

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

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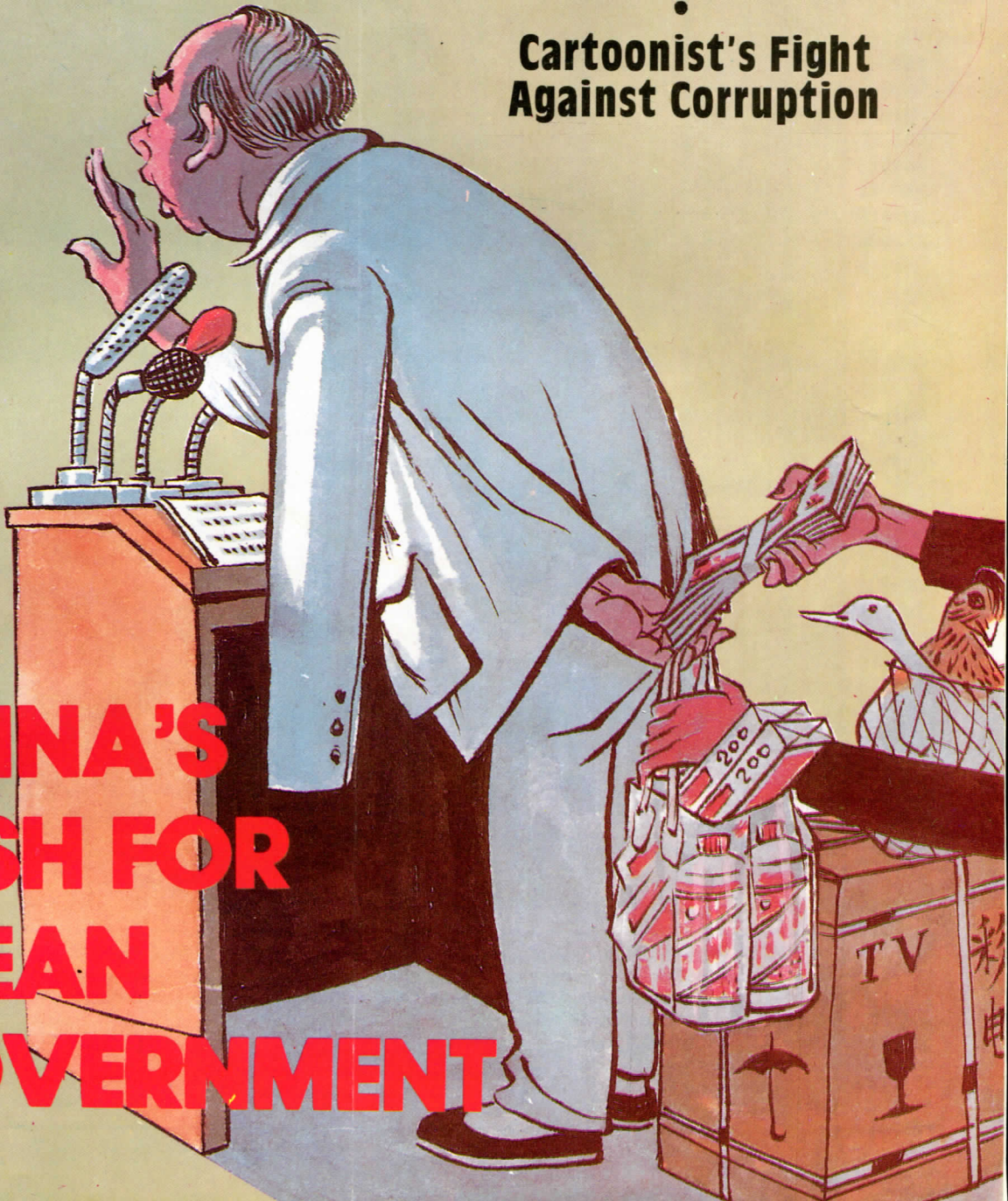
Vol. 32, No. 3

January 16-22, 1989

**New Ideas on Taiwan Assessed**

**Cartoonist's Fight  
Against Corruption**

**CHINA'S  
PUSH FOR  
CLEAN  
GOVERNMENT**





## Little Painter

She is Hou Xiaochun from Dayan Pagoda Primary School in Xian, Shaanxi Province. Hou began studying painting at the age of three. Up to the present she has done more than 1,000 paintings. Here, with brushes in both hands, she is painting two cocks fighting.

*Photo by He Ping*

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## China Moves to Clean Up Government

□ The current struggle to eliminate administrative corruption has widespread popular support, as witnessed in the thousands of calls and reports to corruption reporting centres in the last few months. The most vital work, however, is being conducted by supervisory departments across the country, which have scored many successes in their initial moves to stamp down on officials who abuse their positions for personal gain, accept bribes or turn a blind eye to illegal activities. They are expected to play an even greater role in 1989 (p. 16).

## Further Thoughts on Reuniting China

□ Li Jiaquan, deputy director and research fellow of the Institute of Taiwan Studies under the Academy of Social Sciences, is a frequent writer on the prospects for reuniting Taiwan with the mainland. In his third article for *Beijing Review*, he outlines eight new proposals or ideas put forward by scholars and leading figures on future relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, offering his views on their respective merits and defects (p. 22).

## Ideological Basis of US China Policy

□ The article analyses the basis of US China policy from an ideological viewpoint. It maintains that this policy is a weave of contradiction and interaction between the traditional US ideologies of realism and idealism. Such contradiction and interaction will also affect future Sino-American relations. (p. 10).

## Massive Illiteracy Hampers Modernization

□ The latest statistics show that there are 220 million illiterate people in China, making up one fifth of its total population. The country's ambitious modernization programme will turn out to be a castle in the air unless China gets rid of this heavy burden of illiteracy (p. 4).

## Nude Art, a Great Sensation

□ The exhibition of figure oil paintings has become a pivot of public attention not only because it is the first on nude art since the founding of the People's Republic but because it has been protested by two female models. (p. 7, p. 27).

Unless written by Beijing Review correspondents, the opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily reflect the view of the Beijing Review editorial board.

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# Illiteracy Threatens Modernization

by Li Haibo

**T**he other day when I went to a post office in Beijing, I was asked by a young woman to write a telegram for her. I did, without surprise, and gave no thought to the experience. It's not uncommon to meet a person here or there who can not read or write.

Coincidentally, after returning to my office, I found a photo in a paper that showed a man with glasses bent over a piece of paper on his knees. He was writing a letter for a young lady. I read that both were sitting on the steps of a post office in Hefei, capital of Anhui Province. The caption said that writing for others has become a profession in many cities. "There are so many young customers everyday that I can't attend to them all," the writer was quoted as saying.

"So many..." How many? According to a national meeting on eradicating illiteracy held last November, there are 220 million illiterate people in China, of whom 210 million are in the countryside, and 70 percent of the total are women.

The meeting also said that since 1949 when New China was founded, about 150 million illiterate people have been removed from that category.

A great achievement, isn't it? But, we still have 220 million illiterate people. That means while we tried to eliminate the old illiteracy, we let many of the younger generation form a new group of illiterates.

If we had set a goal when the People's Republic was established to wipe out illiteracy in 20 years—a goal that was neither too ambitious nor impossible—people might not have mentioned the problem as early as in the late 1960s. Now, we are encountering an even bigger burden of illiteracy and have to reset the goal. According to Wang Mingda, deputy minister of the State Education Commission, China is striving basically to eliminate illiteracy by the end of the century. That sounds good, but whether the goal can be reached is doubtful.

First of all, we must guarantee primary education to all school-age children, in other words, no new generation of illiterates is to be allowed. However, so far we have been unable to do that. The latest statistics I found show that in 1986 there were 3.6 million children not enrolled in primary schools. Besides, recent reports have indicated an increasing number of drop-outs. Last year, 7.39 million, or 4.1 percent of China's primary and middle school students dropped out. Among them are those who were asked by their parents to withdraw from schools to work and help support the families.

Secondly, to reach that goal, we have to enable at least 20 million unlettered people to read and write each year starting from 1989. But Wang suggested that 4 million illiterate people be educated annually,

obviously Wang's plan cannot lead us to the goal.

Moreover, that mammoth task will require efforts from the whole society. But so far people haven't heard of any general mobilization orders issued by the central authorities. It is a war against ignorance and backwardness, which can't be won without general mobilization.

Speaking of enemies or problems, people have easily recognized that inflation, bureaucracy and corruption are now corroding the country's healthy body. Of course we must defeat these enemies. But it has to be understood that illiteracy is a bigger, more serious and more dangerous enemy. From a long-term point of view, it is illiteracy and a low education level that will hinder China's modernization drive the most, and eventually exclude it from the world's club of developed countries.

That is a lamentable perspective. However, more lamentable is the fact that many of us, especially some leaders at various levels, haven't understood that threat or paid full attention to it. For example, when local officials show how much their city or county has developed, they always list figures of iron and steel, power, machinery, grain and cotton production, or capital construction. Seldom do they mention education or even emphasize that field.

Now, people here are talking about the great achievements

made in the past decade's reform. However, education is one of which people can boast the least. Can we say that China is approaching modernization, as many think, with our education lagging behind?

Actually, with this heavy burden of illiteracy no nationwide modernization programme can be successfully completed. And we can't even carry out a specific policy smoothly. For example, family planning has met more resistance in rural areas where illiterate people are concentrated than in urban areas. An intellectual young couple seems to have one child voluntarily, while uncultivated parents are inclined to be reluctant.

Let's approach this matter from our bitter experiences. Those failures and mistakes we made in the past four decades were all related to massive ignorance. In the late 1950s, for instance, a prevailing slogan was "Farmland can produce as much as the people can imagine." So we read in the newspapers that in some places the wheat output per hectare was more than 75 tons. As a matter of fact, that sort of thing never happened in this country. But many people believed it because of their ignorance. Some knowledgeable people doubted but didn't speak out for fear of debunking authoritative information. Such timidity is a kind of superstition, and superstition is a product of ignorance.

In short, modernization can't be built up in a country where illiterate people make up one fifth of its population. Our modernization programme will turn out to be a castle in the air unless we get rid of this burden of illiteracy. □

## VOA Report Called 'Nonsense'

The president of Hehai University, on January 6, criticized a report broadcast by the "Voice of America" (VOA) on the clash between Chinese and foreign students in Nanjing as "purely fictitious" and "sheer nonsense."

VOA reported, on the morning of January 6, a claim by some African students that Chinese authorities had imposed new restrictions on the students' social activities in China. They were quoted as saying Hehai University's new regulations stipulate that one African student can have only one Chinese girlfriend, with official approval.

"This is rumormongering," President Liang Ruiju said. "There is no such a thing at all." He described as "fabrications" reports that police had stripped them and hit them with electric prods. He said that he talked with foreign students one by one in a guest house on the outskirts of Nanjing, and none of them said they had suffered any such physical assaults.

"I would like to remind everybody that some people with ulterior motives are trying to describe the incident—purely an issue of public order on the university campus—as a racial conflict, in an attempt to disrupt the friendly relations between China and African countries," the president said.

The incident started on the evening of December 24 when two African students studying at Hehai University tried to attend a dance with two young Chinese women, and the doorkeeper asked them to show

identification and register before entering. But the students refused to do so and attacked and injured 11 Chinese college employees. Two African students also were injured slightly during a fight.

President Liang said China had long suffered from racial discrimination in the past and "we are resolutely opposed to racial discrimination."

However, he admitted that during the clash, a small number of Chinese students had shouted derogatory slogans while they were angry. "We are against these slogans and have criticized the students," he said.

Liang described as "untrue" VOA's report that 45 African students returned to the university after a two-day hunger strike. The president said that the students had returned of their own free will after he and several other teachers convinced them that it was the wise thing to do.

He said the student clash is now being handled in accordance with the law and that life on the Hehai University campus has returned to normal. Some foreign students have resumed classes.

Meanwhile, several African ambassadors and senior diplomats flew to Nanjing to investigate the clash between Chinese and African students at Hehai University.

In Nairobi, capital of Kenya, the *Standard* commented that the clash will not mar the relations, except that the publicity it attracts is rather adverse and tends to overshadow the merits of student exchange programmes. □

## Commerce Minister Optimistic On Grain Supply

Forty years ago when the People's Republic was born, the No. 1 problem it faced was how to feed its 540 million hungry mouths. The government's ability to handle this hefty task was a question mark in the minds of Western countries. Now, some Westerners are still "Doubting Thomases" and assume a big famine will happen soon. The fact that 1 billion more people have enough food to eat is generally considered a miracle worldwide.

Recent speculation abroad predicted that 100 million Chinese would suffer starvation and many millions would die of hunger due to a lack of grain this year.

Hu Ping, minister of Commerce, took this as a "groundless" and "sensational" rumour. "The fact is that we have sufficient grain on hand. There is no question (about the grain supply) in general," he said, adding that he didn't think China will see rainy days, as some foreigners predicted, in terms of grain supply.

In the 1987 grain year, from April 1987 to March 1988, the state stored 10 million tons of grain more than it did the previous year. And during the period of April to November last year, the state purchased 5 million tons of grain beyond what it did in the corresponding period the year before, Hu said. Besides, he said, 10 million net tons of grain will be imported, an average level for recent years.

But, he continued, the past year saw a dip in grain production mainly because of the natural disasters. "The output of rice was reduced quite severe-

ly," he said. The major rice-growing areas, which congregate mainly in southern China, were slugged by drought, flood and other disasters. The reduction of rice caused the supply to be strained in many cities and towns, he said.

According to the State Statistical Bureau, grain output tumbled 9.19 million tons last year. A total of 393.79 million tons was harvested in the past year.

Grain has played a major role in China's trek down the road to stability and prosperity. During the 1950s and 1960s, the government and people often said, "Agriculture is the basis of the national economy, and grain is the basis of agriculture." Oddly enough, that slogan hasn't been heard for quite some time, and when '84 brought a record-breaking harvest, it made many people so dizzy they thought a golden age of grain aplenty was just around the corner. It turned

out, however, that grain offerings in the following years didn't dazzle, and the annual production has stagnated at around 400 million tons since then.

"We can't crow about our agriculture, especially our grain," said Hu. Now the per capita output of grain is 400 kg. By the year 2000, China may score the 5-million-ton target. "That means the per capita is still 400 kg when you take population growth into account. So you don't expect any dramatic increase in grain consumption during the following decade," he added.

However, the minister pointed out, "It is too pessimistic to think that the grain coupon won't be abolished until the year 2000." The grain coupon is a product of history, but it is a temporary crutch, Hu indicated. "You can't say 'long live the grain coupon!' No, it can't exist for ever," he said. According to him, the grain coupon won't be abolished unless the government-controlled grain price is set free. And it will take at least three to five years to start re-

The grain coupon can't live long, according to Hu Ping.

LI HAIBO



forming the grain price, he said.

The grain coupon is a special ticket issued by the government's grain departments, usually monthly. The coupon's value varies in view of one's occupation, age and sex, and is called a grain ration. A male adult working in a Beijing office, for example, receives a monthly coupon worth 16 kg of grain. But that does not pinch his monthly consumption. Although he must present the coupon, besides money, when buying grain and most grain foods, he may also pay more cash to get staple food when he doesn't have the coupon or doesn't want to use it.

The grain coupon is tied into agricultural production, but the two are not the same thing, said Hu. That's why coupon usage can be stopped without a knee-jerking jump of per capita grain output, he said. Such a response is believed to take a much longer time to occur.

According to He Kang, minister of Agriculture, China's grain output this year is expected to reap 410 million tons. Both ministers deal with grain, but He is in charge of production, and Hu, circulation.

Hu's optimistic view on grain supply doesn't make him rest any easier when it comes to worrying about circulation. As a matter of fact, Hu put the grain question at the top of his 1989 agenda. He also set forth a fundamental policy for the ministry, which is to "take agriculture as the foundation."

The 59-year-old minister was appointed to the post last April by the 7th National People's Congress. He is also one of the 175 members of the 13th Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party. Before he became the minister of commerce, Hu was the governor of Fujian Province, where he had spent about 37 years doing economic and governmental work.

by Li Haibo

## Models Clamour About Nude Art

**A**t the demand of two angry models, the artists reluctantly removed five works on December 30 from the Exhibition of Figure Oil Paintings, China's first on nude art. "We really regret the incident," said Ge Pengren, one of the show's organizers.

The show at the China Art Gallery, Beijing, has drawn tens of thousands of viewers every day since it opened on December 22, 1988. And the ticket price ten times the regular 0.20 yuan other shows enjoyed at the gallery. But ironically, the most popular models have not been as lucky as they should be.

As two of the female models put in an appearance at the gallery hall, feeling proud that their image dazzled in such a notable place, they did not expect to be cursed and cast scornful looks.

Further more, they complained, they were "in trouble at home" when their husbands and parents found out about their private jobs as nude models because of the show. One of the two young ladies, who would not have their names published, said her husband declared a divorce and would not allow her to see her baby. The other said she was driven from her home even though she was pregnant.

As a result they had to resort

to approaching the show organizers and artists. On December 26, the two women accompanied by about 20 sympathetic models at the Central Academy of Fine Arts protested the public showing of their figures without prior consultation. They accused the academy of breaking its early promise to keep the models' jobs at the school under its hat.

At a press conference on December 30 the organizers expressed their sympathy to the models to whom the realistic paintings had brought nasty remarks from the public and misunderstandings from their families.

But they argued that by saying "keep secret" they meant not asking about the models' identity and not telling whom ever about the nature of their jobs at the academy. "And we didn't betray them," Ge Pengren said.

Ge, who is also one of the artists at the show, noted that the artists have the right to show and publish their works. "What we have shown here are not the models themselves, but our creations," he said.

He explained that the replacement of the five paintings is "just to help the models cushion their family tensions."

Another organizer, Sun Jingbo, said at the conference that their promise to "keep secret" did not mean it was dishonourable for young women to be nude models. "It is only because we are facing a society that has had a feudalist heritage for as long as 2,000 years," Sun added.

"The humiliation directed at the models is also directed at us artists," he said.

The artist recalled that the models well knew, since the end of 1987 when they were painted, that the paintings

would be put on display at the exhibition. Some even said they felt proud when they found out that famous artists, including the president of the academy, were painting them and that their figures were so beautifully polished, Sun added.

Meanwhile, some of the models demanded the academy close the show and stop selling miniature reproductions or albums of the paintings. They also demanded royalties for the paintings and reparations for the two women's losses.

In fact, the two have formally entrusted lawyers to sue the academy for "a violation of their human rights." And four lawyers headed by Wang Yiling, director of the Transit Lawyers' Service, said at a news conference that they had accepted the entrustment on December 30.

Ge said the academy is willing to go to court on the issue if they are summoned.

Nevertheless, he did not think it a controversy ultimately between artists and models. "It's the leftist and feudal ideas that have destroyed the models' peace of mind," he said.

by Wang Xin

## Dropout Rate Alerts Educators

**C**hina will adopt measures to encourage potential dropouts from primary and middle schools to continue their education, He Dongchang, vice-minister of the State Education Commission, said on December 23 in Beijing.

He said that an increasing number of dropouts, if untrained, will breed more illi-

teracy, tearing at the fibre of the whole nation. Meaningful measures to discourage young minds from abandoning school should be taken as soon as possible, he said.

In the past two years the number of school dropouts has turned upward in many areas. Last year, 7.39 million students walked away from primary and middle schools. The dropout rate for primary schools was 2.9 percent, and 3.61 million, or 6.1 percent, of China's middle school students reportedly left school without a diploma.

The dropout phenomenon has found fertile grounds in poor areas of the country recently, but now appears also to be a sign of time even in prosperous cities and towns.

Educators agree that the reasons for school dropouts are complex. They include family and social factors and the quality of education itself.

They put the blame on the influence of collective and private enterprises and independent businessmen who flaunt the law and employ child labour. Some short-sighted parents pressure their children to close their books and seek gainful employment or run family business, while others, misled by old feudalists ways, jerk their daughters out of classes.

Book-learning is in some degree divorced from practical usage and, therefore, some students lose interest and confidence in study, the educators explain. The plague of dropouts has stood the country on its ear, they say, and it must be dealt with immediately.

The vice-minister pointed out that applying the Law on Compulsory Education is one of the best ways to stop the spread of school dropouts. Government, society, families

and schools should all pitch in and enforce the law, he said.

The Law on Compulsory Education, put into force on July 1, 1986, was designed as a vehicle for popularizing compulsory education in China.

The law stipulates that the right for school-aged children to receive education should be guaranteed by the state, society, schools and families. It also demands that parents send their children to school when they are old enough. The recruitment of school-aged children for work by any organizations or individuals is strictly prohibited.

Compulsory education is the root of the country's educational system, and children of school age should be assured the number of years of schooling stipulated by the law, the vice-minister said. Parents who balk at sending their children to classes will be compelled to do so.

Anyone who employs children under 16 years old will be fined, and more serious cases will face criminal charges, he added.

He also asked local education departments to rethink and update their teaching methods.

Opening the umbrella of educational reform to cover students beyond those entering schools of a higher grade would also be a good way to stifle the educational exodus, the vice-minister said.

The dropout rate for primary and middle schools had reached notable heights in the suburban counties of Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province. In 1988, the structure and content of education in rural middle schools of the city was reworked, and vocational and technical education was introduced. All the schools in the city's suburban areas be-



gan to serve up technical courses. Now there are more than 110 vocational and technical classes in middle schools and 1,400 after-school technical groups. In a brief six months, the city's school dropout rate briskly slid from 8 percent to 3.9 percent. □

## System Ranks Armed Police

**A** rank system and a civilian post system will be introduced in the Chinese People's Armed Police Force (CPAPF). The 13-article new rules were signed on December 17, 1988, by Premier Li Peng and the Central Military Commission Chairman Deng Xiaoping.

The rules stipulate that there will be nine new ranks comprised of lieutenant-general, major-general, senior colonel, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant.

The rules include the establishment of armed police ranks, posts of officers and the conferring, promotion, demotion and deprivation of ranks.

The new rules also provide for the adoption of the civilian post system in the armed police force.

Military ranks have already been reinstated in the People's Liberation Army after 23 years (1965—1988) of suspension.

On December 27, a ceremony was held in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, and medals of merits and honour were conferred on 122 veteran officers according to an order signed by Li and Deng. □

## Weekly Chronicle

(January 1-7)  
**POLITICAL**

January 3

□ More than 20 delegates attending the on-going Fifth National Congress of the Jiusan(-September 3) Society, which opened last December 31, suggest how to improve the system of multi-party co-operation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

They say a main thing to do is to specify in the Constitution the position and role of the non-Communist parties to make them legitimate.

□ China's State Council holds its 31st executive meeting to discuss three new draft regulations concerning investigation procedures for severe accidents, management of irregular civil flights and disability compensation during domestic flights in China.

Premier Li Peng presides over the meeting, which has approved these regulations in principle.

January 5

□ At a weekly news briefing, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman says that China expresses its regret over the downing of two Libyan war planes by the United States.

The spokesman says: "We hope that the parties concerned will, in the interest of maintaining peace and stability in the Mediterranean, exercise restraint so as to prevent the situation from deteriorating."

## ECONOMIC

January 1

□ China's total foreign trade volume in 1988 is expected to top US\$100 billion, 21 percent above the previous year's figure. □

According to the State Statistics Bureau, the annual export volume will be US\$7 billion more than last year.

January 2

□ More than 6,000 enterprises in China are operating on the share-holding system, and the value of shares has reached six billion yuan, Xinhua reports.

China set up its first share-holding company in Beijing in 1984. Since then the share-holding system has been introduced to enterprises of different ownerships covering industry, agriculture, commerce, foreign trade, finance, transportation and telecommunications.

## CULTURAL

January 4

□ The China International Conference Centre for Science and Technology (CICCST) will sponsor 40 international academic symposiums and six exhibitions on science and technology in Beijing this year.

An official from the centre says that his organization will also act as host to 70 foreign delegations taking part in scientific exchanges.

## SOCIAL

January 5

□ A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman says that three foreign students involved in the recent clash between Chinese and African students in Nanjing have been detained, one under criminal detention and the other two under disciplinary detention.

He says that the Chinese government protects the legitimate rights of foreigners in China according to law. But foreigners in China must abide by the laws of China at the same time. □

## Idealism, Realism: The Weave of US China Policy

by Wang Jisi

**C**ontradiction and interaction—a delicate weaving of realistic interest and ideological considerations form the main fibres in the cloak of US diplomatic policy.

People of the United States are celebrated for their Yankee-Doodle die-hard realism. They do not fear blowing their own horns of private interests; nor do they stay in a rut and constrain themselves by a fixed model of thoughts. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French historian in the 1930s, said: "In no country in the civilized world is less attention paid to philosophy than in the United States." He meant that classical philosophy played a minor role in the US history. It was William James and John Dewey that designed the distinctive American philosophy of pragmatism, from the patterns of living in vogue among Americans at that time.

On the other hand, the Americans also place great store in their religious beliefs. In fact, from the colonial period onward Calvinist theory has tinted the cloth of American politics. This theological dye is the doctrine of manifest destiny. The Calvinist frame of mind saw America as the redeemer nation. But in reality, the value of the religion was to provide a kind of ideo-

logical standard. Those who are thought to lack an ideological belief and moral concepts have scant opportunities to become politicians in the United States. Americans are partial to those leaders who like to talk about God and go to church.

The above-mentioned ideological strains have been incorporated into the fabric of American diplomacy in the forms of realism and idealism. Realistic diplomacy tends to be conservative. Defending peace is its main diplomatic thrust. Realist politicians think it justifiable for a state to pursue its own interests and rights in world politics and that national interests should be backed by strength. Hence, US diplomacy should proceed from national interests not from abstract moral principles. The highest moral norm of a politician is to defend the interests of his own country, and to this end, some compromises and sacrificing of ideological principle is considered kosher. International relations are power politics in the eyes of realists. They weigh international relations by analyzing the strengths of every country and advocate a tit for tat diplomacy based on balance-of-power principles.

Idealism, on the other hand, seems more bent toward promoting transformations of the world politics. Its prodigies tout the goals of safeguarding justice and promoting social development on an international scale. US idealists see

the world through star-spangled glasses. They see their nation as the most moral country in the world and judge according to their own criteria the political systems of other countries as either right or wrong. They believe that the United States has the obligation to propagate its home-spun democracy all over the world. They advocate open diplomacy and stand for Congressional control and public supervision of political activities. They define international relations more in terms of ideology and to a great extent see international struggles as confrontations between justice and evil, democracy and autocracy, defending and treading on human rights.

The contradiction between realism and idealism threads its way through US diplomatic thoughts. But never does it sever the US diplomacy of different periods into two distinct categories or group the policy-makers into two factions. In fact, although the two ideological forms and standards of judgement often confront each other, they also often mingle and contain each other. In fact, the US leaders need to manufacture a policy drawing from both ideological and practical interests and seek to balance the best of both worlds. They should make expedient use of the doctrines to cloak and explain self-motivated interests and use the American "ideal" as a flag to win political support of other countries. But it is hard to

The author is an Associate Professor of international politics at Peking University. The article is an abridged translation of his paper presented on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Sino-US relations.

say that they only take stock in the "might makes right" mentality and have no genuine political beliefs or that such beliefs have not made a stylish imprint on diplomatic activities.

The contradictions between realism and idealism also marlbeize diplomatic relations between the United States and China. The first Americans to carry out exchanges with China were mostly businessmen and missionaries. The businessmen pursued material interests while the spiritually directed missionaries attempted to win the heart and minds of the people. The businessmen were flyweights, however, when compared with the missionaries in regard to influences on the policy of the US government and on the domestic media. The open-door policy was, of course, aimed at expanding US economic interests in China, but it was also heavily coated with ideological influences. Michael Hunt, a US historian, pointed out that no matter which road these interest groups took, they all led to one end: a foot in China's open door so that they could peddle their economic, political and cultural influences. They envisioned the establishment of an independent and modern China, roosting under US protection. So it is evident that the open-door policy was the brain-child of both realism and idealism.

At the time when Japan struck China with a war of aggression, the United States was battling its own great economic recession. The US government then did not consider China's security a matter of life and death as far as US



Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (middle) held a reception marking the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations. Chinese Vice Premier Wu Xueqian (right) and US Ambassador Winston Lord (left) attended the reception.

interests were concerned. So the United States had neither the will nor the way to support China and risk being pummeled by Japan. At that time, realist interests overwhelmed moral principles. When the US eventually did support China, after the Pacific war broke out, it was because of its own strategic interests, not charity. US President Franklin Roosevelt's main objectives were nothing more than to keep Japan bogged down in the quagmire of China for the present and make China aligned with the United States in the future. But Roosevelt's expedient manoeuvres of heightening the international prestige of Chiang Kai-shek forces and signing a treaty surrendering American extraterritorial

rights in China also added a moralistic sheen to the US policy. Thus some Americans posed as benefactors and asked the Chinese people to be grateful to them.

Before the Pacific war ended, anti-communist ideology had played a minor part in US foreign policy. But afterwards, China became viewed as a player on the US strategic chessboard where worldwide containment of the Soviet forces was the objective. Hence, the image of the Chinese Communist Party was transformed from that of "land reformers" and "nationalists" to "pawn" of the Soviet Union. From both strategic and ideological vantage points, the Chinese Commun-

ists were seen as a natural enemy to the United States while the Kuomintang became a bosom ally to the United States. Thus the US-Kuomintang alliance against the Japanese was swapped for a partnership designed to combat communism and the Soviet Union.

Among realists, George Kennan, director of the US State Department's policy-planning staff, had the most influence on the later US foreign policy. According to Kennan, American goals were fixed, limited and devoid of pretensions of international benevolence or assumption of moral superiority or inferiority on the part of one nation or another. The most dire fault of America's past policy formulation lay in what he called the "legalistic-moralistic approach" to international problems. He based his realism upon geopolitical and balance-of-power concepts. In his strategic framework, Kennan had a low estimate of China's importance because it lacked the resources to become a great power for a long time. He also argued that the Kremlin would not be able to use China as ammunition to threaten US security. He foretold that despite the rosy bond of a common ideology, "nationalism would probably become a thorny problem for the Communists."

But Kennan's realist theory failed to guide American diplomacy because of the heated political atmosphere within the country and international cold war in the late 1940s and 1950s. After the Soviet Union and China became political allies and the Korean War broke out, anti-communism ideology became an integral part of the US strategy to dispel the

"threat of China." "Better dead than Red" sloganized the fear of some Americans in regard to communism and demonstrated their weakened confidence. So it can be said that the US policy of containing New China was formed out of the need to defend both the US strategic interests and its ideals.

## II

During US President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's period, there was a historic alteration in US diplomatic thought—the realist theory completely dominated US diplomacy. The voice of idealism was dumb when it came to explaining and guiding the US policy towards China.

Objectively speaking, the decline of US strength at the end of 1960s was the main factor leading to the changes in US China policy. No matter who wove the mantle of US diplomacy at that time, it was imperative to make adjustments befitting the US relations with China. The times brought forth Nixon and Kissinger and made them the founding fathers of a new US China policy. But their own personal styles and dynamic grasp of the situation were significant. Nixon welded his rigid ideological thinking to his own brand of pragmatism and formed a unique diplomatic style. His image as a former soldier in the war on communism before taking office gave him enough political capital to help him carry out a flexible diplomacy. On the other hand, Kissinger, theoretically accomplished, was just the remedy for Nixon's defects. As a theorist, Kissinger shared many common grounds with

Kennan, and they all belong to the school of traditional realists.

It was necessary for the US policymakers to re-evaluate the "threat of China." In addition, they had to recognize the necessity of downloading American commitments in the world. "Nixon Doctrine", issued in 1969, did this. Kissinger explained that the United States would not shoulder all the responsibilities for the defence of its allies. "Our interest must shape our commitments, rather than the other way around," he said. The Nixon administration no longer viewed American intervention in Viet Nam—"a small peninsula on a major continent," as Kissinger put it—as a symbol of American power and commitment throughout the world. The American withdrawal from Viet Nam was a landmark of Nixon's realist diplomacy and provided a prerequisite for Sino-American rapprochement.

After re-examining the sinews of US power, Nixon and Kissinger birthed the idea of a multi-polar world. Nixon predicted in a July 1971 speech that five economic superpowers would enter the world arena in the near future: the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, the People's Republic of China and Japan. Nixon also maintained that the US should start playing ball with China because it could eventually become an economic power to be reckoned with in the world. Nixon understood that without the efforts of China, the United States could not realize its ideal of establishing a stable world order.

Kissinger concluded, after pondering diplomatic history,

that a multi-polar world could be balanced better, and that a balanced world was the prerequisite for international peace. Kissinger's conclusion was the ideological impetus for improving Sino-American relations.

Nixon adopted Kissinger's thoughts and when he visited China in 1972, he told Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai that his speech on a multi-polar world reflected a "well-considered conviction." He made his concept more clear-cut later in the same year. "The only time in the history of the world that we had any extended period of peace," he noted, "is when there has been a balance of power. It is when one nation becomes infinitely more powerful in relation to its potential competitor that the danger of war arises." According to this theory, the United States should not allow the stronger and more aggressive power, the Soviet Union, to bully a weaker power, China.

US leaders used to regard containing communism as part of their strategy to defend American interests and look on all the socialist countries as enemies or potential threats. Nixon and Kissinger deliberately eliminated ideology as the chief criterion by which to identify threats. "We have no permanent enemies," Kissinger announced in 1969, "we will judge other countries, including Communist countries, especially countries like Communist China, on the basis of their actions and not on the basis of their domestic ideology."

The above views sharply clashed with the idealism that coloured US diplomacy for many years. That idealism had called for the communist

countries, such as the Soviet Union and China, to first change their wardrobe of domestic policies and accept the style of Western liberalism and then talk about diplomatic dining with the West.

### III

When Democratic President Jimmy Carter headed the White House, American diplomacy greatly changed, with human rights and moral principles as its emphasis. America's defeat in Viet Nam as well as the indiscretions of the Watergate affair seriously dented Americans' confidence in their country's view of values and in the political system. Besides, many people in political circles were rankled by the traditional secret style diplomacy of Kissinger. The ends did not justify the means according to many Americans' view of morality. Carter's political view was well suited for the above run of domestic politicians. Carter clearly stated that his political principles combined idealism with realism. His personal political belief was somewhat reflected in his dealings with Chinese affairs. For example, Carter described American missionaries in modern China as heroes. During Deng Xiaoping's US visit, Carter himself raised the issue concerning the restoration of foreign missionaries in China. He also spoke of "human rights" in regard to those Chinese who chose to go abroad to live. But the major aspects of his China policy actually followed the realist line of the Nixon-Ford era. However, some differences existed. For Carter, the United States' China policy was browbeaten by the psychology of US-Soviet confrontation. The motives for getting cozy with China, he thought,

must go beyond checkmating the Soviet Union and include strengthening the political and military stability in the western Pacific. He believed that a powerful and independent China was a peace-keeping force.

Carter's China-policy quarterback was National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. He viewed the world as multi-polar, and the title of his memoirs, *Power and Principles*, accurately reflected his diplomatic thinking. It was a cookie-cutter version of Carter's own thoughts. But what he actually plotted was to foil the Soviet influence by using morality and human rights as a cudgel to strengthen US political machismo. His policy's ultimate aim was to enlarge US power. Thus, Brzezinski's thoughts were closer to realism than to idealism. In actual diplomatic ploys, the balance-of-power theory was his favourite field strategy.

Since the end of World War II, the China policies of each American government were primarily strapped to its Soviet policies. In its first year, the Carter administration shifted the superficial "even handed" attitude towards China and the Soviet Union (a Nixon leftover) to a more "balanced" practice. Brzezinski and the Secretary of Defence Harold Brown both agreed that " 'mechanically even handed' treatment would in effect mean favouritism for a stronger Soviet Union. The relationship with China should be a 'balanced' one, taking not only Soviet concerns into account but also the significant disparities between the Soviet Union and China. Clearly, the need for a strategic response to the Soviets was a

major concern here."

Brzezinski clearly pointed out that the above understanding was to be the guiding light for making concrete policies after the normalization of Sino-US relations. By 1980, a serious strategic situation made the Carter administration shift its "balanced" practices in dealing with China and the Soviet Union to a "demonstratable tilt towards China."

In early 1970s, the United States re-estimated China's role in the Asia-Pacific region and in world affairs; in a sense, it no longer felt fear of the Asian dragon's fiery breath. Essentially, America's strategic interests in Taiwan began to shift. By the end of the 1970s, the Carter administration considered China an important force to check the expansion of the Soviet Union. At that time, American policy

did not find it expedient to eye Taiwan as its strategic base, namely, as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Far East.

John King Fairbank, the leading US Sinologist, once said, "In thinking about Taiwan, we Americans can assert no single principle that overrides all others." Although the United States has heavy economic interests in Taiwan, such measures adopted by the US government as enacting the Taiwan Relations Act and continuing arms sales to Taiwan were not totally for the sake of protecting its real interests there. Rather, they reflected an American idealism, based on the following considerations: First, the Kuomintang authorities for decades were Washington's old pals, and many Americans felt friendly towards them. Second, Americans believe that

many people in Taiwan are not very interested in the reunification of China. Therefore, it is unwise to "force" Taiwan to return in order to gain real interests in mainland China or to please Beijing. Third, the United States should not let Taiwan "fall into the hands of communists." Fourth, the United States should keep its commitment stipulated in the Taiwan Relations Act, even if the US-Taiwan Common Defence Treaty was abolished. And fifth, under no circumstances is it justifiable to use armed force. All these demonstrated the idealism in US diplomatic tradition. And precisely because of this, at a time when the United States' strategic interests in Taiwan are becoming less important, Taiwan is still a stumbling-stone for Sino-US relations.

*(To be continued.)*

## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Afghanistan: Peace Unrealized

On December 7, 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly session, targeted January 1 of this year as the deadline for a nationwide ceasefire in Afghanistan. At that time, he said, the flow of all military aid to the conflicting parties was to dry up as well. He suggested that during the birthing of a broad-based government in Afghanistan, the United Nations should send to Kabul and other political nerve centres of the country a contingent of peace-keeping forces, and hold an international conference on the Afghan issue. All his proposals were rejected by the Af-

ghan resistance forces.

Nevertheless, in the past year the political settlement of the Afghan issue has made major progress, thanks to the efforts by the United Nations and those of concerned parties. On April 14 the Soviet Union, the United States, Pakistan and the Kabul regime signed the Geneva accords. In accordance with these agreements the Soviet Union withdrew half of its troops from Afghanistan on August 15 and the remainders are to be pulled out by February 15 this year. The signing of the Geneva accords signifies a bloodless victory for the Afghan people in their persistent nine-year armed fight

against the Soviet invasion and also points to a major detour away from the Soviet Union's previous foreign policy. This is also a significant step towards the just and comprehensive settlement of the Afghan issue.

However, military confrontations in the battlefields of Afghanistan have recently sharpened, and this has cast a shadow over an early ceasefire. The Afghan resistance forces were not invited to attend the Geneva negotiations and did not sign the Geneva accords, so they claim that they have no commitments to the treaty. They are resolved to resist until the last Soviet

soldier is pulled from Afghanistan and the Kabul regime topples. Besides, the United States and the Soviet Union have not yet reached an agreement to cut the purse strings on aid to favoured parties; they only agreed to divvy out arms and equipment on a reciprocal basis.

In areas where the Soviet troops have already cleared out, the Afghan resistance forces have captured dozens of cities and towns, including five provincial capitals, and launched a fierce attack against Kandahar, the second largest city in the south. Early last November the Soviet Union announced that it was putting its troop withdrawal on hold temporarily, due to the deteriorating Afghan situation. At the same time, it also seized the opportunity to open its coffers of military assistance to the Kabul authorities, providing, among other arms, advanced MiG-27 fighter aircraft and surface-to-surface SS-1 Scud missiles, while strengthening military actions against the guerrillas. These moves by Moscow have added salt, not salve, to the tensions festering in Afghanistan.

A parting of ways in regard to the establishment of a coalition government has stalled the peace process in Afghanistan. In view of the current military and political situation, only a broad-based government acceptable to all parties will be able to find its footing there and bring peace. The Soviet side clearly pointed out that the Afghan future government must include the People's Democratic Party. Therefore, it upholds the establishment of a provisional coalition government headed by the pre-

sent Kabul regime, comprised of the resistance forces and representatives of all circles. The resistance forces are chafed by the Kabul authorities, whom they consider an illegal puppet regime fostered by the Soviet Union. Therefore, they refuse to be yoked in a coalition government with it.

The leader of the seven-party resistance alliance headquartered in Pakistan proposed that a new ruling assembly be formed through direct or indirect elections and consist of 400 voices representing the whole nation. In this manner the provisional government will truly be rooted among the people and headed by a real neutralist. International analysts note that this proposal coincides with goals targeted by Diego Cordovez, the private representative of the UN General-Secretary. The United States and Pakistan support this proposal and demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Afghanistan on schedule in order to let millions of Afghan refugees return to their homeland safely and with dignity.

To allow Kabul authorities a seat in the coalition government and to bow out gracefully, themselves, from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has urged the present regime to pursue a "national conciliation" policy, and agreed to have direct talks with the resistance forces. Early last December the Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and ambassador to Afghanistan Yuli Vorontsov met with leader of the seven-party resistance alliance Burhanuddin Rabbani in Taif, Saudi Arabia for the first direct negotiation. Their talks covered matters such as exchanges of prisoners of war,

continuation of the Soviet troop withdrawal, formation of an Afghan transitional government, war reparations and the future Afghan-Soviet relations. Although the huddle produced no substantial results, both sides agreed to continue their negotiations on the above issues. After their talks, Vorontsov said that the Soviet troops will withdraw from Afghanistan in accordance with the stipulations of the Geneva accords.

Succeeding meetings by both sides with interested third parties signalled the second round of talks. On December 23 Rabbani led a delegation headed for Iran to consult with the Afghan eight-party alliance there on their country's current situation and prospects for coalition government. On December 24 Vorontsov conferred with former King Zahir Shah in Rome on the Afghan situation. Observers believe that although these talks have not moved any political mountains, they have nudged the process of forming a broad-based coalition government and are welcomed by the Afghan people.

International analysts believe that the key to a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan issue is the total withdrawal of Soviet troops, which will allow the Afghan people to wield their own destiny. Only when a coalition government tasteful to all political forces is set up, and external interference is completely banished, can peace in Afghanistan be realized. In the new year the old international struggle over the Afghan issue carries on and the ceasefire looks like another toothless promise.

by Qi Deliang

# China's Battle Against Corruption

**China's struggle against corruption enjoys widespread popular support. But the most important step taken in the last couple of years to "purify government" has been the establishment of an administrative supervisory network across the country. Already it has proved initially successful in ferreting out serious cases of illegal economic dealings in overseas trade, as well as serious crimes and disciplinary breaches committed by administrative organs.**

by Our Correspondent Yang Xiaobing

**T**he existence of corrupt officials in government organs has become one of the major topics of discussion among the Chinese people. According to Wei Jianxing, minister of supervision, corruption among government employees includes abusing positions of power for personal gain, extortion and blackmail, graft and bribery, squandering public money and indulging in luxury and extravagance.

Although these problems involve an extremely small number of people, their negative influence can not be neglected: they do not simply concern the personal moral character of these officials, but seriously harm the reputation of the Party and government and disrupt economic construction and the reform and open policy.

The most serious problem is graft and bribery. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Supervision, this accounts for more than 50 percent of all economic crimes; and more officials above the county level are punished for graft and bribery than for any other crime. Moreover, this

tendency is currently on the rise.

Some graft and bribery cases have been extremely serious, occasionally involving large numbers of people. For example, a report in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) described a case in Shenzhen, directly across the border from Hong Kong, in which 20 customs officials were involved. One of them accepted 500,000 yuan and HK\$500,000 in bribes for turning a blind eye to some smuggling.

As the problem has grown, China's leaders have called for serious action to be taken. The Party Central Committee and the State Council have put forward the slogan, "Making the economy prosperous and the Party and government clean organs." Over the last six months, the CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has called for a struggle against corruption on several occasions, and Premier Li Peng has demanded that the Ministry of Supervision play its full role in eliminating corruption and ensuring the smooth implementation of the state's policies and decrees.

## Checking Foreign-Related Economic Contracts

In the current efforts to clean up government work, supervisory departments have become an important force. The Ministry of Supervision was originally formed in the early 1950s, only to be abolished towards the end of the decade when the CPC's centralized leadership over government affairs was emphasized.

During the process of reform over the past decade, there has been growing agreement that the Party should exercise less of a role in government administration. As a result, the need to re-establish the Ministry of Supervision became ever more evident, until it was set up again in July 1987. Its goal is to ensure clean government, prevent corruption, improve and strengthen administrative work and raise the efficiency of administrative organs.

As a result, its main tasks involve exercising supervision over administrative departments, leaders of enterprises



and institutions under state administrative organs in the implementation of state policies, laws and decrees, as well as investigating and handling legal and disciplinary violations. It also is responsible for checking economic contracts signed with other countries, and handling breaches of the law involving corruption in China's overseas dealings.

From July 1987 onwards, the Ministry of Supervision has been checking economic contracts signed by the 60 or so ministries, commissions, bureaus and corporations under the State Council. And during 1988, supervisory departments have been established in the majority of China's provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. According to the latest statistics available, more than 1.7 million economic contracts involving a total sum of more than US\$158 billion had been checked by the end of September 1988. Problems had been found in 5,500 of these contracts, and 523 cases of graft, bribery or malfeasance dealt with.

For instance, the Bureau of Supervision in Shenzhen investigated and dealt with the case of Huang Zhiqiang and Chen Fujin, the board chairman and deputy general manager of one of the city's trade companies. For several years, the company had been incurring serious losses and its accounts were in great disorder. The investigation revealed that Chen, taking advantage of his responsibility for production, the purchase of raw materials and marketing, illegally extorted more than 18,000 yuan for himself. Further investigation confirmed that both Huang and Chen had worked hand in glove with a Hong Kong businessman to

write 1,029 fraudulent invoices involving more than 20 million yuan. The Bureau of Supervision has now passed the case on to the courts for trial.

Other cases discovered in-

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***T***he Party Central Committee and the State Council have put forward the slogan, 'Making the economy prosperous and the Party and government clean organs.'

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clude:

Ye Qi, former manager of the Guangdong Branch of the China National Non-ferrous Metals Import and Export Corporation, who collaborated with several Hong Kong busi-

nesspeople to draw up contracts for high-priced imports and low-priced exports. For this, he received bribes totalling HK\$223,000. While leading a business delegation to Thailand, he transferred US\$500,000 from one of his companies overseas offices to Hong Kong and Macao in an attempt to embezzle the money.

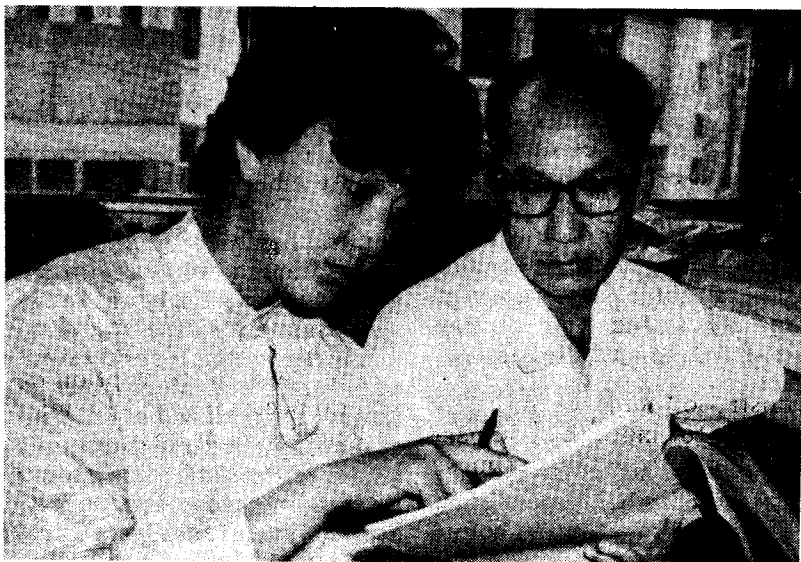
Liu Weigang, a staff in the China National Offshore Oil Company, embezzled and extorted US\$267,000 in foreign exchange by forging supplementary documents for contracts and altering dispatch lists.

Shi Lixin, deputy chief engineer of a factory under the Ministry of Railways, leaked economic information concerning China's equipment imports to foreign businessmen on the condition that the latter send his son to study in Japan.

Xu Qing, vice-minister of supervision, said the series of checks on the handling of ov-

Section chief Chen Hong (left) of Dongcheng District's Auditing Bureau in Beijing, famous for rejecting a large bribe.

ZHANG SHUYUAN



erases business and trade has clearly proved that some people cannot withstand the temptations put in front of them. But it has also revealed that China's laws and regulations are incomplete, and there are still some loopholes in both macro-control and enterprise management. He said a new economic order, which tallies with both China's characteristics and international conventions, has yet to be established.

At the same time, because some people engaging in foreign trade and economic exchanges are not qualified, they do not understand state policies, are poor managers and lack much of the necessary knowledge. All of which provide opportunities for criminals to exploit to their own advantage.

Xu Qing added that although the one-year check has been brought to a temporary close, supervision over economic dealings with other countries will nevertheless continue to remain a priority for supervisory departments.

## Administrative Violations Investigated

Minister of Supervision Wei Jianxing said recently, "Investigating and handling cases involving breaches of discipline and the law by state administrative organizations and their staff is an important means by which supervisory organizations enforce strict government discipline and rectify and strengthen administrative practices."

According to the latest statistics available, headway has already been made. By the end of last September supervisory organizations across the country had placed on file or helped to handle 15,600 cases.

About 7,500 cases had been wound up, in 4,900 of which it was decided or proposed that people involved should be punished. Some 1,900 of these cases concerned abuses of power for personal gain, corruption or bribery, and 480 concerned dereliction of duty. As a result, more than 7,500 people have been disciplined and 1,100 others were sent to be tried in court.

An official from the Yunnan Province's supervisory department said, while investigating and dealing with cases of legal and disciplinary violations, it was imperative to put the interests of the state and the people in first place, which often meant withstanding pressure to call investigations off and penetrating "networks of social connection."

A case in point was how an official tried to avoid detection. Jiang Ziwen, deputy director of the Yunnan provincial tourist bureau, who was found guilty of collaborating with unlicensed cigarette pedlars in the trafficking of famous brand cigarettes for exorbitant profits. Taking advantage of his position, Jiang had attempted to construct a widespread protective web of influential people. When first exposed, he colluded with an official of an industrial and commercial department and a deputy chief editor of a newspaper, so as to evade punishment. They arranged between them Jiang would be fined a small sum and the press would not disclose his case.

The provincial supervisory and auditing departments, however, organized a joint investigation, freezing accounts so as to be able to conduct their work more thoroughly. Seeing that events were turning against him, Jiang took advantage of his social connec-

tions to have a newspaper report published that the industrial and commercial department had fined illegal cigarette pedlars, hoping this would halt the investigation by suggesting the case had been concluded.

When the supervisory department insisted on continuing, he strove to stir up differences between the two departments and leading officials, and asked others to plead on his behalf. Not to be deterred, the supervisory department and some other units promptly reported the case to the provincial governor and gained his support. At the same time, through a combination of persuasion and criticism, they revealed Jiang's crimes to those who came to plead for him, blocking all his escape routes. With the facts now out in the open, Jiang's guilt was clear. However, because his illegal gains were not large enough to merit his case being handled by the procuratorate, it was suggested that Jiang be removed from office according to government disciplinary regulations.

Over the past year, Yunnan's supervisory department has also participated in nationwide inspections of finances, tax returns and prices and the reorganization of business companies initiated and managed by the State Council.

Provincial supervisory departments have also sent representatives to participate in national conferences on matters such as the placing of orders, and the supply and marketing of rolled steel, chemicals and nonferrous metals.

Their purpose has been to investigate cases involving violations of economic regulations, and the work conducted by officials such as those from Hebei Province who discovered

unreasonable charges imposed by government institutions on enterprises has played a positive role in curbing corruption and promoting clean government.

## Strengthening Supervisory Mechanisms

Over the past year, Yunnan's supervisory department has basically completed organizing its work at and above county level. By the end of November 1988, it had appointed 441 staff members, filling 73.5 percent of positions. Nationwide provincial supervisory departments (bureaus), 374 prefectural supervisory bureaus and 2,666 county supervisory bureaus had been established, and more than 2,600 people taken on—filling 64 percent of total posts.

At the same time, the Ministry of Supervision has set up branch supervisory bureaus and commissioners' offices in 46 ministries, commissions and organizations directly under the State Council, staffed by a total of 384 people. It has also helped establish internal supervisory organizations in 15 large institutions and enterprises under the jurisdiction of the State Council, and supervisory institutions have been set up in government departments in the supervisory departments in 21 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities and some of the prefectures and counties. Overall, therefore, China now has a basic administrative supervisory system in place across the country.

Over the past year, supervisory departments have made progress in enacting administrative laws and regulations.

The State Council has published the Interim Provisions on the Punishment of Personnel of State Administrative Bodies for Graft and Bribery and the Regulations on the Prohibition of Presentation and Acceptance of Gifts by State Administrative Bodies and Their Personnel in Domestic Public Affairs Activities—both drafted either at the initiation or with the participation of the Ministry of Supervision. Now, other laws and regulations, including the Provisional Regulations on Reporting Property and Income of Personnel of Administrative Bodies, are being drafted.

On the basis of a survey of regional and departmental administrative practice and discipline, local supervisory organizations have generally been helping local governments and departments in enacting rules and regulations in a push for clean government.

Supervisory bodies have also been encouraging wider public involvement. Some of them have widened channels for public supervision, such as taking on voluntary inspectors and holding open days to gather public opinion on government practices and discipline and acquire information on how to promote supervisory work.

In July 1988, the Ministry of Supervision made arrangements for supervisory departments at or above county level establish corruption reporting centres. With the result that there are now offices or telephone hotlines for the public to pass on information across the country—even in the 21 supervisory bodies stationed in ministries and commissions under the State Council.

Figures from 23 provinces, autonomous regions and mun-

icipalities showed that more than 8,200 reports had been received by the end of October, 4,200 of which were relevant to the work of supervisory departments. Some 472 of these involved officials at or above county or divisional level, and 849 concerned corruption or bribery. The Ministry of Supervision's reporting telephones, set up at the beginning of 1988, had received 1,400 reports by November. Investigations had been conducted into 338 cases, 150 of which had been concluded.

In order to standardize the work of recording, investigating, and concluding cases, many supervisory bodies have formulated and publicized their rules. Some places have set up supervisory committees or advisory committees, inviting public figures to become committee members, so as better to promote their work.

Minister Wei Jianxing said that the focus of his ministry's work was strengthening the enforcement of law and supervision, ensuring the smooth implementation of government order, and waging a relentless struggle against corruption so as to promote clean government.

It remains true, however, that in order to succeed, China's supervisory bodies have many difficulties and problems to overcome. Because of their recent establishment, they are severely hampered by a lack of funds and resources. Sometimes the use of motor vehicles even cannot be ensured, not to speak of access to computers for processing information. Their investigatory powers are also inadequate. In many places, supervisory bodies are not entitled to attend major conferences at an equal or lower level, and their rights are not clearly defined in cases

involving institutions and work units which hinder the development of supervisory work or have violated laws and discipline.

At present, cadres with a college education account for 37 percent of all supervisory staff, but since they were transferred from departments in other fields, they are not familiar with their new tasks and urgently need retraining.

Among the most immediate problems needing to be resolved are how to strengthen

the mechanisms by which supervisory departments build up their ability to control themselves and accept external supervision, and how to draw on the experience of other countries in administrative supervisory work.

Some overseas observers have said that as China already has many supervisory departments, such as procuratorates, the Party's disciplinary bodies, and government auditing and personnel bureaus, the addition of another

supervisory organization is unlikely to make much difference. Yang Xingui, an official at the Ministry of Supervision's Policy and Regulation Department disagrees with this view. He points out that the achievements already realized over the past year have demonstrated the effectiveness of China's supervisory organizations. He believes that now organizational work has been initially completed and some practical experience gained, much progress can be expected in 1989. □

## CARTOONING AGAINST CORRUPTION

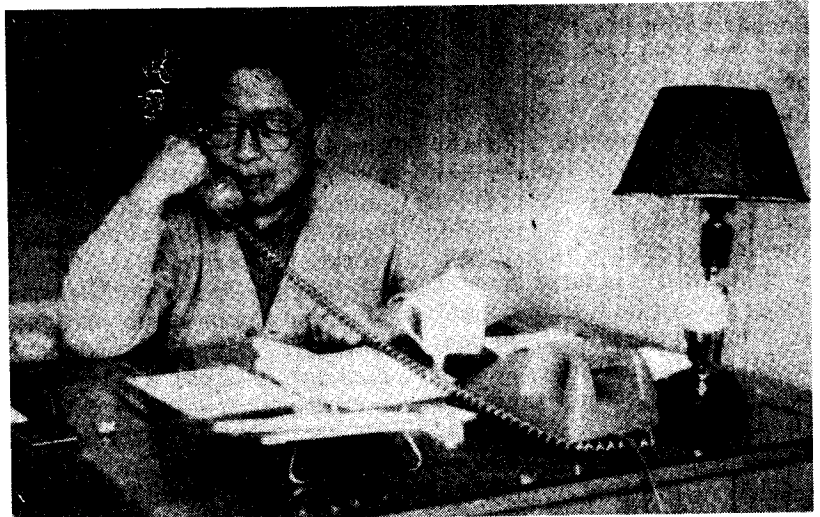
# Attacking From the Funny Side

**Ding Cong produces cartoons as a satire on corruption, and to offer his support to the State Council's effort to rectify the economic environment.**

by Our Correspondent Lu Yun

**F**or more than half a century, Ding Cong has been drawing cartoons. Even now, aged 72, he still wields his pen to great effect, as shown by a recent work for *Qunyan* (the voice of the masses), an official publication produced by the China Democratic League, one of China's eight democratic parties. Titled "Honest Investigation," he drew it after hearing that some government officials had been removed from their posts for reselling goods at an exorbitant profit.

Ding produced the cartoon as a satire on corruption, and to offer his support to the State Council's effort to rectify the economic environment. In all respects it was a typical



Ding Cong

LU YUN

offering: sketched with clean lines and reflecting a social problem involving everyday

life.

Now aged 72, Ding resembles his cartoons: energetic

and incisive, simply dressed, and above all full of humour. During his life, he has held and continues to hold many posts: director of the Chinese Artists' Association's Cartoon Art Committee and a seat on the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, as well as sitting on the editorial boards of *Qunyan*, *Study* and *Satire and Humour*. But his major passion remains creation. He had his first cartoon published in 1934, but first achieved major fame during the 1940s with a series of attacks on the autocratic rule of Chiang Kai-shek.

During the 1950s, Ding served as deputy editor-in-chief of *China Pictorial*, only to be severely mistreated for two decades after being labelled a Rightist in 1957. Since being rehabilitated ten years ago, he has continued to draw, and seen eight books of his works published. One of which, *The Album of Ancient Jokes*, has been translated into English, French and German. With his cartoons frequently appearing in *Cartoon World*, *New Observation*, and *Study*, he claims he has been making up for his "lost 20 year."

In 1986, Ding visited Japan to celebrate the founding of the Japanese Caricaturists' Organization, where he drew a portrait of the then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone with a famous Japanese caricaturist. He also participated in the China Cartoons Exhibition held in Hong Kong in 1987, where he held talks with his Hong Kong counterparts on the role played by cartoons in everyday life.

During the discussion he remarked, "Before liberation, the Kuomintang government was essentially corrupt, and so I drew cartoons to state my opposition. After liberation,

the achievements realized by the Communist Party of China were enormous. But there remained problems to overcome: although the overall trend was sound, unhealthy tendencies remained. Therefore I continued to draw cartoons, but their nature had entirely changed. Whereas previously I wielded my pen like a dagger, now I use it like a scalpel. My cartoons often serve as a negative example, and my starting point is 'to cure the sickness and save the patient.' I want to reveal the ugly to society in the hope that matters will improve—to encourage both the public and the Communist Party to become ever better."

As well as attempting to act like a doctor, Ding said he has drawn so many cartoons in the last few years because the democratic atmosphere in China had grown ever stronger. Now, many newspapers and magazines commission his work because of the public popularity of his depictions of social evils and his salutary advice.

He acknowledges he has always striven to state the opinions of the masses. For example, after a recent spate of newspaper and television reports on minor violations of discipline and the law, Ding noted there were seldom references to corruption among high-ranking officials. So he produced a cartoon titled "Wu Song Fights the Cat," in which an official glibly talks into a microphone while extending one of his hands behind his back to receive bribes. (Wu Song was a hero in the classical Chinese novel *Outlaws of the Marsh*, who killed a tiger with his bare hands.)

In another famous cartoon, reprinted in many magazines across China, Ding criticized the fact that intellectuals receive a far lower income than

manual labourers, by taking another figure from Chinese literature famous for his resourcefulness and producing a work titled "Three Zhuge Liangs 'Cannot Compare With a Cobbler.'"

Ding expresses satisfaction with China's now thriving cartoon industry—it is reported that there are now several thousand cartoonists at work across the country, and organizations of caricaturists have been founded in several cities. In Beijing, Shanghai and Zhengzhou, specialist cartoon magazines and newspapers are now published, and more than 20 newspapers have cartoon columns and occasional special cartoon issues. One cartoon magazine published in Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan Province, has a circulation of more than 200,000.

Cartoon competitions are also thriving, with entries sometimes reaching tens of thousands. According to Ding, this means cartoon creation has solid foundations, the like of which has never been witnessed before in China.

Ding, however, is not complacent. He points out that because for many years ideological content was overstressed, more attention needs to be paid to artistic level in the future, and further exploration is required in the satirization of the "ugly" through techniques such as exaggeration.

Yet Ding still feels he can now afford to relax and take pleasure from his other favourite activity, reading. The four rooms of his flat are lined with books, making it appear almost poky. He has always regarded reading as a treat, and now, with a large amount of success behind him, there is little he likes to do more than sit back in his chair with one of his treasured authors. □

# More on Reunification of Taiwan With the Mainland

by Li Jiaquan

**Li Jiaquan is research fellow and deputy director of the Institute of Taiwan Studies under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Two of his articles on the reunification of Taiwan and the mainland have previously appeared in Beijing Review (No.5 1986 and No. 13, 1988). In this article he assesses the issue in light of recent developments in relations between both sides of the straits.**

**S**ince the death of Chiang Ching-kuo and the coming to power of Li Teng-hui, a series of new concepts on ways and means for the reunion of Taiwan and the mainland have been put forward by people concerned with the development of relations across the Taiwan Straits. Some of them reiterate, supplement and develop older ideas. Others, although not addressing this issue directly, still touch on the subject. They all, however, can be grouped into the following eight categories.

1. The idea of a "federal republic" or "federal system" has been suggested by many leading figures and scholars. Two of the latest variations have been put forward by Zhu Gaozheng in Taiwan's *China Times* (September 24, 1988), and Sima Lu in Hong Kong's *Newsdom* (November 26, 1988).

Zhu suggests that after the institution of a federal system, the mainland's 28 provinces and autonomous regions, three municipalities, Taiwan Province, Taibei, Gaoxiong, Macao and Hong Kong can enter a relationship of "sister-

hood" before convening a constituent assembly and drafting a new constitution. Sima Lu proposes the "convening of a state affairs conference in which the Kuomintang, Communist Party and leading overseas figures will participate." A new constitution would then be drawn up to "get rid of" Taiwan's "Three People's Principles," and the mainland's "socialism."

Although well-meant, this is unrealistic. Taiwan can hardly give up its "Three People's Principles," nor can the mainland its "socialism."

2. Wei E, research fellow at the Kuomintang's Academia Sinica and professor in Taiwan's Chung Shan University, proposed "one mainland, two systems" in an article published by American *International Daily News* (April 26, 1988). He advocated experimentation with capitalism with Chinese characteristics along the mainland's coast to establish a "little Hong Kong," "little Korea," and "little Japan" centred around Haikou, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Shanghai, Qingdao and Shenyang. The aim would be facilitating

"changes in economic legislation, policies and systems" on the mainland in the "advance towards the ideals of freedom and democracy."

Other overseas scholars favour co-operation between Taiwan and the mainland in the development of Hainan Island, i.e., the institution of "one island, two systems" in order to gain co-operative experience. The idea of joint development has its positive sides, but, it should be free of political colouring, and should never be a step for "unifying China by the Three People's Principles."

3. In February and April 1988, Li Teng-hui offered the notion of an "economic sphere of co-development." He believes Taiwan should strengthen its economic relations and trade with Japan and pursue the establishment of an economic sphere comprising Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. Taiwan's *Japan Digest* (September 1988) referred to Li's idea as a "looking-to-the-east policy" which excluded the Chinese mainland because of political considerations. According to reports, Li is driv-

ing at "further promoting Taiwan's economy with Japanese science and technology," and politically "securing an important role in Japan's restructuring of the Pacific Rim" in order to improve Taiwan's international standing in a bid to "return to international community."

Li's proposition can have nothing to do with the reunification of the motherland. However, it could legalize the mainland and Taiwan as two distinct political entities—stalling reunification for a very long period.

4. A proposal for an "East Asia economic sphere" was put forward by president of the Research Association of the National Economy of Japan in Japan's *21st Century* (August 1988). With Japan taking the lead, the sphere would include Asia's "four little dragons" and the ASEAN countries. But like Li Teng-hui, he has nothing to say about the Chinese mainland.

All regional economic spheres which include Taiwan but exclude the mainland cannot be conducive to China's reunion. However, there are grounds for people to propose an "East Asia economic sphere," which includes Taiwan, Hong Kong and the mainland.

5. The concept of an "Asian economic community" was discussed by Liang Houfu in Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News* (October 28, 1988). He outlined American "new thought," i.e., the establishment of an "East Asia co-prosperity sphere" with the Chinese mainland as its axis and including Taiwan and North and South Korea and excluding Japan. The aim would be to proceed by "seeking common economic grounds and reserving political differ-

ences." In fact, this constitutes an "Asian economic community" after the model of the European Economic Community, and is utterly different from the exclusion of the United States and the Chinese mainland suggested by some Japanese and Taiwanese. This "new thought" has its roots in Japan's economic challenge, hence the saying: "guard against the Soviet Union militarily and Japan economically."

6. The "Chinese common market" and similar notions have been repeatedly mentioned. For instance, the "great China common market" put forward by Zheng Zhu-yuan in March 1988, and the "Asian Chinese common market" suggested by Gao Xijun in October 1988. However, most typical is the "Chinese common market" proposed by Lin Pangchung, head of the trade department at the Catholic University in Taiwan. Writing for Taiwan's *Commercial Times* (January 6, 1988), he suggested a four-stage process for peaceful reunification: (1) All-round indirect trade; (2) All-round direct trade; (3) Organization of a common market; and (4) The founding of a federal China "of the people, by the people, and for the people." His common market includes the mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

7. A "greater economic China" was proposed in a signed article from Taipei which appeared in the *US Business Week* (October 10, 1988). The Writers acknowledge that the mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong "are emerging as a greater economic China," and, furthermore, this is "not a futurist dream, but a half-effected concept." They add this constitutes "a

road beneficial for the reunification of the motherland which is peaceful, relaxing and without political hues." Their argument more or less resembles the "China economic sphere" put forward by Professor Chen Kunyao of Hong Kong University in Hong Kong's *Economic Reporter* (November 3, 1988). The article quoted Professor Edward Chen of Hong Kong University as saying, "Political unity is almost impossible in the near future. However, the economies of these three places have already joined through Hong Kong. It is absolutely unnecessary to hold talks."

These views are correct in some aspects: they give expression to certain inevitable tendencies of objective development. However, it would be wrong to say that talks are not necessary. On the contrary, dialogue or talks must be encouraged to promote coordination and guidance.

8. A "Southeast Asia economic strategy" is the idea of Hsu Tzung-mao, special reporter of *China Times* stationed in Southeast Asia. In an article published on December 6, 1988, he said the huge population and rich resources of Southeast Asia are both the "strategic rear" of Taiwan's economy and the heartland for Taiwan "to advance or retreat" in its "probing economic interflow with the Chinese mainland." He therefore encourages Taiwan "to increase loans to countries in the region," and "to permeate in a planned way Taiwan's economic structure with that of Southeast Asia, so that one cannot be distinguished from the other."

He went on to note that, among the ASEAN countries, the Philippines "is not only

Taiwan's protective screen to the south, but also serves as the strongest economic compensatory link between Taiwan and ASEAN. This trend of development will sooner or later turn Taiwan and the Philippines into an essential 'economic federation'. He added, "it would be perfect to 'trade' with Fujian Province through the Philippines." It is obvious that this "Southeast Asia economic strategy" advocates economic interflow with the mainland through ASEAN countries, and no politics should enter the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. However, this kind of policy lags far behind the demands of our times and the reality of today.

## New Characteristics

All these approaches, which by and large are all that are on offer, feature the following new characteristics:

1. A strong distinction between the present and the long-term future. Most of the views consider China's reunification inevitable, but not imminent as conditions currently are far from ripe. For instance, Lin Bangchong suggests direct trade by 1990, organization of a common market by 2000, and consideration of "political unity" by 2050. Despite of their recognition that the prospect for unity does exist, some of them actually aim for "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan."

2. A distinction between non-governmental and governmental. Although an immediate reunion is hardly possible, as the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are Chinese, contact between them is only normal. This can only be conducted indirectly and on non-governmental levels, giv-

ing rise to the situation described by Tao Pai-chuan, Taiwan's "adviser on national policy," as the "five no's and five yes's"—"communication by letter but no postal exchanges, exchange of goods but no trade, interflow but no contact, dialogue but no negotiation, and relaxation but no compromise. (Taiwan's *China Times* October 14, 1988.)

3. The separation of politics from economics. This is the most prominent feature of almost all the proposals: not only should exchanges be indirect and non-governmental, but they should be limited to economic relations and trade, supplemented by cultural and academic affairs. Political differences should be shelved in seeking common economic interests, so that reunion can be gradual, first economically and then politically.

Commenting on a "greater economic China," Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News* (October 10, 1988) said short-term policy should be aimed towards the "separation of politics from economics," and even in the long term "economics should predominate" so that the "greater economic China" can be the motive force for a "unified China."

4. The distinction between alliance with the United States and alliance with Japan. Taiwan feels alliance with the United States is politically essential for protection from the Communist Party, and alliance with Japan is necessary economically to withstand the United States. Taiwan's tactic of union with America against the Communist Party of China is well known. An article in *Hong Kong Economic News* (December 7, 1988) said Taiwan "has established an extremely effective lobbying machine" in the United States

to maintain "a solid political relation" in spite of the fact that Taiwan and the United States have no diplomatic relations. Without US protection and support, Taiwan would never be able to protect itself from the Chinese mainland. However, economic conflicts with the United States are coming to the fore. Hence the idea of allying with Japan economically, as evidenced in Li Teng-hui's "looking-to-the-east policy."

Encapsulated in these four themes are the different approaches towards Taiwan's relation with the mainland. Many of them have been expressed by members of Taiwan's new government. For example, Shao Yu-ming, head of its "information bureau," reiterated on October 13, 1988, Taiwan's "five principles" as regards its position vis-à-vis the mainland—security, non-governmental contacts, no direct contacts, contact limited to civil affairs, and gradual progress. In other words: peace but no talks, communication but no unification, contention but no war, and division but no separation, all in order to maintain the status of no war, no peace, no unification, and no independence. What this amounts to is a "policy of procrastination," aimed at maintaining the status quo.

Underlying these views on the future of Taiwan are three factors, namely, the mainland factor, the Taiwan factor and the American factor.

The mainland factor. Setbacks in economic development over the last few decades have resulted in many problems on the mainland. Although the reform and open policy have realized substantial achievements, some problems cannot be resolved in the short term and so have under-



mined confidence in the prospects of reunification.

The Taiwan factor. The Kuomintang authorities suffer from a severe "Communist panic terror disorder," and lack the courage to enter into contact and dialogue with the Communist Party of China. In addition, they attach undue seriousness to the economic problems of the mainland, and are proud of Taiwan's economic achievements. This has become a heavy burden, and has deprived them of perspective and a notion of their responsibilities to the nation as a whole. Consequently, it is hard for them to progress towards reunification.

The American factor. The United States' "dual-track" China policy of recognizing the mainland while supporting Taiwan blinds it to the fact that China's reunification will be conducive to American interests, friendly co-operation between America and China, and peace throughout Asia and the world.

These three factors interact. For a considerable period, the American factor has drawn the most attention as many consider the United States' policy of aiding Taiwan to check the Chinese Communist Party is utterly insensible. This policy not only lacks perspective, but will cause more losses than gains in the long run.

At present, both Taiwan and the mainland are troubled by "uncertainty." Taiwan is unsure of reunification, fearing that the size of the mainland will cause it to be eaten up. On the other hand, the mainland is worried about Taiwan's "policy of procrastination" for fear of "Taiwanese independence" or the variation of "Taiwanese independence" and the obstacle this would create for

reunification. In recent months, the Taiwan authorities have been preaching "dual recognition," "cross recognition," and a "return to the international community." This has put the leadership and people of the mainland on the alert. They are anxious to know whether the Taiwan authorities will renounce the policy of Chiang Ching-kuo who was utterly against "Taiwanese independence" and campaigned for "one China" throughout his life.

I maintain that peace will reign supreme over the straits. The two sides should rid themselves of all feelings of hostility, strive to resolve conflicts, aim to establish mutual understanding, and thus promote reunion. There should be no more "fears" or "enmity," and no actions should be undertaken that would be detrimental to reunification. As for the two "uncertainties," they can be resolved through sincere dialogue and consultation. The solution of this problem requires positive contribution from all countries and individuals, including the United States, which choose to maintain friendly relations with China.

### Thoughts for Progress

Ten years ago, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress published a Message to Compatriots in Taiwan. The period since then has been characterized by détente, relaxation and a thawing of relations between the two sides. During the next decade we should be able to witness communication, dialogue and progress towards reunion. Indeed, larger and faster steps towards reunification are expected in the next ten years. My thoughts on possible pro-

gress are as follows:

1. There need to be three "re-evaluations." The mainland has to refresh its knowledge of modern capitalism, socialism and Taiwanese society. Contemporary capitalism is far from being "decadent and moribund." Building up exports of commodities, capital and technology, as well as labour-intensive, capital-intensive industry and technology-intensive industry are the courses capitalism will pursue in its development from a lower stage to a higher one. This development will have its ups and downs, and although the capitalist system will not last for ever, it currently is full of vitality. It also has much to offer China in its modernization drive, both in the areas of productivity, relations of production, and in certain aspects of the superstructure. It remains true that without inheritance there can be no development, and thus socialism has to inherit and develop the merits of capitalism.

Taiwan is practising a capitalism with local Chinese characteristics, and great political, economic and social changes have taken place on the island. The Kuomintang of today is different from the one that ruled the mainland, and even from the one that existed before the 1980s. Further studies are needed to acquire more knowledge about it. At the same time, attention should be paid to Taiwan's new political parties, organizations, and people from different social strata in order to facilitate communication, dialogue, contact and even talks between the two sides.

2. The form of reunification. With a few exceptions, the above-mentioned options and those raised in my previous two articles share the follow-

ing common points on how China can be reunited: (1) Advocacy of "one China;" (2) Opposition to "Taiwan independence;" (3) Advocacy of steady and gradual progress towards reunification; (4) Advocacy of the intensification of cultural, academic and especially trade and economic exchanges while preserving political and ideological differences in order to create the conditions for peaceful reunion.'

Lack of courage in initiating contact and dialogue reveals a lack of self-confidence which is bound to lead one to a passive position. The Communist Party of China, however, has put forward a general framework built on the principle of "one nation, two systems." Details have to be added to perfect it, but obviously since it has proved suitable for Hong Kong and Macao, it also applies to Taiwan. However, because Taiwan's situation is different from that in Hong Kong and Macao, the latter's ways must not be imitated indiscriminately.

"One nation, two systems" are inseparable. It would be inconceivable for anyone to earnestly advocate "one China" and support peaceful resolution of the reunification problem while maintaining one's own system, and opposing two systems.

3. The "China economic sphere." Currently, there is an international tendency towards replacing "political spheres" with "economic spheres." There exist, for example, the European Community, the North American economic sphere, and the East Asia economic sphere. These are products of our times and expressions of the fading of politics and ideology. Economic spheres with the Chinese

mainland as a major participant are now in the offing. As we have seen, various people have proposed the "China economic sphere," "greater economic China," the "common market of the Chinese," and the "Asian economic community" (also known as the "East Asia co-prosperity sphere.")

The most practical and important of these is the "China economic sphere," incorporating the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. Its formation will be in line with the needs of objective development, economic competition and development, and national survival and development in today's world. Within this "major sphere," there can be "inner spheres" made up of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, China's coastal regions, Hainan Island, and the Changjiang River Delta, and "outer spheres," such as the "common market of the Chinese," the "Asian economic community," and the "East Asia economic sphere."

The formation and development of the "China economic sphere" will not be a matter independent of man's will. All parties concerned on the two sides of the straits are expected to go with the tide of historical development and take an active attitude in welcoming and promoting it. It would be utterly unwise and impossible to avoid this tendency, or obstruct it by alliance with international forces.

4. Economic relations and trade. In recent years, indirect trade between Taiwan and the mainland has risen quickly. In 1987, trade volume stood at US\$1.5 billion, and the 1988 figure may have reached US\$2.5 billion. Simultaneously, Taiwanese investment in the mainland has increased, and will continue to grow.

The development of economic relations and trade across the Taiwan Straits is inevitable, and both parties will have to keep up with development. This means correctly handling the relation between politics and economics. Transactions will have to be conducted in accordance with the laws of the commodity economy, i.e., be strictly commercial and mutually beneficial. It is right that celebrated Taiwanese entrepreneurs declare that trade should be "direct and two-way," and Taiwanese investment in the mainland "open, explicit and legal." (Taiwan's *Economic Daily* December 5, 1988.)

It is also essential to handle the relation between co-operation and competition properly. The guiding principle here should be mutual benefit and co-operation for the prosperity of the Chinese nation. As a matter of fact, such co-operation has already begun in investment in the mainland's domestic market, and competition in trade is under way in overseas markets.

Finally, more channels for contact must be established. Under the current circumstances, a "relation committee" with no political colouring could be set up on either side of the straits to liaise and coordinate economic, trade, cultural, academic, legal, journalistic and other exchanges. Today, every trade in Taiwan has its own association. Therefore, it is possible for similar organizations in the mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong to construct links. In short, all possible forms shall be used to develop normal economic contact across the Taiwan Straits. □



A large crowd queues to visit China's first exhibition of nude paintings at the China Art Gallery.

CHEN ZONGLIE.

## NUDE ART EXHIBITION

# Stripping Back Tradition

Last December, China's first exhibition of nude oil paintings opened in Beijing, marking a major ideological breakthrough in Chinese art.

by Our Correspondent Wei Liming

**A**n unprecedented exhibition on the art of the nude created by Chinese painters opened on December 22, 1988 at Beijing's China Art Gallery, giving the public a look at a theme long considered "unhealthy" in China.

The show, which ran until January 8 this year, featured 136 paintings, the work of 28 young teachers from Beijing's Central Academy of Fine Arts. It was the first exhibition consisting solely of nudes ever held in China, and has been considered a major break-

through in overcoming the strictures of feudal ideology and traditional culture.

Half an hour before the doors opened on the show's first day, a large queue had assembled in front of the gallery's gates. A member of staff commented, "This is the most marvellous spectacle at the China Art Gallery all year."

The crowd then thronged through the exhibition halls once Vice-Minister of Culture Ying Ruocheng had officially declared the show open by cutting a ribbon. The surge in it-

self appeared to symbolize a smashing of the bonds of tradition as the visitors sought to catch their first glimpses of an area of art long banned as obscene. Ying himself summed up the feelings of many, saying repeatedly, "This is a breakthrough."

On the first Sunday after the show opened, a record 10,000 tickets were sold. One of the organizers said, "This is the first time a fine art exhibition has attracted so many visitors from various strata of society since the

founding of New China.”

The vast majority of visitors had clearly come to view the paintings with a serious attitude, although a few clearly looked puzzled. When one young man waiting in the queue was asked whether the exhibition was worth its entrance fee of 2 yuan (10 times the normal cost of 0.2 yuan), he replied, “Of course, seeing the art of the body is part of the appreciation of beauty.”

Ge Pengren, one of the show's organizers and an associate professor at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, said preparations for the exhibition had begun a year ago. There had been no interference from officials, and the paintings had been selected by the painters themselves.

A Western reporter said the exhibition had made a deep impression on him, not simply because of its display of fine techniques, but more importantly because art involving the naked body was now permitted by the Chinese government.

### Styles on Show

The 136 paintings on show had been painted in a wide range of styles: some resembled classical European schools, others were naturalistic, and a few were clearly expressionist. The more abstract and distorted works impressed the audiences greatly, but it was the realistic ones which were most easily accepted by viewers.

Accordingly, it was not surprising that Yang Feiyun's classical realism proved the most popular works in the show.

Jin Shangyi, the academy's president, concentrates on emphasizing the beauty of the human body in his realist paintings, while the work of the young artist Sun Weimin stresses a far stronger subjective content. Using side lighting and warm tones, his paintings as much express his own feelings of peace and unrest as the body of his model.

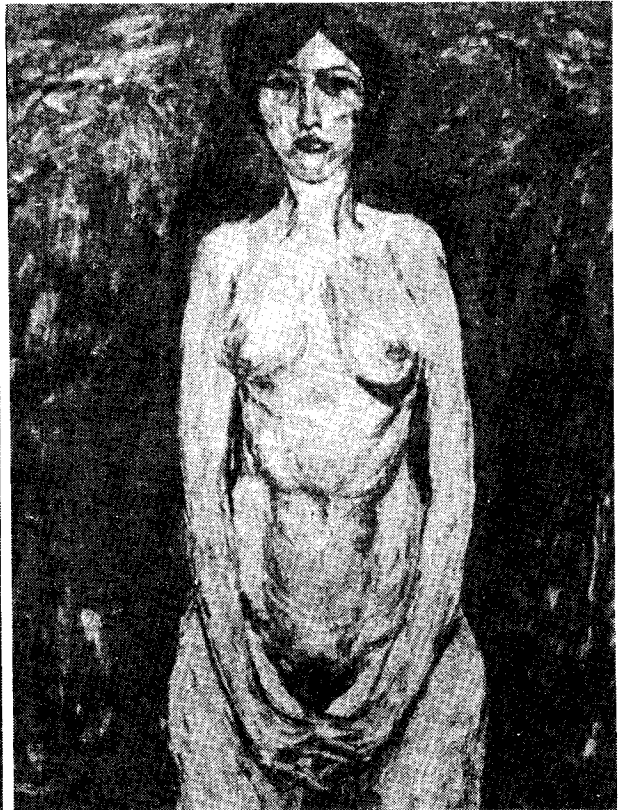
Yu Hong was the only female contributor to the exhibition. She explores the use of decorative patterns on human bodies: one picture depicts a nude lying upon her side on a sofa with a stringed musical

Seated nude

by JIN SHANGYI.

Nude woman

by LUO ERCHUN.



instrument on her back. Perhaps it lacks vitality, but its structure and use of patternry renders it compact and complete.

The only clearly male nude was a self-portrait by Guang Jun. Standing beside his tall, young body is a skeleton, apparently mocking the artist. When asked about the painting's implication, Guang replied with a smile, "Whenever I see a skeleton removed from the earth I inevitably wonder how it appeared when its owner was alive. In this case I have restored it."

Ma Lu, who has spent a period studying in the Federal Republic of Germany, has clearly absorbed influences from German expressionism. His vital works display bodies suffering devastation and ill-treatment. They form a stark contrast to the paintings of Zhao Ge, a young Mongolian painter, who has created a sombre yet dignified style of expression.

Wei Qimei, 65, professor of the academy's Oil Painting Department, was the only senior artist with works on show. "When I was a student," he said, "the drawing of nudes was obligatory and commonplace. It has only become a problem since the 1950s, when people declared that all depictions of nudes were decadent. Such attitudes are connected with the feudal tradition running through Chinese culture."

One of the academy's associate professors, Wu Xiaochang, 48, helped to organize the exhibition. He said that several thousand years ago Chinese art had primarily developed around themes of sexuality, and it was only the long history of feudal society that had distorted this. He added it was erroneous for people to regard pictures featuring nudes

as revealing what should only be seen in private.

In his preface to the exhibition catalogue, artist Wu Guanzhong writes, "The history of oil painting in China is not long, and oil paintings of nudes have had an ignoble existence in the studios of art schools—not daring to come out from the air-raid shelters. Today we witness a public exhibition of nude paintings for the first time. This is a milestone in the history of fine arts, and reflects a welcome social trend."

### Countering Prejudice

During the exhibition, *Literary News* and *Photographic News* jointly organized a discussion on the Culture of the Human Body. Well-known woman writer Dai Qing said at the meeting, "This exhibition forces us to look into ourselves—why did we Chinese dare not view the human body?"

Nude paintings first appeared in China at the same time of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4 Movement in 1919. But for the past 70-plus years, many setbacks have hindered development, and audiences have not been confronted head on and out in the open.

Liu Haisu was one of the first artists to advocate painting nudes in 1915. But despite being a master of traditional Chinese art, he was fined by warlords and had his work banned.

During the mid-1950s, art schools in Beijing initiated an animated discussion on whether nude models should be employed or not. It was only ended when Chairman Mao Zedong acted as a mediator and gave an affirmative answer.

In 1979, a mural depicting a group of Dais, one of China's

national minorities from Yunnan Province, created a large stir. Yuan Yunsheng, a middle-aged painter, refused to amend his picture which featured nude bathers participating in a Water-Sprinkling Festival, and the airport authorities promptly covered it up.

In 1985, Chen Shuhua, a 19-year-old country girl from Nanjing, became insane after relatives shunned her for working as a nude model in the Nanjing Arts Institute. After widescale coverage in the press, the incident led to large repercussions across China. And one of the reasons teachers at the Central Academy of Fine Arts felt it was necessary to mount their exhibition was to counter the negative attitudes held by many people to depictions of nudes.

In general, it is agreed that the show has played a valuable role in freeing people of their prejudices. Chen Zhui, art critic and author of *On Nude Art*, said, "It would have been impossible to hold this exhibition without the atmosphere generated by the reform and open policy. It reflects progress in China, and will undoubtedly have a marked effect on the development of aesthetic appreciation among Chinese citizens."

Already the Guangxi People's Publishing House has compiled an album of the works on display. And on a recent trip to the United States, the publishing house's director, Lu Liang, asked Han Xu, China's ambassador, to present a copy to president-elect George Bush.

Plans have been drawn up to take the exhibition to the United State and Japan now its run has finished in Beijing. □

## Survey Spotlights Apportionments

JINGJI RIBAO  
(Economic Daily)

In recent years, the Chinese government has repeatedly stressed that arbitrary charges are forbidden and that enterprises have the right to turn down unreasonable charges. In 1988, it also published special regulations to this effect. But, in some places, conditions have not changed.

Not long ago the Hubei Auditing Department conducted a survey of 81 enterprises. The results show that over the past few years more than 380 units have solicited contributions from these enterprises under various names. In the first half of 1988 alone, the total volume of charges was a hefty 1.22 million yuan, an increase of 47.8 percent above the corresponding period of the previous year. A sizeable amount of the money was charged after the regulations were published in April 1988. People feel extremely anxious that some units, which formerly observed discipline and checked apportionment, likewise have begun to participate. Some entrepreneurs have said, "A multitude of projects from different departments asking for handouts has made businesses difficult to deal with."

From the beginning of 1987 to last June, the total volume of apportionments shouldered by the 81 enterprises surveyed amounted to 4.62 million yuan. Of this, half was recorded as overhead costs, one-third was paid from the enterprises' retained profits and nearly 700,000 yuan was charged to the enterprises' account. All this harmed the interests of the state and enterprises.

Why hasn't apportionment

stopped? The reasons are as follows:

1. A recent upsurge in economic construction created competition between units eager for quick success and instant benefits, which prompted some people to do what they should not do at the moment when there was a shortage of funds and materials. Disregarding such a condition, they scurried to build special streets and development zones, and develop this or that. Without money, they had to ask for contributions from local enterprises.

2. The decision-making power has not been transferred to enterprises, and they have not gained managerial independence. They are still controlled by some departments or units grasping real power. They don't dare to resist unreasonable apportionments because up to now they have had to depend on competent authorities to solve their difficulties in manpower, finance and material supplies. In addition, some enterprise leaders are afraid of stepping on the toes of higher authorities, the departments responsible for the work, units with good relations with them, and mass organizations, an act which would make life considerably more difficult for them.

3. As things stand now, it is a fact that something must be done immediately. But, it is impossible for the state to provide enough money to meet the needs. Some places, for example, urgently needed to establish infrastructures for education, medical services, transport, communications, post and telecommunications, but lacked operating funds.

They had to solve this problem by means of apportionment.

4. Some places and departments have indulged themselves in ostentations and extravagances. Take eight enterprises surveyed for example. In the first half of 1988, the competent departments and public security units asked them to contribute more than 200,000 yuan. Half of this sum consisted of administrative expenses and funds for meetings and capital construction.

(November 18, 1988)

## Private Economy Grows

ZHONGGUO XINWEN  
(Chinese News)

With the revival of the private economy in China over the past ten years, some outstanding private enterprises have emerged. Take the Putian Optical Instrument Plant established by the three Lin Jindou brothers in Fujian Province for instance. It has 5 million yuan of fixed assets, employs 600 workers, and registers an annual output value of 6.5 million yuan. The Lins' plant is not the biggest private enterprise in China. According to a recent survey, the number of employees in each of the biggest enterprises has exceeded 1,000. The Jinghai Computer Group Company, one of the largest private enterprises in the mainland, for example, has set up 39 branch companies both at home and abroad, with a total annual sales value of 150 million yuan.

How many private enterprises are there in China? There has been some confusion concerning the differences be-

tween private enterprises and individual industry and commerce. Formerly, there was an idea that units employing more than eight members each should be tagged as private enterprises. According to this criterion, up to now, China has 115,000 private enterprises, with total employees of 1.847 million. In addition, private enterprises should also encompass that sector of the economy with 50,000 collective and 60,000 co-operative units. In a word, at present, there are 225,000 private enterprises in China with a total of 3.67 million employees. If the number of private enterprises were to absorb the 14.13 million individual industrial and commercial households, the total number of employees would swell to 29.91 million.

On the other hand, private enterprises are mainly involved in industry, handicrafts, transport service and construction. Among them, most hire around ten people, and the number of enterprises with more than 100 labourers accounts for less than 1 percent. Private enterprise' total output value amounts to less than 1 percent that of national industries.

At the National People's Congress in April 1988, the private economic sector was legally adopted by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. But, this doesn't mean a smooth sailing for the future development of private enterprises in China. Presently, relevant policies, regulations and laws have not been perfected. Concerned government departments and the bosses of private enterprises should jointly study how to promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful; to safeguard private enterprises' and employees' legitimate

rights and interests; as well as to pay taxes and to market their products.

(November 4, 1988)

## Private Sci-tech Business

GONGREN RIBAO  
(Workers' Daily)

**A**t present, China has about 10,000 non-governmental scientific and technological businesses, with more than 200,000 employees.

Since 1980, a number of scientists and technicians in state-owned research institutions have marched into society to form collective or individual scientific and technological units. These non-governmental units have played a positive role in popularizing scientific and technological achievements, speeding up the commercialization of scientific and technological results and improving technical competence in small and medium-sized state-run enterprises and in village and township enterprises.

For example, from the beginning of 1982 to the end of 1987, about 148 new technological enterprises had been established on Zhongguancun Electronic Street of Haidian District, Beijing, with a total employment of more than 3,800 people. Business there covers bio-engineering, new materials and computer and scientific researches. From 1985 to 1987, their total volume of business amounted to more than 1 billion yuan and their products sold well both at home and abroad.

(September 28, 1988)

## China Preserves Pandas

RENMIN RIABO  
(People's Daily, Overseas Edition)

**T**he panda is an animal specie on the brink of extinction. A survey shows that there are now less than 1,000 pandas scattered in Sichuan, Shaanxi, Gansu and some other provinces.

Chinese zoologists have been breeding the rare animal ever since 1955. Zoos in Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu, Chongqing and Fuzhou have made outstanding achievements in this regard. For example, in 1963, the Beijing Zoo succeeded in breeding its first panda. Fifteen years later, that is in 1978, the same zoo astonished the whole nation by a successful artificial fertilization. Statistics show that by the end of 1987, zoos across the country had bred 28 pandas.

Breeding pandas in zoos is an effort made by Chinese zoologists to save the world-famous animal. In order to achieve more in this regard, a national outline has been recently worked out for the further protection and breeding of pandas. This outline calls for the establishment of the following:

- a panda registration system;
- panda breeding and research bases in Chengdu;
- a panda reserve at Chengdu;
- panda blood banks;
- a panda breeding management committee;
- a fund geared to award people who save pandas.

(October 31, 1988)

## Free-lancer Pens Popular Novels

In vogue in China, like rock'n'roll, break-dancing and northwest-wind folk songs, popular novels have now become an important segment of Chinese literature. Among these, Wang Shuo's novels are fascinating in their own way. They have tapped both attention and controversy from society, the response being most intense among young readers. A magazine entitled *Literature in the Four Seasons* has found fame and a good market ever since it published one of Wang's novels.

Wang, now 30, is the only person who has a double identity among Chinese writers. He is a member of the Chinese Writers' Association and of the Chinese Household Businessmen's Association. After his graduation from middle-school, he served in the navy for four years. Then he became a medical salesman, and later he resigned. Jobless, he turned to running a small restaurant. Now writing is his sole source of income.

Wang has experienced almost all the bumps in the road of hardships for people of his age—the monotonous life in the barracks, the sense of loss after failing the college entrance exam, the shuttling about while awaiting employment, the depression when the restaurant closed down and the embarrassment of asking passers-by for the time of day while clothed in rags.

Drawing from these life experiences, Wang started to write, depicting accurately

and vividly the tortuous life and complicated psyche of some frustrated "small potatoes," arousing strong sympathy and response among the youth.

*Flight Stewardess*, the work most favoured by his readers, is the result of his journey to Guangzhou, where he went to loaf about after his resignation. The story focuses on a love-tragedy between an ex-serviceman and a stewardess on an airplane. With simple language and subtle psychological description, Wang portrayed an "unyielding man" in adverse circumstances, who faces life calmly and rouses himself as well; and a young girl who discards earthly views and seeks a pure love. The stewardess dies on her job and evokes the hero's regret and self-examination about his past behaviour.

For some young people, this novel inspires encouragement and introspection in times of dire distress. Some claim a force of undauntedness and upward activity to pursue a happy life and true love after reading the work. Also, they find they can empathize with sentimental and mental experiences in the story. This is why, according to some critics, Wang's works have attracted so many young readers.

Another recipe for Wang's success is that he describes the stratum of life styles common writers haven't touched. *Half Is Brine, Half Is Flame* follows the course of a crime and the mental struggle of a youngster awaiting employment. This

novel displays phenomena rarely seen among Beijing youth, such as sexual crimes and prostitution, which few literary works have shown before. This has aroused enormous response and controversy for it boldly reveals the degeneration and difficult psyche of some young people. Wang Shuo, therefore, has been labeled by some as a writer of "vagabond literature."

*Naughty Masters* for the first time portrays a group of people in Chinese society resembling the hippies in Western countries. With an exaggerated writing style, akin to black humour, Wang depicts these people's unconventional behaviours. Movie directors are vying with each other to film this excellent work, and the youth are talking about the story, expecting an early film debut.

So far, this popular novelist has published one full-length novel and dozens of novelettes and short stories. Five works were filmed simultaneously in 1988, which some people have dubbed "Wang Shuo Year."

In an interview, Wang maintained that he would retain his unique themes and style. Having finished his works about the life of contemporary youth, he plans to divert himself to novels on the events of Han Dynasty (206 B.C- 220 A.D) 2,000 years ago, which is a pet interest of his. To this he added his desire to continue working as a free-lance professional writer.

by Liu Jianjun



## Swimmers Coming On Strong

In the past year, Chinese swimming athletes have wowed the world with their wins. At the 3rd Asian Swimming Championships in April last year, Yang Wenyi, with a finish-line score of 24.98 seconds, chalked up a world women's 50-metre freestyle record.

At the 24th Olympic Games in Seoul, the Chinese diving squad pocketed two golds, four silvers and two bronzes, seizing first place in total points. The Chinese swimming squad boasted three silvers and two bronzes, while the women's team captured third place in total team scores.

Besides, Chinese swimming athletes shattered 11 Asian records 18 times and 19 national records 31 times.

As an official of the Chinese Swimmers' Association said, China's swimming sports are drawing ever close to international standards.

The ten best Chinese swim-

mers and divers of 1988 were recently picked in a national poll. Two of the women, Yang Wenyi, who broke the world 50-metre freestyle record, and Gao Min, winner of the Olympic spring-board competition, were voted China's top swimmer and ace diver in 1988.

by Zhang Wei

## Folk Music Enchants Audience

In mid-December last year, an ensemble of wind and percussion instruments from Liaoning Province, with two-thirds of the players being folk musicians over the age of 60, performed in Beijing. This performance was the sixth *Sound of China* concert sponsored and organized by the Chinese Musicians' Association and the China Music Conservatory.

Yang Wenyi in a training course.

CHENG ZHISHAN



More than 30 pieces of primitive local music captivated the Beijing audience of thousands. Among the aged players, 80-year-old Zhao Eryan, a *suona* player, drew special attention. With his unique skill, he played a traditional piece entitled *A Single Bird*. This lively work mimicked the movements and trills of a little bird.

Percussion and wind music is very popular in China and has a long history. The ensemble usually is composed of wind instruments such as pipe, flute and reed pipe and percussion instruments such as the drum, gong and small symbal. At first, this kind of music was played only during ritual ceremonies and festive occasions in court and, sometimes, as a martial accompaniment. Later it spread to both the upper and lower stratum of society. The wind and percussion melodies saw great developments during the Ming and Qing dynasties and gradually became one of the most popular traditional musical forms with a strong, unique national character. Even today, wind and percussion sets are still used in north China at funerals, marriages and various local festivals to highlight the atmosphere.

Liaoning wind and percussion music stands out due to its own blend of local tunes and traditional pieces. It entertains a great variety of subjects and forms. They are robust and straightforward—typical of northern Chinese music. For hundreds of years, many local musicians displayed pomp with their perfect skill and creative talents.

In the early 1950s, musicians in Liaoning Province began to collect and collate the local samples of sound. However, most of the gathered materials were destroyed during the

"cultural revolution." In 1979, China's Ministry of Culture and the Chinese Musicians' Association issued a "Plan on Collecting and Compiling National Folk Music Heritages." According to this, around one thousand people took part in the work of investigating and recording. Numerous national music lectures and courses on the techniques of recording wind and percussion music pieces were organized. Liaoning also brought professionals together to record the best works and held folk players' competitions. Some cities and counties set up their own societies of wind and percussion music. To date, about one thousand musical pieces and materials, and scores of manuscripts have been obtained.

The current *Sound of China*

series is an annual activity that introduces each time a particular local or folk sound. Previously, the *nanyin* (southern sound) music of Fujian Province, *Twelve Mukamu* (one of the great folk master pieces of the Uygur people) from Xinjiang, and ancient music of Xian were successfully performed. Academic activities are also held during each *Sound of China* concert series. □

## News in Brief

□ The Institute of Ancient Chinese Books, Hangzhou University, recently conferred China's first Ph D in archaeology.

The examiners, including

the noted scholar Hu Houxuan and archaeologist Sha Menghai, considered the dissertation written by Yu Zhongxin as a valuable creation which helps fill a gap in the study of ancient Chinese characters written on bamboo slips.

□ A "Reference Book on News Writing," the first of its kind in China, was published by the Anhui People's Publishing House on January 1, 1989.

Focusing on practical news writing, the book is in three parts-structure, expression and headlines.

The author, Wu Xiao, started to gather materials for the book 30 years ago and he has chosen over 3,000 pieces of good writing from publications at home and abroad as examples. □

## Sports News: Top Ten of '88

Recently, the Chinese Sports Journalists' Association selected China's top ten sports news of 1988:

1. The Chinese delegation won five golds at the 24th Olympic Games, which brought together sports powers from both the West and the East. The Chinese women's volleyball team failed to defend its consecutive championship for the sixth time.
2. The Chinese female swimmers made a number of breakthroughs: Yang Wenyi renewed the world record for 50-meter freestyle at the Asian Swimming Championships held in April; Zhuang Yong, Huang Xiaomin, Yang Wenyi and Qian Hong won three silvers and one bronze at the Olympics, ending the titleless history of China in swimming events at the Olympic Games.
3. A joint team of China, Japan and Nepal mountaineers succeeded in climbing the MT. Qomolangma, from north to south and south to north slopes.
4. China consecutively won the first, second and third Sino-Japanese Go Competitions. Nie Weiping won 11 successive victories and was conferred the title "Go Master."
5. The Track and Field Committee of the National City Games issued an incorrectly marked report, which resulted in bogus news claiming that "Cui Yingzi breaks the world record for the women's 5,000-metre walk race."
6. Chinese female rowers won one gold at the world championship, one silver and one bronze at the Olympic Games, breaking the monopoly of rowing events by European teams.
7. Sponsored by Ying Changqi, a well-known entrepreneur from Taiwan, the First Ying's Cup of World Professional Go Championship opened in Beijing on August 21, which greatly enhanced the exchange between the mainland and Taiwan.
8. China held its first Farmers' Games and City Games.
9. On August 26, the Foshan Football Foundation Team was set up, symbolizing a start for the professionalization of football games in China.
10. Chinese female weight lifters took the world's lead and broke many records. At the International Women's Weightlifting Championship, Chinese lifters swept 26 of the 27 championships. □

## ART PAGE



Young Woman.



Flowers and Fish in Spring.



Near a Village

### **Chinese Paintings by Hao Huifen**

Hao Huifen was born in 1944 in Baoding, Hebei Province. She now is an art editor with the Tianjin People's Art Publishing House. Her work covers many fields, such as landscape paintings, flowers and birds and figure paintings. The pursuit of beauty is embodied in her Chinese paintings.

# BEIJING REVIEW

## A Window on China



*Beijing Review*, China's only weekly foreign language current affairs magazine, was first launched in English in March 1958. It is now available in English, French, Spanish, German and Japanese. As well as the regular English edition, a North American edition is printed and distributed in the USA.

In January 1988, *Chinafrique*, a monthly in French, was published by *Beijing Review* for distribution in African countries.

The six editions are essentially similar in content but vary to cater for the readership in different regions of the world. The magazine aims to

- provide information on political, economic, cultural and social developments and trends in China;
- offer insight into the theories, lines, principles and policies of the Chinese Communist Party;
- acquaint readers with Chinese views on major international issues.

*Beijing Review* is an important source of information for overseas government officials, experts, scholars and business people interested in recent developments in China. It is often quoted by foreign media and is used by professors as a source of reference for students of overseas universities.

The back cover of *Beijing Review* carries colour advertisements.

*Beijing Review* is airmailed to over 150 countries and regions. It is distributed by the China International Book Trading Corporation (Guoji Shudian), P.O.Box 399, Beijing, China.