

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

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**China's Foreign  
Policy: Changes  
Through the '80s**

**Independence for Tibet  
—Fiction Or Reality?**





A hospitable Tibetan housewife.

*Photo by Dai Jiming*

## CONTENTS

<b>NOTES FROM THE EDITORS</b>	4
Can Inflation Be Curbed?	
<b>EVENTS/TRENDS</b>	5-9
Bainqen Lama's Last Days	
Benazir Bhutto Visits China	
Sino-Soviet Summit in Sight	
Bi-Weekly Chronicle	
(Jan. 29-Feb. 11)	
<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	
Exclusive Interview: Benazir	
Bhutto On Pak-Chinese Ties	10
China's Foreign Policy: A 1980s	
Tune-Up	12
Moscow Takes New Look at UN	18
<b>CHINA</b>	
'Tibetan Independence'—Fact or	
Fiction?	21
Unions of Management and	
Workforce	27
For Your Reference: China's	
Trade Unions	28
A Journey Through Henan	32
<b>BUSINESS/TRADE</b>	39-41
<b>FROM THE CHINESE PRESS</b>	42-43
<b>BOOKS</b>	44-45
<b>TOURISM</b>	46-47
<b>CULTURE/SCIENCE</b>	48-50
<b>COVER:</b> On the first day of Tibetan	
New Year, a woman prays for a	
bumper harvest.	<b>Dai Jiming</b>

### 'Tibetan Independence'—Fact or Fiction?

□ Using first-hand accounts and historical documents, the book *100 Questions About Tibet* answers many of the questions raised about Tibet in recent years. Extracts published here examine various issues of Tibetan history and claims to Tibetan independence (pp. 21 and 44).

### Bhutto Elaborates Bilateral Relations

□ In an exclusive interview on February 11, visiting Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto told *Beijing Review* that her visit was an elegant expression of the Pak-Chinese friendship and she hoped for more visits in the future. She also expressed her views on Afghanistan, Pak-Indian relations and Pakistan's domestic issues (p. 10). Her three-day visit was covered in a short report (p. 6).

### Can Inflation Be Curbed?

□ The retail price index has risen every year since 1985. In 1988, it stood 18.5 points higher than in 1987. What can be done to curb it? China's anti-inflation strategy involves slowing economic growth, axing capital construction projects, and restricting the money supply in a bid to reduce demand. Already price rises have started to fall, but fully controlling inflation is a long-term project (p. 4).

### Expanding Role for China's Unions

□ As China's reform programme penetrates ever deeper, the country's trade unions have played an ever-greater role in improving enterprise management, defusing potential conflicts, safeguarding women's rights and promoting the development of foreign-funded enterprises. *Beijing Review* talked to several trade union leaders to find out how their organizations operate (p. 27).

### Strong Growth for Pharmaceuticals

□ With its foreign trade volume expanding by an annual average of 50 percent during the last few years, China's pharmaceutical industry has become one of the most vibrant sectors of the economy. Last year, exports earned China US\$1.2 billion, while just US\$50 million was spent on imports (p. 39).

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

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# Can Inflation Be Curbed?

by Dai Yannian

China's retail price index has risen annually since 1985, culminating in 1988 with a figure 18.5 percent higher than in 1987. This has sparked severe public anxiety. To check inflation and solve other problems, China has set forth on a policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and comprehensively deepening its reforms. The first target is ensuring price rises this year are lower than last year's. Naturally, it has universal popular support, but can it be realized?

Curtailling inflation involves a series of complex and related problems. First, it has to be understood why inflation needs controlling. Then its causes must be analysed, and finally effective measures taken to check it.

Previously, some people argued that a low inflation rate could stimulate and *benefit* economic growth.

Some Western countries have adopted such a policy and achieved successful results in the short-term. However, they did so under conditions of over-production to stimulate demand. In China, the situation is reversed: production is inadequate, and social demand outstrips supply. A slight inflation policy could only further stimulate demand, aggravate shortages and fuel inflation.

Now, many Chinese people have realized the damage done by inflation, and the Party and government have taken a clear and determined stand to curb it.

Initially it was held that China's inflation was caused by shortages of pork and vegetables. Indeed, this has been a factor contributing to price rises. But it only affects a limited number of commodities. Furthermore, as prices of pork and vegetables have gone up, their quantities have increased until their prices stabilized and even started to fall. Therefore, this factor can only cause short-term and partial price rises; China's present price hikes have gone far beyond this.

China has witnessed continued price rises across the board: in agricultural and industrial products, consumer goods and daily necessities. According to the State Statistical Bureau, 60 percent of the 1,500 commodities comprising the retail price index rose in cost during 1987, and 90 percent increase last year. The main reasons for this were the overheated economy, demand outpacing supply and the excessive amount of money issued.

Most prominent has been the expansion in investment in fixed assets. At present, for example, state-owned units have committed themselves to investing 1,000 billion yuan in fixed assets—far beyond the state's financial capacity.

As a result, China is drastically pruning construction projects, checking all of them already underway, particularly auditoriums, hotels, guest houses and other large buildings. By the end of last November, 10,220 projects across the country had been either

halted or postponed, cutting 33.4 billion yuan's worth of investment. The work still continues, and another 50 billion yuan is expected to be axed this year. Fixed assets investment this year is expected to be cut by 20 percent compared with that of last year.

Social consumption, an important part of the excessive demand, will also be kept under strict control. Stiff measures will be adopted to reduce group purchasing which has expanded enormously over the past few years. All funds that can fuel consumption, other than for wages and normal bonuses, will also be severely curbed.

Since 1979, China's money supply has grown at an average annual rate of more than 20 percent, while the gross national product (GNP) has been climbing at an average of just 9.4 percent.

Because of this, China's central government is now pursuing an austerity policy. The money issued this year will be tangibly less than in 1988.

At the same time, greater attention will be paid to absorbing funds lying idle in society. At present, Chinese citizens have nearly 380 billion yuan deposited in bank savings' accounts, but they still hold 170 billion yuan in cash in their hands. To attract this money and offset the devaluation caused by inflation, banks have gradually raised interest rates. This measure will simultaneously increase their own resources and cut the amount of money in circulation, so reducing pressures on the mar-

ket.

The state is also preparing reforms to channel surplus social funds into property by commercializing housing and selling off some small state-owned enterprises.

Reducing the inordinate social demand is indeed a drastic measure to curb inflation—like removing the firewood from beneath a cauldron. But it will be simultaneously combined with steps to increase production of farm and sideline products, such as grain, cotton, edible oil, meat, poultry and eggs, as well as industrial goods, energy, and raw and semi-finished materials in short supply.

In order to restrict prices, market control is being tightened. Apart from state priced commodities, the government will set ceilings for goods with floating prices. For key decontrolled commodities, a price reporting system will be introduced. Price differentials between regions, and differences between purchasing and selling prices and between wholesale and retail prices will also be set by the state. According to local conditions, regulations will be passed forbidding price rises for daily necessities, which will be made known to the public so as to strengthen supervision.

On the whole, China's present policy to curb inflation appears to be sound. Indeed, the measures are proving effective: already price rises have visibly slowed.

Although this trend is expected to continue, much remains to be done to ensure all the government's measures are fully implemented. In particular, there remain some people who still need convincing of the importance and urgency of controlling inflation. Even then, completely curbing it may take a fairly long time. □

## Bainqen Lama's Last Days

**B**ainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain (the tenth Panchen Lama) died of a sudden heart attack in Xigaze, Tibet, on January 28, leaving behind a legacy for which he worked very arduously during his final days.

Bainqen, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and honorary chairman of the Chinese Buddhists Association, left Beijing by a special plane for Xigaze on January 9 to preside over the opening ceremony of the newly built Great Stupa, which houses the remains of the fifth to the ninth Bainqen Lamas.

On the way, Bainqen went to pay worship at the Jokhang Temple, the shrine of Tibetan Buddhism, in the centre of Lhasa City on January 10. When he arrived in Xigaze on January 14, he was welcomed by a long queue, extending for several kilometres, of religious and non-religious residents there. Numerous white *hada*, a silk scarf used as a token of respect, were presented to him. Repeatedly, he waved his greetings to the people.

On January 17, Bainqen presided over the opening ceremony of the newly-rebuilt great Stupa and made the final formal public speech in his life. "The purpose of of rebuilding the Stupa is to carry forward the spirit of former Bainqen Lamas to enlarge Buddhist doctrine religiously and endorse patriotism politically," he said.

Bainqen Lama called the new stupa a symbol of the correctness and truthfulness of

the Chinese Communist Party's policies on nationalities and religion, and a symbol of the unity of the Tibetan and Han people. "It also symbolizes the patriotism of religious circles and the people at large in Tibet," he said.

Bainqen pointed out in his speech that all former Bainqen Lamas loved their motherland and had made outstanding contributions to maintaining the unity of the motherland and the nationalities, as well as the internal unity among the Tibetan people.

He also spoke out on the "cultural revolution," during which time the remains of the former Bainqen Lamas were desecrated, and stupas and lamaseries were ruined or destroyed. "The 'cultural revolution' was a disaster not only for Tibetans but also for the entire country's 56 nationalities," he said. That disaster was neither directed against the Tibetans or Tibet alone, nor was it a campaign launched by the Hans against Tibetan culture.

He said a few people harbored ulterior motives when they exploited the damage done by the 'cultural revolution' to whip up national resentment and sow discord among China's nationalities.

On the afternoon of January 18, while being interviewed by journalists in his new residence, Bainqen said that it was his idea to rebuild the Great Stupa to house the remains of the five previous Bainqen Lamas. As a natural successor to the Bainqen Lama, and a firm patriot, he said that he felt

## Benazir Bhutto Visits China

It is a strong proof of the high regard of the Pakistani Prime Minister, government and people for the relations between the two countries and their deep affection for the Chinese people that Benazir Bhutto has chosen China as the first country to visit soon after she assumed the office of prime minister, Chinese Premier Li Peng said

at a banquet to honour Bhutto who arrived in Beijing on February 11 for a three-day official visit to China.

Li and Bhutto exchanged views on a wide range of international and bilateral issues during their talks on February 12. Li expressed China's concern over the prospects of a worsening civil war in Afghanistan. "We do not want to see a

deterioration of this situation," he said. He added that China hopes to see the establishment of a broadly based coalition government acceptable to all and ensuring peace in the country.

Talking about Sino-Soviet relations, Li said that the normalization of the relations is not directed against any third country. He stressed that

duty-bound to shoulder the initiative for this great undertaking. He also thanked the central government for allocating 6.7 million yuan to the construction.

The Bainqen Lama had been working very hard since he arrived in Tibet. He touched thousands of religious believers' heads and gave them blessings to satisfy their wishes. He concerned himself with Tibet's economic development, drawing up plans for projects that include the building of a hydropower station. He also called for greater economic independence within the lamasery itself, away from such a heavy reliance on the masses' donations. As an example, he cited the Zhaixi Lhunbo Lamasery's successful establishment of the Gangjian Company (a trade company).

On January 23, although he had not fully recovered from his fatigue, he called a forum of more than 200 participants, including religious figures and senior cadres of the Party, government and army in the Tibet Autonomous Region. At the meeting, he carefully took note of various opinions about

economic development and religion, and gave a speech lasting nearly 40 minutes.

Two days later, thousands of guests invited to the ceremony left Xigaze. But, unfortunately, due to poor road conditions, there were several accidents. The news undoubtedly added worries to the extremely tired Bainqen Lama. On January 26, he again extended personal blessings to about 20,000 religious believers.

At 12 am, January 27, Bainqen convened leaders of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and people concerned of Zhaixi Lhunbo Lamasery and its Gangjian Company to a meeting. He listened to the summery report on the completion of the Great Stupa.

An hour later, after a hurried meal, he continued to heed the report, and then give his talk. He said that he would cite those who had contributed to the stupa for their meritorious service on January 30. The meeting did not close until 4:20 pm.

At 6:30 pm, Bainqen gave a banquet for the Party, government and military leaders in Xigaze region and the service-

men at the opening ceremony. After the banquet, he held an evening party around an open campfire where both Tibetan and Han people sang and danced.

At 10:00 pm, Bainqen returned to his residence and made plans for the next day when he was scheduled to salute the army men of the Xigaze military subarea. At 10:30 pm, he sat down to read newspapers and listened to the radio for a while. Finally, as he did not feel well, he took some medicine and went to bed at 12:30 am. It was his earliest bedtime retirement since he came to Tibet.

In the morning, Bainqen felt a little bit better after rest. However, after being given an electrocardiogram by a doctor, he experienced a sudden, massive heart attack. Although medical experts from Xigaze, Lhasa and Beijing were summoned immediately, all rescue attempts proved ineffectual. The tenth Bainqen Lama, age 51, died at 8:16 pm but will live on in his works and the people's memory.

by Yang Xiaobin & Zhang Wei

China will not resume an alliance with the Soviet Union as it did in the 1950s, nor will it form any kind of military alliance with the Soviet Union.

He said the domestic and international aspects of the Kampuchean issue are inseparable and that China's relations with Viet Nam cannot improve until the question is fairly and reasonably settled.

Bhutto told her Chinese counterpart that Pakistan viewed its relations with China as the cornerstone in its foreign relations. She hoped that the two countries will further

develop their exchange and cooperation in education, tourism and commerce.

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping met Bhutto on February 13. He praised Bhutto for her saying she would give consideration to various parties when handling state affairs. "Various political parties in Pakistan and the Pakistan people are all our friends. I hope they get united to develop Pakistan instead of haggling over past resentment. This is the hope or a suggestion from a friend of Pakistan," he said.

Other Chinese leaders Zhao

Ziyang and Yang Shangkun held meetings with Bhutto, too. Generally Secretary Zhao Ziyang said that Chinese Communist Party is willing to develop relations with the Pakistan People's Party. "The relationship will contribute to promoting the friendship between peoples of the two countries," Zhao said.

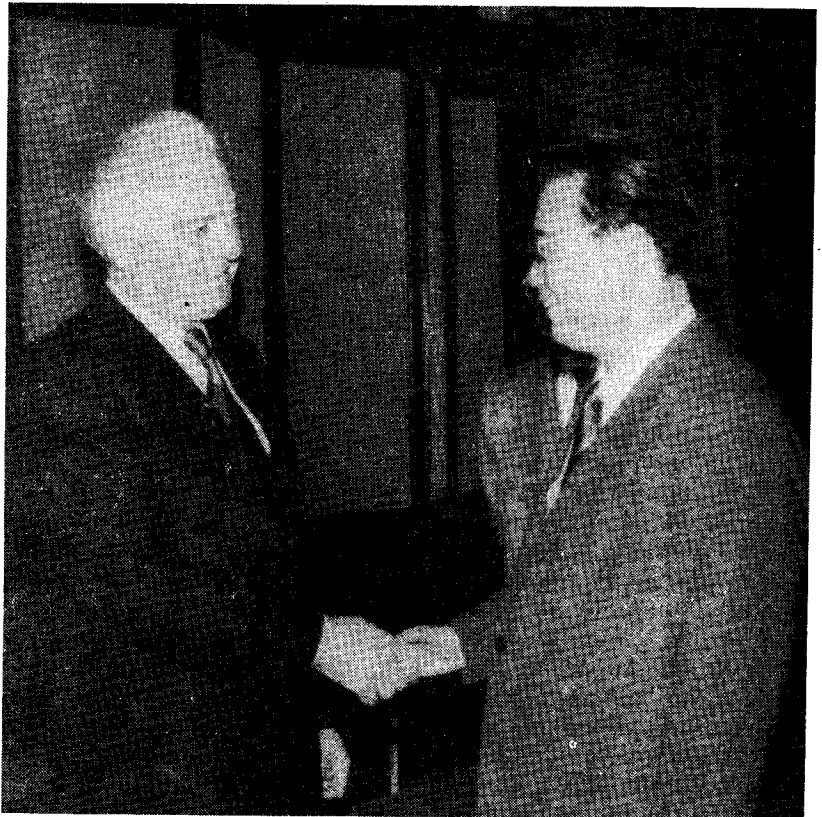
During Bhutto's visit, two agreements were signed: one on the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investments, and the other on the extension of a trade protocol to 1990 through a memorandum of understanding. □

## Sino-Soviet Summit in Sight

Following Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow last December, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze paid a return visit to China early this month. During his stay in China, Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping and Premier Li Peng met with him and his entourage, and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen held two rounds of talks with him. All these meetings and talks were mainly on the Kampuchean issue, bilateral relationship and other issues of common concern. Shevardnadze's visit to China has achieved results and is a preparatory step for the Sino-Soviet summit.

During his meeting with Shevardnadze in Shanghai, Deng Xiaoping stressed that it is imperative to remove the

On February 3, Premier Li Peng meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.  
LIU SHAOSHAN



three obstacles to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. "Three years ago I said the Kampuchean issue should be solved first of all, and Viet Nam must genuinely pull out all its troops from Kampuchea. The Soviet Union can contribute much in this regard," he added.

The Sino-Soviet normalization has become a hot theme of discussion in international politics. Naturally, international attention was paid to Shevardnadze's visit to China. When Premier Li Peng met with the Soviet foreign minister, he said that the coming Sino-Soviet summit will be an event of great significance and the normalization of bilateral relations will help promote world peace and stability. During Shevardnadze's visit to China, Chinese President Yang Shangkun invited Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to visit China. Gorbachev's visit to China will take place May 15-18.

As for the Kampuchean issue, the two sides issued a joint statement:

1. The two sides stand for a fair and reasonable political settlement of the Kampuchean question at the earliest possible date and express their readiness to make efforts to help attain this objective.

2. The two sides hold the view that Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea is an important component of a political settlement of the Kampuchean question. They take note of the decision announced by Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989 at the latest, and hope that the implementation of the decision will facilitate the process of negotiations on settling other aspects of the Kampuchean question.

After the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, all countries concerned should gradually reduce and eventually totally stop their military aid to any of the parties in Kampuchea.

4. China and the Soviet Union take the view that the internal problems of Kampuchea should be settled through negotiations by the parties in Kampuchea on the basis of national reconciliation and free from any outside interference. The two sides welcome the dialogue among the four parties in Kampuchea and hope that this dialogue will develop in a fruitful way.

The Chinese side stands for the establishment of a provisional coalition government in Kampuchea headed by Prince Sihanouk and with quadripartite representation.

The Soviet side will support an agreement among the four parties in Kampuchea on the establishment of a provisional organ under the charge of Sihanouk and with quadripartite representation. This organ should not be subordinate to any party in Kampuchea, and its task is to implement agreements reached by the parties in Kampuchea and to conduct free elections.

China and the Soviet Union will respect the results of future free elections in Kampuchea.

5. It is the view and concern of both sides that after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, no dangerous situation should emerge and no civil war should break out in the country. The two sides will welcome an agreement among the four parties in Kampuchea on effective measures to prevent such developments, including measures on cessation of all hostile military actions and a freeze

on the armed forces to be followed by their possible reduction.

The two sides stand for a non-return to the policies and practices of the recent past in Kampuchea.

The Chinese and Soviet sides consider it necessary and important for an effective international control mechanism to be established and exercise strict international supervision over Vietnamese troop withdrawal, cessation of foreign military aid, maintenance of peace in Kampuchea and conduct of free elections.

6. The two sides are of the view that the United Nations mechanism may play its appropriate role in the process of a political settlement of the Kampuchean question as conditions gradually present themselves. The two sides are in favour of convening an international conference on the Kampuchean question when conditions are ripe.

7. The two sides hold that following the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, an international guarantee should be instituted for the status of Kampuchea as an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned state. China and the Soviet Union express their willingness to join in this international guarantee.

8. The two sides agree to continue to discuss their remaining difference of views on settling certain aspects of the Kampuchean question.

9. The Chinese and Soviet sides hold that the settlement of the Kampuchean question will contribute to the removal of the source of tension in Southeast Asia, to a healthy development of the political situation and also to the promotion of peace and stability in the region.

by Zhou Qingchang



## Bi-weekly Chronicle

(Jan. 29—Feb. 11)

### POLITICAL

February 3

□ A senior Chinese Communist Party (CPC) leader, Qiao Shi, says at the closing ceremony of a research seminar on Party-building that the CPC is now confronting another historical turning point. He stresses that in this time of change, renewed and vigorous efforts must be made to ensure the ongoing development of the Party so that it will continue its historic role of leadership in China's socialist progress.

February 5

□ At the invitation of President Yang Shangkun of China, Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will pay an official visit to China from May 15 to 18, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### ECONOMIC

January 30

□ Some 14.51 percent of commodities China imported from the United States, Japan, Singapore, Italy, Canada, Argentina, Malaysia, Thailand and Hong Kong last year were found to be sub-standard, Zhu Zhenyuan, director of the State Bureau for Inspection of Import and Export Commodities, says.

He says that China's commodities inspection departments made claims amounting to \$US100 million against foreign exporters last year.

February 6

□ China should strive this year to make "substantial progress" in curbing price rises, in easing tensions arising from unjustified disparity in wealth and in combating corruption, Chinese Premier Li Peng states in Beijing. He says that priority in work this year should be to balance political and economic stabilization with reforms and development—that is, to deepen economic reforms and push economic development on the basis of political and economic stability.

February 9

□ China's rural reform has entered another critical period in spite of achievements made in the past ten years, the latest issue of *China Quarterly* reports. It says the new problems that have cropped up in the countryside include a four-year stagnation of grain output and fluctuation of production of cotton and some other farm products.

At present, an agricultural system suited to the market economy has been instituted, but is far from perfect, the quarterly explains. It calls on the state to increase investment in agriculture and encourage more grain production.

### CULTURE

January 30

□ The Aisin Giorro family, the former royal family of the Qing Dynasty (1644—1911), donates about 400 previous works of painting and calligraphy for the renovation of a pavillion named Yaoyuetai (Invite the Moon) at the former residence of Prince Gong of the Qing Dynasty. The residence has been turned into a park open to all visitors.

Among the donations were calligraphy by Aisin Giorro Pu Jie, younger brother of China's last emperor Aisin Giorro Pu Yi, and works of traditional Chinese paintings by other family members.

□ The Second China Art Festival, scheduled for September 15 through October 5 this year, will mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Vice-Minister Ying Ruocheng of the Chinese Ministry of Culture announced. He says China aims to build the festival into one of the world's major cultural and artistic events.

February 9

□ *China Daily* reports that archaeologists in Liaoning Province in Northeast China have discovered the ruins of a cave inhabited some 5,000 years ago.

The discovery in Benxi County indicates that people in the New Stone Age began to build rooms in caves, archaeologists said.

### SOCIAL

January 30

□ One of Beijing's most cherished Spring Festival festivities—the traditional temple fair in Ditan Park—opens. More than 200 activities, such as Chinese operas, magic performances and Qigong, are offered to cater to visitors of all ages.

February 8

□ China's population by the turn of the century may be 100 million higher than the current official forecast. Many experts say the population may top 1.3 billion. They blame the situation on laxity in administering the country's birth control policy, according to *China Daily*. □

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW:

## Benazir Bhutto On Pak-Chinese Ties

*From February 11-13, Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto made an official visit to China, the first country she chose to visit since she became the head of the Pakistani government last December. On the first day during her visit, Bhutto gave an exclusive interview to Beijing Review's staff reporter Li Haibo. Excerpts:*

**Li:** Why did you choose China as the first country to visit?

**Bhutto:** Very high level visits between the leaders of Pakistan and China have taken place on a regular basis, and for us, this was an elegant expression of the friendship and excellent ties that bind the two countries together. For the new government, there is an extra sense of pride because it was the founder of the Pakistan People's Party, the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who laid the foundations for Pak-Chinese friendship. And it is in keeping with this tradition that we wanted to symbolize our dedication to further consolidating the relations between the two countries. Secondly, I also wanted the opportunity of establishing a personal contact with the new leadership in China and of extending to them the opportunity of meeting the new leadership in Pakistan.

**Q.** How many times have you visited China?



**A.** This is my second time to visit China. I hope there will be more visits to China because this is a short visit. The reason why it's a short visit is that we have a new government, and there are many problems we have to tackle in our country.

The first time I visited China was 1972. My father sent me, my brothers and sister here because he felt we had a lot to learn from China's experiences. We were all studying in the West, but he felt that our education would not be complete if we didn't have an understanding of the development of a great neighbour like China.

**Q.** What do you want China to do the most for Pakistan's

development? And conversely, what help do you think that China needs from your country the most?

**A.** The relationship between Pakistan and China is one of manifold dimensions, and therefore, there is a wide range of issues that we can cover. Whether it is in the fields of agriculture, industry, basic industrialization or in areas where we have co-operated in the past, we can help each other. So we feel the strength of China is the strength of Pakistan and vice versa. We have had this special relationship, and I think that in view of this, both Pakistan and China value each other.

**Q.** What's your priority in foreign affairs?

**A.** The core of our foreign relations has always been to maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan. And we are committed to doing so. We want to live in peace and friendship with our neighbours, but we want it on an honourable basis. In regard to a foreign policy, I would say that we would like to protect the security, independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan. But we are interested in other spheres as well. We are interested in expanding our economic and commercial links with different countries and international communities. We feel this best can be done by promoting

friendship and peaceful cooperation. That's what we are trying to do.

**Q. What are the obstacles that Pakistan and India have to remove before they can become really good neighbours?**

A. The point is that Pakistan and India have had a troubled past, which has led to issues that have arisen from time to time, Kashmir being the most dominant. The end result has been the growth of much mistrust and suspicion. But at the moment there is tremendous goodwill for peace in the region, and there is a momentum towards it. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and I had a good meeting at SAARC. We feel that by signing the three agreements between our two countries, we also made a significant start in attempting to reduce the tension between our countries. We hope greater contact and more frequent visits may enable us to speed up the reduction of tension.

**Q. You once said that both Pakistan and India were preparing to explore the possibility of a reduction of armed forces. Do you see any possible unilateral disarmament on your side?**

A. I think no country that has had three conflicts can think in terms of unilateral disarmament. But we are the country that believes in peace. We are the country that believes that history itself has shown that militarization is not always a successful instrument for foreign policy. So it's very important for us to focus on foreign policy in the way of political solution. We are very happy to explore various means by which to reduce tension in our region. We are prepared to examine the possibility of a zone free of nuclear weapons for our region. We are prepared to talk at any lev-

el where there is a possibility to talk, but we feel it has to be a mutual approach, and cannot be a unilateral approach.

**Q. Do you believe peace and stability will soon return to Afghanistan?**

A. It depends very much on what the Afghan people decide to do there. We would like to see the development of peace and stability in Afghanistan as soon as possible. This is up to the Afghan people to determine. They have fought many years for their rights, and they cannot be dictated by anybody else.

**Q. Do you see any possible civil war in that country?**

A. The situation is fluid; the situation is vague. This possibility cannot be ruled out. But at the same time it seems that slowly but surely the Afghan situation is headed for an interim Shura government.

**Q. What kind of role can Pakistan play in Afghanistan after Soviet troops pull out?**

A. The only role Pakistan can play is a role of encouraging, in whatever limited fashion it can, the emergence of a political settlement to that problem.

**Q. As you know, China and Muslim countries have all had a glorious past. But now we are all among the developing countries. Do you believe the assertion that the gap between the developed and developing countries is growing wider and that we may never catch up with the industrialized world?**

A. It's true that there has been a gap between developed and developing countries. It's also true that the gap has grown. But I think it's important for the developing countries to recognize the difficulties and try to evolve a strategy by which they can improve the quality of life for their citizens and, indeed, for the lar-

ger part of the oppressed world.

**Q. Is it true that Pakistan is applying for a return to the British Commonwealth of Nations?**

A. We left the Commonwealth to protest its recognition of Bangladesh. But since that time we ourselves have recognized Bangladesh, so why deny our overseas communities living in Commonwealth nations the facilities that would be available for them if Pakistan was a Commonwealth member? In addition to that, the Commonwealth itself provides us an international podium for exchanging views. That's why we are examining the question of re-entry.

**Q. How do you feel after two months as Prime Minister?**

A. That's a very difficult question. In fact I would say I really haven't had time to feel because I am always on the move so much. But I feel that many challenges lie ahead for us. Our problem is particularly of an economic nature. Our people need jobs, and our country needs technology. I feel that the People's Party government must make a determined effort to build Pakistan into a nation with the sanctity of law and rule of the Constitution, a place where there is dignity and protection of every single individual regardless of race, sex or creed.

**Q. As you look back at your life, who influenced you most?**

A. I would say no doubt that my father influenced me the most. It was his life, his struggle, his vision of a federal, democratic and egalitarian Pakistan that stirred millions of Pakistanis. As much as I would like to point out many historical figures that existed, if I am truthful I must say that I am what I am today due to his influence on me. □

# China's Foreign Policy: A 1980s Tune-Up

by Xie Yixian

**C**hina's foreign policy has gone through a series of adjustments since the world entered into the 1980s. These adjustments are mainly reflected in the following aspects:

## Nonalignment

One of the main alterations is in regard to the Chinese at-

titude towards the two superpowers, specifically whether there is a need for China to unite with one side against the other.

In the 1970s, China's foreign policy was mainly focused on opposing the two superpowers, especially the Soviet hegemonism. At the end of the 1970s, China even publicly advocated that the United States, West

European countries, Japan and China jointly fought against the hegemonism of the Soviet Union. This fundamental policy of China took root in its estimation of the international situations then and its theory of the "three worlds." It maintained that the Soviet Union was the main threat to world peace and China's security because in the world stra-

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping chats with US President Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy, on April 28, 1984.

XINHUA



tegic pattern, the Soviet Union was on the offensive while the United States was playing defence. This attitude, which had affected other aspects of China's foreign policy, has changed now. In the 1980s, China declared that it would never attach itself to either of the superpowers or establish an alliance or strategic relations with either of them.

China's foreign policy was transformed by objective changes in international situations and interpretations regarding them. Some significant changes in world situations during the 1980s absorbed the attention of the Chinese people.

First, after Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, the United States began expanding its armaments and seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union. In order to roll back the Soviet influence, it spared no efforts to create low-intensity wars at some "hot spots." In its rivalry over the Middle East with the Soviet Union, it sent troops directly to Lebanon in May 1983. In October the same year, it again dispatched troops, this time to Grenada and overthrew the government there, which it regarded as a left-wing puppet of the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The Soviet Union found itself in a passive position facing the onslaught of US offensives and lost scores to the United States repeatedly. In addition, the Soviet Union was caught in the mire of Afghanistan and



Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang greets special envoy of Saudi Arabia Crown Prince Fahd on October 13, 1988.

GUO ZHANYING

could not achieve the results it had predicted to gain with its military interference. So in fact, the strategic situations were transformed from Soviet offensives into bilateral confrontations.

Second, Reagan and his brain trust are celebrated for sympathizing with the Taiwan regime. Reagan had once threaten, before he took office, to restore official relations with Taiwan. He also insisted on selling a huge amount of advanced weapons to the island. In early 1981, the US government acted more willfully, disregarding the views of the Chinese people. From signals of the US government, the Chinese people sensed that Washington did not treat China as an equal. The US government thought that as China had to look to it for help, it could act as it pleased on the Taiwan issue while China had no option but to ac-

cept all the bitter results.

Third, in the 1970s, China thought that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union and that, as a budding imperialist country, the Soviet Union was more likely to risk launching a war to expand its influence. But since then, as more Chinese delegations visited the Soviet Union and investigated into the Soviet society, the conclusion about the social character of the Soviet Union has been dispelled.

Generally speaking, the international situation in the 1980s demonstrates that the United States and the Soviet Union are still superpowers and both are seeking hegemonism. But they are now on an equal footing powerwise and at a strategic stalemate. So, at such a time, China lacks objective grounds on which to unite with one against the other, although trying to maintain a complete balance in state rela-

tions with the two would be difficult.

China's policy of nonalignment with either of the two superpowers means that China will not do anything to break the basic equilibrium of strength between them. By keeping its thumb off the scale, China aims to reduce the danger of war which might arise from a break of such an equilibrium.

This nonalignment policy will help China to strengthen its independent, self-reliant stance in the world under current situations. China has realized that its strength cannot compare with that of the two superpowers, but it has a position of great importance in the world and can play a significant role in international affairs. So it should not depend on either of the superpowers.

On the contrary, it should maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands at all times, dealing with all international affairs according to their own relative conditions.

## Disarmament

Another adjustment in China's foreign policy is shown by its attitude towards the disarmament talks and peace movements, such as the demand for a ban on nuclear weapons.

In the 1970s, China criticized all the disarmament talks between the two superpowers and other talks such as

the conference on European security and co-operation. It refused to participate in various peace movements because it thought they would have little effect on both the United States and the Soviet Union. This attitude may have given people the false impression

compromises nondetrimental to any third country.

In recent years, China has reduced troops by 1 million and taken the initiative in ceasing atmospheric nuclear tests. It also solved peacefully issues concerning Hong Kong and Macao, remnants of his-



President Yang Shangkun and a bouquet of flowers welcome the president of the Republic of the Comoros in Beijing on November 14, 1988.

TANG MENGZHONG

that China did not assent to the disarmament and banning of nuclear weapons.

Through adjustments, China has turned to approve of and ready to participate in all kinds of disarmament talks and talks on banning weapons with massive killing abilities. In all these activities, China stresses that the two superpowers should take a lead in reducing armaments and in banning and destroying all nuclear weapons. As to pertinent talks between the two superpowers, China holds that dialogues are better than confrontations. And it hopes to see them reach

torical Sino-British and Sino-Portuguese relations, by means of a "one country, two systems" policy. All these have demonstrated that China has made practical efforts in promoting world peace.

This adjustment is based on the following factors:

1. The danger of a world war has reduced. Now only the United States and the Soviet Union have the qualifications to launch a world war. The United States is still a dominating force in the world although its strength is weaker than before. But it is hard to say that it would want to

launch a war that would probably sabotage its vested interests in the world. As for the Soviet Union, since it is no longer seen as a younger imperialist country, there is no ground for believing that it will launch a world war.

2. While the danger of a war

owners dare not use them.

4. The law of uneven development in regard to Western countries' politics and economies has played a clear role in world politics. Japan's economy has developed more rapidly than that of the United States. The former's per capita

won more and more support from the people of the world.

## Co-existence

The third important adjustment of China's foreign policy is that China has emphasized even more the universal application of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. It has been applying these principles to as wide a sphere as possible and judging to set distant or close relations with a country on the grounds of whether it carries them out.

Early in 1954, China, together with India and Burma, urged that the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence be regarded as a universal norm in international relations. Now China still emphasizes these principles and is ready to establish and restore relations with

all countries in the world on this basis. As to the United States and the Soviet Union, China has drawn them into the sphere of "all countries in the world." That means China will improve relations with the two powers on the basis of these principles. This has been regarded as the main adjustment in China's foreign policy during the 1980s.

Today, China still opposes all kinds of hegemony, no matter when and where it takes place or who does it. But China is neither an anti-US country nor an anti-Soviet country. On the contrary, it hopes to devel-



Premier Li Peng and Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi toast the signing of Sino-Indian co-operative agreements on December 22, 1988.

LI ZHIYUAN

still exists, there is a healthy and strong opposition as well. The rapidly developing peace-loving forces include not only the people of the United States and the Soviet Union but those of West and East European countries, too. Although European countries are allied respectively with the United States and the Soviet Union, they certainly have no desire to bind themselves to the superpowers' war chariots.

3. The stronger the destructive power of the nuclear weapons is, especially when they are capable of destroying the whole world, the more the

gross national product, financial strength and the situations involving balance of international payments are all higher and better than those of the latter. Japan's economic superiority is now being transformed into a political high card. In view of the development of nuclear weapons and the current distribution of the nuclear strength, it is unlikely that such economic clout can be permitted to change into military superiority.

So, since China put forth the view that the world can be kept in a peaceful environment for a long time, it has

## Economic Ties



Former Chinese President Li Xiannian shakes the hand of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu in Beijing on October 17, 1988.

CUI BAOLIN

op and improve relations with them on the basis of the Five Principles. China seeks the stable development of Sino-American relations in line with those principles reached by both sides in all previous communiques. It also looks to the real improvement of its relations with the Soviet Union in the course of dispelling the three major obstacles impeding the development of such ties. China also hopes the United States and the Soviet

Union will handle the relations between them and their relations with other countries according to the Five Principles.

This adjustment may help China greatly improve its relations with the countries that are deeply influenced by the United States or the Soviet Union. It may also enrich the contents of China's policy towards developing relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles.

Promoting common economic prosperity as one of the basic targets of China's foreign policy is another new adjustment.

After the Soviet October Revolution, two social systems, socialism and capitalism, existed in the world. In the past, foreign policies of socialist states never embraced a concept of "joint economic prosperity" among countries with different social systems. Top party leader Zhao Ziyang, in his explanation of the "ten aspects" of China's foreign policy, said that "opposing hegemonism, maintaining world peace, developing friendly cooperation among countries and promoting joint economic prosperity" are fundamental goals for China. Among them, "promoting joint economic prosperity" is a new addition.

In the 1980s, China's foreign economic relations have included making use of foreign capital, importing technology, providing assistance to other countries, signing labour service contracts with foreign countries and developing multilateral co-operation. China has joined, one after another, major global and regional organizations and conferences for financial regulation and economic co-ordination in the capitalist world. China is also warming up to the common decorum of global economic activities. China has competitively entered the international market, agreeing to free international trade and opposing protectionism. China's bedrock strategy of economic development in the coastal areas was also made in view of opportunities afforded by international economies. In general, China has its eyes on how to combine its economic strategy



and foreign economic activities with international economies.

It needs to be pointed out that, for socialist countries, "promoting joint economic prosperity" is a pursuit in line with the peaceful co-existence policy. It substantiates the contents of the latter with economic development and prosperity. Meanwhile, it is also the fruit of a proper understanding of the world revolution and human progress issue. Now China maintains that revolution is not exportable and that there is no such thing as world revolution in state relations, which should be guided only by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

Zhao pointed out in 1985 that, to China, striving for lasting peace, developing international co-operation and promoting joint prosperity are the sole reasonable choices in our age. Since the 1970s, the colonialist system has thoroughly collapsed and Western countries, from the initiative of Nixon doctrine to the convening of the European security conference, have accepted ideas of peaceful co-existence among countries with different systems. For this reason, in the 1980s Chinese leaders clearly stated that peace and development are the two themes of current times.

Of course, advancing such ideas has its prerequisites: First, the Chinese people have realized that they can never



Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meets with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Moscow last December.

NOVESTI

carry out their four modernization programme by closing their country to international intercourse. China must conduct reform, open its door and invigorate the economy. It needs to develop friendly co-operation with many countries and encourage relations under the prerequisite of jointly promoting economic prosperity according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Second, it has been proved in history that foreign actions that run counter to the peaceful co-existence ideas will get absolutely nowhere. Third, social productive forces in socialist countries have not surpassed those in capitalist countries. Most efforts of developing countries to seek the way out through collective economic model were not successful. This has forced them to consider and accept the development of interdependent econo-

mic relations, co-existing with countries under different systems and at various levels of economic development, so as to seek better measures for their economies.

China belongs to the third world and its historical experiences and today's task determine that China is rightfully aligned with the developing countries in regard to international political and economic relations. The third world, populated by three-fourths of the globe's inhabitants, is a major force to oppose hegemonism and maintain world peace. All these determine that China must take strengthening solidarity and co-operation with the third world as its basic standpoint. Various adjustments of China's foreign policies will surely not change that stance, and China also will not forget the position of the third world in "promoting joint economic prosperity." □

# Moscow Takes New Look at UN

**Under Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking," Moscow's cold-shoulder attitude towards the United Nations and confrontation with the United States at the United Nations have changed to an embrace of the world body and co-operation with its member states.**

by Wang Binxiao

On December 7, a benign, confident and resolute Mikhail Gorbachev stood in front of UN delegates from all over the world and declared that his country will unilaterally cut its troops by 500,000 at home and 50,000 in Eastern Europe.

The Soviet leader, who became general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985 and chairman of the Supreme Soviet in 1988, also asserted Moscow's belief that the United Nations should be a front-line force in regard to resolving the world's problems. For example, he suggested, the United Nations could sponsor an international conference to clear up the question of how Afghanistan's future government should be structured and send peace-keeping forces to the war-torn Muslim country.

## Stage-setting

The UN scene, in itself, looked like just another dazzling overture taken by the 58-year-old Kremlin chief to improve his country's image and embarrass the United States. But the fact that this was the first visit and speech to the United Nations given by a Soviet leader since Nikita Krushchev's notorious performance in 1960 reminds the world of the sharp difference

between Moscow's past and present attitude towards the United Nations, of which the Soviet Union is one of the founders.

In 1968, former Soviet chief Krushchev pounded his shoe on the podium at the United Nations in order to get his point across to the United States and other UN delegates. In his eyes, this international arena was nothing but a platform for him to tell the world how powerful his country was.

For years, the Soviets' policy towards the United Nations was as predictable as clockwork: Every autumn a Soviet delegation showed up at the organization with a general call for disarmament or a seemingly impassioned condemnation of the use of force in international relations. On issues of the Middle East and Southern Africa, Moscow would side with the third world to freeze out Israel and South Africa. Thus they became one up on the West, the United States in particular. Finally, the delegates returned triumphantly, announcing that Moscow's Leninist diplomacy had scored a huge success.

With its recent adjustments in foreign policy, however, Moscow has also changed its attitude towards the United Nations. It is now trying to

shed its old image and promote the United Nations as a forum for dialogue and negotiations among nations. Essential progress achieved from such a multifaceted angle would likewise serve Soviet foreign policy interests.

## Peace-Keeping

As is well known, at the end of World War II, US President Franklin Roosevelt, Soviet leader Josef Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill placed their hope of maintaining post-war peace on the United Nations and the inter-power co-operation within the world organization.

Their hopes, however, were soon dashed. For a long period after the war, the United Nations became a battleground for the United States and the Soviet Union. Consequently, as the past few decades have seen crises and regional conflicts racking the world, the United Nations has failed to function as envisioned. The Soviet Union, as well as the United States, should be held to account for this.

Since Gorbachev moved into the Kremlin, Moscow began to think that in order to drive home domestic reform and invigorate its national strength, it needed to keep the interna-

tional situation in balance. To this end, foreign policy, including that towards the United Nations, must be readjusted. The United Nations, the largest and the most prestigious international organization in the world, must be used in order for Moscow's strategy to be served. Therefore, the Soviet Union sought to revive the United Nations original role—to set up an effective international security system.

In September 1987, on the occasion of the opening of the 42nd United Nations General Assembly, Gorbachev published his "The Reality and Guarantee of a Secure World" treatise. In it he proposed that the prestige and role of the United Nations must be resolutely upheld. Based on the Charter of the United Nations and its existing organizations and functions, he said, a comprehensive and general international security system must be established to work out a series of major issues. These include disarmament, regional conflict, world economic security, biological security and outer space security.

Last September, at the 43rd UN General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze suggested that in regard to establishing an all-encompassing and overall security system, there is no other more effective way than jointly promoting and upholding the role of the United Nations. The United Nations should be the most appropriate place for negotiations and settlements; it is a world centre designated to safeguard general security, regional security and the security of every country, he said.

Insofar as how to give full play to the United Nations' role in settling regional conflicts, the Soviet Union holds

that the United Nations should greatly strengthen its supervisory function. Specifically, it should dispatch more UN military observers and UN Security Council envoys to areas where conflicts arise. Also, the Security Council meeting can be held not only in the UN headquarters but also in those areas where frictions are burning or rotated among the capitals of permanent Council members. Finally, a "hot line" should be installed between the United Nations, the capitals of the various permanent Council members and the residence of the non-aligned movement's chairman.

The Soviet Union also maintains that maximum support should be given to the UN secretary-general in his capacity as international referee. The UN peace-keeping force should also be strengthened and used more widely—a UN naval force, for example, could be deployed in the Gulf area—to do some "seat-paddling" in case certain resolutions adopted by the United Nations are blocked. Moscow has expressed its willingness to provide rear transportation means and potential troop for the UN peace-keeping force. Gorbachev declared that the status and authority of the International Court, a UN affiliate, and international law as a whole should be greatly upheld. He also said that a multilateral agreement on fighting international terrorism can be hammered out at the United Nations to safeguard the security of a civilized world.

### Stepping in Line

In the various United Nations organizations, the Soviet Union used to grapple head-on

with the West, led by the United States. The Soviet Union was both a political and economic antagonist. It refused to join the International Monetary Fund and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, condemning the Western developed countries and taking advantage of the South-North conflict. These moves, to some extent, did undermine the West, but did not benefit Moscow much. On the contrary, they helped hawkish factions within the United States press the Reagan administration to bypass the United Nations and take actions of its own. For example, the United States invaded Grenada, bombed Libya, withdrew from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and continued to support the Nicaraguan *contras* in defiance of a verdict by the International Court. The Soviet Union appeared all too weak to check the United States.

On the other hand, complete negation of the existing international economic order, though appealing to some third world countries, handicapped Moscow's economic cooperation with the West. It also forced the Soviet Union into a paradoxical situation because it is a developed industrialized country capable of and obliged to increase economic aid to third world countries. The Soviet Union has already promised that after clearing up the issue of disarmament, it will loosen up its purse strings for third world nations. But these countries' problems are so pressing that they cannot wait till the two superpowers resolve all their disputes.

Today, however, the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to avoid head-on confrontation

with the United States in the United Nations. Even on some major issues, such as disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear testing, the Soviets have refused to directly criticize Washington.

As for the third world call for establishing a new international economic order, the Soviet Union is paying lip service to such a demand. At the same time, it stresses the interdependence of the world's two systems and has actively applied for the status of an observer at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as well as taken part in trade negotiations conducted by the trade bloc. In autumn 1987, the Soviet Union joined the UN "Common Commodity Foundation" organization and in March 1988, it sent delegates to participate in a meeting on multinational corporation activities organized by the United Nations. These reflected Moscow's desire to seek conciliation and co-operation.

Moscow's change of attitude is also embodied in its new policies on Israel and South Africa. At present, it no longer opposes their memberships in the International Civil Aviation Organization affiliated with the United Nations.

## Disarmament

The Soviet Union proposes that the United Nations should participate in the process of disarmament more widely and directly. Gorbachev suggested that multilateral negotiations be opened under UN sponsorship in order to reach a general agreement on disarmament and banning nuclear testing. International verifications can be conducted by specialized groups of the United Nations, he said.

Meanwhile, Shevardnadze

recommended that a registration centre be set up in the United Nations that is responsible for the sale or supply of conventional weapons. He also called for a multilateral agreement on braking the proliferation of the technology related to manufacturing military missiles. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and head of the Soviet mission to the United Nations Vladimir Petrovski advocated a UN Security Council-sponsored foreign ministerial or summit meeting to discuss specific steps of global disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. He also urged that the Geneva disarmament conference, now a project of 40-some countries, be expanded into a world disarmament organization.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union has moved that the United Nations convene a summit meeting on global biological protection. It has also expressed its support for Italy's initiative to set up a "World Scientists' Laboratory" and agreed with France that international groups be sent to underdeveloped countries to provide humanitarian aid. Gorbachev even advised that a "world consultative conference," composed of intellectuals, be created by the United Nations to brace the spiritual and moral force of today's world.

In a word, to enhance its prestige, expand its influence and improve its image, the Soviet Union is now making full use of the United Nations, especially its special role in resolving regional conflicts, disarmament and multilateral economic co-operation. This adjustment is part of Moscow's general target of adjusting foreign policy, implementing domestic reform and returning to the international community.

This change, though helpful to fostering political and economic ties with the West, may also put more knots in the relations between the Soviet Union and some third world countries. Besides, the Soviet Union now donates some US\$14 million each year to the United Nations, only about 3 percent of the US figure in 1986. This gap also puts a kink in Moscow's UN diplomacy. □

## Hot Off the Press

**One Hundred Questions About Tibet** has just been published in Chinese, English, French, German and Spanish by the *Beijing Review Press*.

The book covers 10 topics: history, population, human rights, the Dalai Lama, religion, culture, autonomy, economy, people's livelihood and the Lhasa riots. In a question-answer format, the book provides a wealth of historical records and facts for people at home and abroad curious about the developments in Tibet.

In a 34-mo format, the book totals 70,000 words, with 42 photos and a map of Tibet.

Available from Business Department, Beijing Review, 24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing 100037, China.

Price:

Outside China—US\$3.50 (including international postage, surface mail); US\$5.00 (including international postage, air mail);

Inside China—RMB4.00

# 'Tibetan Independence' —Fact or Fiction?

Starting this issue, "Beijing Review" publishes extracts from "100 Questions About Tibet," just published by Beijing Review Press. Using first-hand accounts and historical documents, the book aims at answering many of the questions raised about Tibet in recent years. In this instalment, various issues of Tibetan history and claims to Tibetan independence are examined, while our BOOKS column carries a full review by Israel Epstein, a noted writer who has visited Tibet three times.—Ed.

**Q:** It has been argued that the Mongolians incorporated Tibet into China by conquest in a manner not too dissimilar to Britain's occupation of India and Burma. What do you think of the claim that just as India cannot now regard Burma as part of its territory, so China cannot claim sovereignty over Tibet?

**A:** This argument is utterly groundless, and those who raise it either are ignorant of China's history or have ulterior motives.

As is known by all, China has been a multi-national country since ancient times. Over the past several thousand years, many nationalities have either governed the country or established separatist regimes. As a result, today's China is a product of many different peoples—it is a mistake to believe (as many foreigners with little knowledge of our history do) that China means the Han Nationality, or that the Han Nationality means China. To do so is to be led into the mistaken belief that the regimes established by China's ethnic minorities are "foreign countries."

During the three centuries

before the establishment of the Mongol Khanates, China was torn apart by many separatist feudal regimes. The Song Dynasty (960-1279), despite being the most powerful of these, lacked the strength to unify the country and so only ruled over middle, east and southwest China. The other major local powers were the Liao (907-1125), the Western Xia (1038-1227), and the Jin (1115-1234) in the north, founded respectively by the Qidan, Xia and Nuzhen ethnic peoples.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, the tribes of the Mongol grasslands were ruled in turn by the Liao and Jin dynasties, who conferred titles on the tribal leaders.

From ancient times, the Mongolians had been one of China's nationalities. In the early 13th century, their power expanded rapidly. Genghis Khan united the tribes under a centralized Khanate in 1206, and then he and his successors launched a series of military expeditions against the Song Dynasty and China's other feudal regimes. The outcome was a unified country and the formation of the Yuan Dynas-

ty in 1271.

In the process, the Mongol Khanates peacefully incorporated Tibet in 1247 after defeating the Western Xia and the Jin.

With a unified China, the Yuan Dynasty contributed greatly to the political, economic and cultural development of the nation's various nationalities—in strict contrast to the feuding that had gone on since the late years of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). To argue that the Mongolians' campaign to unify China was fundamentally the imposition of rule by a foreign power is wrong because it misses the basic point of Chinese history that China is a multi-national country. Whether it was the Mongolians, the Manchus (who founded the Qing Dynasty), or any other peoples, it has always been a case of one Chinese nationality replacing another. It is completely out of the question to claim that the Mongolians or the Manchus were outsiders who conquered China.

The British colonization of India through the 17th-19th centuries, however, was a completely different matter. It was not until 1947 that Indians

won their independence. Similarly with Burma, which was first made a colony of Britain in 1885, became a province of India in 1897, and then was submitted to direct British jurisdiction in 1937. During World War II, it was occupied by the Japanese, before gaining independence in 1948.

Thus it was that two sovereign nations were first conquered by the British with armed force, then subjugated through trade, incorporated into one great unity, before again being separated and re-granted their separate nationhoods. It is not hard to see that there is nothing in common with the British war of aggression against India and Burma

—states it previously had no relations with at all—and the Mongolians' war to unify China.

**Q: Why was the issue of "Tibetan independence" raised early this century?**

**A:** First, we must clarify what is meant by "Tibet." In English and some other foreign languages, "Tibet" is often taken to mean the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, and occasionally an even larger area. Here, we limit "Tibet" to Tibet proper.

Since the Qing Dynasty started ruling Tibet in the 17th century, relations between the Tibet local government and

the Qing central authorities had been relatively smooth and successful, although there were occasional troubles. However, during the two Opium Wars of the mid-19th century, they began to break down.

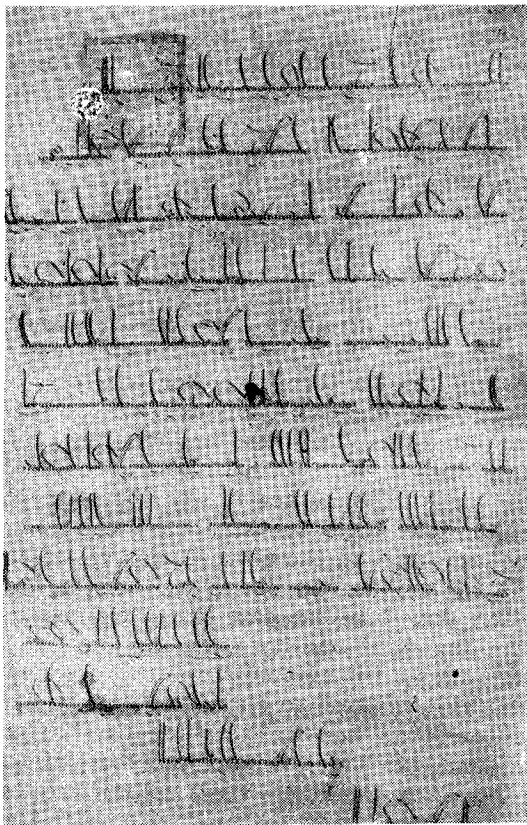
In 1904, British troops invaded Tibet. At that time, the 13th Dalai Lama and his trusted followers wanted to resist, but the declining Qing government made one concession after another. It refused to give any support to the local government and forbade Tibet to use force. After being defeated, the 13th Dalai Lama retreated to the interior and was temporarily

relieved of his official title. Although the Qing government quickly reinstated him, it nevertheless signed unequal treaties with Britain and paid indemnities for its military expenditure. A feeling of estrangement arose between the central government and the Tibet local government which consequently caused the relations to deteriorate further.

Even then, what the 13th Dalai Lama and his followers opposed were the high commissioner resident in Tibet, Lian Yu, and the local army commander Zhong Yin. Their confrontations led to the Dalai Lama's fleeing to India in February 1910.

Foreign writers have often mistakenly believed this event was caused by the arrival of Zhao Erfeng's troops. In fact, Zhao, who was the commissioner in charge of frontier affairs for Sichuan and Yunnan, had himself only reached Qamdo, to where his troops retreated after only advancing as far as Gyanda. The real cause of the Dalai Lama's flight was his strained relations with Lian Yu, the high commissioner resident in Tibet. Lian had recommended that Zhong Yin, a member of the imperial family, should be sent to Tibet. He arrived with a hastily organized force of 1,000 troops. Although the troops were poorly disciplined, they were sufficient to frighten the Dalai Lama and his followers. The Dalai Lama fled in utter confusion and once again was punished by the imperial government with the removal of his official title. This further widened the rift.

In October the following year, news of the 1911 Revolution and the abdication of the Qing emperor arrived in Tibet. The region's civil and military systems were immediate-



An official notice written in Tibetan by Pagba, the first "Imperial Tutor" appointed by Kublai Khan to head the Tibetan local government in 1253 after the latter became the first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty.

ly plunged into confusion and a fierce struggle commenced between the republicans and the royalists. Some people advocated marching on to the interior to help the emperor, others fermented strife in Tibet, harassing the local people.

At this point, the 13th Dalai Lama sent his men back to Tibet and in 1912 expelled Lian Yu and Zhong Yin with their troops to the interior through India. With the emergence of the careerist politician Yuan Shikai at the head of the newly founded government of the Republic of China, confrontation swiftly ensued between the north and south of the country. During this time of turmoil, there was no possibility of normalizing the political relationship between Tibet and the interior.

The 1911 Revolution was a political revolution (in which all of China's nationalities participated) aimed at overthrowing the Qing Dynasty which had humiliated the nation and forfeited China's sovereignty. Tibet played its part by ending the administration of the Qing Dynasty's high commissioners resident in the region. Although many wider calls for action were made at the time, they met with the resistance and opposition of many Tibetan nobles, monks and people. Although these events have been subsequently referred to as "exclusion of the Hans" or a declaration of "Tibetan independence," neither tally with the actual facts.

The word "independence" has different meanings. In the



An imperial edict issued by the Ming Dynasty Emperor Jiaqing in 1562 allowing a Tibetan religious prince to retain his title.

early stage of the revolution, many provinces declared "independence." In this context, "independence" involved ending Qing Dynasty rule rather than the establishment of a new nation separate from the country as a whole. This is clearly expressed in Sun Yat-sen's declaration of January 1912 on the republicanization of the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan nationalities when he was interim president:

"After Wuhan took the lead to revolt, several other provinces declared independence. This 'independence' meant exclusion of the Qing court through alliance with other provinces. This also applies to Mongolia and Tibet."

In October 1912 when the government of the Republic of China reconfirmed the 13th Dalai Lama's right to his title, Tibet did neither refuse to accept the decision nor demand independence.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the so-called "Mongolia-Tibet Treaty" that was much rumoured at the beginning of 1913. According to some foreign newspapers, this

treaty opened with a statement that following the fall of the Qing Dynasty, Mongolia and Tibet had declared themselves independent nations. The 13th Dalai Lama and his followers denied this rumour (as has been recorded in various books written by some foreigners), unlikely behaviour if he had really wanted independence.

Up to this time, the question of Tibet's status had remained a purely internal matter of China. But in the first year of the Republic of China (1912), The British ambassador to China attempted to interfere directly. He presented a note to Yuan Shikai on August 17 which stated that the British government would refuse to recognize the government of the Republic of China and so would not permit Chinese officials to travel there via India. In this way, he forced Yuan to appoint officials to participate the Simla Conference of 1913-14. Although the talks broke down, one of its results was to hinder the resumption of normal political relations between Tibet and the interior.

In 1919, under the influence of the national patriotic and

anti-imperialist May 4th Movement, the Chinese central government dispatched a delegation to Lhasa from Gansu through Qinghai Province. At an interview with the 13th Dalai Lama, the latter said he had never established good terms with Britain, and, moreover, he had never had any intention of separating Tibet from China. However, because of the many warlord regimes in the country, the continuing domestic turmoil and foreign invasion, real unity had not been realized. This was nevertheless a short period. Given the right circumstances, Tibet would resume normal relations with the central government. This was a historical trend any force could not reverse.

On May 23, 1951, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China and Tibet's local government signed an agreement on Tibet's peaceful liberation. In October the same year, the Dalai Lama sent a cable to Chairman Mao Zedong endorsing this agreement, supporting the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet to consolidate national defence, drive out imperialist forces from Tibet and safeguard the unification of the territory and the sovereignty of the motherland.

Even now, there are still some people who ignore this mass of evidence and try to convince others that there

had existed a so-called problem of "Tibetan independence." It has to be asked, what government across the world has ever recognized Tibet as an independent state?

**Q: It has been claimed that China only has suzerainty over Tibet. Is this right?**

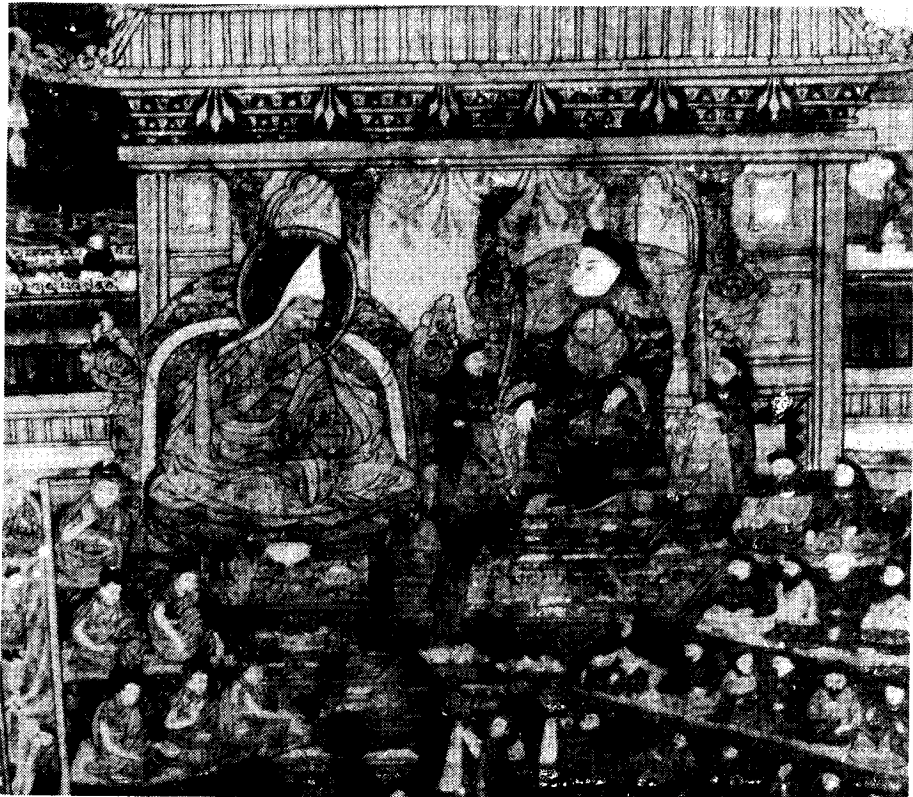
**A:** It is said that Lord Curzon, who was viceroy of India in 1904, first used the word "suzerainty" in the restricted context of British-Indian government document.

The first international document which used and explained this word was a convention signed by Britain and Russia in Petersburg on August 31, 1907, titled The Convention Between Great Britain and Russia Relating to Persia,

Afghanistan and Tibet.

This convention has three sections. The first dealt with the spheres of influence, special rights and interests of Britain and Russia in Persia. The second dealt with Afghanistan, and the third concerned Tibet. This section declared that the governments of Great Britain and Russia recognized China's right of suzerainty over Tibet. In the first sentence of the second article it stated, "In conformity with the admitted principle of the suzerainty of China over Tibet, Great Britain and Russia engage not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese government." It may be the only time the noun "suzerainty" was used in an in-

A mural in the Potala Palace depicting Losang Gyaco (left), the fifth Dalai Lama, paying homage to the Qing Emperor Shunzhi in 1652.





ternational treaty concerning China's relationship with Tibet.

Britain took advantage of Russia's weakness following its defeat at the hands of the Japanese to secure a declaration conceding Britain's special interests and rights in Tibet. Because China's sovereignty over the region was an obstruction to both sides, they arbitrarily inserted the word "suzerainty" in its place. May we ask which Chinese government had ever recognized

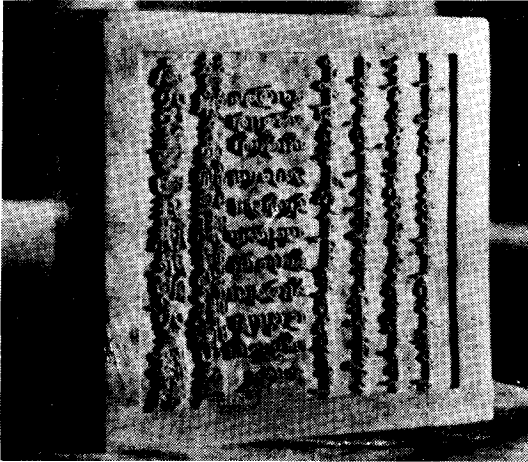
this convention, and which convention signed by the Chinese government has ever mentioned the word "suzerainty?"

In February 1910, the 13th Dalai Lama fled to India after a disagreement with the Qing high commissioners resident in Tibet. For this, the Qing imperial court punished him by removing his title. He was subsequently reinstated by the government of the Republic of China. But it is worth noting that this event happened just two years after the signing of the convention. When the British government was asked about it, it replied that it merely showed China exercised effective suzerainty over Tibet and Britain had no right to interfere.

This seems to offer us a definition of "suzerainty," but others have also been suggested later. For example, someone else stated that it was a doctrine of great flexibility, determined by how effectively a central government could exercise sovereignty over a local government. Then again, it was said that "suzerainty" concerned the autonomous rights of a local government, and it was an impossible word to define. But some people insisted that although the word "suzerainty" could not possibly have a clear definition, it should never be equated with "sovereignty."

One point is clear, the use of the word concerning Tibet was aimed at denying China's sovereignty.

China's stand on Tibet has long been clear. First, China has long exercised sovereignty, not anything else, over the region. Second, regional autonomy is purely the internal affairs of a given country, and sovereign state will never allow any other nation to inter-



The gold seal given by a Qing emperor to the Dalai Lama empowering him to look after administrative and religious affairs in Tibet.



The KMT government representative sent to preside over the crowning ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama in 1940 with the newly "incarnated" Living Buddha.



Mao Zedong, chairman of the Central People's Government, at a banquet in honour of Ngapoi Nagwang Jigme, chief delegate of the local government of Tibet, after the signing of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet in 1951.

fere in its domestic affairs.

**Q: What are the views of foreign countries on the "independence of Tibet"?**

**A:** Tibet is an inseparable part of China. This has always been recognized by the world both now and in the past—even in the mid-19th century when China fell victim to imperialist aggression. For instance, in 1903 George Hamilton, the British Secretary of State for India, said that Tibet must be regarded "as a province of China." On June 14, 1904, in his instructions to the British plenipotentiary to Russia, the

British foreign secretary reiterated that Tibet was a province of the Chinese empire.

Since independence, India has repeatedly stated its respect for China's sovereignty over Tibet. On May 15, 1954, Prime Minister Nehru declared in the Lower House of the Indian Parliament, "I am not aware that at any time during the last few hundred years, Chinese sovereignty, or if you like suzerainty, was challenged by any outside country."

In March 1959, when a small number of reactionary elements in the local government

of Tibet staged an armed rebellion, a spokesman for the US State Department declared on March 24, "The United States never regarded Tibet as an independent state." A spokesman for the British Foreign Office also reiterated on March 31, 1959, that Britain recognize China's sovereignty over Tibet. □

**CORRECTIONS:**

1. In issue No. 50, 1988, the 17th line in the fourth paragraph on p. 16 should read, "the League's Sixth National Conference, about 25 percent of".
2. In issue No. 1, 1989, the fourth line in the first paragraph on p. 31 should read, "Technology and Products Fair '89".
3. In issue No. 5, 1989, the unit in the chart on p. 29 should read "100 million Roubles".

# Unions of Management & Workforce

As China's reform programme penetrates ever deeper, the country's trade unions have become increasingly involved in the day-to-day management of enterprises, helping to raise productivity and defusing potential conflicts. Following are reports based on interviews with trade union leaders from across the country. They talked to "Beijing Review" about developments and changes in their work.—Ed.

by Our Staff Reporters Yang Xiaobing and Feng Jing

**T**he Changchun No. 1 Auto Factory is an old but key enterprise in China's truck manufacturing industry. Constructed with the help of the Soviet Union in the 1950s, it now has a total workforce of 80,000 people spread across 26 departments. On yearly sales of 2 billion yuan, it generates profits of around 400 million yuan.

Since 1983, the factory has been manufacturing a new range of heavy-duty trucks, ceasing production of all older models in 1987. Now, the possibilities of moving into car production are being examined.

Wu Wei, chairman of the factory's trade union, said his organization's work couldn't be separated from the factory's central tasks. One of these tasks is developing the workers' role as masters of their factory. The principal organs through which they participate in management are the factory's workers' congresses, which exist in every department. Around 7-8 percent of the workforce serve as representatives on these congresses.

Factory-wide congresses are held twice a year, with occa-



Trade union cadres answering questions raised by Chinese and foreign reporters at a press conference during the 11th ACFTU national congress.

BAI LIANSUO

sional special congresses in between. At these congresses, the factory's director gives economic progress reports and the workers discuss future production and operating plans.

In 1987, the factory director proposed a series of economic measures aimed at increasing output by 30 million yuan. At a workers' congress, however,

many people thought the target had been set too low. They proposed raising it to 100 million yuan. After consulting the financial department, the director revised the figure upwards. With their own suggestions incorporated, the workforce not only realized the planned increase, but surpassed it by another 20 million

## FOR YOUR REFERENCE

## China's Trade Unions

**T**he All-China Federation of Trade Unions is China's leading trade union organization. All of the country's national and local trade unions are affiliated to it.

Founded in 1925, it recently held its 11th National Congress, electing Ni Zhifu chairman and Zhu Houze as first secretary.

Below the ACFTU, 29 of China's provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities have their own federations of trade unions.

At the end of 1987, China's 536,000 union branches had a total membership of 100 million people, accounting for 90 percent of all workers in the country. Full-time union cadres numbered 470,000.

The ACFTU consists of eight departments: economy, technology and labour protection, labour and wages, women workers, propaganda and education, international liaison, organization, finance, and accounts and auditing.

China has 15 national unions organized by trade in the following industries: railways, civil aviation, seamen, road transport, post and telecommunications, engineering and metallurgy, petrochemicals, coal mining and geology, water and electricity, textiles, light industry, urban development and building materials, agriculture and forestry, finance and trade, and education.

□

yuan.

Among the union's other roles are examining all rules and regulations issued in the factory, and checking, supervising and appraising management. Twice a year, the factory workers assess the performance of their cadres through a combination of examinations, comments from the factory floor and inspection groups. Cui Mingwei, director of the auto-body department, is given the title "close friend of the workers," for his strong sense of responsibility and his concern for the workers. While those with below par performances were singled out for criticism. As the workers frequently point out, the factory still belongs to them, not the directors, even if the latter have had their decision-making powers increased through the director responsi-

bility system.

The trade union constantly strives to reinforce this point, running publicity and propaganda campaigns with slogans such as, "The workers are the masters of the factory: we all share its common destiny." It also plays a role in overcoming production problems. For example, when the factory started manufacturing its new range of trucks in 1983, its technology and senior workers' associations held 80 competitions and established 351 key task teams to help solve 3,718 key technical problems. After much hard research, one technical association team even came up with an invention for an engine which didn't leak kerosene.

Wu Wei said that the union's work and responsibilities had changed in recent years. Previously it concentrated on the

problems faced by individuals, such as dissatisfaction with living conditions or wages, often doing little more than reporting the case to the factory director. Now, however, as the union participates in the allocation of the company's profits to be retained for its own disposal, it actively campaigns for more general interests: asking for extra money for housing, education, a cinema, dance hall, swimming pool, or whatever is deemed desirable.

"But," Wu reminded, "the factory intends to start producing cars to help China cut foreign imports. This is going to need a large amount of the state capital, and raises the problem of co-ordinating the long-term interests of the state and company with the short-term interests of the workers. One of the trade union's major tasks is explain-

ing these kinds of problems.”

## Mediation

Gu Suhua is the chairwoman of the city trade union in Mudanjiang, Heilongjiang Province. She relates the story of how a union in Dongning County overcame a series of problems brought on by the lack of democratic consultation in a local enterprise.

The department responsible for the company had put it out for tender and selected a management contractor without soliciting opinions from the workforce. A series of production problems rapidly emerged, bringing the company to the brink of closure. When both the company and the county trade union drew the case to the attention of the county government, it decided to invite a series of new management tenders. All of them were fully discussed by the workforce through their union. With factory-wide support, the second contractor has now turned the company round.

In April 1988, Mudanjiang City began to introduce contract and lease reform. Gu Suhua believes that unions must play a major role in overseeing these reforms.

Already the city's authorities have taken up the union's suggestions that its chairman attend all meetings and discussions on contract and lease reform, and before any measures or programmes are initiated, the union's opinions should always be solicited. The local authorities have also accepted the union's proposal that a contractor should receive a 60 percent vote of confidence from an enterprise's workers' congress before being approved.

Last April, one of the city's

colour sheet weaving factories was put out to tender. The minimum annual profit was set at 400,000 yuan. The factory's former director said he could earn 450,000 yuan, but its former deputy director, Li Shuhua, put forward the seemingly impossible figure of 1.6 million yuan. At a special workers' congress, they both laid out their plans to the 1,600 workers'. In the ballot that followed, Li Shuhua picked up more than 80 percent of the vote. Although the assessment committee feared he had overestimated the factory's earning capacity, they decided to respect the workers' opinions and duly installed him.

With the workforce behind him, Li set up about increasing efficiency and making the factory's products more competitive. Senior workers offered him designs and patterns they had accumulated over the years, and to fulfil production quotas ahead of time, the union organized a series of output competitions. Just four months after being appointed, Li's company had earned profits of 1 million yuan, which were estimated to have risen to 2 million yuan by the end of 1988.

Trade unions in contracted or leased enterprises are incorporated into decision-making structures: they play a role in determining the allocation of funds and the arrangement of working schedules. The enterprises have no rights to appoint or dismiss union chairmen, who are always selected through democratic elections, nor can they decide to abolish the union.

## Defusing Conflicts

In the day-to-day work of an enterprise, its union plays an

invaluable role in defusing conflicts between the management and the workforce. Wang Junming, the union chairman in Huaihua Prefecture, Hunan Province, offered an example of union mediation following an incident at a local sheet factory last April. Around 80 workers had stopped work following disagreements with the contractor. A quick investigation revealed that when the factory had been contracted out in March 1988, its new work programme had not been passed by the workers' congress. The contractor had then gone on to cancel labour insurance and welfare benefits previously enjoyed by the workforce.

Backed by the Hunan Province Trade Union, the local union persuaded the workers to return to work, and then set about ensuring that the workforce's interests were fully respected. The matter was resolved and full production resumed. As one of the workers commented, "Our union has spoken for us. We now know it's our organization which we can rely on."

Zhang Shilun is famous throughout China as an enterprise contractor. Among his business interests are a rubber plant and the Haihe plastic materials factory in Tianjin. He believes that the relationship between a contracted management and a trade union should not be antagonistic: the union has to represent the interests of the workers, but simultaneously support the central position of a factory director. For his or her part, the director has to fully respect and support the work of the trade union.

Zhang says that in his factories, all matters concerning the interests of the workers are discussed at workers' congress-

es, and any measures passed by a democratic vote are resolutely carried out. At his Haihe factory, the trade union has nine inspection groups to ensure all management is performed democratically, including an audit group supervising the distribution of bonuses and a notarization group for checking the performance of contracted managers. In both of his Tianjin factories, output value and workers' incomes are now the highest they have ever been.

## Women's Rights

In Nantong City, Jiangsu Province, women make up 38 percent of the total workforce of 810,000 people. Safeguarding their interests has become a major part of the local trade union's work.

The major problem remains overcoming prejudice against employing women workers. One enterprise, for example, decided it needed an extra 50 workers. But when the city's Bureau of Labour insisted they take on more women, the factory's management declared they would rather not hire any workers for the next two years than employ a single woman.

Following this statement, the city's trade union received many letters from women workers across Nantong appealing for aid. In response, it promptly organized a meeting to discuss the role of women in the workplace, inviting representatives from the municipal Party committee, the local people's congress, the Nantong Economic Commission and Science and Technology Commission, other units and enterprises directors. It arranged for a dialogue between the city's mayor and women, and its chairman gave a speech on women's rights to the standing

committee of the local people's congress.

A series of investigations conducted by the trade union revealed that enterprises employing a large proportion of women workers fared rather worse than those employing more men. For example, in one of Nantong's textile mills with a high number of women employees, medical fees of 28,000 yuan and maternity pay of 35,700 yuan had been paid out to 229 pregnant women in 1987, even without taking production losses into account.

To overcome these kinds of problems, the trade union suggested establishing a maternity compensation fund. Money would be drawn from all enterprises, regardless of how many women they employed, and then used to reimburse companies with women on maternity leave.

The union drew up a draft series of measures, which it passed on to the municipal government, leading to the establishment of the fund last July. Already it has had a tangible effect. The city's bank, for example, was formerly reluctant to hire women. By the end of August, however, its workforce contained equal numbers of men and women.

## Understanding

Yue Kui is the deputy director of a radio cassette recorder factory affiliated to Sanyo in the Shekou District of Shenzhen City. He is also chairman of the factory's trade union. With a workforce of some 700 workers, the factory produces 600 portable stereos and several thousand cassette players daily for export to the United States, Britain, France and several other countries.

During its first few months

after opening in 1984, the factory suffered frequent conflicts between the workforce and the management. An organization was urgently needed to represent the interests of its workers. As Yue, aged 40, was the factory's oldest worker, he was elected chairman of its trade union, and ever since has carried out his duties in his spare time.

In early 1987, all the unions in Sanyo's nine Chinese factories combined themselves into one large union. Sanyo's local general manager praised this move, but when their head office in Japan was informed, they expressed reservations that a high-level employee also represented the trade union. But having witnessed its positive role in the factory's management, they have changed their opinion.

Yue says trade unions can help foreign managements gain a better understanding of China's conditions. In early 1988, the workers in his factory had clearly lost their enthusiasm—many of them had even stopped working altogether. Overseas managers, unclear of the underlying reasons, were unsure how to deal with the problem. Union representatives, however, explained the effect inflation was having on the workers' pay packets. The company then raised wages all round, promoting every worker one wage grade and increasing its gross payroll by 40 percent. At the same time, it began to hand out subsidies to offset price rises in non-staple foodstuffs. Morale leapt dramatically, and so did productivity—it now stands 140 percent above the required norm.

The factory management now always solicits the trade union's opinions before making any major decision, and at

its suggestion has followed the example of some Chinese enterprises and started allocating bonuses for surpassing quotas.

The trade union has assumed responsibility for handling problems faced by its members outside of work. For example, the management made no arrangements for workers' dormitories and dining halls. But as most workers in Shekou come from other parts of China, they have no proper homes to return to after work. Later, with the help of the union, special arrangements were made to lay on recreation and sports activities.

To safeguard the workers' legitimate rights and interests, the trade union has prepared a detailed introduction to labour insurance and welfare regulations in China for foreign companies, and helped them set up a welfare and insurance system suitable for foreign-funded enterprises. In Yue Kui's factory, no worker can work more than two hours overtime a day, and overtime rates are generous.

Workers' study threw up a problem which the union has helped resolve. Although night schools and part-time universities always run their classes after work hours, their examinations take place during the day. Initially, the management was reluctant to allow workers time off for these exams, but after Yue and some of his colleagues explained the benefits of a better qualified workforce, the company actively began to encourage workers to take courses in subjects such as foreign languages, accountancy and electronics. Now, 300 workers are engaged in one form of study or another, and 30 percent of the factory staff at group leader level and above have acquired secondary school or higher educa-

tion qualifications.

## Unions & the Law

Guan Huai, professor of the science of law at the People's University of China, has served as an executive member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) for two terms, as well as being its principal legal adviser. He feels that as important social and political organizations, trade unions should play a major role in the drafting of laws and regulations.

In fact, China already consults trade unions when drafting new laws and regulations. For example, during the ten years it took to prepare China's Enterprise Law, the National People's Congress repeatedly sought the opinions of unions across the country. However, when the final draft was published in January 1988, there was no clause explicitly stating workers' status as masters of the enterprise. Some people immediately criticized the draft as a law for directors only.

At an ACFTU symposium organized to discuss the draft, Guan Huai and other participants argued that the Enterprise Law should clearly define the workers' position as owners. When *Gongren Ribao* (*Workers' Daily*) reported the symposium, many people sent in letters of support. As a result, the NPC revised the draft to include the recommendations of the ACFTU.

Recently, trade unions have been opening workers' legal consultancy offices across China. There is now at least one in every province, autonomous region and municipality. In northeast China, where work began early in this field, many unions have opened such offices at county level. Among

their tasks are informing workers of their legal rights during factory tours, and pursuing lawsuits on behalf of workers. ACFTU has said it aims to have legal consultancy offices set up in every trade union at county level and above within five years in order to protect the rights and interests of all working people.

Guan Huai maintains that trade unions can play a major role in the construction of China's legal system. He points out that the current lack of labour law means workers can be exploited without the possibility of legal redress. For example, directors in contracted enterprises can arbitrarily increase overtime or dismiss workers in pursuit of short-term profits. With no law to back it up, a union cannot step in and support its members.

The Ministry of Labour and the ACFTU have now been drafting a full series of labour laws for ten years. But as the kinds of enterprises expand—state-owned, collectively managed, individually operated, etc.—so do the problems in making the law comprehensive.

Trade unions themselves also urgently need legal protection: China's existing union law was promulgated in 1950, and its articles clearly do not suit today's needs. Until a new series of union laws comes into being, there will continue to be no explicit statements defining the principles, rights, duties and powers of unions. A new draft of the Trade Union Law drawn up by ACFTU has already been revised 20 times following consultations with workers and their representatives. It should be submitted to the NPC for examination and approval later this year.

# A Journey Through Henan

Watered by the Huanghe (Yellow) River since time immemorial, Henan is one of the cradles of Chinese civilization. Last October, Luo Huiyou spent 20 days touring the province. In this account of his journey, he guides the traveller through its many major sites of historical interest and outstanding natural beauty.

by Our Staff Reporter Luo Huiyou



Wang Renmin, general manager of the Huanghe Tourist Area. WANG XIUQIN

**T**he Huanghe River has long played a determining role in the history of Henan. It has given the province its name—"south of the river"—and has watered its lands, making Henan one of China's major cotton and wheat growing centres and able to support its 80 million people (the second most populated province after Sichuan).

Last October, I toured central and northern Henan for 20 days. As the Henan Provincial Tourism Administration points out, within its borders stand 17 key historical sites under the protection of the state, 266 sites under the protection of the province, and 2,609 protected by cities and counties. But the first item on my list of sites was to be the Huanghe River itself.

## Tourist Area

The first leg of my visit took me to Zhengzhou, Henan's 3,500-year-old provincial capital—also known as "the Forest



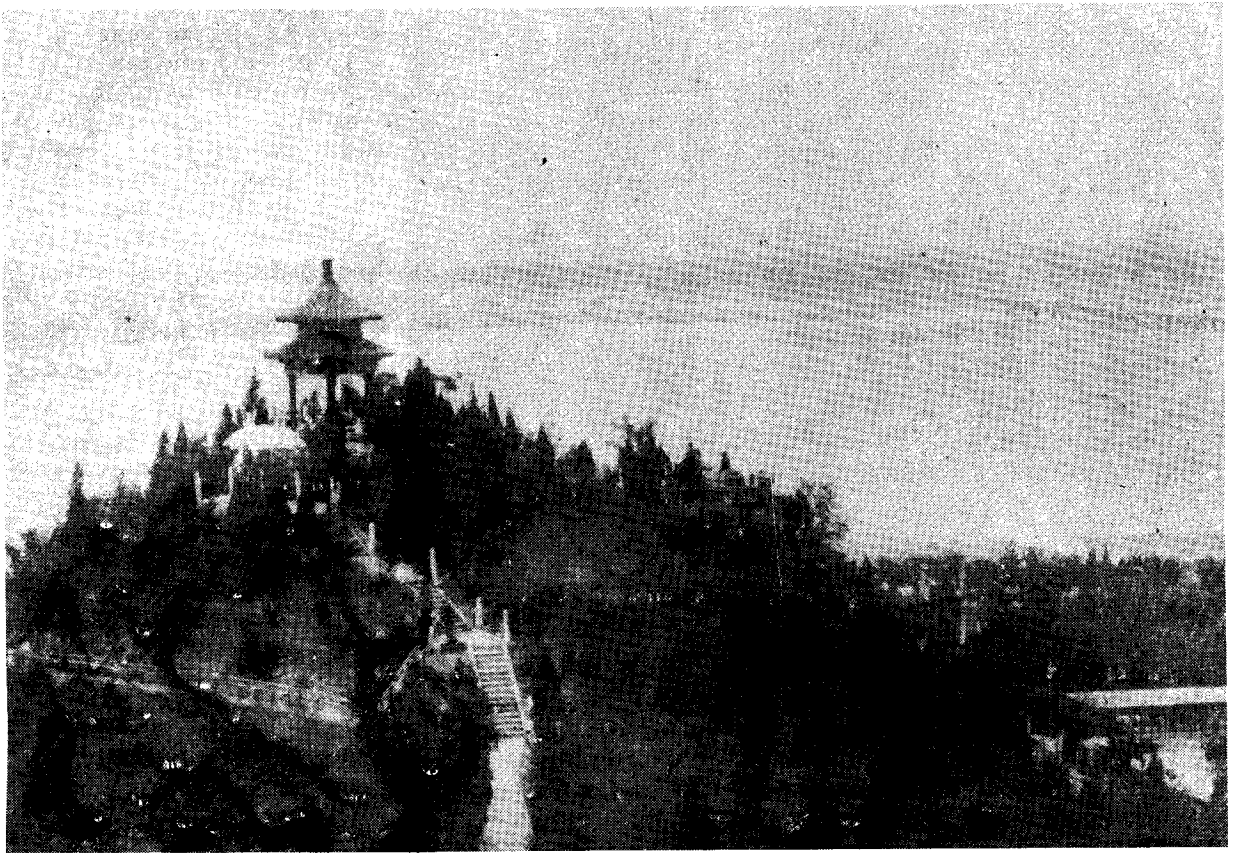
City" and "the Chinese Parasol" because of the ring of trees surrounding the city and its 1 million inhabitants.

One of the Zhengzhou's principal attractions is the Huanghe Tourist Area, where the river's majestic waters can be seen at their best against a backdrop of green mountains. After several years of work, the formerly barren moun-

tains have been covered in newly planted trees and dotted with pavilions. Each year, over 3 million people come to the area, and the changes have been so great that the famous British writer Han Suyin remarked that she couldn't believe her eyes on a visit in 1984.

The man behind the scheme is Wang Renmin, the tourist





The Kaijin Pavilion in the Huanghe Tourist Area.

WANG HUI

area's general manager. Since 1971 he has painstakingly devoted himself to the project. In a flow of eloquence that matches the surging power of the river itself, he outlines further plans to transform the area into a showcase embodying China's 5,000-year-old Huanghe culture.

Already a giant project is underway to build the "Huanghe Stone Stelae" using 3,000 stone tablets. And a decision has been made to build a 150-metre-high sculpture of the emperors of Yan and Huang—regarded in folklore as the earliest forefathers of the Chinese people—on the banks of the river. It should take 10 years to build, with funds coming from all descendants of the two emperors.

Wang said hundreds of thousands yuan has already been received from work units and individuals both in China and abroad.

## Kaifeng

One hour's drive and 68 kilometres from Zhengzhou stands Kaifeng—the Chinese capital during seven dynasties, and so also known as the "Seven-Dynasty Metropolis." Its history stretches back 2,700 years, but it reached its historical peak during the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), when it was China's political, economic, military and cultural centre and its population reached 1 million. Today, around 600,000 people live there.

Kaifeng's major tourist spots are its Iron Pagoda, Dragon Pavilion (Longting), Xiangguo and Bao Gong Temples, Pagoda Forest and Yuwangtai—the "Terrace of Yu the Great," the reputed founder of the Xia Dynasty in the 21st century BC.

The Iron Pagoda, built in 1049, is perhaps the most impressive of these. Despite the gradual subsidence of its foundations, it still stands 55.88 metres high and has 13 storeys. Octagonal in shape and decorated with brown glazed tiles with more than 50 different carved patterns, the Iron Pagoda deserves its name as it has firmly withstood all attacks from earthquakes, the elements and artillery bombardment over the past 900 years.



Kaifeng's Xiangguo Temple Market.

ZHANG XIAOHUA

Monthly business volume is put at 1.4 million yuan.

To develop tourism and attract more visitors, the Kaifeng city government has recently opened many new historical sites and redoubled its efforts to protect and renovate existing ones. Among the new spots opened to the public are the Bao Gong Ancestral Hall, a memorial to Bao Cheng (999-1062), a famous, honest and upright official of the Song Dynasty (960-1279), and the Xiangguo Temple Market, where tens of thousands of traders and businessmen once gathered.

There is also a "Song Capital Street," reconstructed according to a description in the *Reminiscences of the Eastern Capital*. Around 400 metres long and 40 metres wide, it is lined with Song-style buildings and shops selling locally produced embroidery, paintings, calligraphy, ceramics, antiques, wines and spirits. Its southern end is flanked by two magnificent towers. Entering the street, one is transported back in time—a sensation that

Seen from a distance in early morning mist, the Dragon Pavilion (Longting) resembles a heavenly palace with its roof of golden-yellow glazed tiles. After climbing the 72 steps of its 13-metre-high base, Kaifeng can be seen spread out below. Lining the inside of the main hall and the other more minor ones are 68 wax figures in nine groups. Divided into nine tableaux, they illustrate major historical events of the 168 years of the Northern Song Dynasty. Lifelike and vivid, they have been highly praised by visitors including China's Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang.

Wang Xiaoyong, deputy head of the local journalists' association, guided me around Kaifeng's largest night market in the city's Drum Chamber quarter. With an alleged history of 1,000 years, it sells almost anything: from food with a local flavour (popular with foreign tourists) to wooden furniture and the latest fashions. Ablaze with lights, and solid with people, business was

obviously brisk, particularly in the snack district with its unending clatter of pans and bowls and clamour of pedlars crying out for customers.

Altogether the market has 630 stalls. Every night around 50,000 people come to inspect its wares, rising to as many as 100,000 in the peak season.

A Kaifeng embroiderer at work.

WANG XIUQIN



can be fully rounded off by a visit to the Fanlou, the most famous of Kaifeng's 72 restaurants when it was China's Eastern Capital.

## Shaolin Temple

After several days in Kaifeng, we left for Songshan, one of China's five sacred mountains. Upon its slopes stand the Zhongyue, Songyue and Shaolin temples, the Pagoda Forest, the Songyang Academy of Classical Learning and a martial arts gymnasium.

The broad open spaces and brilliant colouring of the Zhongyue Temple are a magnificent sight. From the Zhonghua Gate to the inner sanctum of the Imperial Study Chamber stand 11 courtyards, around which stand 3,000 ancient cypresses and off which are more than 300 rooms. Altogether the temple covers an area of 100,000 square metres.

The Shaolin Temple is now well-known for its martial arts. Today, 80 percent of its 75 monks continue the temple's tradition, practising their



The Pagoda Forest near the Shaolin Temple.

WANG XIUQIN

*Wushu* daily. In recent years, a number of martial arts groups from Japan, the United States and Singapore have paid special "pilgrimage" visits to the temple.

The temple was originally built in 495 during the Northern Wei (386-534). It now has seven courtyards and a total

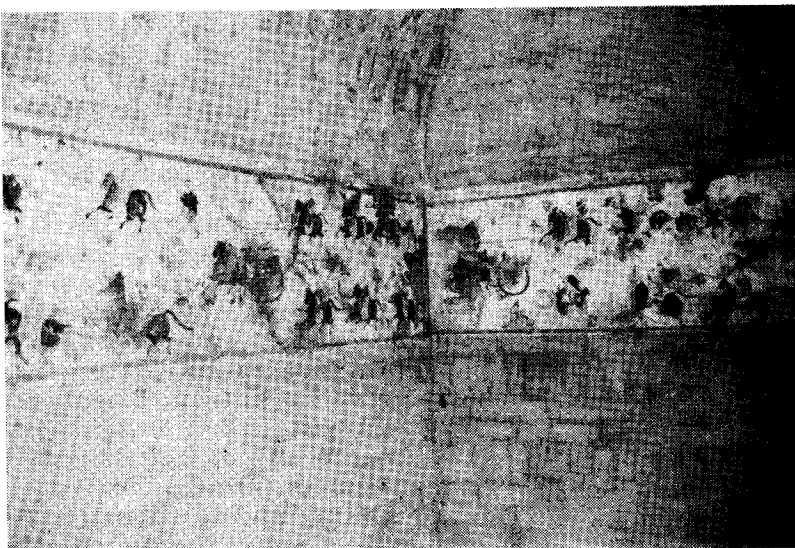
area of 30,000 square metres.

According to a leading monk, life is peaceful and stable, with the monks spending most of their time meditating and practising their calligraphy and painting, as well as their *wushu*. However, the upsurge in tourism—2 million Chinese and foreign visitors annually—has added to the workload, while earning valuable income—1 million yuan from entrance fees and donations. Being exempt from income tax, the temple spends a large share of this money on renovating and expanding its buildings, and has recently offered funding to schools for local farmers.

By the side of the Shaolin Temple stands the Pagoda Forest (Talin). With 240 pagodas, it is the largest pagoda complex in China, all of them memorials to famous monks and inscribed with the names of their disciples. Each one is a different shape: four-sided, six-sided, conical, circular, etc., and adorned with carvings, making them a remark-

Murals decorate the walls of a Western Han Tomb in Luoyang.

ZHANG CHANGJIANG



able tribute to the ingenuity of their designers and builders.

The Songyang Academy of Classical Learning dates back to 484. Two cypresses form one of its most famous features. Originally there were three, named General I, II and III by Emperor Wudi of the Western Han Dynasty when he visited the spot in 110 BC. General III was burnt down some three centuries ago, but the other two still remain. General II stands 20 metres high, and measures 12 metres around its trunk. Hollow inside, it can hold several people at one time. Although some of its bark has fallen off, the tree remains healthy and hardy.

Just beyond the academy stands the Songyue Temple Pagoda, the oldest standing pagoda in China. Built in 520, it stands 15 storeys and 40 metres high, and has a circumference of 30 metres. Its wall measures 2.45 metres thick, and in spite of being battered by the wind and the rain for over 1000 years, it remains erect and intact.

To further develop tourism

and international martial arts' exchanges, the Songshan Martial Arts Gymnasium was opened last September. With 7,000 square metres of buildings spread across 30,000 square metres of land, it is China's largest centre solely devoted to the practice of martial arts.

## Luoyang

Luoyang holds an important place in China's history, as its alternative name—"the City of Nine Capitals"—indicates. Originally built in the 11th century BC, it now has a population of 1.08 million.

Its Longmen Grottoes are one of the three best-known series of stone sculptures in China. They consist of a series of 2,000 caves, recesses and niches cut into the cliff faces on either side of the Yi River. Within them stand a staggering 100,000 Buddhist statues and carvings ranging from barely 2 centimetres to 17.14 metres high.

Nine kilometres east of Luoyang stands the White Horse

Temple, the first Buddhist monastery established in China in 68. My guide was a *Haifa* master, clothed in a yellow *kasaya* (a patchwork outer vest worn by Buddhist monks). He not only showed me around the temple, but explained how after its completion, it formed the launching pad for the spread of Buddhism throughout China and onwards to Viet Nam, Korea and Japan.

Luoyang's other famous spots include Guan Lin, the burial site of the Three Kingdoms' general, Guan Yu (?-219).

In nearby Baiyuan one can see the tomb of the Tang Dynasty poet, Bai Juyi (772-864). There is also a folk custom museum, built in 1987, with a large display of folk art and local culture both contemporary and historical, as well as an ancient tomb museum with 22 tombs from the Eastern and Western Han Dynasties (206 BC-220) to the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127).

## Northern Henan

From Luoyang we moved on to Jiyuan City to visit northern Henan. Our first stop was Wulongkou, 11 kilometres outside Jiyuan, to view the turbulent waters flowing between the narrow cliffs and the Great Longmen Waterfall.

Then it was on to the Rhesus Monkey Protection Area in the Taihang Mountains. On its colourful forest-clad slopes where wild fruit grows in abundance in the moist climate live around 2,000 rhesus monkeys in 19 separate groups. We saw dozens of them. According to my guide, one of Jiyuan's city leaders, leopards, river deer, many species of fish and other rare animals can also often be glimpsed.

A tourist feeds a rhesus monkey.

WANG XIUQIN



In the afternoon I drove on to the Wangwushan Scenic Spot to visit a series of Tang Dynasty (618-907) buildings: the Yangtai Palace, the Sanging Hall and the three-storeyed Yuhuang Pavilion. Although seriously damaged and in urgent need of repair, they remain a magnificent and unique spectacle. Several trees in the courtyard are at least 1,000 years old and are still growing luxuriantly.

Ten miles north of the Yangtai Palace stands an even more famous tree, a ginkgo nine metres in circumference and 45 metres high, which according to local legend was planted in the Western Han Dynasty more than 2,000 years ago.

Close to the Yangtai Palace lies the village of Yanpowa, allegedly the setting of a famous Chinese folk tale about a foolish old man who set his family to work removing an inconvenient mountain (a tale made doubly famous in a work of Mao Zedong's). Today it has a Yugong (foolish old man) well, a Yugong cave and what is claimed to be the Yugong's home. Beneath a large mountain stands a much smaller hillock covered in pines—supposedly all that remains of the mountain that blocked the foolish old man's way and view.

## Yuntai Mountain

Some 35 kilometres northeast of the new industrial city of Jiaozuo lies the Yuntai Mountain Scenic Area. Its 35 square kilometres encompass 30 mountains and 24 natural springs.

With two local leaders, Deputy Secretary of Jiaozuo's city Party committee Guo Anmin and Deputy Mayor Xie Shian, I spent an entire day touring the area and admiring



The 310-metre waterfall at Yuntai Mountain.

ZHANG XIAOHUA

its landscape. Like a series of Chinese paintings, the ridges and sheer precipices towered above us while rivers and streams crashed down narrow gullies and waterfalls. Two places especially impressed me: the grotesque and fantastically shaped boulders scattered along the valley floor at Laotangou, all rounded off by a 310 metre waterfall, and an equally magnificent waterfall at Wenpanyu, where the sound of the water crashing down

several dozen metres into a natural gorge resembles an endless series of thunderclaps.

## The Yin Ruins

Anyang is yet another of China's ancient capitals. Although not on the list of the seven major ancient capitals, many historians have recently been arguing for its addition. In the meantime, however, the city's 550,000 residents have to be happy with its Yin Ruins.



Anyang's recreation of a Shang Dynasty hall.

ZHANG CHANGJIANG

My host for the trip was Yang Yinchang, the deputy director of the Yin Ruins Museum. Centred on the present-day village of Xiaotun, the ruins themselves extend six kilometres from east to west and four kilometres from north to south. Historical records reveal they date from 1378 BC when Emperor Pangeng, the 10th Shang Dynasty (16th-11th century BC) ruler, moved to "Yin" (Xiaotun Village) from "Yan" (now Qufu in Shandong Province, Confucius's hometown). Over the next 273 years, eight generations and 12 emperors succeeded Pangeng until the 11th century BC, Zhou Wu, the first Western Zhou Dynasty 11th century-771 BC ruler, united his forces and defeated the last Shang ruler, Dixin. Subsequently, the city of Yin went into rapid decline and gradually disappeared beneath the earth.

After the city had long been forgotten, local farmers ploughing the ground continually dug up what they took to be "dragon bones." Believed to

have medicinal qualities, the bones were sold to traditional medicine stores. In 1899, however, one of them was finally prescribed to an ailing Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) official in Beijing. An expert in the study of inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tablets, he recognized the antique nature of the seal marks and inscriptions on the bone, but was unable to identify them. Hastily he ordered more of the "dragon bones" to be sent to him.

With help from other people, the bones were soon discovered to be tortoise shells and the shoulder blades of oxen, and the inscriptions were identified as belonging to the late Shang Dynasty.

The official's initial investigations aroused interest in the area around Xiaotun Village, and between 1928 and 1937, altogether 15 archaeological excavations were made, followed by further major discoveries after China's liberation in 1949.

Surveys have established the layout of the ruins, with royal

tombs, workshops and houses all clearly distinguishable. In the palace area, a total of 154,000 inscribed shells and bones have been unearthed, constituting the oldest documentary evidence of an ancient Chinese capital.

To the north of Xiaotun Village lie the remains of 56 royal tombs, complete with horses, chariots and human sacrifices. When the tomb of Fuhao was opened in 1976, more than 1,900 bronze objects, pieces of jewelry, precious stones and ivory and jade articles were discovered along with 4,800 inscribed shells.

In September 1987, the first phase of the Yin Ruins Museum was completed. Using documentary and archaeological evidence, it resembles an original two-storey Shang Dynasty building, with a wooden structure, grass roof, carved roof beams and painted pillars—simple and unsophisticated, but extremely elegant. Inside stands a recreated great hall and a reproduction of Fuhao's tomb.

At the opening ceremony of international symposium on Shang culture held in the museum during September 1987, experts from China and abroad spoke highly of the building. It now houses an exhibition of photographs displaying the many archaeological finds recovered from the ruins, many of which can be seen in an exhibition hall nearby.

As 1989 marks the 90th anniversary of the first identification of the "dragon bones" from the Yin Ruins, plans are being drawn up to organize a series of commemorative activities, partly as a celebration and partly to further research into Shang culture.

□

## Medicines Earn Healthy Surplus

In 1988, China earned US\$1.2 billion from traditional medicine exports, while spending no more than US\$50 million on imports. During recent years, China's foreign trade in drugs and medicines has increased annually by an average rate of 50 percent.

Antibiotics make up the bulk of China's exports, especially sulfa drugs, which constitute one-third of the nation's total production of medicines and drugs. Principal markets are the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and Southeast Asian countries.

The main imports are first-aid medications and semi-synthetic antibiotics which China cannot make at present. China's pharmaceutical manufacturers are currently trying to develop their own equivalents. One company announced recently that next year it would start production of adriamycin, an expensive anti-cancer drug only available from abroad. Experts, however, predict that it will take some years for China to become self-sufficient in drugs.

With its 1 billion population, China has attracted investment from large pharmaceutical companies around the world. For example, America's Smith Kline Beckman Corp. has invested US\$2.75 million in Tianjin, and the Squibb Corp. has put US\$3.16 million into Shanghai. Switzerland's Ciba-Geigy has invested US\$5 million in a joint-venture factory in Beijing, which should produce 200 million pills by 1990.

With foreign investment come advanced technology and modern management tech-

niques. For example, the Tianjin-Otsuka Pharmaceutical Factory, a Sino-Japanese joint venture which produces 12 million bottles of injections annually, has attracted industry representatives from across China to see its fungus-free workshop.

But foreign technology can also bring its problems. One Jiangsu-Swedish joint venture with US\$12 million of investment has been totally reliant on Swedish equipment and raw materials for the last decade, hindering China from developing its products with domestic materials.

China's current pricing system has also created difficulties for the pharmaceutical industry. According to government regulations, chemical raw materials are categorized

as means of production, and so can rise in price. Medicines, however, are classified as social welfare goods, and cannot have their prices increased, causing huge losses for pharmaceutical manufacturers.

There are also large differences between the prices of imported and Chinese-made drugs and medicines. For example, a shot of domestically produced penicillin costs US\$0.08 while imported adriamycin costs 51 times as much.

A high-ranking official from the State Pharmaceutical Administration said a formal application has been submitted to the State Council for some anti-cancer drugs to be exempted from taxation so that more Chinese patients can be guaranteed supplies of imported drugs.

by Yue Haitao

## Expanding Horse Meat Markets

China's 11 million horses make it the largest horse-owning country in the world. But with increased farm mechanization and the drop in demand for horses from the armed forces, horse breeders have been forced to search for new markets in recent years.

The problem has become most urgent for horse breeders on China's four largest grazing lands in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai and Gansu.

At present, annual world trade in horse meat totals just 150,000 tons, but demand in Europe and Japan is growing.

In conjunction with China's Comprehensive Meat Re-

search Institute and the Beijing Nutrition Institute, a horse meat processing factory in East Ujumqin Banner, Inner Mongolia, has been trying to tap this market. By the end of this year it should have completed construction of a processing department attached to its slaughterhouse, which can already handle 60 horses daily.

According to a nutritional expert, horse meat contains more protein and less fat per pound compared with pork, mutton and beef.

Zhu said the company plans to unveil its products to international customers at an exhibition to be held from April 20-30. He added that Galaxy hopes to establish co-operative links with companies from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas countries, who are also welcome to participate in the exhibition.

by Han Baocheng

## Water EXPO '89 Set in November

**T**he date of China's Water EXPO '89 has been set for November 16-22. The exhibition will be held in the Beijing Agricultural Exhibition Centre.

The exhibition is Organized by China's Ministry of Water Resources. Invitations to participate have been sent to companies and other organizations in Japan, Europe and the United States. The ministry hopes to purchase advanced technological items and equipment through the exhibition.

Minister of Water Resources Yang Zhenhuai said more than 100 Chinese companies have applied for the purchase of the exhibits. He added that water departments had recently signed co-operative agreements valued at US\$800 million to be put into operation over the next three years.

To promote agricultural development, the Chinese government has drawn up plans to step up investment in water resources and encourage foreign involvement. At a work conference to discuss the rural economy held last November, the State Council said 25 percent of all loans borrowed from the World Bank would be used to promote agriculture, and most of this would go on developing water resources.

Reports state that the World Bank has already undertaken to grant China US\$12 billion in long-term, low-interest or interest-free loans.

Water EXPO '89 will be divided into the following categories:

- Construction equipment and other machinery and technolo-

gy required for the Three Gorges Project and other large and medium-sized hydroelectric and water power projects.

- Flood control and natural disaster management equipment.

- Construction machinery for water conservancy works, drainage and irrigation projects.

- Technology and equipment for groundwater control and development.

- Equipment and developmental technology for village-level hydroelectric power projects.

- Advanced technology and equipment for water and soil conservation and development.

- Technology and equipment for freshwater and marine farming.

- Instruments and technology to monitor the ecological environment.

- Water-saving technology and equipment.

- Technology to help control water pollution.

- Automatic hydrologic data collection and processing equipment.

- Remote sensing equipment for flood control, hydrometry, the planning of water resources, etc.



Water power: the final generating unit of the Gezhouba Power Station went into operation on December 10, 1988.  
HUA AI

## Agreement Signed With N. Ireland

**I**n late January, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) Tianjin branch signed a set of co-operative agreements with Britain's Northern Ireland Industrial Development Board (NIIDB).

According to the agreements, the two sides aim to create favourable conditions for establishing factories in both countries, particularly in the area of processing supplied materials and compensatory trade, as well as promoting exports and encouraging Northern Irish companies to transfer advanced technology

by Yue Haitao



to China.

Tianjin, as one of China's major textile exporters, hopes to benefit greatly from the agreements. In recent years, import quotas have made it hard to penetrate European and US markets. Now textile industry representatives are examining the possibilities of opening factories in Northern Ireland, hoping that after 1992, when EEC removes all internal barriers to trade, they will be able to sell their products across Europe.

Frank Hewitt, deputy chief executive of the NIIDB, said China's long-term market potential was enormous, and establishing close relations with the CCPIT Tianjin branch should offer many openings for Northern Irish exporters.

by Yue Haitao

## Kodak Helps China Cut Film Imports

**T**he Xiamen Photographic Materials Co. is the first foreign company ever to have bought photographic technology from Kodak during the latter's 100-year history. Its new colour film production line began operation on January 23.

Annual production capacity stands at 11 million square metres of colour sensitive materials. In trial production, quality of film and photographic film surpassed the standards laid down in the contract.

With the production line in operation, China should be able to start cutting imports of colour film and photographic paper. In 1988 it imported 40

million rolls of 35 mm colour film.

The contract stipulates that all output bears a Chinese trademark and Chinese packaging, and can only be sold domestically so as not to impinge on Kodak's traditional markets.

The Xiamen Photographic Materials Co. is a joint venture managed by the China International Trust and Investment Corp, the Fujian Investment Co. and two other Chinese companies.

Kodak's chairman, Colby H. Chandler, said that with the rapid growth in demand for colour film and photographic paper, it was impossible to predict the full extent of China's colour film market. He added that Eastman-Kodak would continue to offer a technological consultancy service for the Xiamen Photographic Materials Co.

by Han Baocheng

## League Expands Soviet Trade

**D**uring 1988, Hulun Buir League in northern Inner Mongolia signed barter trade contracts worth 44.86 million Swiss francs with the Soviet Union, as well as conducting direct trade worth US\$5 million with Japan and Hong Kong. Although not enormous, such trade would have been unimaginable just a few years back.

On January 18, 1988, with the permission of the State Council the government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region named Hulun Buir League in the north of the autonomous region an experimental area for economic re-

form.

To exploit the area's rich natural resources, plans were drawn up to attract investment and technological co-operation from other areas of China and abroad. These included preferential measures similar to those adopted in the coastal open economic zones, and the establishment of a provincial level import-export corporation. Recently, 18 technological agreements have been signed with departments from the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

According to Huang Wen, an assistant director in the league's Prefectural Commissioner's Office, efforts were being made to strengthen ties with Hong Kong, Macao and countries in the West through the ports at Dalian and Yingkou so as to open up international markets. At the same time, the league hoped to step up trade with the Soviet Union through Manzhouli City, China's major overland link with the USSR.

To expand commercial ties with Mongolia and the Soviet Union, the airport at Hailar, the local capital, has been extended to handle Boeing 737s, while further highway and railroad construction is under way.

Hulun Buir League has an area of more than 250,000 square kilometres—eight times as large as the newly founded Hainan Province. Its population is 2.44 million. The Hulun Buir Grassland is one of the three biggest grasslands in Asia, and the region has proven coal deposits of 33.4 billion tons, as well as large reserves of gold, silver, copper, lead and zinc.

by Han Baocheng

## Taiwan: What Course to Follow?

**RENMIN RIBAO**  
(People's Daily, Overseas Edition)

One year after Chiang Ching-kuo's death, an article issued by the China News Agency in Hong Kong discussed the political situation in Taiwan. Excerpts follow.

In his last years, Chiang Ching-kuo sensed that changes were taking place. He carried out some reforms, including lifting martial law, removing bans on political parties and doing away with newspaper censorship, as well as permitting Taiwan residents to visit relatives on the mainland. Although those reforms, which enjoyed popular support, were considered humanitarian, they were essentially a breakthrough step in facilitating the establishment of relations between the mainland and Taiwan after 40 years of separation.

After succeeding to the highest party and administrative posts in Taiwan, Li Teng-hui repeatedly emphasized that his wish was to complete the cause begun by his predecessor. However, Taiwan's political situation in 1988 both gladdened people's hearts and gave them cause for concern.

Generally speaking, relations across the Taiwan Straits improved in 1988. Many Taiwan residents returned to the mainland to visit relatives, travel, search for their roots and conduct business and cultural and art exchanges. Some scholars from Taiwan also participated in international scientific discussions in Bei-

jing. In addition, Taiwan authorities have now agreed that mainlanders may visit Taiwan to see relatives who are ill or to arrange funerals for relatives. They have also agreed to permit mainland students studying abroad to visit Taiwan.

All these steps show that relations between people on both sides of the Straits have improved, but some people consider that the door is opening too slowly and have asked that a major policy be worked out as soon as possible.

However, the activities of those who advocate Taiwan's independence have become increasingly blatant during the past year. Some who had advocated the so-called "self-determination" of Taiwan residents now advocate "enjoying the freedom of independence."

In August 1988, Taiwan independence advocates held a meeting there and brazenly demanded that Taiwan be established as a new and independent nation. They also raised slogans such as "long live Taiwan independence" and held demonstrations. Moreover, the "draft constitution of the republic of Taiwan" was published in some local magazines.

During Chiang Ching-kuo's lifetime, Taiwan authorities emphasized that people in Taiwan should not advocate the split of the nation, but recent activities of the Taiwan independence movement have made people heavy-hearted.

In addition, there is some indication that present authorities in Taiwan have deviated

from the "one China" policy that had been Chiang's consistent stand. Some current authorities speak glibly of "elastic diplomacy" and "dual recognition." For instance, Kao Yu-shu, a member of the executive yuan, published an article claiming that "both are Chinas."

Chang Hsiao-yen, vice-minister of foreign affairs in charge of day-to-day business, advocates "dual recognition is feasible" in diplomacy. All of this clearly shows that Taiwan authorities are retreating from the "one China" policy. Some figures in Taiwan political circles have said, "Such changes could not occur if Chiang Ching-kuo were still alive."

(January 16, 1989)

## Are These Not Worth Pondering?

**GUANGMIN RIBAO**  
(Guangmin Daily)

There is no denying that Chinese education has developed rapidly over the past ten years, but the present situation of Chinese education gives much food for thought.

Great shortages of funds for education exist. Although funds for education have increased by 260 percent in the past ten years, the amount of money actually spent on teaching has tended to decline with the increasing population and the expanding scale of education. Compared with 1980, the proportion of the teaching funds for primary and middle schools to the total funds allocated by the state to primary and middle school education in 1987 dropped from 33.1 per-

cent and 22.1 percent to 27.8 percent and 16.7 percent respectively. Some rural primary schools had no public funds for teaching.

Poor education conditions prevail. Primary and middle schools in all of China are now short by 75 million square metres in classroom space, in addition to the fact that 45 million square metres of classrooms are in dangerous condition. Large numbers of students attend classes in temples and dilapidated and dangerous buildings, and building collapses occur frequently. In addition, teaching supplies and laboratory equipment are very scarce, with only 10 percent of middle schools and 5 percent of primary schools having adequate supplies. Primary and

middle schools throughout the country also are short 13 million sets of desks and chairs.

Dissatisfied with their low payment, many teachers have abandoned teaching and transferred to business. The unstable contingent of teachers has adversely affected the teaching quality.

A number of students are weary of studying and the idea of the uselessness of study is gaining ground again. In some regions, pupils are absent from school without leave and some have discontinued their studies and gone into business. The number of child labourers, pedlars and farmers has increased to some extent. Moreover, the phenomenon of forsaking studies for business has also emerged among univ-

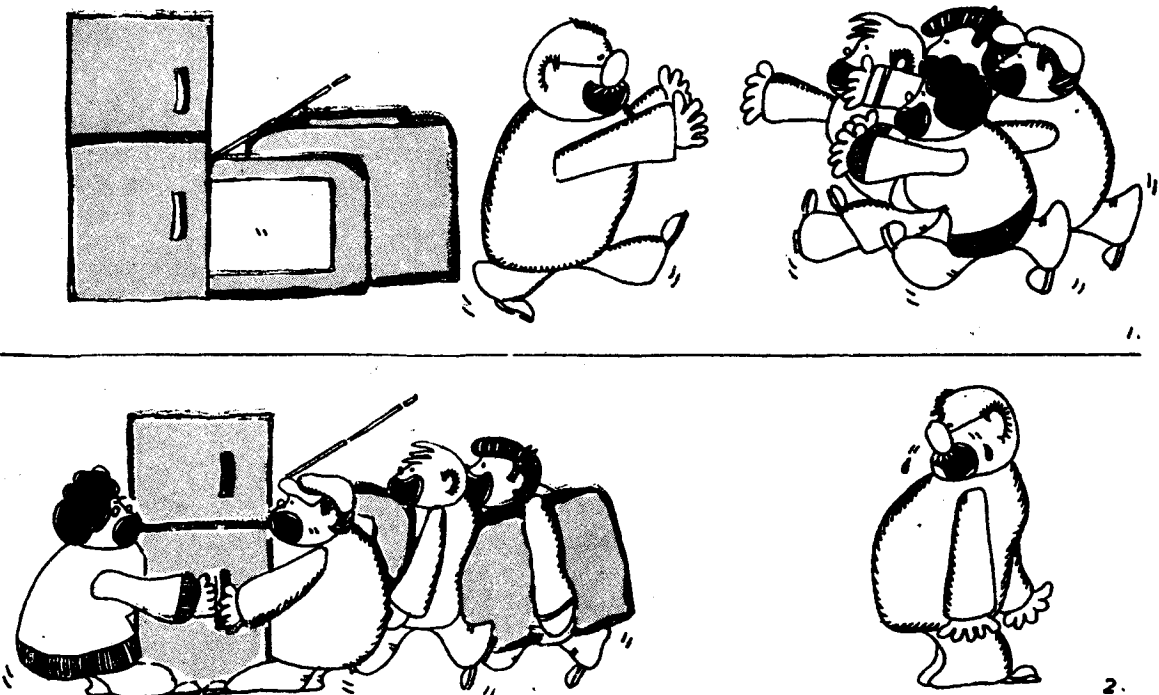
ersity students, disrupting teaching sequences and impairing the quality of education.

A large number of people have appealed to the government to change the present situation of education, but very few improvements have been made, prompting some to say the effort is in vain. However, in our opinion, we should continue to speak out. Only by relying on discussions between the higher levels and the grass roots can the quality of national education be improved. Unless we press for improvements in education, it will be impossible to settle the problems.

*(December 7, 1988)*

Second Uncle

ZHOU ZHILANG



# A Useful Pocket Reference on Tibet

## 100 Questions About Tibet

Edited by Jing Wei, Beijing Review Press, 1989  
 Distributed by Beijing Review, Beijing, China  
 Reviewed by Israel Epstein

To ask, and answer, a hundred questions about Tibet—or any other subject—in 117 pages is a feat, and this booklet does it. The questions are not out of the author's head or picked for ease of reply. They cover, among other things, virtually all the assertions and assumptions spread widely by Tibetan separatist expatriates and their foreign friends and patrons.

A key section deals with Tibet's status. Was it, as some misinformation has it, "conquered" or "occupied" by China only in the 1950's? The answer (given with evidence) is that Tibet had been an administrative division of China from 700 years earlier. Was this unity established simply by the domination over both the Han and Tibetan nationalities by a third—the Mongols who founded the Yuan Dynasty—losing its basis when that common subordination lapsed? Answer: It continued throughout China's subsequent history as a unified state—except for interludes of fragmentation not only between her nationalities but within them. Was the historical relation between the China's emperors and Tibet's grand lamas one of central and local authorities, sovereigns and subjects, or solely one of "patron and priest" as bruited abroad (unfortunately in the

booklet the target thesis is obscured by the unfamiliar term "benefactor and lama"). Answer: As documented, the Dalai and other ecclesiastics with temporal authority had to be confirmed in both their civil and religious capacities by central appointment, so they were clearly subordinate officials. Were the paramount rights of the central government in Tibet those of sovereignty or merely "suzerainty"? Answer: The "suzerainty" label was devised at the turn of the century by British (and Czarist Russian) empire builders at a time when all China was prey to dimemberment. Was Tibetan "independence" ever recognized by any country, including the powers interested in tearing the region from the rest of China. Answer: No, the facts in international law were too plain, so that even these governments repeatedly and officially declared that Tibet could not be regarded as other than a part of China.

The subject of Tibet's status is traced through the centuries to the 1951 agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet (with its endorsement by the present Dalai Lama), the rebellion of 1959 and the policies adopted thereafter.

The standpoint taken is based not only on facts and documents but on the historically-formed character of China as both a unified and

a multinational state, not to be equated exclusively with the majority Hans or the various minorities, but the creation and common heritage of both.

Section Two, titled Human Rights, begins with the undeniable fact that, prior to 1959, the majority of Tibetans (serfs and slaves who could be bought, sold, flogged, blinded or killed by their manorial lords in the old feudal society) had none at all. At present they are entitled to all the rights of citizens of the People's Republic under its constitution, including special provisions for minority nationalities—with regard to local autonomy, language and some fiscal privileges. The slander that "a million Tibetans have been killed" is scouted by the figures—between the 1950's and 1980's the number of Tibetans in Tibet grew by almost half, while average life-expectancy increased by some 28 years—from 35.5 years to 63.7. As for education, literacy in Tibetan has increased several fold, though still insufficient. Allegations by the Dalai Lama and others that Tibetans are being "swamped" by Han immigrants are disproved by the census figures. In administration, more than 60 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Region are Tibetan, as have been all of its chairman (a post which, by law, can only be held by members of the nationality enjoying local autonomy). It is unfortunately true

Israel Epstein, author of the book *Tibet Transformed*, has travelled in Tibet for four times during the last 30 years.

that citizens' rights inscribed in China's constitution (as in those of many other countries) have not always been fully implemented and at times (as in the "Cultural Revolution") violated or ignored. But just as the stipulation of these rights is in itself a vast step forward in comparison with the past, so their ever fuller implementation is the indubitable overall trend. Local autonomy, representation in the general government, and equal personal freedoms are constitutional rights—secession is not.

Of great current interest is Section III, on Policies Towards the Dalai Lama. It deals in some detail with various proposals he has made, the opportunities open to him to return and to reside in Tibet or elsewhere in China, and the essential condition—abandonment of separatism in advocacy and action.

Regarding religion, the gist of the answers is: Chinese Communists are atheists but do not stand for the abolition of religion by force, and no state organs, social groups or individuals are allowed to interfere with the religious beliefs of others. In the "Cultural Revolution" this policy was violated not only in Tibet but in other parts of the country. Amends have been made. The government has allotted large funds to restore or renovate places of worship in Tibet. More than 20,000 people there are now in monastic orders. Religious observance is widespread and open, and theological education has resumed.

The constitutional right to ethnic autonomy is exercised by Tibetans not only in the Autonomous Region, with its more than 90 per cent Tibetan majority, but in other provinces in which Tibetans live as minorities, where they have

nine autonomous prefectures and two autonomous counties. The reason why these areas are not included in the Tibet Region is that, historically, they have not been unified administratively and economically.

The recent riots in Tibet are discussed in another group of questions.

A clear statement is made that foreign travel, trade and investment in Tibet are welcome and desired in Tibet as well as elsewhere in China, but foreign political interference is not.

Alongside its mainly useful and up-to-date contents the booklet also has some flaws, particularly in its editing in English.

One is unclear in defining the scope of figures—3,970,000\* is given as "Tibet's population" (on p. 55) when what is meant is the total of Tibetans in all China. The reader will be all the more confused by the statement, earlier on the same page, that "Tibet's total population is 2,024,000. This is, in fact, the latest census figure for people within the Tibetan Autonomous Region, most of whom are Tibetans while a small number are not.

There is confusion, too, in the English rendering of Tibetan names, including some important ones. A former Chairman of the Autonomous Region is called Dorje Cedan on p. 72 but Doje-tsirten on p. 82, when he is introduced in his present academic capacity of secretary-general of the China Tibet Study Center. And the current chairman of the Autonomous Region is called Dorje Cerang on p. 72 and Doje Cering on p. 99. When there is a customary English name for a Tibetan personality or title, such as "Panchen

The correct figure is 3,870,000.

Lama," it would help recognition if this were added in bracket after "Bainqen Erdeni," which is less familiar abroad. And the good argument against the "patron and priest" thesis on traditional relations with the central government will not be recognized as such when the usual English formulation is switched in the booklet to "benefactor and lama."

The reference to meddling in Tibet by the "US Strategy and Intelligence Agency" would be more accurate (and checkable) if it was correctly named the "US Office of Strategic Services" (this could usefully be followed in parentheses by "war-time predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency" which it was in fact).

Citations also should be more specific, and not vague as in "a French newspaper" or "an American paper." This is particularly necessary when important statements are made, such as that the 13th Dalai Lama declared that he had never wanted separation from China. In the booklet, it is said to be corroborated "in various books written by some foreigners"—without the names of either. With them the reader could convince doubters, without them he is disarmed. Brevity is a merit, but here some footnotes or endnotes are essential.

It would also help greatly, if the material is used in argument or debate, to give the sources from which the editor obtained or collated the answers—either in each case or in a list of acknowledgments. In such matters, attribution is essential to weight. These are suggestions for the improvement of this

generally very useful handbook. □

## A Panoramic View of Tourism in '89

**T**hough China's tourist enterprise was somewhat frustrated last year, progress was still made in the tourist trade. It welcomed a total of 4.3 million tourists in 1988, a hike of 13.6 percent above 1987. And it earned US\$2.22 billion, an increase of 19.4 percent over 1987. The main reason for such a large-scale increase in foreign exchange was the galloping growth rate of income from food and drink consumption and from retail commodity sales (an increase of 3.1 percent and 4.8 percent above last year). This was largely thanks to the purchasing power of 400,000 Taiwan tourists in 1988 (which was, on the average, three or four times more potent than that of the foreign tourists).

With the lapse of the Dragon Year, China's tourist trade experienced its flourishing results along with a pinch of hard times. Some unexpected incidents, such as the Hepatitis A epidemic and traffic accidents, cast some shadows on the activities during the International Tourism Year which was aimed at touting the travellers. In order to have more visitors, many managerial departments of hotels in scenic spots carried on a tug-of-war with price slashes—the biggest cut-throat competition in the history of China's tourist trade. Therefore, group after group of visitors swarmed into China. Between May and October, hotels in Beijing, Shanghai and Xian were packed to the full. Hence, the travel

schedules of many tourist groups were continually setback and postponed due to the traffic jam. Sometimes travel services in popular cities were embarrassed by the difficulties in getting plane and train tickets, situation similar to the sad plight of booking hotels in 1985.

According to statistics, China hosted 1.84 million visitors from abroad, only 6.6 percent more than in 1987, marking the lowest annual growth rate. Of the travellers, Japanese tourists accounted for 590,000, only a 2.5 percent crawl over 1987 figures; and tourists from the United States totalled 300,000, a 4.6 percent fall under the 1987 tally. Tourists from European countries brought better days, however, their numbers reached 397,000, an increase of 13.4 percent over 1987.

A tourism expert figured that the slowdown in growth rate of Japanese tourists had something to do with the train collision in Shanghai early last year. As for the United States, the domestic drama of the presidential election may have dulled the American people's appetite for seeking adventure abroad, the expert said. However, the increasing number of European visitors is in line with the general tendency towards growth of foreign visitors.

In light of the expert's conclusions, China's travel enterprises will continue to expand in 1989. In addition to the visitors from Japan, the United States and European coun-

tries, tourists from Southeast Asian countries and South Korea are also expected to increase in number.

In 1989, the traffic conditions between major tourist cities in the peak period will continue to be strained. Last year, Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Suzhou, Wuxi, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Guilin and Xian received 70 percent of the total visitors from home and abroad. Such flocking exasperates the traffic problem and is expected to do so again in 1989. However, thanks to the purchase of 30 new large- and medium-sized planes by the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China, the import of quite a few luxurious soft seats and the acquisition of railway carriages with soft berths from abroad by the railway departments, the testy traffic problems will be somewhat relaxed.

According to an investigation of hotels, the price to rent a room in 1989 will remain comparatively stable. Due to battle scars from last year's price war, managers from famous Beijing hotels have made up their minds not let such skirmishes happen again. In January 1989, room rental prices in the medium- and high-graded hotels of this city have settled at between 60 and 70 percent of the peak-period charges. In 1989, China's tourism costs will go up 10 percent, mainly allocated to eating and drinking as well as the comprehensive service trade.

Coincidentally, in 1989 travel services throughout China

will be confronted with an even more severe competition, but adjustments are being made accordingly. From January of this year, 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, three municipalities directly under the central government and 15 separate planning cities will establish a kind of travel service with liaison rights to the foreign travel services and the right to issue visas. These will supplement the original China International Travel Service, the China Travel Service and 14 other central services. So far, a merger of 61 travel services in China will offer their services to the outside world.

In the past, 1,000 second-grade travel services conducted

business with foreign travel services openly or through a crack. Now they have been ordered not to receive delegations from the foreign travel services and only to host travel delegations dispatched by the first-grade travel services. Foreign travel services no longer have to choose between many travel services, rather only a few dozen. According to new regulations made by the State Travel and Tourism Administration, these travel services will collect fees before receiving the delegation. This new method will henceforth put a kink in some speculators' businesses.

In 1989, the Chinese government will thoroughly reorgan-

ize the travel services and severely crack down on travel guides and drivers who resort to bribes and blackmail. Simultaneously, the travel guides will be required to take the comprehensive examinations and then must be qualified before acquiring the right to be a guide.

To realize the integrations between tourism and services on passenger flights, several travel services participated in a group jointly formed by the hotels and airline companies. These hand-in-hand efforts will carry with them an optimistic future in booking the hotels and plane tickets.

by Han Guojian

## Tourists Urged to File Complaints

**S**ome tourist guides have openly committed bribery and extorted money from tourists. This kind of behaviour seriously affects the reputation of China's tourist industry. The State Travel and Tourism Administration hopes that those tourists who have visited China will send in their timely complaints to travel services in various parts of China or through our magazine, *Beijing Review*.

In May of last year, a guide named Zhao from the China Youth Travel Service led an Australian Tourist Group visiting Beijing. Although he knew that the expenses for food had already been paid by the Chinese side, he still borrowed 300 yuan FEC (foreign exchange certificate) from one of the tourists, saying that he was going to pay the bill. When the group left Beijing,

he again asked for another 900 yuan FEC for another food bill. In this way he cheated the tourists out of 1,200 yuan. The leader of the Australian group said angrily, "This is a dirty trick."

In June last year, a tourist group from Singapore was also cheated by a guide in Guangzhou. Guide Huang asked one of the tourists to buy a tax-free refrigerator for him. When he was refused, he deliberately delayed giving them their train tickets which caused five elderly tourists of the group to panic and rush immediately for the train. In their letter of complaint, they said: "This kind of person is only interested in money, and has no moral concepts at all and brings disgrace to China's tourist industry."

In October last year, a local guide in Xian extorted 120

yuan FEC from the leader of an American tourist group on the pretext of giving him priority arrangement of plane tickets. Another case involved a staff member named Zhang of the China International Travel Service, Xian Branch. In one month's time, Zhang, who was stationed at the airport to arrange plane tickets for tourists, had accepted bribes in the form of four cartons of high-class Zhonghua, Hilton, Hongtashan (Red Pagoda Hill) and Mild Seven cigarettes valued at about RMB 400 yuan.

The above guides have been dismissed or transferred, and the losses caused to those tourists have been compensated.

It is reported that ten illegal guides were dismissed last year.

by Han Guojian

# Prospects for the Novel

1988 was a poor year for the Chinese novel. As writer Li Guowen puts it, "There are good and bad years for apple production. In good years, the crop is high, and in bad ones it's low. Literary creation is the same. Literature's recent good years seem to have passed; writing is now in a slump."

During the late 1970s, Chinese literature entered a period of prosperity. First there was "bruise literature," a response to and attack on the "cultural revolution." Then came "intropective literature," with its explorations of the Chinese psyche and national cultural consciousness. Both movements produced many strong and popular works as Chinese writers freed themselves from the constraints of portraying all characters through class struggle spectacles. They turned instead towards descriptions of human nature and feelings, exploring a diverse styles.

However, since 1985, although some good new works have been published, most of them cannot be mentioned in the same breath as their immediate predecessors.

Literary critic Mou Junjie outlines three lacks in contemporary novel writing: the lack of any guiding spirit, the lack of power and depth of thought, and the lack of moving characters, strong plots and artistic feeling.

Li Guowen declares the novel is now on the wane, arguing this is because many writers, including some famous ones, lack stamina and staying power. They continuously repeat

themselves rather than moving into new territory. Li maintains writers have to concentrate on cultivating their own literary strength to a far greater degree than most of them realize.

According to writer Zhang Qie, recent changes in Chinese society, in particular the introduction of economic competition, have uprooted many traditional values that have yet to be replaced. This has inevitably disoriented many people who have turned to literature in search of solace and new ideas. In effect they have demanded: give us good works, help us understand the new circumstances of Chinese society.

Zhang believes that some recently popular novels, although often marked by confused and shallow thinking, have at least attempted to confront life in an exuberant manner. He praises the way in which they combine subjectivity with strong, realistic plots and a fine attention to detail, particularly in their probings of the psyche and irrationality of the human soul.

According to writer Feng Jicai, writing's current problems stem to a large part from within. Since 1980, Chinese writers have experimented with almost every literary technique ever created around the world, leaving them short of resources for novelty. He says this calls for serious rethinking by almost all writers. As he puts it, both the well-established and the unknown writers now stand equal on the starting line for a second round of the literary race.

Looking ahead into 1989, writers are not optimistic. At the end of last year, 20 editors from the authoritative *People's Literature* magazine, with writer Liu Xinwu as its chief editor, were asked their views on the prospects for Chinese writing in 1989. More than half of the editors agreed on the following points:

1. Through continued experimentation, novels that explore one new style or another will continue to be successful and receive praise within literary circles.

2. As Chinese society becomes interested in other matters, it is unlikely that any novel, however excellent, will cause a national sensation.

3. Reportage, with its literary style, bias towards information and philosophical flavour, will continue to be the most popular form of writing.

4. Popular and entertaining literary works will be published in first-class literary magazines, which will both strengthen their reputation as an acceptable form of writing and help to sell more copies of literary magazines.

5. Poetry creation will develop steadily. Although many good poems will be written, no star poet will emerge to be worshipped by poetry lovers.

Overall, the editors were pessimistic on the prospects for prose in 1989. Although some publications will try and tailor their contents to the demands of their readers, the fashion for writing centred on the human spirit in high-flown style is unlikely to attract more readers than in 1988. □



## Magic Artist

**H**e Haixia is a great master of traditional Chinese painting, who can imitate the calligraphies and paintings done by ancient people of more than one thousand years ago. He celebrated his 80th birthday recently.

Born into a Manchurian nationality family in Beijing in 1908, He cherished a love for art, especially for painting, from early childhood. In the 1920s, he learned traditional Chinese painting under many well-known masters and laid a solid foundation for his later success.

Later, to make a living, He worked on calligraphies and paintings which were in a state of decay for an antique shop and soon became an expert in this field. He developed the uncanny ability to copy and imitate with great accuracy the paintings of post-tenth century masters from different schools. This highly-crafted trick won him acclaim as a "magical artist."

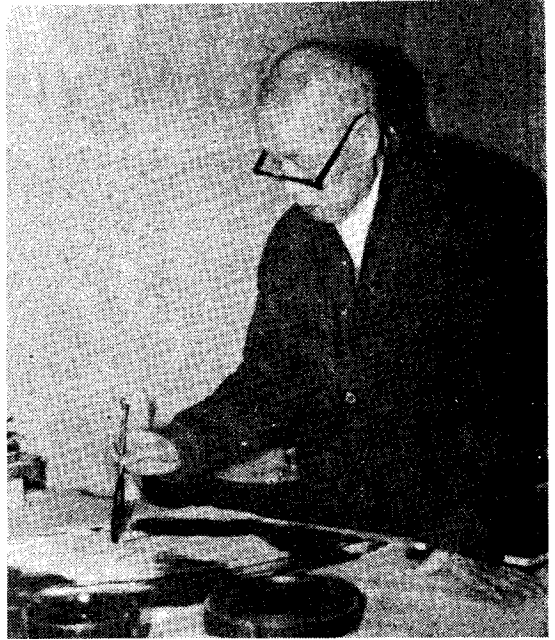
In 1936, his works were on view together with such great Chinese masters as Qi Baishi, Zhang Daqian and Yu Feiyin.

During the time of the Japanese invasion in China, He risked his life to get Zhang out of the Japanese-occupied Beijing. But he himself was left behind and lived under the Japanese suppression for eight years.

In the late 1940s, He created many paintings and some of the works were so outstanding that many collectors mistook them as the works of Zhang.

After liberation in 1949, He transferred to Xian. There he joined Shi Lu and many other well-known masters and set up the Changan school, which was characterized by its robust and uninhibited quality. Later, He became vice-president of the Academy of Traditional Chinese Painting of Shaanxi Province.

Within the past ten years, He painted *The Picture of Ming Dynasty Palace* for Japan. He also had the honour of doing the 32-square-long



grand work *Spring Land*, as well as the *Booming Peaks* picture, for the banquet hall in the Great Hall of the People, and *Love For the Mountains and Rivers*, which is displayed in the Ziguang (Purple Light) Hall in Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Chinese government.

The inspiring, creative quality and vitality of his works make it difficult for people to believe that they are the products of an eighty-year-old artist.

by Wei Liming

## Photo Exhibit for Film Stars

**T**he first international exhibition of film and TV stars' photos is now in preparation and will be held this June in Beijing.

*Bridge*, a monthly magazine published in Beijing and distributed domestically and abroad, is the sponsor of this exhibition.

Pictures on and off the screen, either informal life photos or artistic clips of film and of TV performers since 1930 are welcome, especially those of recent years. Each participant can send no more than eight photos, either in colour or in black and white. □

## Film Explores Virgin Land

A scientific film depicting the natural and social scenes in northern Tibet has won high acclaim for its breakthrough in the field of documentary productions.

The film, titled *Journey Through Northern Tibet*, gives a comprehensive depiction of the unique natural scenes, religious practices, local customs and other cultural vestiges in the Qiangtang area, northern Tibet.

Qiangtang is a tableland about 500,000 square kilometres in size, 5,000 metres above sea level. About half of the area has no trace of human inhabitation. Due to its location and formidable character, it has always been considered a place of danger and a "No Man's Land," as far as scientists are concerned. Consequently, there previously has been no particular work devoted to the introduction and study of this region.

The film introduces natural wonders, such as the icy rivers,

lakes, rare animals and plants, and the Co Ngoin Bird Island (the highest of its kind in the world). It also brings to light many cultural and historical sites, such as the urban remains of the ancient Xiangxiong State and the 5,000-year-old rock paintings at Gyaling. Other parts of the film are devoted to depicting the life of the local herdsmen, religious ceremonies and a uniquely Tibetan practice called the celestial burial (by which bodies are exposed to birds of prey). The filmmakers give a kaleidoscopic view, considering both the natural and the humane, the celestial and the secular, as well as past and present. Hence this production outshines the previous scientific films, which usually tended to give a dull, technical explanation of natural phenomena.

The rock paintings depicted in the film are of special scientific significance, for these were the first prehistoric cul-

tural relics discovered in this uninhabited area. These works are a mirror of human inhabitation, scenes of life and labour, about 10,000 years ago. How people managed to survive under such adverse conditions became a mystery to explore. Thus such a discovery rattles the basis on which the history of Tibet was written. Li Bingxiong, president of the Institute of Tibetan Studies, has said, "Like an earthquake, the rock paintings alone may bring tremors to my former beliefs."

Xin Yingyi, chief producer of the film, was a graduate from the Beijing Film Academy in the 1970s. Two of his previous films, *River Crab* and *The Energy For Life*, won the Ministry of Culture's best film awards in 1985, and the latter has also won a prize at the Second Energy Film Festival held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1988

by Zhang Wei

## Contest for Traditional Instruments

The first international competition for traditional musical instruments will be held in Beijing in June this year. Competing instruments will include the *erhu* (two-stringed Chinese fiddle), *pipa* (fretted four-stringed guitar-like instrument), *zheng* (13-14 stringed Chinese zither) and *liuqin* (a plucked stringed instrument).

Participating musicians will

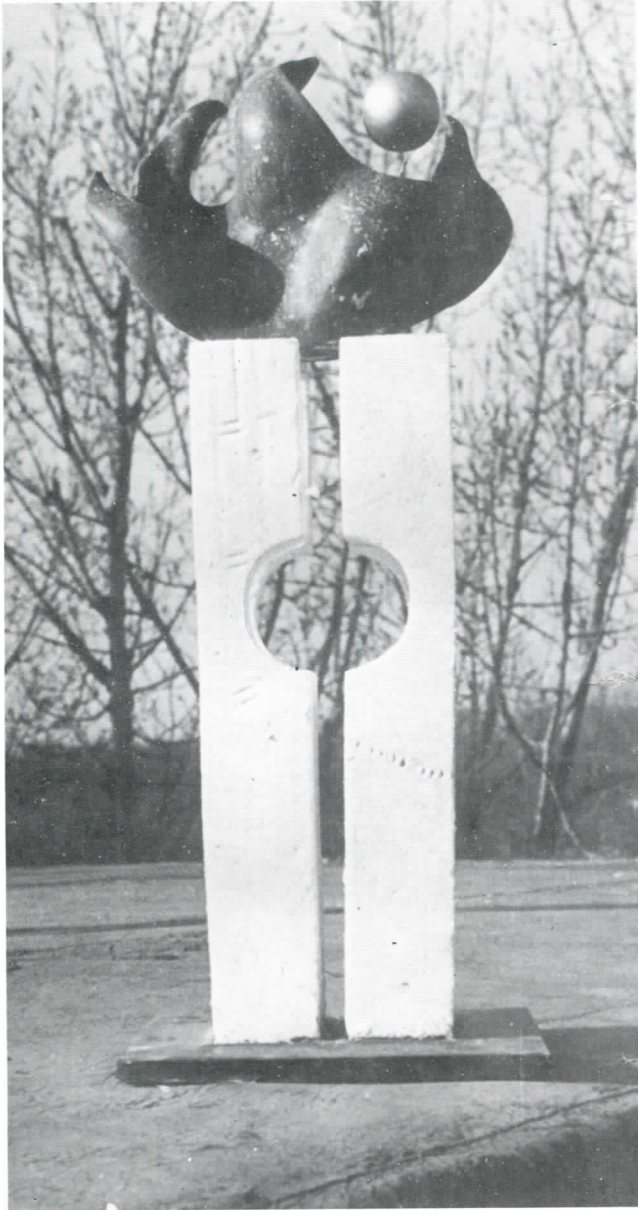
be divided into two groups—professional and amateur. Each of these will be subdivided into two categories—a youth group (ages 17-35) and a teenager group (ages 8-16).

The programme list will include classical works, traditional pieces, folk music and works by contemporary famous musicians.

The winners (at least four for each instrument) will be

awarded a certificate and a certain sum of money.

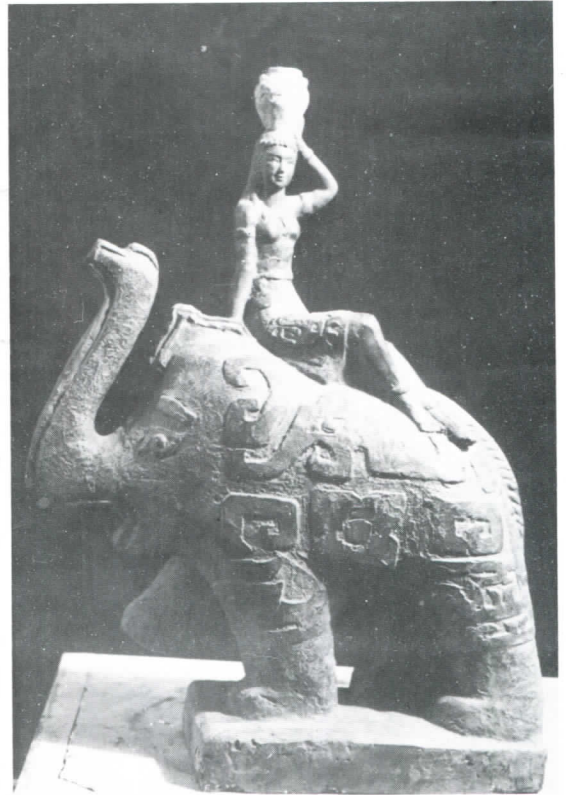
The sponsors of the competition are *People's Music* (a monthly magazine), the official publication of the Chinese Musicians' Association, the Chinese Musicians' Audio and Video Publishing House and the Chinese Artists' Travel Service. Those desiring to participate in the competition may purchase a sign-up list, including general regulations, for US\$2 from *People's Music*, Beijing. □



A Decorative Sculpture.

## Sculptures by Wang Jindong

Wang Jindong, born in Beijing, in 1932 now is director of the Henan Sculpture Art Studio. He is devoted to the stone and brick portraits and the folk arts of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220). His work employs a combination of ancient and modern concepts and richly embodies the national flavour.



A Girl and an Elephant.



Sister and Brother.

# “Three Ring”

## *Hair Styling and Drying Kit*

Art. No: S-350T  
Specifications: 220v, 350w  
Per carton: 10 kits  
Dimensions: 61 × 23 × 47 cm  
Gross weight: 13 kgs,  
net weight: 9.5 kgs



Art. No: S-350L  
Specifications: 220v, 350w  
Per carton: 10 kits  
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