## 'Dance in Gold & Silver' Shows Beauty

Over one and a half hours, *Dance in Gold and Silver* takes the audience on a journey through the evolution of Chinese fashion in its 6,000-year history. The full-length performance is part of the first China Art Festival presented by the No. 1 Art Troupe of the Shanghai Dance Drama Theatre.

The performance is broken up into six episodes. It traces back to the state of chaos. Four dancers—three male and one female—in tightfitting flesh-coloured costumes, vividly reflect human beings' primitive state, and the changes they undergo as they turn to dance as a way to relax after working and clothing as a means to keep out the cold. Through imitation and competition, an

aesthetic consciousness is gradually cultivated. The three-minute dance offers a beautiful interpretation of the evolutionary interplay of man, fashion, dance and culture.

To depict the grand cultural scene in the prime of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), the audience is ushered into the private world of imperial life. Resplendent music and groups of fairy like maids set the scene as Yang Yuhuan—Emperor Ming Huang's favourite—rises from her bath in the hot spring Huaqing Pool. Her hair in a bun and a silk shawl draped over her naked shoulders, she is the image of noble elegance in a white gauze dress and a ten-metre-long trailing yellow silk robe.





Several scenes from "Dance in Gold and Silver."

YANG FEI AND LAI HAILONG

The Song Dynasty (960-1279) is represented by a lantern festival scene which presents an opportunity to display folk fashion of the time. The Song people, plainly dressed in purple, green, yellow and pink, strolled through the streets amid quiet and harmonious melody, admiring lanterns and flowers. As variety shows grow in popularity, pleasure-seekers also become larger. The scene provides a sharp contrast to the imperial extravagance and magnificence of the Tang Dynasty, and the dance reveals the bearing of fashion on the expanding urban art.

Chinese traditional opera flourished during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and traditional opera costumes were based on the fashion of the time, setting high standards in style and beauty. This item of the performance focuses on an exhibition of traditional opera costume through a harmonious combination of stylized dance movements and snatches from some well-known operas. The display of traditional opera roles of *sheng* (male), *dan* (female), *jing* (painted face) and *chou* (clown) and some recognizable opera figures forms a colourful and graphic montage.

Scenes depicting the selection of imperial concubines and a folk wedding ceremony were chosen to reflect everyday customs in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Several girls of graceful bearing model *qi pao* (the close-fitting dress with high neck and slit skirt

popular among the Manchu nationality in the Qing Dynasty period) and the men wear the Chinese high collar suit with its elegant and simple lines. This is followed by the entrance of a number of contemporary women figures dressed in varied *qi pao*, which evolved from the standard *qi pao* of the Manchu people.

The epilogue exhibits current fashion and hints at the continuing evolution of fashion, which draws from inheritance and innovation and is a mixture of Eastern tradition and Western culture.

The performance which exhibits the colour of Chinese traditional fashion through dance certainly makes a fresh impact on the audience. "It is an attempt to combine a dance performance and fashion show to create a frontier art form," said Li Xiaoyun, president of the Shanghai Dance Drama Theatre and one of the show's choreography directors.

In staging the performance, Li Xiaoyun and her colleagues endeavoured to impress the audience with Chinese culture. They were trying to grasp the essence of the fashion of each dynasty and avoid a mere historical exhibition of traditional dance and fashion. Focusing on four of China's 24 dynasties, the directors worked out a composite artistic concept through a brave combination of historical perspective and their own individual impressions and interpretations.

The dance and fashion of the Tang, Song and Ming dynasties corresponded respectively to "imperial," "folk" and "traditional opera" facets of life in those lines. The ingenious artistic treatment works to produce a stereoscopic perspective to high aesthetic effect.

A total of 400 fashions are exhibited during the 90-minute performance. The blend of historical record and artistic exaggeration through dance leaves the audience with an overall impression of rhythm, movement and continuity. However, the intensity of colour and design of the costume could not but overshadow the accomplished dancing skills presented in the *wen shen* tattoo or line dance in the Song-dynasty item, the *shui xiu* dance of the longsleeves in the Ming episode, and the epilogue *ba gua* dance based on an octagonal design formed with solid or broken lines of three.

The show's directors reportedly met with unimaginable difficulties during the three-year process of staging this show, and their final achievement deserves admiration.

The performance, originally named *Impression of Chinese Traditional Dance and Fashion*, was applauded as a hit at this spring's Shanghai International Art Festival. Now, with its modifications and the new title *Dance in Gold and Silver*, the piece is still warmly received for its innovative spirit and foresight.

by Wei Liao



## Historical Sites in Henan

From the 16th century BC to the 12th century AD, Henan Province's Luoyang and Kaifeng on the middle and lower reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River were the capital cities for 11 dynasties including the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (770-256 BC), the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534), the Sui Dynasty (581-618) and the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), and were for a time China's political and cultural centres.

**Cultural Sites** The site of Dahe Village in the northern suburbs of Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan Province, dates back more than 5,000 years. Many unearthed graves, foundations of buildings, painted pottery and spinning wheels indicate the culture in the late stage of the primitive society and the early days of the slave society. The restored houses and clay figures vividly reflect the ancient life and production. The 3,500-year-old site of an ancient city in the Shang Dynasty, which was unearthed in Zhengzhou, had a citywall of 7 kilometres in circumference and many building foundations, cellars, wells and graves.

**Buddhist Relics** As Buddhism began to spread in China in 67 AD, the emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) ordered the construction of the Baima Temple in Luoyang city to greet two Buddhist monks from India. This temple, the oldest in China, houses many well-preserved clay Buddhist figures of high artistic value and the tombs of the two Indian monks.

Built during the period between the Northern Wei and Northern Song dynasties (4th-12th century AD), the Longmen Grottoes feature 100,000 Buddhist statues, the largest of which is 17 metres high. Grottoes in Gongxian County, built during the same period, preserve 15 relief sculptures which vividly express the ancient Buddhist activities of the

emperors and empresses. These life-like figures are indeed China's art treasures.

**Gucheng — An Ancient City** In 960, the emperor of Northern Song Dynasty made Kaifeng the capital and it remained so for 160 years. Now the ancient city is a showcase of the antique buildings, quaint pagodas, ancient temples and decorated archways. On festive occasions local people perform the dragon dance and lion dance and festive lanterns are everywhere.

**Ancient Astronomical Observatory** China's oldest astronomical observatory is located on the Songshan Mountain in Dengfeng County. It was built by Guo Shoujing, a famous Chinese astronomer, in the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). The tropical year, devised 300 years before the Gregorian Calendar, was first invented by Guo. It is as accurate as the later Gregorian Calendar and will be of great value to research into the history of astronomy and architecture.

**Birthplace of Shadow and Shaolin Boxing** The Henan Administration of Travel and Tourism has provided foreign tourists with the opportunity to learn shadow (Taijiquan) and Shaolin boxing.

The Shaolin Temple in the Songshan Mountain, Henan Province, is the birthplace of Shaolin boxing. Since the monks in Shaolin Temple helped the founding emperor of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) Li Shimin quell the rebellion over 1,000 years ago, Shaolin boxing has been very famous both at home and abroad. Shi Yongshou, a master of the 33rd generation of the Shaolin Temple, learnt the boxing skill from childhood and has mastered more than 150 skills and tricks. He told our correspondent that he would contribute towards spreading the knowledge of Shaolin boxing in the world. According to



Master Shi Yongshou.

HE NANREN

Liang Yiquan, a chief coach at the Shaolin Wushu (Martial Arts) School, many foreigners from the United States, Japan and Europe have come here in recent years to learn Shaolin boxing. The new auditorium of practising martial arts capable of accommodating 200 people will be completed in October to meet the needs of foreigners.

Shadow boxing (Taijiquan) is a traditional form of Chinese boxing handed down over 500 years ago. Chen Jiagou Village in Wenxian County, Henan Province, is the birthplace of Shadow boxing, which is also called the Chen-type shadow boxing. Shadow boxing is favourably received by the Chinese people as an effective prescription for health, and the art has spread to Japan, the United States and Southeast Asia. Heir of the Chen-type shadow boxing, Chen Xiaowang and his apprentices have, since 1981, received 1,000 boxing amateurs from Sweden, Norway, Canada, the United States, Australia and Japan.

by Han Guojian

## Tibet: Need for Balanced Presentation

My wife and I have just returned from three weeks in Tibet and I must take issue with a recent Mark Hopkins' report on the Voice of America.

Mr. Hopkins quotes the strongly critical statement of one individual (presumably an American)—and that is practically the whole of his report. It contains, so far as I recall, no different views and no historical perspective. This simplistic and unsubstantiated presentation of a complex, political matter falls short of the demands of responsible reporting.

In Lhasa, Gyantse, Shigatse and other places we witnessed the free and open practice of Tibetan Buddhism, including the prostration of pilgrims in approaching and encircling monasteries and temples, the burning of butter lamps, the twirling of prayer wheels, the chanting of scriptures and conducting of religious ceremonies. At Drepong Monastery and elsewhere we witnessed the reconstruction of lamaseries destroyed after the Dalai Lama's flight in 1959 or during the "cultural revolution" (in which destruction Tibetans played a considerable part). We saw, too, much building of residences in the beautiful traditional Tibetan style and visited the homes of Tibetans, from farmers to aristocrats, and admired their traditional artistic interior decoration. We walked the newly built broad avenues of Lhasa and the lanes of the ancient Barkhor Market, including the Pilgrims' Route round the crowded Jokung Temple—all newly paved within the last five years. And we learnt of the recent regulation adopted at the 4th People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), according to which Tibetan is to be the major official language and a main subject in all schools.

Of course this is only one side of the situation. Han chauvinism (which was strongly condemned by Mao Zedong) continues,

despite the demands of current PRC policy. I found among the Hans a widespread assumption that because their culture and economy are more advanced, they have nothing to learn from Tibet's ancient culture. Few Han officials have learnt the Tibetan language (though Hans in business, having a material incentive, have done so). The proportion of Han officials, incidentally, is being systematically reduced by TAR and the Central People's Government—with Han officials' enthusiastic support.

Many Western visitors, beautiful young backpackers and comfortably off lamaists in monkish robes are madly in love with all Tibetans, from the beggars to the Dalai. The Tibetans are indeed a lovable people—friendly, outgoing, smiling, warm (they love to touch you), more approachable and ready to smile than most of the Hans, who would be happier back home—even those who selflessly volunteered to serve in Tibet 10 or 20 years ago. And, contrariwise, these same Westerners hate the Hans. Yet without the Hans and the material progress they have brought to Tibet, especially in transport and communications, they would hardly be able to visit their Shangri-La. But they disregard all this and focus on Han bureaucracy and travel service incompetence and shortage of serve-the-people spirit. These Han haters talk of "cultural genocide." One might expect them to consider, if a culture is being killed (which it is not) what sort of culture existed in old Tibet, where runaway serfs and slaves were subjected, if caught, to amputation of hands and feet, gouging out of eyes, cutting off of kneecaps, hamstringing, being thrown into pits of scorpions. The Western Han-haters (as distinct from the Tibetans themselves) forget or ignore all this. They idealize everything Tibetan and all Tibetans.

One of them was a 40-year-old Californian nun, with shaven head and flowing red robes. She had graduated from college in social work in the '60s, she told us, had been a liberal supporter of Kennedy, went in for "love ins." took LSD. Somehow she had discovered that she could get much the same elation and content from Buddhism, so she kicked the habit and became a Buddhist nun. Now she wandered about Asia (we met her first at a monastery but found her next-door-but-one in our hotel a few days later) lecturing on Buddhism for some American-sponsored organization with 40 branches. She was blessed with that peace of mind which passeth all understanding, bolstered with stories of communist atrocities. "There has been some improvement in Tibet since 1980," she said, "but the restoration of the destroyed monasteries is simply to attract tourists and to improve China's international image." We found a young Swiss monk more credible. "Even for this simple life," he said, "you have to have an independent income. My parents support me." Then he clambered on to his tractor-taxi, headed for another monastery.

These two sides of the picture show the need for balanced presentation and historical perspective. The strategic location and material resources of Tibet have long been the object of intrigue, espionage and even invasion by the rulers first of Britain and Russia, then of India and the U.S.A.

"If Tibet were to become independent today, as some people suggest, how long could she remain so?" In answer to this question a Tibetan friend replied: "Our situation is not ideal, but it has been improving since 1980; and there is no better alternative to our remaining an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China."

*David Crook,  
Beijing Foreign Studies University,  
September 1987*

**ART PAGE**

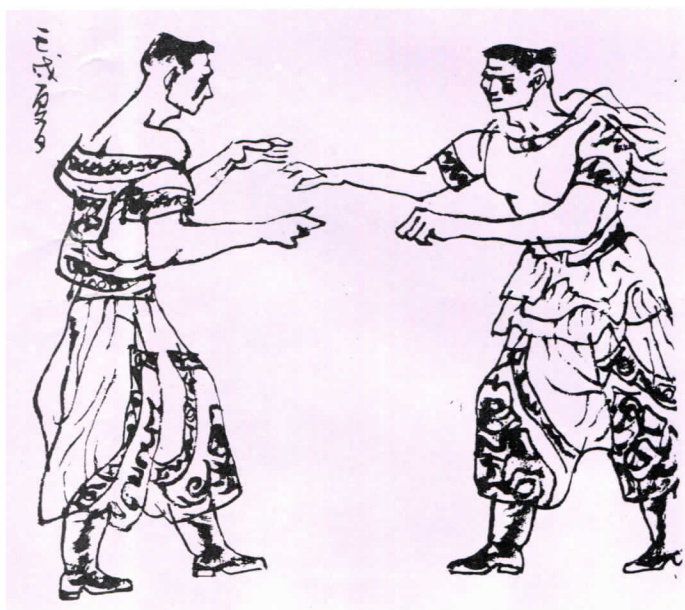
**Sketches by  
Yang Gang**



Herding horses.



An old woman making milk tea.



Wrestlers.



Nadam Fair.

Yang Gang, born in 1946 in Huaiyang, Henan Province, now works at the Beijing Art Studio. Here are some of his life sketches from the pastoral area in Inner Mongolia.

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