

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

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Vol. 30, No. 43 Oct. 26-Nov. 1, 1987

## Religious Freedom in Tibet

**OPEN POLICY &  
CULTURAL FERMENT**





Reformation of the old state postal system has resulted in the establishment of village postal routes to serve farmers in Huian County, Fujian Province. Postal routes over the county have now opened up to include 116 lines compared to the 29 of the two years ago. The area accessible to postal communication has expanded from 8.5 percent to 99.7 percent.

Post women walking along the village postal route.



Postmen and women prepare to set off on their deliveries,

*Cheng Xi*



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<b>COVER:</b> Chinese and foreign tourists vying to touch the lucky Fusang Stone at the foot of Taishan Mountain.	
<b>Zhang Rendong</b>	

### Party Congress Aims to Speed Up Reform

■ The 13th CPC Congress, starting on October 25, will set China's future course after reviewing the experiences gained since 1978. It will define the guidelines for future economic construction, draw up a blueprint for political restructuring and elect a new central leadership. Speeding up the reforms and the open policy will be the central topic for discussion at the congress (p. 4).

### UN Adopts New Kampuchea Resolution

■ Although Viet Nam used several ploys in an attempt to deceive the international community about its role in Kampuchea, the United Nations General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, adopted another resolution calling for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country (p. 10).

### No Denying that Tibet Is Part of China

■ The Dalai Lama, his followers and their foreign backers are raising a hullabaloo about independence for Tibet. In this article, Israel Epstein, a noted journalist, demonstrates with hard historical facts that Tibet is unquestionably an inalienable part of China's territory. (p. 17).

### Religious Freedom Guaranteed in Tibet

■ In this issue are the second parts of two sets of articles on Tibet—Dialogue on Tibet and Profile From Tibet. This week's dialogue between our correspondents and officials of the State Nationalities Commission deals with religion and crime (p. 21). The profile is about Tibet's religious activities, lamas and monasteries, Buddhist education and religious organizations (p. 23).

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# CPC Set to Step Up Reform

by Ge Wu

The 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, starting on October 25, is a major political event as it will address the vital issues of speeding up the current reforms and opening to the outside world.

The congress, which is expected to set China's future course, will sum up the experience gained in reform and opening up since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee of late 1978, define the guidelines for future economic development and the economic and political restructuring, and elect a new central leadership.

Compared with nine years ago, the situation in China today is remarkably changed. Gross national product (GNP), state revenue and the average income of the people have all doubled. The national economy, which was seriously off balance previously, has now embarked on the path of balanced development. The vigorous development of urban undertakings has created numerous jobs, and the burgeoning township and village industries have made it possible for large numbers of rural people to move away from farming.

A richness is to be seen in urban and rural markets which were previously plagued by constant shortages. The overwhelming majority of the 1 billion Chinese people, who before were often unable to feed and clothe themselves properly, now have enough to eat and to wear. Some of them have become quite well off. The social order is stable; socialist democracy, the legal system, and cultural and ideological construction have all progressed well. It can be said these nine years have seen the fastest growth of economic strength and the fastest improvement in people's living standards since the birth of the New China in 1949.

These generally acknowledged and encouraging changes in China are the result of implementing the political line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, with the Chinese people rallying around the Party and government.

This political line consists of a pivot: economic construction; and two basic points: upholding the four cardinal principles (i.e., the socialist road, Communist Party leadership, the people's democratic dictatorship, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought), and persisting in reform and opening up. These two basic points are inter-related and inter-dependent.

The reform has broken down the original rigid economic structure. The people have been better motivated; the socialist commodity economy is developing irresistibly. With the establishment of the special economic zones, the open coastal cities and the coastal economic development areas, a new pattern has been set up and it is helping to spread openness gradually to the hinterland. In the course of this, advanced technologies brought in from abroad have helped China's modernization drive. Reform and openness have been pounding at the old ideas and concepts which have shackled the people for a long time. They have also inspired the national spirit. A new social mood of dedication to reform and pioneering is spreading to all corners of the country.

Experience shows that reform and opening up are the ways to rejuvenate China. To achieve its economic goals by the end of this century of quadrupling the gross national product, and reaching a better living standard, China must rely on reform and opening up.

The congress will make a theoretical elaboration of major issues such as China's primary

stage of socialism and the vigorous development of a planned commodity economy. China is building socialism on a semi-feudal and semi-colonial basis. Its productivity is far lower than that of the developed capitalist countries. This dictates that China must go through a long stage of primary socialism. This has two major implications: China is a socialist society which must be adhered to and not deviated from; at this stage of China's socialism economic construction is the central task as it is absolutely necessary to boost productivity. This stage will be extended from the mid-1950s when socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically accomplished to the middle of next century when China will have reached the level of a medium-developed country. These are China's actual conditions on the basis of which China has formulated its line and policies.

China's present task of deepening the reform of the economic structure is set on the principle of separating ownership from management in order to boost state-owned enterprises and, based on this, of carrying out complementary reforms of the structures of planning, investment, materials supply, financing, and foreign trade, gradually establishing a new structure for the socialist commodity economy.

In reforming the economic structure, the dominant position of public ownership is assured while the individual and private sectors are allowed to develop. Given the low productivity at the primary stage of socialism, this will help speed up its growth.

The capital goods, finance and technology markets which have been established in the process of economic reform, and the bonds and shares issued have all made their mark. They are not exclusive to capitalism but can also be utilized by socialism. Their



negative aspects will be restricted.

Economic reform requires corresponding reform in the political structure. The congress will draw up a blueprint for this.

China's socialist political system is on the whole sound, but there are major defects in the actual leadership system, organizational forms and working methods—as manifested in the over-concentration of power, debilitating bureaucracy and other remnant feudal influences.

Through reform, China will eventually establish a socialist political system which is highly democratic, legally perfect, efficient and dynamic. Achieving this goal requires strenuous long-term efforts. China's immediate goal for reform is to establish a system of leadership that helps raise efficiency, increase vitality and motivate enthusiasm in all quarters, and to overcome bureaucracy and the influence of feudalism.

The tasks for political restructuring include: separating Party and government functions; delegating more power to the lower levels; revamping government organizations and cadre and personnel systems; establishing a system for public consultation and dialogue; perfecting the basic system of socialist democracy; and strengthening the legal system. It is expected that the congress will work out principles and methods for all these reforms.

In the spirit of promoting cadres who are revolutionary, better educated, professional and younger to leading posts, the congress will elect a new Party Central Committee which in turn will elect its Political Bureau and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. It is expected that the new central leading body will be composed of younger and more vigorous people. It will lead the Party and unite all the people of the country in their efforts to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. ■

## Kadar in China: A Historic Tour

Janos Kadar may be remembered by some older people for his two visits to China in 1956 and '57 at critical points in the history of China and Hungary. After three decades and just before the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), exchanges of views on economic and political reforms with Chinese leaders have once again brought the Hungarian leader to the attention of the Chinese public.

In a meeting on October 12 between Deng Xiaoping and Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the two veteran Communists summarized experiences in the socialist construction of their

countries. Deng told his guest, who visited October 10-14, that China is pursuing prosperity for all, and looking for the correct path and the correct pace of development to achieve the goal. "We must undertake reforms in the economic and political structures to demonstrate the superiority of socialism," he said.

Kadar said his country has persisted in its attempt to improve production efficiency and shares many of China's experiences in reform.

Deng said that the coming 13th Party Congress is gearing up towards accelerating the ongoing economic reform, and the restructuring of China's political

Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping warmly welcomes Janos Kadar. LIU SHAOSHAN



system will be added to the agenda. He described the reform process as "tortuous," but said his Party is constantly drawing from experience to ensure that serious mistakes are avoided.

Summarizing the experiences of the past 38 years, the 83-year-old Chinese leader noted that China suffered mainly from leftist mistakes. He said that the People's Republic enjoyed a healthy development in its first seven years, while between the latter half of 1957 and 1976 policies departed from practice.

Kadar who attended the Eighth National Congress of the CPC in 1956, said that he believed the principles adopted by it were correct, but they were not followed.

Deng said these mistakes set China back nearly 20 years and "taught us a lesson." He added that the policies adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978 were formulated on the basis of lessons drawn from positive and negative historical experiences.

At a state banquet welcoming Kadar on October 11, Acting General Secretary of the CPC Zhao Ziyang said Hungary has succeeded in forging a path of socialist construction in line with the specific needs of the country. Zhao praised Hungary for persevering in its economic reform and in the modernization of its political system and said that China has greatly benefited from Hungary's pioneering efforts.

Kadar said that during its 20 years of reforms Hungary has followed an untried path fraught with difficulties and setbacks. "We were constantly faced with new problems which could not be solved by conventional methods."

He said, "The continued exchange between China and Hungary is very important and beneficial."

Zhao emphasized the historic significance of Kadar's China tour in developing the traditional friendship and co-operative re-

lations between the two Parties, nations and peoples.

The leaders agreed that the past will not stand in the way of present attempts to develop friendly and co-operative ties. "Let the past be blown away by the wind," said Deng.

Touching on the international situation, Kadar said Hungary shares China's view that world war is avoidable and militarization in space should not be permitted. Zhao said China and Europe are important forces in maintaining peace and praised Hungary's proposal that small and medium-sized nations play an active role in international affairs.

During his four-day stay in Beijing, Kadar also talked with Chinese President Li Xiannian and Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee Peng Zhen. He wound up his official goodwill visit with a trip to Tianjin on October 14. Commenting on his China tour, Kadar said that it was "rich in content."

## Mainland Awaits Taiwan Visitors

Taiwan compatriots are welcome to come to the mainland to visit their relatives or travel, a leading Chinese official said. He was commenting on the decision by the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan to let some Taiwan compatriots visit their relatives on the mainland.

"This decision will facilitate exchanges between people living on both sides of the Taiwan Strait," the official said on October 14, after the Taiwan authorities approved a final report on visits to the mainland.

"We have always advocated free exchanges between people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait," the official said, adding that the government of the motherland and the people on the mainland have always been concerned about

Taiwan compatriots who desire to visit relatives or travel on the mainland.

"We warmly welcome every Taiwan compatriot to visit his or her relatives or travel on the mainland and guarantee their freedom to come and go. We will do our best to make things convenient for them," he said.

"There should be no unreasonable restrictions on visiting relatives either on the mainland or in Taiwan," he continued, adding that mainland residents should be allowed to visit their relatives in Taiwan. He expressed the hope that the Taiwan authorities will take action in this regard.

On October 15, the Taiwan authorities announced detailed rules governing visits to the mainland.

The regulations, which will go into effect on November 2, were announced at a news conference by Wu Poh-Hsiung, "minister of the interior."

The regulations stipulate that applicants must register with the Taiwan Red Cross Society and fill in application forms detailing information as to whom they are going to visit on the mainland.

Applicants do not need to produce documents showing that they have relatives on the mainland, nor do they need to have guarantors. The "bureau of entry and exit" will examine all applications before issuing travel permits.

The rules also stipulate that each individual is restricted to one trip to the mainland a year and that the maximum length of stay is three months.

According to a report in the *China Times*, a Taiwan-based newspaper, Taiwan compatriots back from the mainland will be required to submit reports on their journeys to the Taiwan Red Cross, detailing the places and people they visited.

The Taiwan Red Cross Society will set up special counters in Taipei (Taipei) and Gaoxiong (Kaohsiung) to handle mainland

travel applications.

The General Office of the State Council issued a circular on October 16 promising Taiwan compatriots freedom of travel and equal treatment with mainland tourists in buying plane, train and ship tickets and in hotel charges.

The circular says tourists and visitors from Taiwan can obtain travel documents from the visa office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Hong Kong or through the China Travel Service there, as well as from Chinese embassies and consulates in the United States, Japan and other countries. ■

## Lhasa: Facts About Rioters Uncovered

A preliminary investigation showed that many of the leading rioters on October 1 in Lhasa were ex-prisoners or former inmates of reform-through-labour institutions. Also, some were relatives of people detained in connection with the September 27 demonstration in Lhasa.

At least 50 foreign tourists, or foreign nationals who came to Tibet in the capacity of tourists, were spotted among the rioters attacking the Bajiaojie street police substation, throwing stones at policemen, or inciting the rioters to further violence. But none of them were arrested.

By promising to give them money, some rioters incited Tibetan women and their children, who came to Lhasa from neighbouring Qinghai Province, into setting fire to cars and grabbing the archives from the police substation. Some street peddlars acknowledged that they took part in the riot because they held grudges against the public security office for being punished for tax evasion, selling illegal publications, and smuggling.

Meanwhile, many lamas and other people who participated in the riot, which has aroused great

indignation from local Tibetans, have confessed their unlawful activities. Some of them also exposed similar actions by others. Nineteen lamas from the Sera Monastery have confessed, on their own initiative, their unlawful activities on October 1 and some have started to see their mistakes.

Many Tibetans expressed indignation at the riot, which was staged in response to separatist activities fostered by the Dalai clique abroad. They called for punishment of the leading rioters who, they said, have gone against the will of Tibetans.

A Tibetan witness said the rioters ignored the rights of Tibetans to be masters of their own homeland. An old woman said ironically, "Now that our life is getting better, the butter tea is too thick and the cushions are too warm for young lamas to sit quietly reciting scriptures."

Dandzim and Gyaco, two Tibetans who have returned from abroad for a visit, said, "We feel foolish to have followed the Dalai for two decades in shouting Tibet independence abroad. In fact, we knew nothing about what has happened in Tibet." Gyaco also said, "We were amazed to see that the city of Lhasa is several times as big as it was in the past."

Baiba Cering, a 34-year-old Tibetan peasant from the suburbs of Lhasa, said that he never expected a riot at a time when Tibetans enjoy such a good life. "What we are worried about is that the separatist activities might affect the implementation of the current policies," he added.

Raidi, the deputy secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Party Committee, reaffirmed to the people of Tibet that the central government's policies on nationality and religion as well as its economic policies will never change. But he stressed that the government will not hesitate to severely punish according to law a few separatists for carrying out any form of separatist activities. ■

## Hainan Province Has Big Plans

When Hainan becomes China's newest province it will be run by efficient administrative departments characterized by less red tape, said Xu Shijie, head of the Hainan Preparatory Group.

"When forming a new provincial government, we cannot follow old patterns," Xu said, adding that Hainan's government will be even more efficient than those in China's already established special economic zones.

"The functions of Party, government and enterprise departments must be clearly defined, and many offices which used to function administratively will become enterprises and companies.

"Party and government departments will be small and efficient, while enterprises and companies need to be large and powerful," Xu said. Housing, communications, energy supply and commerce departments, which function as administrative offices in other provinces, will be companies in Hainan.

In making Hainan a province, the central government is also granting it preferences and expanded decision-making powers which will guarantee the smooth development of the island's economy, Xu said.

Apart from the preferential policies and terms granted by the state in foreign trade, project approval, financing, banking, land use, employment and personnel, the new province will adopt a "market economy."

State plans will be reduced to a minimum and the economy will function in accordance with the economic laws and criteria of value.

The future government will not interfere with the day-to-day running of the economy, but instead will concentrate on general planning and direction, policy research and inspection.

To make Hainan flourish, all kinds of talent are necessary. The province will seek to attract a large number of talented people from the mainland, Hong Kong and abroad. Qualified specialists in management, science and technology, foreign trade, finance and urban construction are needed.

Xu stressed that Hainan will apply the Party's policy on intellectuals and is determined to avoid the mistakes other administrations have made in interpreting this policy. For example, talented people often do not get the opportunity to do what they are best at.

The policy will be incorporated in the overall economic development plan for the island.

To solve the problem of personnel, Hainan will also make efforts to develop education. ■

## Heartless Conduct Shocks People

Riding the No. 1 bus to work at 2 pm on October 4, Chen Liqin, a young chemistry teacher at Hefei's Anhui University, caught sight of a pickpocket. "Don't do that," he warned in a lowered voice. Suddenly the pickpocket and his partner attacked Chen and started beating him.

When he managed to get off the bus, the two assailants followed Chen; the short one hit him on the face and ran away. Disregarding his bleeding nose, Chen grabbed the second attacker, took him to a street monitor and asked him to find a policeman. But the monitor ignored the request. Still gripping the hoodlum, Chen tried to find help from someone else. But the next moment the thug took out a triangular scraper, jabbed it into Chen's thigh, and ran away.

A few days later Chen told reporters that there were many onlookers who offered no help at all while he was struggling with his two attackers. After he was

injured, Chen asked a man to guide him to a nearby police substation. The man walked a few steps and then said, "Better you go by yourself."

The police arrested one of the ruffians, according to reports. It is sad that no one but Chen interceded to stop the criminals, said a spokesman for Anhui University. "If more people stand up to these elements, crime would not be so rampant."

Luckily Chen survived the incident, otherwise it might have been a repeat of the Lu Zhong incident. Eight months ago, in the same city, Lu Zhong, a young bus conductor, was beaten to death in broad daylight after trying to stop a gang of hoodlums from committing a criminal offence on his bus.

These are not isolated cases; similar incidents have been coming to people's attention for a long time. Some people say it is better to close your eyes when you

see a pickpocket. Any efforts to warn or stop one will, they say, only lead to trouble; it is wiser to mind your own business. However, as one teacher pointed out, this selfish attitude of minding one's own business, together with a devotion to money, has led to the deaths of several people in this country.

On July 4, Zhang Xinqian, a 14-year-old schoolgirl, got into trouble while swimming in the East Lake in Chengdu, Sichuan Province. Four of her schoolmates and a middle-aged man struggled to rescue her while many people looked on and did nothing. All attempts to save Zhang failed and she drowned. Her schoolmates recalled that Zhang was only 3 or 4 metres away from 40-50 adults standing on the shore, but none of them helped. When a schoolgirl cried for help, one of the onlookers said, "Who will pay me if I rescue her?" Another said, "It's not worth being paid 200-300 yuan (about US\$ 55-80)." Some

- Look, Dad, there's a pickpocket.
- It's none of our business.
- But he's taking your wallet.





even said China has too many people; some of them are expendable. One young man said that he wanted 1,000 yuan before he would jump into the lake to rescue the girl.

The students had to go for their teachers and police. When they returned, almost three hours had passed. When asked to retrieve the corpse, two people near the scene said they do it only after they were paid 80 yuan.

The Zhang Xinqian incident shocked the city of 1.6 million people and the whole country. "I think these onlookers are too cruel, they are no less than murderers," one worker said angrily. Many condemned those who value money over the lives of people. "A person who watches someone die without volunteering aid is forever a pauper, even if he or she becomes a millionaire. One's humanity is more precious than money," said Yu Baocheng, a member of the People's Liberation Army in Yunnan Province.

Many people pointed out that it is urgent to improve social morality. "If we do not strengthen socialist moral education and cultivate humanism, corrupt elements will damage our social values and the reputation of this ancient, civilized country," said Yue Junqiang, who works for a coal mine in Shaanxi Province.

Zhang's family had only two members; she was more than a daughter to her handicapped mother. Since she died, many people have offered a helping hand. Zhang's classmates said they are all children of Zhang's mother, and they take care of her in turns. Many people wrote to the mass media conveying their sympathy and some even made donations.

Some Chengdu people said that at a critical moment every citizen should stand up bravely and that is the minimum one should do in all conscience and responsibility. They don't want a repetition of the Zhang Xinqian incident. ■

## Weekly Chronicle

(October 12-18)

### POLITICAL

October 13

■ The Seventh Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) will be convened on October 20 in Beijing, Xinhua reports. The CPC Central Advisory Commission and the CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection will hold their plenary sessions separately at the same time.

October 16

■ Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Communist Party of China, meets Franz-Josef Strauss, minister-president of the Federal German state of Bavaria. Commenting on Tibet, Deng says there is a bright future for the vast region, which abounds in natural resources.

"The Dalai Lama and a few US congressmen have created a little bit of trouble for us, but this will not affect our overall good situation. On the contrary, all this has revealed those US Congressmen's ignorance and arrogance, and exposed their true nature."

### ECONOMIC

October 14

■ Since 1978, the number of small towns in China has grown from around 2,000 to 10,000, the State Economic Commission says. More than 80 percent of China's rural enterprises are concentrated in these towns. Last year rural industries had an output value of more than 350 billion yuan (about US\$94 billion), which was equivalent to the national industrial total in 1977.

October 14

■ The State Economic Commission reports that China's

industrial output value this year is expected to top 1,000 billion yuan, more than twice the 1979 figure. During the first eight months, total retail sales of commodities reached 367.5 billion yuan, a 17.8 percent increase over the same period last year.

### SOCIAL

October 12

■ China has completed its first computerized legal data management system—the China Economic Law Information System (CELIS). The CELIS data bank contains 1,887 economic laws and regulations proclaimed by the National People's Congress, the State Council and their subordinate departments since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

October 15

■ Beijing has issued 11 sets of regulations on tourism administration, including rules for the dress of hotel personnel and qualifications for tourist guides. The Tourism Bureau of Beijing will issue certificates to qualified guides, and only certificate holders may act as guides.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

October 14

■ Chinese President Li Xiannian and his wife will pay a state visit to France, Italy, Luxembourg and Belgium from November 7 to 23 at the invitation of French President Francois Mitterrand, Italian President Francesco Cossiga, Luxembourg Grand Duke Jean and Belgian King Baudouin.

October 14

■ A Foreign Ministry spokesman says the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has decided that Tibet will not receive tourists or visitors for the time being, except those with the permission of the regional government and tourist groups with contracts signed.

UN-KAMPUCHEA

## Another Diplomatic Defeat for Viet Nam

*The United Nations General Assembly's adoption of another resolution calling for complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea is a new victory for Democratic Kampuchea and another setback for the Vietnamese.*

The 42nd United Nations General Assembly held a two-day debate on Kampuchea on October 13-14 and adopted by an overwhelming majority another resolution on the issue. The motion calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny.

Before and during the current UN session, Viet Nam, backed by the Soviet Union, tried hard to confuse the world community by a spate of tricks and manoeuvres.

The Vietnamese delegation continually distributed statements and press releases inside the General Assembly hall and at the UN press centre.

Instead of boycotting the UN debate, as it has all previous debates on the Kampuchea issue since 1982, Viet Nam participated on this occasion in an attempt to weaken international condemnation and affect the final vote on the resolution.

The plan was a failure. At the end of the debate, the tally board showed 117 votes in favour of the withdrawal resolution, which was co-sponsored by 63 countries. This year's resolution attracted two more favourable votes and three more co-sponsoring nations than last year's. The result shows that the Kampuchean people's struggle under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's Coalition Government of Democ-

atic Kampuchea (CGDK) enjoys increasing international support.

This year, the Vietnamese delegation used three main tactics in its attempts to sway opinion. It distorted the joint communique of the Indonesian and Vietnamese foreign ministers; offered so-called national reconciliation in the guise of the "people's republic of Kampuchea," a Viet Nam-installed regime in Phnom Penh; and talked about a "partial troop withdrawal."

But the manoeuvres failed to deceive the world. On the contrary, they were laid bare and repudiated by Democratic Kampuchea and many other countries.

In a written message read out by Prime Minister Son Sann of the CGDK, President Sihanouk of Democratic Kampuchea accused Viet Nam of "putting the cart before the horse" in trying to have the question of national reconciliation resolved prior to the total withdrawal of its forces, and strongly condemned Viet Nam for denying that the Kampuchean problem was triggered by its invasion and occupation of the country. Sihanouk further condemned the tricks played by Viet Nam in proposing so-called negotiations between "three Indo-Chinese countries and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries," between "Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries or China," and "among Kampucheans." The Hanoi leaders rejected negotiations between Viet Nam and the CGDK, Sihanouk said.

The "negotiations" proposed by Hanoi aim at "disguising the problem of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea as an internal problem of civil war; imposing de facto recognition of the puppet regime it has installed by force in Phnom Penh; dismantling the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea; and invalidating all the relevant UN resolutions on Kampuchea, thus putting an end to any support to our struggle for national liberation and, at the same time, to any international pressure on Viet Nam," Sihanouk pointed out.

China calls for real national reconciliation in Kampuchea. During the debate, Li Luye, China's permanent UN representative, said that for a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean problem and genuine national reconciliation, "Viet Nam must withdraw all its troops."

Li denounced Viet Nam for trying to evade the question of troop withdrawal. "The Vietnamese authorities try to present themselves as outsiders in order to rid themselves of the responsibility for aggression," he said.

He charged that the "national reconciliation" and "political settlement" the Vietnamese have proposed are designed "to obtain legal status for the puppet clique in Phnom Penh." He stressed that "the interests of all the parties concerned in Kampuchea should be taken into account without excluding any party or letting any party monopolize power." The eight-point proposal by the CGDK, he said, has made reasonable arrangements in this respect, and the Vietnamese authorities have no right to set preconditions of this or that kind.

Representatives from Southeast Asia and other countries also exposed and condemned the Vietnamese ruses of "partial troop withdrawal" and "national reconciliation." This shows that Viet Nam's ploys have not fooled

anyone. The only way out for Viet Nam is to accept the UN resolution and immediately pull all of its troops out of

Kampuchea. Otherwise, real national reconciliation will be impossible.

by Qian Wenrong and Lei Lili

## CENTRAL AMERICA

### Prospects for Peace Look Promising

*Efforts by five Central American nations to implement their peace accord have eased tension and paved the way for peace in the region.*

**G**uatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua are moving steadily towards implementation of their August 7 peace agreement. An executive committee (composed of the five Central American foreign ministers) and an international verification and follow-up committee (composed of the foreign ministers of the Contadora and Lima groups, the secretary-general of the Organization of American States, and the United Nations secretary-general) have been set up. The committees have held several meetings to discuss specific steps in compliance with the accord. The foreign ministers of the five Central American

countries will meet again at the end of this month to plan future actions.

The peace pact calls for a simultaneous ceasefire, amnesty, halt to aid to irregular forces and democratization in the region. But there are different interpretations of "simultaneousness" among the five nations. The Commission of Simultaneousness created on September 28 will resolve this problem and co-ordinate actions aimed at enforcing the agreement.

Each country in the region has taken steps to fulfil its obligations under the peace accord. El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua have each set up a national reconciliation committee made up

of representatives from the government, church, opposition groups and non-partisan circles. The Salvadoran government resumed dialogue with the rebels on October 4. Two days of talks resulted in agreements on a national ceasefire before November 4 and some other issues. On October 7, the Guatemalan government began negotiations in Madrid with the guerrillas who have been engaged in an armed struggle against it since the 1960s. It is the first time the two sides have talked.

In Nicaragua, a focus of conflict in Central America, national reconciliation talks between the government and the opposition groups began on October 5. Their first round of meetings ended on October 8 with an agreement to set up committees responsible for drawing up procedures for the talks. And on October 7, the Nicaraguan army began a unilateral ceasefire in designated zones.

All these actions have been guided by the ideas stated in the peace agreement. Although many differences remain, the moves show that all sides involved in the conflicts cherish hopes for peace and are willing to do their part to achieve it.

There are many factors working towards the implementation of the peace plan. The provisions of the agreement reflect the desire of the countries in the region to resolve their problems by themselves, without foreign interference. This factor has won extensive support for the pact, which has been hailed by all kinds of political groups as well as the public. It has also been warmly welcomed by the international community. On October 7, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution which expresses its "firmest support" for the agreement.

Recent improvements in relations among the five Central American countries are also creating a favourable climate for mutual understanding and the

Salvadoran government and guerrilla leaders appear in public after their talks.





implementation of the accord. Economy ministers from the five countries decided at a recent meeting to take steps to invigorate the Central American Common Market and promote economic integration and regional trade. Costa Rica and Nicaragua have decided to open a trade zone on their border, and El Salvador and Costa Rica have signed a bilateral trade agreement. At a recent meeting in Honduras, the vice-presidents of the five countries agreed unanimously to set up a Central American Parliament. All in all, prospects for peace look extremely promising.

Interference by the United States is the major obstacle to the peace process, apart from some

social and economic factors within the region. The United States has repeatedly reiterated its support for the Nicaraguan contras since the peace accord was signed. Despite the Nicaraguan government's recent efforts to comply with the agreement, US President Ronald Reagan called on Congress to approve US\$270 million in military and "humanitarian" aid for the contras. He even vowed that "as long as there is breath left in this body, I will speak, work, strive and struggle for the cause" of the Nicaraguan rebels. This stubbornness could lead to a setback in Central America, but it would doubtless be only temporary.

by Gao Ronghua

IRAN-IRAQ

**Agreement on UN Resolution Elusive**

*Differences between Iran and Iraq over a United Nations resolution that aims to end their seven-year war are proving hard to resolve.*

In an effort to end the hard-to-mediate Iran-Iraq war as soon as possible, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 598 on July 20. But despite wide international support for the resolution, confrontations in the Gulf have continued to escalate.

Iraq announced its acceptance of the resolution on July 23. Iran, which at first neither accepted nor rejected the resolution, criticized it for failing to condemn Iraq as the aggressor. At the end of August, Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati invited UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit Iran and indicated that Iran was willing to co-operate with him on the implementation of Resolution 598.

During a visit to Teheran and Baghdad on September 11-15, de

Cuellar held extensive discussions about the resolution with the two countries' leaders. Iran said an international arbitration body must be set up before the resolution can be implemented. Iran would agree to a ceasefire only after the organization investigated and defined the aggressor. Reports say Iran insisted that it would agree to withdrawing its troops from Iraq only after Iraq is defined as the aggressor and punished. Iran still has not clearly accepted Resolution 598, but it has reiterated that it is willing to continue to co-operate with the UN secretary-general on implementing the resolution.

Iraq has also agreed to the setting up of an international arbitration body to investigate

responsibility for the war, but Baghdad stands for the phased implementation of Resolution 598 in the meantime. Iraq sees the resolution as an indivisible whole, and also insists that its provisions must be implemented in order. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tareq Aziz said in his speech at the current session of the UN General Assembly, "We firmly refuse any plots to reconsider the resolution or the order of its clauses." Iraq indicated that it was willing to continue to co-operate with the UN and demanded that the UN take measures of sanction against Iran for putting off the implementation of the resolution.

With the differences between Iran and Iraq on Resolution 598 unresolved, attacks on tankers, cities and other targets have gradually escalated. Frequent air strikes against ships by Iran and Iraq and the hard-to-remove mines in the Gulf seriously endanger international navigation and extend the effects of the war far beyond the borders of Iran and Iraq. Besides the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France, other countries with interests in profit from Gulf oil, including Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Federal Germany, have sent their fleets into the Gulf to act as convoys for their merchant ships. The Gulf is experiencing an unprecedented concentration of foreign fleets, with more than 80 foreign naval vessels operating in its international waters. Foreign military strength in the region is constantly increasing, making the tense situation in the Gulf even more explosive.

The United States increased its military strength in the Gulf and at the same time called for UN sanctions against Iran for delaying the implementation of Resolution 598. At the current session of the UN General Assembly, US President Ronald Reagan proposed that the Security Council call for a weapon embargo against Iran.

On September 21, a US helicopter attacked an Iranian ship which was reportedly laying mines in the international waters of the Gulf. After the event, Iran announced it would retaliate against the United States; Washington said it was not afraid of retaliation and that the US Navy would immediately attack any ship it finds laying mines in the Gulf. On October 19, US warships destroyed two Iranian oil platforms in retaliation for an attack on a US-flagged tanker. Reagan said the platforms were used in attacks on shipping. As Iran and Iraq stick to their separate stands on Resolution 598, the possibility of a US-Iranian military confrontation in the Gulf is increasing, and the dangers that the conflict will spread are multiplying.

On October 13, the Soviet

Union repeated its suggestion to send UN forces to the Gulf to guarantee free international navigation. Moscow criticized the United States for not giving a clear response to its initial proposal.

Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, in a television interview with foreign reporters on September 29, stressed that China calls for restraint by all parties concerned, including the United States. China also hopes that the UN secretary-general will continue his mediation efforts and persuade Iran to accept Resolution 598 as a whole. If such mediation efforts fail again, the Chinese government is willing to take part in the discussion about follow-up actions to implement the resolution. If a majority of the Security Council's member countries decide on a weapon embargo, it would be no problem for China.

by Chi Li / Liang Guodong

forms, not for the daily activities of enterprises. The government will also encourage private businesses, especially in the service sector. The draft reform programme stipulates that the new economic system must be put into force fully and effectively in the period of the current five year plan (1986-1990).

Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner said in his report to the Sejm that to tap the socialist creative spirit and initiative of enterprises and citizens, only simple registration in court will be required to engage in economic activities. The principle is "everything is permitted as long as it does not violate the law."

There will be major changes in taxation and subsidies to ensure that unprofitable enterprises will no longer be able to drain government coffers. The wages of workers and the development of an enterprise will depend solely on the enterprise's performance. Any rise in wages will be connected with improved economic efficiency.

The existing price system also will be reformed, with a view to letting the prices of merchandise be regulated by markets.

Other reforms include eliminating eight government departments and reducing the number of ministers or deputy ministers from 194 to 100. As well, some 3,000 other government officials and clerks will be dismissed.

"The major significance of the proposed changes makes it necessary to submit the programme to the nation in a referendum," Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski said at a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. "We must do it (the reform) now, or more difficulties and piles of problems will appear in a year or half a year. We have entered an area with growing dangers but unusual opportunities. This has been proved by our history."

by Zhong Xin

## POLAND

### Radical Reform Plan Mapped Out

*Poland has launched a far-reaching reform drive to rejuvenate its economy.*

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party recently approved a sweeping economic and social reform programme. The Sejm, Poland's parliament, has been discussing the plan and passed a resolution to submit the issue to a national referendum, which will take place on November 29.

The country's economic reform began in 1982, when Poland's economy was in a deep crisis after a period of labour unrest. Under the reforms, enterprises were to become self-managing, independent and responsible for their profits and losses. After five years, although the economic system underwent some changes, the reform programme was not

implemented completely. The old managerial methods were not eliminated and the market mechanism was not playing a full role in raising economic efficiency and fostering the spirit of innovation.

The second-phase reform will be different. According to reports, the programme will result in a new managerial system for a socialist economy. Under the plan, the government will create an environment in which all enterprises, whether state, co-operatively, or privately owned, can operate independently and take responsibility for their profits and losses. The state will be responsible only for formulating development strategy and implementing re-

TRAVELOGUE

# Open Policy and Cultural Ferment

by Duan Liancheng

In 1793, the Chinese Emperor Qianlong issued an "imperial edict" rejecting a British bid for trade. The Qing Dynasty ruler declared: "Our celestial empire possesses all things in prolific abundance...we have no need of the products of outside barbarians." This isolationism dated back to the late 15th century during the Ming Dynasty. In one form or another it persisted right up until 1979.

The nine years since the open policy was instituted have witnessed enormous changes in the country. Mass exposure to foreign culture has stirred people's lifestyle, behaviour and values.

Duan Liancheng, a veteran journalist, gives an account of his impressions on travels across the country.

In September I was invited to appear in the National Broadcasting Company's TV series *Changing China*, where I talked briefly about my perspectives on China in transition. After the NBC show, a number of Western friends wrote asking for elaboration, hence the following report.

## HUIZHOU: The Age of High Walls and Tiny Windows Gone for Good.

Shanghai, China's largest metropolis, and Hangzhou, the famed beauty spot, were the first stops on my tour. Foreign visitors were not quite "a dime a dozen" yet, but you always saw them — businessmen scuttling away from de luxe hotels, senior citizens browsing at Buddhist temples and young back-packers striding towards places of interest.

From Hangzhou I went westward to Huizhou, a secluded

Duan Liancheng, a former senior editor of *Beijing Review*, is now professor of communications at Beijing University. The present report is a follow-up to his previous travelogue *Sunshine and Shadows* published earlier in *Beijing Review* (Nos. 1-2, 1986).



Author Duan Liancheng.

prefecture in the southern part of Anhui Province. After passing through the aptly named Heilinguan (Dark Mountain Pass), the minibus followed the spiralling, zigzagging remote mountain road through an area which nevertheless had obviously felt the wind of change.

You could see it in young peasant women's perms, fish-bone television aerials on village houses and trendy young farmers speed-

ing by on motorbikes. Towns straddling the road have opened up inns and eateries catering to the increasing traffic on the road. Some invite foreign customers with misspelled signs such as: "Welcome Gust Rastaurant." This is a testimony to their awareness of the open policy although chances are slim that foreigners will soon become regular customers.

The spread of television is perhaps the most potent catalyst of the cultural ferment. Just imagine. For generations these mountain dwellers would "rise and rest with the sun" and not know what was happening on the other side of the hill. Now they see the whole world on their screens every evening: the new prosperity of villages in faraway provinces, the glitter and glamour of city life, the Gulf War battleships, and everything else.

Tunxi, the capital of Huizhou, is a burgeoning town with brightly coloured matchbox buildings going up everywhere. Still the Old Street seems a far cry from cheap modernity. Built in the mid-1500s, the 1,200-metre-lane is paved with uniform stone slabs and lined with old wooden buildings. Bars fly ancient-style



"wine-banners" and teahouses serve in traditional lidded bowls.

But the inroads of Western culture are obvious behind the antiquated appearance. Shops stock electrical appliances—shavers, hair-curlers, cassette recorders, washing machines, fridges, brand-named colour TV sets and even a few vacuum cleaners. The newly built tourist hotel equips every room with a phone, a bathroom, carpets and air-conditioning and clothes its young attendants with Western suits—bright red ties for the men, and tight-fitting skirts for the women.

Bookstores offer a wide variety of printed and audio materials for learning English and Japanese. Many books on business management, economics, philosophy, sociology, psychology and aesthetics are available, mostly unattributed summaries or adaptations of Western works. A salesclerk says that young people in particular like these books—just as they do in the big cities.

Direct contacts with foreigners are increasing. Mt. Huangshan in Huizhou attracted 1.9 million holiday-makers last year, including a sizable number of overseas tourists. The prefecture authorities have devised an ambitious development strategy stressing tourism as a means to accelerate industrial and agricultural growth. "Back to nature and antiquity" is the selling point for their tourist trade. In spite of the tight local budget, much money is being spent on cleaning up and refurbishing places of natural beauty or historical interest, in which Huizhou abounds. A medium-sized airport will be completed next year to link Tunxi with Shanghai and Beijing.

Protected by mountains on all sides, Huizhou escaped much of the ravages of the wars of recent history. So many 300- or 400-year-old homes remain intact. If one wants to know what an ancient village looks like Huizhou has the answer in the form of Xidi village.

It is a collection of Ming and early Qing dynasty houses, all carrying the characteristic three famous Huizhou carvings—on wood, brick and stone. Each house has a courtyard with stone-lined fish ponds and flower-beds, cobbled paths and rockeries. The walls are as high as two- or three-storey apartment buildings. What windows there are are very small, and so are the doors. The lanes crisscross the village in deliberately labyrinthine design to confuse intruding marauders.

The high walls and small apertures were not only meant to deter attack from the outside, but also, according to my guide, to prevent the women looking out and starting cross-wall love affairs, and to make elopement impossible. Huizhou men used to be shrewd merchants. Li Pingyi, a local writer, explained. They would travel to the towns to make their money, leaving their wives for maybe years. With the riches they garnered, they would build solid houses to last in their native places. Ensuring the chastity of their womenfolk was as much a concern as protecting their wealth, though they themselves might also have several concubines away from home.

The Xidi village made me keenly aware of how much of the Chinese society had been sadly cut off from the changes outside. The young writer showed me one of his short stories which had been published in *Anhui Literature*. He was brought up behind the high walls and tiny windows, and the story was based on his childhood experiences. The engaging novella tells of the bitter feuds between two Huizhou villages caused by superstitions centred on an old ginkgo tree. A love is broken off as a result. The maiden hangs herself on the tree. The men and women of the two villages perform primitive rites, preparing for a sanguinary vendetta... "That's how life used to be here," says Li. Small wonder that he is an ardent supporter of the open policy

criticizing the local "conservatives." He showed me a recently published literary essay entitled "Through the Tiny Windows" which says:

Living conditions are changing. But old ideas die hard. Many minds still work in the same way as our ancestors, locking themselves up in their dark rooms. But others are yearning for an opening; the walls are ready for an opening... The atmosphere in recent years has inspired optimism... The day will surely come when all light from the outside, the golden rays of sunshine, the silvery rays of moonlight, the tender rays from lovers' eyes, the mysterious rays of UFOs... will illuminate our houses and penetrate our minds.

A rather sentimental appeal, but seemingly representative of Li's generation. Like it or not, the open policy seems to have reached the point of no return. It is taking hold down at the grassroots of Chinese society.

### **MT. HUANGSHAN: One Problem of the Open Policy Is Excessive Consumerism.**

While Huanghe (Yellow River) is an apt name for the silt-laden river, Huangshan (Yellow Mountain) is a misnomer. The place is green and blooming. It boasts 72 beautiful peaks, many "seas" (of clouds), fantastically shaped rocks, and interesting plants and animals including "guest-greeting" pines and "love-sick birds."

Large-scale construction is going on as elsewhere in the country. A newly laid motor-way leads to the terminal of a Japanese-made cable car. The eight-minute ascent covers a distance which used to take young people a whole day to trek. It was not quite peak tourist season, but visitors were streaming in from all

parts of the country. It was nice to see the signs of pleasure among the visitors: girls in butterfly colours, omni-present "shutter-bugs," accordion and guitar players, disco dancers twisting to taped music, and picnickers calling "ganbei" (bottom up). Markets were thriving. Numerous small shops and stalls were well-stocked. I counted at least two dozen types of fancy tourist hats. "Perfume-scented" game cards were selling like hot cakes.

A local tourist magazine, *Mt. Huangshan*, provides information for shoppers. It gleefully announces that "since the latter part of 1986 gold necklaces, rings, earrings and bracelets are all the rage. Twenty-four-K rings made in Beijing and priced at 600 yuan apiece sell out in no time. . . . Beginning this year, stalls have been set up to engrave ornaments bought by tourists, and they are doing brisk business."

Another article tells of a newly rich peasant from the province making a cross-country tour with his wife and two friends. To compensate for the poverty that had trapped him in earlier years, he asked for the most expensive of everything throughout the trip. In Guangzhou, where Hong Kong and Western consumerist influences are most apparent, the quartet walked into a plush restaurant. Suspecting that the gaudily dressed waitress might be snobbish about country bumpkins, the man simply said: "Okay, make us a most expensive meal, whatever you have." The outcome was a 360-yuan banquet. And the writer lauds this attitude, saying it is "melting away the obsolete ideas that have bound our people like permafrost."

Another story is sensationally entitled "A Honeymoon Turns Sour." In Nanjing city, a bride proposed to have "a taste of foreign luxury" at the revolving Sky Palace atop the Jinling Hotel. The bridegroom would not foot the huge bill. In Beijing, the woman wanted to spend 100 yuan



Back to antiquity: Old Street, Tunxi.

WANG ZHENGZHONG

on a Hollywood-type wedding portrait. The man again would not consent. The result was a quick divorce. Experience had taught me to expect a lecture against female vanity at the end of the piece. But the writer makes this comment in the concluding paragraph: "I offer the bridegroom some serious advice: Balzac's Grande-like thriftiness is an anachronism. We are the youths of the 1980s. We must have an appropriate approach to consumption. We shouldn't

hesitate to spend when necessary."

The reports disturbed me. They were not just some writers' idiosyncrasies but straws in the wind. I am no ascetic but I do believe that no one person or nation should spend beyond their means. Is the country economically well off enough to afford this attitude to consumption? I doubt it. The 600 yuan for a ring is equivalent to what a senior professor or a ranking minister makes in two months. The 360

yuan for the Guangzhou meal would devour the lion's share of an average peasant's annual income (424 yuan in 1986). And the poor bridegroom, a school teacher, would have to work and fast seven weeks for that Hollywood-type wedding portrait!

The open policy has helped the country's economic and technological progress enormously (which will be the focus later in the series). It has broadened people's field of vision and stimulated them to work for the modernization programme and a better life. But there have been negative effects, too. "Bourgeois liberalization" is one, which in plain terms means wanting to import Western political and social systems like a "turn-key project" as a cure-all for China's maladies. Ideologically, various hues of Western philosophy espousing egoism and nihilism have made their appearance. Culturally, "sex and violence" sensations defy repeated clamp-downs.

Still it seems to me that the pattern of consumption of developed countries is making the greatest impact. It comes in three ways — as consumer goods, in the mass media and through personnel exchanges. Meanwhile, a section of our population has prospered more in recent years, their wallets are full and the spendthrifts among them are going all out to emulate Western lifestyles. They exercise a powerful fascination on their peers, hence the spreading money-first and me-first social attitudes, quite alien to China's socialist ethics. So much so that when a schoolgirl was drowning in a pond in Chengdu City last summer one stout and callous on-looker asked loudly: "How much shall I be paid for saving her!" The girl died. Press reports of the incident outraged the whole nation. "Money-first Attitude Kills Young Girl," screamed the headlines.

White-collar crimes are on the increase too. They are reported

almost daily in our press which has become much more open. Even some evils which had been stamped out such as gambling and prostitution are resurfacing. In 1950 I watched the process of cleaning up Beijing's red-light districts and the "remoulding" of the prostitutes. The problem seemed simpler then. Almost all the women, except the procurers, were coerced or coaxed into the trade out of abject poverty. I remember them shedding tears of gratitude or shouting "Long live the Communist Party!" when they were offered opportunities to earn a decent living. But the problem now, though on a much smaller scale, seems to be different. The information I have indicates that most of the women involved are seeking a glamorous "modern life" the quick way.

### **NINE-LOTUS MOUNTAIN: Burning the Hell-Kings' Temple Was not the Answer.**

A four-hour bus journey took me to Mt. Jiuhua (Nine-Lotus-Flower Mountain), one of the four sacred Buddhist mountains in China. There I visited a temple built around 794 AD — during the Tang Dynasty which flourished on a policy of active engagement with the outside world. The monastery was dedicated to Abbot Kim, a member of a Korean royal family who came to the place and stayed till his death at the age of 99. Kim was honoured by the Tang Court as the incarnation of a great Bodhissattva dedicated to save all those condemned to hell. So the Temple of Ten Hell-Kings was built below the pagoda enshrining Kim's remains. The workings of hell were demonstrated with life-like clay figures in the temple.

According to a Sino-fied version of the Buddhist doctrine *samsara*, a few human beings, the paragons of virtue, rise to heaven

after their earthly deaths to enjoy immortality. The rest go to hell to be screened and processed by the ten kings. Ordinary souls are either reprimanded or commended according to their deeds, given something to drink which makes them forget their previous lives, and kicked up the backside sending them to be reborn into another life. Old wives would cite the blue mark every baby has at the end of the spine as proof of the kick. The evil-doers remain in infernos to be punished with all sorts of torture, after which they are reborn as beasts and animals, worms and germs (the latest addition is the AIDS virus, my guide wisecracked).

Over the centuries the feudal rulers had cleverly turned *samsara* into a powerful deterrent against violations of the feudal codes of conduct. The codes called for the subjects' absolute loyalty to the emperor, men's absolute obedience to the patriarchs and women's absolute devotion to men. In another temple, I saw ten huge murals depicting the hellish tribulations. One shows half-naked women drenched in blood being attacked by befanged serpents — the punishment for adultery. Men's punishments are conspicuously absent in this essentially reciprocal crime.

Cultural shackles binding the Chinese mind should of course be removed. During the "cultural revolution," a violent campaign was launched to "break the four olds" (old culture, old ideas, old customs and old habits). So the Red Guards simply tried to demolish everything cultural — from Buddha's statues to women's embroidered gowns, from Confucian classics to Beethoven music. A Red Guard set the Temple of Ten Hell-Kings on fire. Not for the salvation of the nation's thinking though, said my guide, but because the monk in charge of the temple refused to lend him money.

The campaign to destroy "the four olds" was thorough-going.





Back to nature: "Cool Terrace," Mt. Huangshan.

LI CHUNGENG

But what came of it? The real dross of traditional Chinese culture either went underground for the time being, or made a forceful come-back in "super-revolutionary" disguises. Deification of the supreme ruler, bloody power struggles among the "revolutionary rebel factions," literary inquisitions and medieval tortures, the "proletarian" blue-blood theory, etc.—all smacked strongly of feudalism.

What about the lesser veils, the *samsara* superstition for instance? Razing the Hell-Kings' Temple to the ground did not solve the problem. At the Jiuhua temples I saw sacrificial services for the deceased being performed one after the other. Monks in yellow and red robes chanted scriptures while beating "wooden fish," striking cymbals and ringing bells. At the end of the ceremony, relatives would burn piles of funerary ceremonial money—a remittance to the nether world. An on-looker told me that some people also burn funeral objects, the latest fashion being TV sets and refrigerators made of paper

pasted on a frame.

The present policy towards these phenomena seems to me to be wiser. Freedom of religion is practised in earnest. Let the Buddhist believers kowtow as much as they want. Truly harmful superstition peddlars, like witch-doctors, are banned by law. People's supernatural ideas are not—and in fact cannot be—summarily prohibited. Besides, I

think it's a kind gesture to want to send a refrigerator or a television to a departed loved one.

Mao Zedong was right when he said in 1957: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature on controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." But unfortunately in his later years he didn't practise what he preached. The "cultural revolution" turned out to be a violent revolution against culture itself.

There is no rose without a thorn. Profit motivation and material incentive have proved useful and necessary at the present stage of China's economic and moral development. But they can also breed an obsession with material gains and Mammon worship. What is to be done? Law breakers are of course punished. For the rest, the "stray sheep" so to speak, only the methods of education and criticism should be employed. It will be a long and slow process, but democracy requires patience. Cultural transformation is a long-term undertaking.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

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# History Says Tibet Is Part of China

by Israel Epstein\*

Some people still raise the question, "Is Tibet, after all, a part of China?" History says it is. Tibetan separatists in self-exile, and their foreign backers, deny it.

What does history have to say?

Documented facts show that the process of Han-Tibetan interlocking and finally unification in one sovereign state began very long ago, and administrative union dates from long before Scotland came into the British state, and centuries before the United States, or modern Italy or Germany appeared on the world scene. Was this "annexation by the Chinese Communists" as some fantastic charges made abroad have it? Hardly.

In the year 641 A.D., at the dawn of Tibet's reliably recorded history, King Songtsan Gambo, who first welded its disparate tribes into a monarchy based on the slave system, wedded the Tang Dynasty Princess Wencheng and accepted titles from the Tang emperor of China. In 710, one of his successors, King Tride Tsugten, married another Tang princess, Jincheng.

In 823 a famous pact was concluded proclaiming "Unity between Uncle and Nephew," its terms for the reigning Tang Dynasty Emperor Mu Zong and the Tibetan King Ralpachen. The stone monument then erected, carved with the text, still stands before the Jokhang temple in Lhasa. In intervening centuries, even at times of strain between the nationalities, it has not been thrown down or defaced but has been treated with affection and

respect by the Tibetans. The memory of the two princesses, Wencheng in particular, has all along been cherished in their folk tradition. This cannot just be a matter of the personal merits of those feudal ladies. It is explicable only by the circumstance that these royal marriages, which did not occur in a vacuum, added a desired political link to the already popular contact, economic and cultural, between the Tibetan people and China's majority, the Hans. Warmly remembered too are the accompanying transfers of knowledge and techniques in agriculture, handicrafts, building, medicine and other fields which benefited the Tibetan nationality.

From the 9th century on, during Tibet's long and complex transition from the slave to the feudal system, the extensive local kingdom of the Songtsan Gambo ruling house broke up into kaleidoscopic fragments. Almost concurrently, China as a whole fell into disunity following the collapse of the Tang empire. The next dynasty, the Song (860-1279), conferred posts and titles on various feudal lords and clerics in Tibet — even though there was no longer an overall centre of authority there.

In the 13th century, under the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty, the then already multinational realm of China was re-unified, with Tibet organically included. Kublai Khan, the noted Yuan emperor, appointed Phagspa, a leading Tibetan lama of the Sakya Sect, as regional ruler under the court of Beijing. A single system of administrative divisions, military garrisons and currency (including paper money) prevailed throughout China, including Tibet, where Yuan banknotes are still being found.

The following Ming Dynasty, which ruled China from 1368 to

1644, favoured the Kargyu (White) Lamaist Sect, to whose high clerics it gave political appointments. It is untrue that ties with the rest of China were severed under the Ming. The historically false argument was that Tibet was linked only with the minority-nationality dynasties that ruled all China (the Mongol and Manchu) but not with China's majority nationality. This became fashionable at particular times and places in the United States and elsewhere — when the disintegration of multinational China was pursued by the foreign power concerned in its own interest. This allegation does not conform with the facts. In the Ming period the appointments of Tibetan officials from China's capital continued. Tribute missions (particularly from the lamaseries) multiplied. Economic exchanges grew. Of all this one sees many proofs in museums and archives in Beijing and Lhasa. In Tibet the Kargyu local rulers, who rose with the Ming, also fell with the Ming. But the links did not break.

The Qing or Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911) upheld another lamaist group, the Gelugpa, or Yellow Sect. It was then that the system of local rule by this sect's pontiff, the Dalai Lama, and later of his lay-clerical administration, the *kasbag*, was affirmed and elaborated by instructions from Beijing — along lines it retained right up to 1959. From the 18th century, in particular, the identity and functions of both the Dalai Lama and *kasbag* members were subject to detailed regulation by China's central government, largely through the control by its high commissioners (*ambans*) resident in Lhasa.

When the first Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, its multinational character was stressed in the new flag of five stripes, one standing for the Tibetan nationality. In the subsequent years, China became unprecedentedly weak, disunited and penetrated by various imperi-

\* The author is editor-in-chief of *China Reconstructs*, a comprehensive monthly magazine published in Beijing, China. The article is, in the main, excerpted from his book, *Tibet Transformed* (Chapter 1: "Reincarnation"), published by New World Press, 1983.

alisms. Internally, throughout her territory, imperialist-backed warlords, of whom Chiang Kai-shek was historically the last, ran riot. And it was then that the British imperialist rulers in India, seizing their advantage, became most vigorous in their promotion of separatism in Tibet. In fact Britain, in 1912, officially threatened to refuse to recognize the new Chinese Republic at all unless Tibet was excluded from its administration, military system and parliament. Two years later, at the time of the Simla "agreement" of 1914, which China neither signed nor ratified, a British-manipulated Tibetan "representative" put his name to the "McMahon Line", which placed some 90,000 square kilometres of southeastern Tibet within Britain's empire in India.

The Simla affair was disavowed by the local authorities in Lhasa as well as denounced by the central government in Beijing. It is therefore farcical to invoke it as a precedent for Tibetan "independence."

It should be noted also that Simla and the McMahon Line, those heirlooms of colonial domination over India, much later became the cause of border conflicts between India and New China, quite unwarranted by the interests of either the Indian or the Chinese people and therefore certain to be temporary.

In external affairs, however, even the foreign powers most active at various times in egging on secessionism in Tibet never went so far as to "recognize" it diplomatically. On the contrary, they felt compelled to reaffirm, sometimes straightforwardly and sometimes with verbal curlicues, that Tibet was part of Chinese territory, for to do otherwise would be too flagrant a flouting of accepted international norms based on centuries of historical fact.

Here are examples of such affirmations from three governments in three different periods:

In 1903, the British Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, who was then preparing the invasion of Tibet known as the Younghusband Expedition, tried to justify it by calling Tibet's link with China a "constitutional fiction." Curzon was rebuked for this by his superiors in London who declared that Tibet must be regarded "as a province of China."

In the following year, the US State Department instructed its ambassador in London, Joseph Choate, to remind the British government there that the latter itself "had three times (in 1879, 1886, and 1890) recognized Chinese *sovereignty* by negotiating with the Chinese government on questions regarding Tibet" and to stress that Washington regarded China as sovereign in the region.

Four decades later, in 1943, British diplomacy again tried to dilute the status of Tibet as part of China, by terming the link merely one of "formal suzerainty." The US State Department promptly told the British ambassador in Washington:

"For its part, the Government of the United States has borne in mind that the Chinese government has long claimed suzerainty over Tibet and that the Chinese constitution lists Tibet *among areas constituting the territory of China*. This government has at no time raised a question regarding either of these claims."

Finally, to go forward into the post-World War II period, Prime Minister Nehru of India declared in the Lower House of the Parliament on May 15, 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."

To repeat, all these quotations (in which I have italicized key words and phrases) are from governments which have themselves dabbled in detaching Tibet from China as shown by British penetration in the 19th and 20th

centuries, American CIA doings after World War II, and the support of some Indian quarters, at various times, for Tibetan secessionists.

To affirm the historic unity of multinational China, of course, is not to deny that history has witnessed clashes between her nationalities, acts of national oppression and discrimination, and periods of disruption. All existed in the past.

In early times, they were the results of the feudal system with its divisive urges. A new cause was added in the last century by the drives of foreign powers for the partition of China, with emphasis on her minority-inhabited borderlands specially marked for acquisition.

However, over the long stretch, every period of disunity has turned out to be temporary. Many centuries have proved unity to be the main trend. How to explain the persistent cohesiveness of China's nationalities over the ages if not by the fact that their basic interests have drawn them together and their history has been made in common? Is there a better explanation? By contrast, where today are the realms of ancient Rome, or Charlemagne, or the Ottomans and Hapsburgs, or of Napoleon? For the solidarity of China's constituent peoples today, there is a valid base forged not by pretensions but by life.

The revolution in China, including Tibet, has swept away the material and social base of the old estrangements and injustices. Her new social and political system accords with and promotes the common striving of the people of all her nationalities for unity and progress. Discrimination is prohibited by law. True, it cannot yet be said that remnants of old mutual prejudice — whether of the majority against the minorities or vice versa — have been swept from every mind. But such remnants are recessive, diminishing and contrary to general feeling. ■



## Religion, Crime and Citizens' Rights

In an interview with "Beijing Review", senior officials of the State Nationalities Commission discussed questions concerning Tibet. This is the second part of the interview. The first appeared in our last issue.

**Question: Some people say that there are several hundred prisons in which there are several thousand political prisoners and that there are many others who live in exile in Tibet. Is all this true?**

**Answer:** This is sheer nonsense. At present, there is only one prison and two reform-through-labour brigades in Tibet containing a total of 974 people. Of these, 946, or 97.13 percent, are criminals who have committed murder, robbery, rape, fraud, larceny and caused injury. The other 28, or 2.8 percent, are counter-revolutionary offenders. Since the founding of New China in 1949, exile—a punishment prevalent in the Middle Ages—has never been used in this country, and no one is living in exile in any part of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Also, we released all those who participated in the 1959 rebellion a long time ago.

**Q: US Congress and Amnesty International requested the release of criminal of conscience Gexe Losang. What is that about?**

**A:** It should be explained first that there is no "crime of conscience" in our Criminal Law, and therefore "criminal of conscience" is non-existent.

Losang Wangqug, a man of 73, is a native of Amdo County in Nagqu Prefecture of the Tibet Autonomous Region. He was arrested on September 21, 1960 for participating in the 1959 counter-

revolutionary rebellion and was committed to 10 years' imprisonment. After he was released and re-employed, he put up reactionary notices on two occasions in 1979 and 1980, concocting the so-called "history of Tibet's independence" and inciting separatist activities. So he was arrested again on October 26, 1981 under China's Criminal Law. Losang Wangqug admitted his guilt when faced with irrefutable evidence.

All those who know Tibet and respect facts admit that under the serf system before the democratic reform the Tibetan people never enjoyed the full democracy and freedom they do today. To protect the citizens' rights and interests and to secure the normal order of the country's socialist construction, Tibet, like other parts of China, has launched a campaign to crack down on criminal activities in recent years. This is quite within the scope of a sovereign state exercising its own sovereign rights and maintaining its social security and, therefore, is entirely our country's internal affair. No foreign person or organization has the right to interfere.

**Q: You mentioned Tibet's serf system, what was it like?**

**A:** Prior to the democratic reform of 1959 old Tibet was languishing in a feudal serf society. At that time the three estate-holders (the nobility, monasteries and the officials) who accounted for less

than 5 percent of the local population, owned all of Tibet's cultivated land, pastureland, forests, wasteland, mountains, rivers and most of the livestock. They also had power over the lives and property of serfs and slaves. Serf-owners could subject serfs to such cruel punishments as gouging out of eyes, cutting off of noses, amputating of hands and chopping off of heels. Serfs and slaves owned no means of production, nor did they have personal freedom. They were heavily exploited by the three estate holders through rents, corvees, taxes and usury. The majority of Tibetans lived in dire poverty. After the democratic reform, serfs and slaves gained their personal freedom and were allotted land, while members of the slave-owning class were made self-supporting labourers.

**Q: Some foreign reports say you are moving a large number of Hans into Tibet, is it true?**

**A:** It is sheer fabrication. The Tibet Autonomous Region currently has a population of 2.02 million, of which ethnic Tibetans exceed 1.93 million, accounting for more than 95 percent of the total, while the Han population is only 73,000. Most of the Han people came to Tibet to help its economic construction and scientific, educational and cultural development. In addition, there are 7,000 people of the Menba nationality and 2,000 of the Luoba, Hui, and Naxi ethnic groups living in Tibet.

**Q: It is said that the government in Tibet carried out forced sterilization and killed babies in an attempt at genocide. What's your comment?**

**A:** This is pure fiction. We only encourage Tibetan cadres and state-owned enterprise employees to practise family planning. Under this policy they are encouraged to have one child and permitted to have two. Special cases may have three children. These policies have never been applied to Tibetan farmers and herdsman. On the contrary, to help raise Tibet's birth rate, efforts have been made to improve maternity and child-care services, popularize scientific delivery methods, encourage delivery in hospital and spread scientific knowledge on the birth and care of healthy children. Thanks to these correct population policies and measures, the growth rate of the local Tibetan population did not drop but has increased considerably. In 1959, the region's Tibetan population was 1.262 million. By 1987 it had reached nearly 2 million, an increase of more than 60 percent. At the same time, the average life span of the Tibetans in the autonomous region has gone up, with men's averaging 60 years, and women's, 65 years. The region's infant mortality rate also has dropped to 1.8 percent.

**Q: Is there freedom of religious belief in Tibet?**

**A:** It is clearly stipulated in our country's Constitution that all citizens have the freedom of religious belief, and this right is protected by law. Each citizen has the freedom to believe or not believe in any religion. A person may belong to any sect. Those who did not have any religious belief before and those who did, all now have freedom to believe or not to believe. All citizens, religious or atheist, are equal politically and have the same rights and obligations. All religions are equal and the state treats them equally.

**Q: Some people say "the Communist Party is destroying religion." What is the fact?**

**A:** The central government and the autonomous regional authorities have concerned themselves with religious affairs in Tibet and firmly adhered to relevant policies. Since 1980 more than 27 million yuan have been allocated to repairing monasteries, thus conforming with the wishes of the

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*Like all citizens of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and demonstration. In addition, they enjoy special rights and freedoms given by the state to minority nationalities.*

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religious believers. Buddhists and other religious people can worship in monasteries and elsewhere according to traditions and customs. The Tibet branch of the China Buddhist Association and Buddhist associations in all prefectures and cities in the region have been reinstated. The Tibet Buddhist Academy has been founded and all big monasteries have opened sutra learning classes. Last year, the Monlam (summons ceremony), which had been suspended for over 20 years, was revived. It received a particularly warm response from the local people and Tibetans living abroad. This is the truth which is there for all to see.

As for the mistakes made during the "cultural revolution," that is not a problem exclusive to Tibet but a national issue. China has eliminated the "leftist" influences of the "cultural revolution," and the policy of free religious belief has been better implemented.

**Q: Is the government's effort to renovate monasteries aimed at satisfying the people's needs or at attracting foreign tourists?**

**A:** The monasteries are repaired for no other reason than to carry out the religious policy and cater to believers and pilgrims. The effort also protects China's valuable cultural inheritance. As for foreign tourists, if they are interested, they are also welcome to visit these monasteries.

**Q: In addition to freedom of religious belief, what other kinds of freedom do the Tibetan people enjoy?**

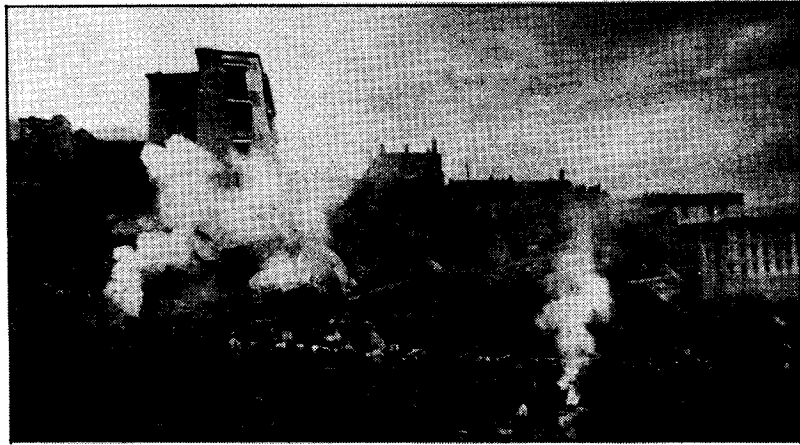
**A:** China's Constitution stipulates: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." "The people administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law." Like all citizens of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and demonstration. In addition, they enjoy special rights and freedoms given by the state to minority nationalities. The Constitution stipulates, "Regional autonomy is practised in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities; in these areas organs of self-government are established for the exercise of the right of autonomy.... The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs."

Of course, all these activities should be carried out within the bounds of law. Destroying cars, burning houses and beating up the masses as was done by a few separatists in a recent riot in Lhasa as an echo of the Dalai Lama's separatist activities abroad violate the law and should be dealt with according to law after the facts are ascertained. ■

# Lamaism Flourishing in Tibet

by Our Correspondent Wu Naitao

**A**t dusk every day, Jokhang Monastery in downtown Lhasa becomes a bustling centre of activity. Crowds of people slowly move clockwise along Bakuo Street circling the monastery, chanting Buddhist teachings and turning prayer wheels. Young people, seemingly taking a leisurely walk, chat among themselves. Some people, mainly women, kowtow flat on felt rugs in front of the monastery gate. The air is filled with the smell of burning incense.



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Daipung Monastery in Lhasa attracts many pilgrims with its constant incense burning.

## Religious Activities

Every day, the halls of Lhasa's three famous Buddhist monasteries—Daipung, Sera and Kahdan—as well as monasteries in Xigaze and Shannan districts, are crowded with worshippers who come to add butter oil to the burning lamps, give alms and kowtow in front of the statues. Every monastery has between several hundred and a few thousand Buddhist statues, and in front of each one lamps burn day and night. The high price of butter in the local market (14-16 yuan per kilogramme) does not seem to bother the pilgrims. They generously spend their money paying homage to Buddha.

Along every road and on every hill top travellers may come across large or small piles of rocks formed by Buddhist pilgrims who add another stone to the piles before continuing their journeys. Sutra streamers are everywhere—on house tops, poles or trees. Some even adorn an ordinary cable bridge in Lhasa, giving it a pleasant, colourful appearance.

An official of the religious affairs commission for the autonomous region explained that prior to the democratic reform in 1959 Tibet was a theocratic, feudal serfdom. Since the 17th century, the central government conferred the title on the various Dalai Lamas, who acted as both religious leaders and the highest local administrators. He said that prior to 1959 Tibet had 2,716 monasteries (including a small number of mosques and Catholic churches) and a total of 114,107 monks and nuns. With the democratic reform, feudal serfdom and the combination of religion with government administration were abolished. The land and other production means controlled by the monasteries were distributed among the slaves and many monasteries were pulled down by previously oppressed serfs. A large number of lamas returned to secular life. Even so,

553 monasteries were still operating in 1966 when the "cultural revolution" broke out. These monasteries housed 6,913 monks and nuns, and 408 living Buddhas.\* During the ten years of chaos, many of the monasteries were destroyed.

Since 1980, the central government and the government of the autonomous region allocated more than 24 million yuan in special funds to rebuild or renovate monasteries in Tibet. To date more than 200 monasteries and over 700 sutra reciting halls

\* Living Buddha is the popular name for higher lamas who gain their position through "reincarnation." The highest are Dalai and Panchen. When a living Buddha dies, the higher lamas of the monastery will search out through divination a baby born at the moment the living Buddha ceases breathing. The baby selected as "the reincarnation" of the living Buddha will inherit his position.



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Rocks carved with Buddhist sutra upon a rock pile formed by passing pilgrims.

have been rebuilt and opened as houses of worship for more than 14,000 monks and nuns and 400 living Buddhas. People are free to take part in religious activities.

The Monlam (Summons Ceremony), a traditional Tibetan religious festival, was again celebrated in 1986. According to a local official, tens of thousands of people took part in the Monlam, during which the Panchen Lama read sutras to some 1,000 lamas and gave blessings to tens of thousands of religious believers. Party and government leaders of the autonomous region joined a few thousand believers in presenting alms to the lamas in this year's Monlam.

### Lamas and Monasteries

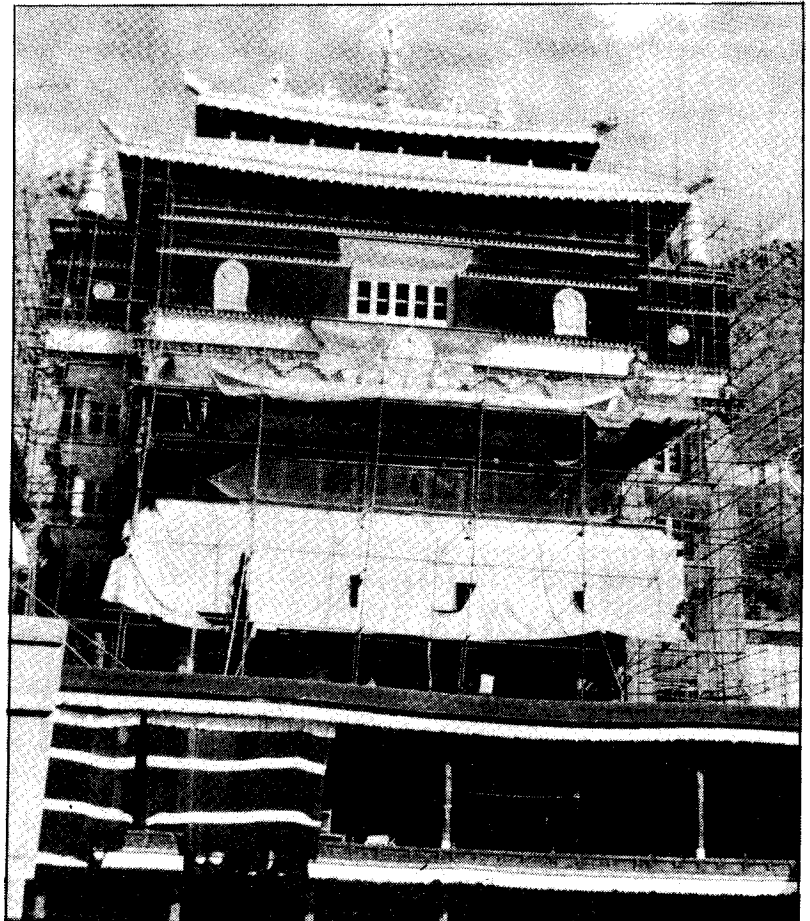
According to the Buddhist commandment, monks should devote themselves entirely to studying the sutra and should not perform physical duties. Food and clothing would be provided in alms. Fifty years ago, high-ranking lamas, nobles and the local government each owned about one-third of Tibet's land, livestock and serfs. According to the Tibetan Academy of Social

Sciences, in addition to collecting land rent and alms, monasteries also derived their income from various businesses, the practice of usury, letting out houses and levying poll taxes. At that time, the monks and nuns, most young or middle-aged, accounted for one-tenth of Tibet's total population. As they did not work, they had to be supported by others. Now, the situation has changed.

Danzeng Taji, director of the democratic management committee of Daipung Monastery, told me that more than 400 lamas now live in the monastery, over 90 of whom are advanced in age and poor in health and receive a monthly allowance from the state in addition to alms from their fellow believers. As for the young lamas, they tend the monastery's

A Major hall in Xigaze's Trashilhunpo Monastery being reconstructed.

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orchards and crops. The produce plus the alms are enough to meet the lamas' needs for food, clothing and minor expenses.

Alms from worshippers are considerable. In the Trashilhunpo Monastery of Xigaze, I visited a hall where alms were collected and it was full of butter donated by worshippers, as well as tea, *zanba* and cash. According to some reports, every lama in Tibet can receive an average of more than 500 yuan a year in alms alone.

Monasteries no longer practise usury or collect poll tax. But they are allowed to operate businesses. Trashilhunpo Monastery, for example, has hostels, restaurants and department stores in its neighbouring area. It also operates a timber processing workshop and a transport service with several trucks. All these enterprises, are reportedly doing quite well.

Many lamas in the monasteries are young, some only 16-17 years old. According to Zhou, an official from the religious affairs commission of the autonomous region, the number of lamas in the monasteries has increased from 978 at the end of the "cultural revolution" to over 14,000. Of the 450 lamas at Daipung Monastery, more than 250 are newly recruited. Considering its needs and economic position, the monastery itself decides how many lamas it should have.

Usually, young lamas spend about four hours a day studying Buddhist classics from veteran lamas. Debates are often held to enhance their understanding of Buddhist teachings. I witnessed one of these debates in front of Trashilhunpo Monastery. Some young lamas clapped their hands and stamped their feet to put forward their questions, while others quietly answered in an apparently joyful revelation of their youthful vigour.

Every monastery has its own democratic management committee. Danzeng Taji, for example, was elected to the democratic

management committee of the Daipung Monastery by his fellow lamas together with four others.

## Education in Buddhism

In the past, monasteries were the traditional seats of Buddhist teaching, but this situation has changed. The Tibet Academy of Buddhism, founded in 1983 under the auspices of the Tibetan branch of the Chinese Buddhist Association, operates as a centre for training Buddhists. There are currently 170 students at the academy.

The academy is situated by Daipung Monastery. An academy official in charge of teaching told me that any young man at the age of 18, who is in good health and has acquired at least middle school education, can volunteer to enter the academy with his family's consent.

The same official explained that many monasteries have set up their own training classes and teachers are very much in demand. So it is difficult to find Gehsis who are qualified to teach. Some students are sent to the academy by their monasteries. When they complete their studies, they return

to serve as teachers. The academy has two full-time teachers, one of whom received his first-class Gehsi at the Monlam last year, as well as several part-time teachers.

Students of the academy can be trained as lamas after having made satisfactory progress in their studies and proving their devotion to Buddhism.

In one classroom I visited, more than 30 students sat cross-legged on Tibetan-style rugs reciting Buddhist scriptures, their bodies rocking back and forth to the cadence of their chanting. An older student told me that he had entered the academy to improve his knowledge and because his family, whose members are all practising Buddhism, encouraged him to do so. Before entering the academy, he had been impressed by some religious works by well-known Tibetan writers and decided to take on Buddhism as his field of study.

## Religious Organizations

After a 15-year suspension, the Tibetan branch of the Chinese Buddhist Association resumed its activities in 1981, and Buddhist associations in the autonomous

Novices at the Tibetan Buddhist Academy discuss questions of the Buddhist classics.

CHEN ZONGFIE



region's six prefectures and cities were also reinstated. Almost all Tibet's renowned religious personnel have since joined the organization and more than 400 living Buddhas serve as the association's executive members.

Ouzhu Ciren, an official of the Buddhist Association, said that over the last few years the association has made it a priority to strengthen links between the government and the believers. The association reports any problems arising in implementation of the policy of religious freedom and offers the government suggestions for remedying them.

As many monasteries were destroyed during the "cultural revolution," both the central and local governments have earmarked large sums of money for their reconstruction.

Domestic and overseas Buddhists alike showed great concern for the reconstruction of Gandan Monastery, which was first established in 1409 by Tsongkhapa, founder of the Gelugpa (Yellow) Sect of Lamaism. Ouzhu Ciren said that the monastery was completely destroyed in the 10-year chaos. Now, more than 20 of the halls, including the hall housing the dagoba dedicated to Tsongkhapa, have been rebuilt



Lamas debating questions on sutra.

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and the monastery houses more than 200 lamas.

In recent years, the Tibetan Buddhist Association has sent representatives to various districts and monasteries to investigate the implementation of the state's policy on religion, and to collect religious relics for protection. The association has organized training classes, collated and produced

historic accounts and biographies of famous monks, published the magazine *Tibetan Buddhism*, established some printing houses, and printed several million copies of sutra. It has also arranged friendly exchanges with overseas Buddhist organizations and dignitaries. In 1986, all the monasteries in Tibet held prayer gatherings to promote the cause of the International Year of Peace.

Like state officials, living Buddhas receive a monthly salary. Those advanced in age and in poor health can also receive pilgrims and accept alms at home. Ouzhu Ciren said most living Buddhas, lamas and Lamaism believers are satisfied with the current policies for three reasons. First, the state has allocated fairly large amounts of money to repair monasteries despite its limited financial resources. Second, with the large numbers of young people entering the monasteries, the various Lamaist sects need not worry about successors. Lastly, and perhaps most important, Party and government leaders at various levels have shown great respect for people's freedom of religious belief.

Buddhist sutras in the Tibetan language.

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## FOR YOUR REFERENCE

# Review of Past CPC National Congresses

The 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be convened on October 25. To provide some background information, "Beijing Review" presents a review of the previous 12 National Party Congresses over the past 60 years.

**The First National Congress,** July 23-31, 1921, Shanghai and the Nanhu Lake in Jiaying, Zhejiang Province.

Twelve deputies representing over 50 Party members attended the congress. They included Mao Zedong, He Shuheng, Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu, Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming, Li Da, Li Hanjun, Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing, Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fuhai (the last four later abandoned the Party). Prominent founders of the Party, Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu, did not attend. But Chen Duxiu sent a personal representative, Bao Huiseng, and a representative from the Communist International was also there.

The Party Constitution adopted at the congress defined the Party's aim as overthrowing capitalist rule with a proletarian revolutionary army, establishing proletarian dictatorship, abolishing the private ownership system and eventually class differences. The Party Constitution also stipulated the organizational principles of democratic centralism and Party discipline. It was decided at the congress that the central task of the Party was to exercise leadership over the workers' movement.

**The Second National Congress,** July 16-23, 1922, Shanghai. In attendance: 12 deputies representing 195 Party members.

The congress ended with a declaration analysing the international situation and defining the Chinese society as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one. The declaration also explained the nature of

the Chinese revolution, its targets and its motive force. It made clear the minimum and maximum goals of the Party. For the first time in modern Chinese history the congress set forth the guiding principle of the democratic revolution as being complete opposition to imperialism and feudalism. Several resolutions, including one on joining the Third International, were adopted.

**The Third National Congress,** June 12-20, 1923, Guangzhou. In attendance: 30 deputies representing 420 Party members.

The congress endorsed the decision of the executive committee of the Communist International on the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. It was decided that CPC members may join the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to form a united front of various democratic classes.

**The Fourth National Congress,** January 11-22, 1925, Shanghai. In attendance: 20 deputies representing 994 Party members.

The congress outlined the scope of the leadership of the proletariat over the democratic revolution and the issue of alliance with peasants; it formulated a plan for the mass movement and decided to set up and strengthen Party organizations nationwide. This laid the groundwork for the steady development of the revolution, theoretically, tactically and organizationally.

Thereafter, the workers' and peasants' movements developed quickly in south China, promoting success in the war against northern

feudal warlords.

**The Fifth National Congress,** April 27-May 9, 1927, Wuhan. In attendance: 80 deputies representing 57,900 Party members.

The congress was held at a crucial moment of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27). After seizing the leadership of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek, representative of the Right wing of Kuomintang, staged a coup in Shanghai on April 12, 1927, massacring revolutionary masses and Communist Party members. On April 18, Chiang established his regime in Nanjing, representing the interests of imperialism and the big landlords and bourgeoisie.

At the congress, participants criticized Chen Duxiu's mistake in ignoring the struggle with the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the revolution. However, with Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationism still dominant in the Party Central Committee, the congress failed to suggest concrete approaches to gaining the leading power. On July 15 Wang Jingwei, another leader of the Kuomintang who led the government in Wuhan, betrayed the revolution. As a result the Communist Party suffered a disastrous setback. On August 1, an armed uprising was staged in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

On August 7, the CPC Central Committee convened an emergency meeting in Hankou (Wuhan) which put an end to Chen Duxiu's Right capitulation-

ist domination of the CPC Central Committee. The emergency meeting also determined the Party's approach to the Agrarian Revolutionary War and armed opposition to KMT reactionaries.

**The Sixth National Congress,** June 18-July 11, 1928, Moscow. In attendance: 84 deputies and 34 alternate deputies, representing over 40,000 Party members.

The congress criticized Right capitulationism and the Left putschist mistake of organizing insurrections blindly. The congress adopted the revolutionary programme of opposing imperialism and feudalism, conducting land reform and establishing the worker-peasant democratic dictatorship to push the revolution forward.

After the congress, the Communist Party and the Red Army under its leadership set up 15 revolutionary bases in a dozen provinces throughout China.

In 1934, because of Wang Ming's erroneous leadership, the Red Army suffered a defeat, failing to break Chiang Kai-shek's fifth encirclement campaign against the Central Revolutionary Base Area in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian. During the Long March necessitated by that defeat, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935. The meeting decided to reshuffle the leading organ of the Central Committee, putting an end to the rule of Wang Ming's Left adventurism and establishing a new leadership with Mao Zedong as its chief representative in the Party Central Committee.

The War of Resistance Against Japan broke out in 1937. The CPC Central Committee pursued the policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front with the result that the Party and people's forces grew steadily in strength.

**The Seventh National Congress,** April 23-June 11, 1945, Yanan. In attendance: 547

deputies and 203 alternate deputies, representing 1.21 million Party members.

The congress adopted the following Party line: Fully mobilize the masses and build up the people's forces to defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the Chinese people and found a new-democratic China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The new Party Constitution adopted at the congress stipulated that Mao Zedong Thought—which combines the Marxist-Leninist theory with the revolutionary practice of China—be taken as the guideline for all the Party's work. Through the congress the Party achieved unprecedented unity ideologically, politically and organizationally.

New Party Central Committee members were elected. At the First Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee, Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi were elected members of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee.

Under the guidance of the correct line set forth at the Seventh National Party Congress, the Chinese people put out of action 8.07 million KMT troops during the War of Liberation (1946-49) and toppled the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, gaining victory for the new democratic revolution.

The People's Republic of China was founded in October 1949. By 1956, the Party led the people of the various nationalities through the transition from new democracy to socialism. During this period, China's national economy was rehabilitated, planned economic construction was launched, and the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of

production was for the most part completed.

**The Eighth National Congress,** September 15-27, 1956, Beijing. In attendance: 1,026 deputies and 107 alternate deputies, representing 10.73 million Party members.

The congress declared that the socialist system had been fundamentally instituted in China and that the principal contradiction in the country was no longer between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but between people's demand for rapid development in economy and culture and the inability to meet those demands. The major task of the people was to rally their forces to develop social productivity, achieve state industrialization, and so satisfy the needs of the people. Although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship needed to be strengthened, the fundamental purpose was to protect and develop the productive forces under the new relations of production.

The congress upheld the principles guiding economic construction which were to achieve stable, comprehensive and balanced progress, and raised the question as to how a ruling Party should strengthen itself organizationally and ideologically. The congress also underscored the importance of adhering to democratic centralism and the system of collective leadership. It stressed opposition to personality cult in the development of inner-Party democracy and people's democracy, and suggested there was a need to strengthen the relationship between the Party and the masses.

The congress elected the Eighth Party Central Committee. At the First Plenary Session of that committee, Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Party Central Committee; Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Chen Yun were elected vice-chairmen; Deng Xiaoping was elected general secretary.

In the ten years thereafter, China started to build socialism in



an all-round way. During this period, the Party accumulated important experience in leading socialist construction. A major part of the material and technical foundation for today's modernization drive was laid during that period; the backbone forces of China's economic and cultural construction formed at that time. This constituted the major aspect of the Party's work at the time. However, Left deviationism was not eradicated and it became more serious in the political and ideological fields. Meanwhile, Mao Zedong made serious mistakes in theory and practice with regard to class struggle. His arbitrary style of work began to harm the Party's democratic centralism and his personality cult developed. The Party Central Committee failed to put right the mistakes in time. Careerists including Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng abetted Mao's mistakes for their own purposes. All this paved the way for the launching of the "cultural revolution."

**The Ninth National Congress,** April 1-24, 1969, Beijing. In attendance: 1,512 deputies representing 22 million Party members.

Lin Biao delivered a political report, legalizing the erroneous theory and practice of the "cultural revolution" which had begun in 1966. The Party Constitution adopted at the congress stated that Lin Biao was the close comrade-in-arms and successor to Mao Zedong. The ideological, political and organizational guiding principles laid down at the Ninth National Congress were all mistaken.

**The 10th National Congress,** August 24-28, 1973, Beijing. In attendance: 1,249 deputies representing 28 million Party members.

Between 1970 and 1971, Lin Biao plotted to usurp the supreme power and stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup. The congress summed up the struggle which smashed the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique, but

inherited the Left mistakes passed down from the Ninth Party Congress. At the congress, Wang Hongwen was elected vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen formed the "gang of four" within the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, thus strengthening the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique.

**The 11th National Congress,** August 12-18, 1977, Beijing. In attendance: 1,510 deputies representing 35 million Party members.

The congress adopted the political report delivered by Hua Guofeng on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. The report summed up the struggle against the "gang of four" in 1976 and declared the end of the "cultural revolution." The report reiterated that building China into a modernized socialist power before the end of the century was still the fundamental task of the Party. Due to the constraints of the circumstances and the influence of Hua Guofeng's mistakes, the congress failed to correct the erroneous theory, policy and slogans of the "cultural revolution." On the contrary, it affirmed them. It did not set right the mistakes of the Party's theory and guiding principles, which remained until the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in December 1978.

**The 12th National Congress,** September 1-11, 1982, Beijing. In attendance: 1,545 deputies and 145 alternate deputies, representing 39 million Party members.

Deng Xiaoping delivered the opening speech, which stressed that China's modernization drive must proceed from China's reality. China should integrate the universal truth of Marxism with its reality, and take its own road to socialism with special Chinese characteristics. Deng said in the speech that these were the conclusions arrived at after long experience.

On behalf of the 11th Party Central Committee, Hu Yaobang delivered a report at the congress entitled "Creating a New Situation in China's Socialist Modernization Construction in an All-Round Way." Hu's report laid down the general task of the Party in the new period: Unite with the people of the various nationalities and, by self-reliance and hard struggle, strive for gradual achievement of modernization of industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology, to build China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy.

The congress examined and adopted a new Party Constitution.

The congress elected its new Party Central Committee members and members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. At the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun were elected members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee; Hu Yaobang was elected general secretary of the Party Central Committee; and Deng Xiaoping was made chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. At the first plenary session of the Central Advisory Commission, Deng Xiaoping was elected its chairman. At the first plenary session of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, Chen Yun was elected its first secretary. ■



## Foreign Aid Boosts Gansu's Agriculture

**F**ive electricity-powered irrigation projects, costing US\$42.81 million offered as an aid by the World Food Programme (WFP), will be completed in Gansu Province by the end of this year. At that point, 26,700 hectares of dry land in four counties in the province will become irrigated farmland and the province is expected to produce an extra 80 million kg of grains, 2.665 million kg of oil crops, 138 million kg of beets and 23.6 billion kg of meat products each year.

Gansu Province in northwest China is agriculturally one of the most backward. In the past few years, the province has cooperated with the WFP, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization and the EEC, as well as individual countries such as Australia, Canada and Italy to

develop its agriculture. The projects thus undertaken include power irrigation, beet research, solar heating, cooling and debris flow prevention.

From 1979 to June this year, Gansu received US\$50 million worth of aid. This year should leave the province with 28 aid projects on the go. Agricultural projects include improving the grassland, factory-type seedling growing, hydroponic cultivation, the desalination of water, and new irrigation technology. The WFP offered US\$12.636 million in aid to build water carrying systems for Jingtai and Gulang counties, which will soon be taken up.

In addition, the province is making good use of loans provided by international financial organizations. Projects totalling US\$170 million borrowed from the World Bank have already gone into operation in Gansu. Of this figure, \$123 million has been used to build irrigation projects; US\$7 million to harness

rivers; and US\$12 million to develop rural enterprises. The completion of these projects will help develop the economy of some poor places in Gansu.

by Yao Jianguo

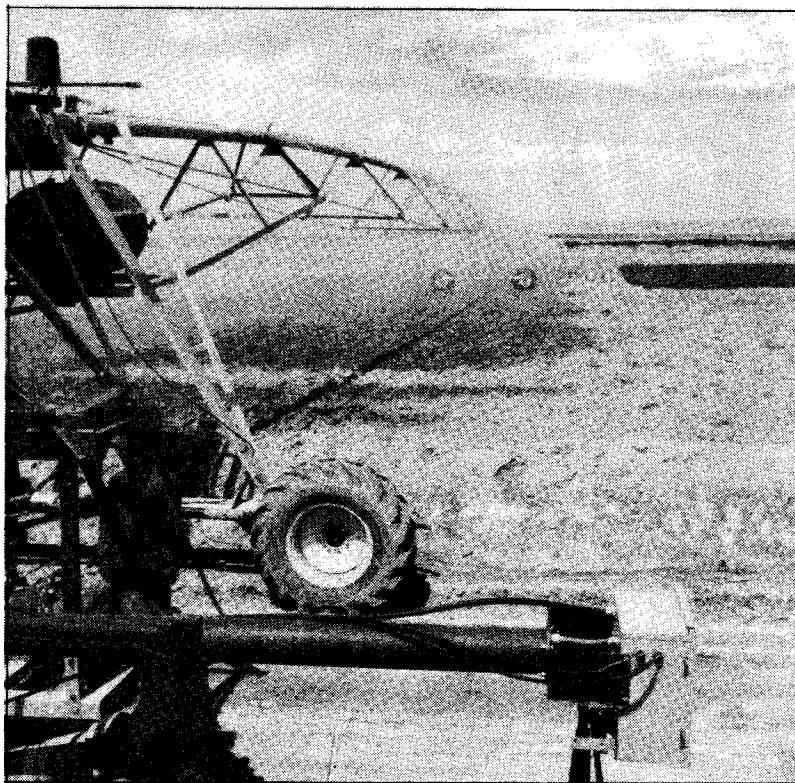
## China, Britain Set up Joint Venture

**T**he British Huanyu Electronic Ltd. was set up in London as a joint investment of the China Huanyu Electronic Union Co. and the British Treatlink Ltd. Managers and technicians from the Chinese party joined in the preparatory work at the end of September this year. The enterprise, expected to deal mainly in colour television assembly, is the first factory China has set up in Britain. The total investment is £300,000, with each party contributing £150,000.

The China Huanyu Electronic Union Co. employs 109,000 workers in its 118 enterprises located in 15 provinces and municipalities. Its major products include TV sets, radios, radio-cassette recorders, electric rice cookers, electronic organs and a large number of electronic components. Some of the products have made their way into the world market. The Huanyu brand colour TV, assembled by the Shijiazhuang Colour TV Factory of the Union Co. in Hebei Province, met with success in its first sales to the United States. This year the factory will export about 70,000 sets to Britain, Holland, Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany. Exports will extend to the United States next year.

The founding of the British Huanyu Electronic Ltd. will certainly help the China Huanyu Electronic Union Co. enter its products on the world market, particularly on the British market.

Water spraying irrigation in Wuwei County, Gansu Province.



## China, Britain Publish Dictionary

### Concise English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary

**Published by:** The Commercial Press, China, and Oxford University Press, London

**Distributed by:** Xinhua Book Store Beijing Distribution Office; and Oxford University Press Hong Kong Branch (Zeiuyongheyu Building, Hong Kong)

**Price:** RMB 4.90 yuan (in China)

**Size:** 787mm x 1,092mm

This is the first book co-published by China's Commercial Press and Britain's Oxford University Press. The dictionary is meant to serve foreign students in China and people studying Chinese or English independently, at home or abroad.

Besides serving as a dictionary, the book is also a reference work for readers at the basic or intermediate level. Chinese- and English-speaking users will find the dictionary a reliable study guide, as well as an aid to composition and translation. A.P.

Cowie and A. Evison are consultants in English.

The English-Chinese section is based on the **Oxford Keys English Dictionary** published by Oxford University Press, with the addition of new words and meanings as well as abbreviations. The section was compiled and translated by Commercial Press senior editors Zhu Yuan, Wang Liangbi, and Ren Yongchang. It contains more than 18,000 entries, and another 5,000 related idioms, verbal phrases, compound words and derivatives. Every entry, apart from providing pronunciations and definitions, has clear explanations of grammar, usage and word order. The English-Chinese section uses the phonetic alphabet (*pinyin*) and simplified characters for the Chinese along with certain unsimplified characters. The typeface is prominent.

The Chinese-English section includes about 20,000 entries and is arranged according to the *pinyin* alphabet. Both simplified and unsimplified Chinese characters

are indicated, along with idiomatic phrases, parts of speech and grammatical explanations. Many of the entries are enriched with examples of common usage. The indexing system for Chinese characters includes the *pinyin* alphabet and the new radicals. The Chinese-English section was compiled by Professor Wu Jingrong and editors Mei Ping and Ren Xiaoping.

The dictionary has an elaborately designed cover; the binding combines modern and traditional Chinese technologies. The contents are simple and clear and the layout is good. The book is small enough to be carried around by the user. It has been well received by readers both in China and abroad since it first came out in the second half of 1986.

Last year 35,000 copies were printed, 10,000 of them shipped overseas. Another 120,000 copies will be off the press this year.

**The Concise English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary** was selected by 10 Chinese publishing houses and distributing centres as one of China's best sellers in 1987.

Li Shumin



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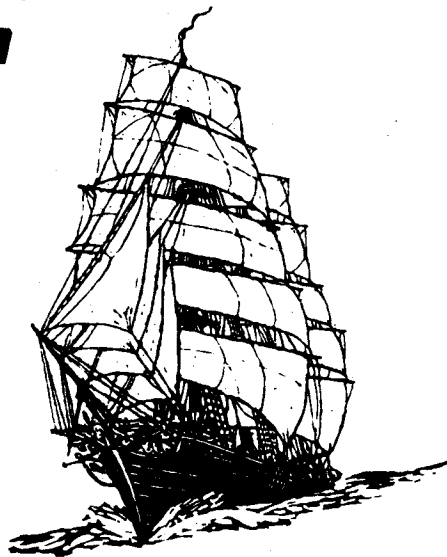
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# Traditional Acrobatics Shed New Light



**D**uring the first China Art Festival, two evening performances of acrobatics selected from the programmes of troupes all over the country added splendour to the festival. Anne Bertie, a member of the audience from the United States, commented, "Chinese acrobatics are graceful, breathtaking and miraculous. I'm intoxicated."

The performances begin with the lion dance. To the powerful beat of drums accompanied by

music from synthesizers, 10 lions come onto the stage from four directions to stand in a row, then jump forward like a coming spring tide. This symbolizes the brave and indomitable spirit of the Chinese people. The lions go through a series of astounding movements including standing on a big ball and rolling the ball from one end of a seesaw to the other, turning somersaults atop pillars in the shape of a plum blossom and walking on the pillars with younger lions on their backs. Rolling two balls from one end of a seesaw to the other by way of four lions who stand on the balls is hair-raising. Each lion costume is made up of two men. The eight acrobats co-ordinate beautifully. Finally the lions stand in a triangle and a lion trainer leaps onto the stage to lead them away.

Xu Shue, one of the choreographers of the lion dance and a

responsible member of the acrobatic section of the art bureau under the Ministry of Culture, introduced the dance as a joint effort by the Shenyang and Hebei acrobatic troupes, the silver lion winners at this year's Second National Acrobatic Contest. For this festival the choreographers increased the number of lions and restressed the beauty of the whole piece. They also made the lion trainer's part a little harder to suit the lions' own performance.

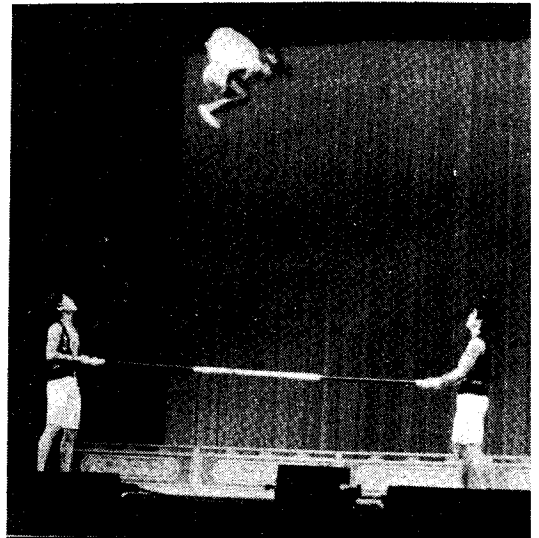
All the acrobatics for the festival feature new and more amazing movements. Both the skill and the costumes, music and lights have improved.

A juggler from the Soldiers' Acrobatic Troupe of the Guangzhou Military Area enters the stage to the sound of disco music juggling seven badminton rackets. The item is succinct, lively and with a strong contemporary feel.

The lion dance performed by the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe from Liaoning Province.



The "Bamboo Bar" from Guangxi.





"Balancing on a Plank"—which rocks alarmingly as it is placed on a horizontal cylinder—was performed by a foursome from the Henan Acrobatic Troupe. Unlike the tradition another plank was added on the first. In their bright red dance skins, they give an astounding, graceful performance to light music.

In "Taming the Chimpanzee" presented by the Shanghai Acrobatic Troupe, the trainer and the chimpanzee whisper in each other's ear and disco dance. The mime sets people roaring with laughter.

Tang Ying, a well-known acrobatics commentator, said that many programmes in the festival are better than what is available abroad. For example, somersaulting backward through five hoops as is done by the Heilongjiang Acrobatic Troupe or performing two somersaults on a tightrope as the Tianjin Acrobatic Troupe does.

"As an art, acrobatics is based on difficulty and grace," said Tang Ying. As the aesthetic standards rise, many of the items have been expanded to demonstrate stylish movements from various angles.

Take the lion dance for

example. Somersaults on the ground have been relocated to the tops of the pillars. In rolling the balls across the seesaw, the first two lions carry two rows of people on their backs while the last two carry some young lions. These are all breakthroughs.

Another traditional item is where the acrobats hold cups of water in both hands and perform feats of strength without spilling the water. The acrobat of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region uses Buddhist lamps instead of cups, adding lovely colour to the item.

Tang Ying says the composition of the programmes for the festival is better and that the images and the environment they are placed in have been stressed—the most difficult movements are incorporated into the whole poetic conception. Even traditional items are breathing with the pulse of the times. The "Leather Ropes" presented by a Tianjin acrobat is a good example. The acrobat does all kinds of hair-raising movements while climbing up the elastic leather ropes which hang down from the ceiling. He mixes power and beauty. The same is done in group items where skill, dance and music combine to form beautiful

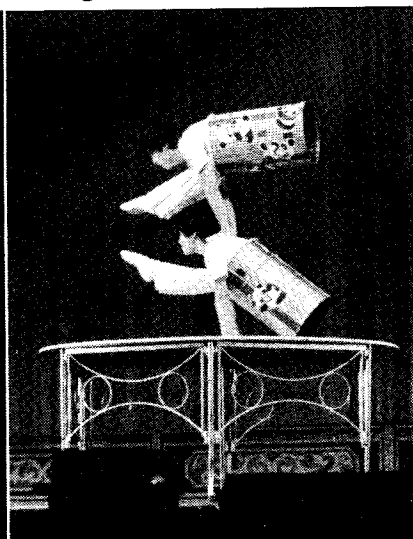


The women acrobats of Anhui Province balancing on a pyramid of chairs.

"Plate-spinning" by the Dalian Acrobatic Troupe in Liaoning.



"Passing Through Buckets" from Guizhou.



PHOTOS BY YANG LIMING

tableaux.

The pieces in the festival also feature strong national characteristics. The approach, music, costume, props and stage art are imbued with the national spirit. In Xinjiang's juggling, a local string music instrument is used instead of any old stage prop to the accompaniment of ethnic music and dance, only to show the optimistic and humorous character of the Xinjiang people.

Acrobatics are one of China's classical arts, dating back 3,000 years. As early as in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (770-221 BC) acrobatics performances were advanced and well loved. Since nationwide liberation it has flourished again

under the principles of "Letting a hundred flowers blossom" and "Weeding through the old to bring forth the new." There are now nearly 10,000 acrobats in 112 acrobatic troupes all over the country.

Since 1981 China has won 22 golden medals at international acrobatics competitions. All items presented at this art festival are prize winners of the Second National Acrobatic Contest this year.

Before the end of the festival Vice-Minister of Culture Ying Ruocheng said the festival provided a good opportunity for acrobats to learn from each other and make China's acrobatics more splendid than ever. ■

orchestra pit. Lifting his hands a little in the air, a melodic tune strikes up and the show begins. First the chorus, then an instrumental solo, a dance piece, conjuring, a short comic drama and an animal taming act. Each performance has its own unique character. But the "pity" is that the actors and actresses often "make mistakes" in their performances: the piano player forgets to bring a stool with him; artists bump against each other in the changeovers between items; a baritone has a rough voice.... But no matter how many mistakes they make, the host always claps and shouts "Bravo."

This is the humorous and satirical puppet show, an unusual concert performed by artists from the Soviet State Central Puppet Theatre as part of China's Art Festival held in Beijing from September 5 to 25.

The puppet show aims to satirize those who do not adopt a serious attitude towards the arts. Because the theme has universal significance and timeless appeal to audiences, the puppet show is warmly welcomed even though it has been performed for 40 years.

Different from Chinese puppet makers who usually portray puppets in the real images of people, Soviet puppet makers use artistic exaggeration to shape puppets with long noses and small necks, or large mouths and small eyes. They are very like a group of funny, cartoon-style dolls.

The Soviet puppeteers displayed perfect skill, vividly demonstrated in their performance of the Spanish tango, Gypsy dance, Latin American guitar playing or modern music. One of the most well received acts was an "Indian" puppet who performed magic tricks just as well as a real man.

The Soviet puppet show brought great pleasure to Beijing audiences and also gave Chinese artists some new ideas to think over. ■

## Soviet Puppet Show at China's Art Festival

**A** curtain rises. On the stage is a pot-bellied, balding man with a big mouth who is to be host for the show. He humorously recites actor's lines to an imperfect

Chinese tune, which immediately raises a burst of laughter from Chinese audiences. Then comes a white-haired musical conductor. He looks in all seriousness into the

Soviet artists rehearse before presenting their puppet show to Beijing audiences.

BI YUENIEN



## ART PAGE

### Traditional Chinese Paintings by Ye Shangqing

Ye Shangqing, born in 1930 in Yuhuan County, Zhejiang Province, is a teacher at the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts.

Ye is good at seal cutting, and specializes in traditional Chinese flower and bird paintings. Here are some of his lotus paintings.





# Good News for Sterile Men



Dr. Zeng Chaowen of China's Guizhou Zunyi Male Sterility Research Institute treats male sterility with traditional Chinese medicine. He has already treated over 3,000 different cases of male sterility and achieved a 96.4 percent success rate. The clinic's record is as good as any in the world. Foreign patients are welcome at the clinic.

The Guizhou International Economic and Technological Cooperation Corporation acts as Dr. Zeng's agent and handles all matters concerning overseas patients.

Guizhou's mild climate and beautiful landscape make it an ideal place for treatment and convalescence.

The corporation provides quiet, well-furnished rooms and meals of excellent Chinese cuisine. Throughout the period of treatment, careful service and varied recreational activities will be available.

Before treatment a semen test report is required to judge advisability of treatment. Overseas patients' medical fees should be paid in foreign exchange.

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