

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



On Personality Cult

●
A Chinese Art Studio's
30th Anniversary

●
"Beijing Review" Subject
Index, Nos. 27-52, 1980



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Personality Cult

Excerpts from an article by Hongqi's Special Commentator on the personality cult which is anti-Marxist and therefore must be repudiated (p. 13).

Obstacles to Four Modernizations

The director of the Institute of World Economy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences analyses the influences of feudal thinking and their manifestations in China today. It is pointed out that unless these influences are eliminated, it would be well-nigh impossible to build a modern and democratic socialist China with a highly developed civilization (p. 15).

No Interference in Poland's Affairs

Renmin Ribao's Observer traces the origin and develop-

ment of the situation in Poland today and reiterates that the Polish question can be solved only by the Polish people themselves (p. 8).

NATO Ministerial Meetings

NATO ministers' meeting in Brussels earlier this month stressed that, in the face of mounting Soviet threat, allied strength and cohesion are essential to the maintenance of stability and peace in the world (p. 9).

Fresh Start for Uganda

After eight years of misrule under Amin, Uganda got a fresh start with the re-election of Obote as its president. Serious economic and other problems have to be overcome by the

Ugandan people in rebuilding their country (p. 10).

Court Reports

Further reports on the court debates during the trials of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques (pp. 18-21).

Rong Bao Zhai's Anniversary

The 30th anniversary of the rebirth of the famous Chinese art studio, Rong Bao Zhai, was celebrated at a grand gathering of more than 300 artists and art collectors in Beijing (p. 22).



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CONTENTS

EVENTS & TRENDS	3-7
Steady Increase in Savings Deposits	
Combating Waste	
Greater Role for Scientists in Policy-Making	
Mass Supervision Over Prices	
Protecting Ecological Equilibrium	
Smugglers Caught at Sea	
Embezzlers Sentenced	
Wanton Felling of Trees Banned	

No Significance in Holding 3rd Round of Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations	
Dutch Government's Unfriendly Action	
INTERNATIONAL	8-12
Hands Off Poland — "Renmin Ribao" Observer	
NATO Ministers Meet: Accent on Unity — Tang Liuyi and Xin Shufan	
A New Start for Uganda — Xu Dewen	
Conservatism and Friedmanism — Xiao Xi	
Pakistan-Saudi Arabia Joint Communique	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
On Personality Cult and Other Questions	13
Eliminate Feudal Vestiges in Economic Work — Qian Junrui	15

Report From the Court (5): Special Court Continues Debates — Xinhua and "Beijing Review" correspondents	18
CULTURE & SCIENCE	22
LETTERS FROM READERS	23
SUBJECT INDEX (Nos. 27-52, 1980)	

COVER: Rong Bao Zhai, an art studio in Beijing, famed throughout the world for its collection of traditional Chinese paintings and calligraphy and reproduction of original masterpieces.

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ECONOMIC

Steady Increase in Savings Deposits

The People's Bank of China announced that savings deposits in China's urban and rural areas have increased steadily this year and hit an all-time high.

By the end of November, the amount of deposits in the cities and towns had reached 27,500 million yuan, more than 80 per cent being fixed deposits for six months or a longer period. This was 7,200 million yuan more than at the end of 1979, and averaged 230 yuan for each of the 120 million urban inhabitants.

It is estimated that this year's deposits in the cities and towns will be 34.6 per cent more than last year's.

By the end of November, total deposits in the rural areas had reached 10,400 million yuan, 4,100 million yuan more than in the same period of last year, averaging 12.8 yuan for each person in the villages.

Both the total deposits and per-capita bank savings in the rural areas this year have hit an all-time high and are expected to be 65 per cent more than last year's. This year, savings deposits rose steadily each month instead of a sharp increase and a sharp drop as was the case in the past. Fixed deposits accounted for 70 per cent of the total, a 10 per cent increase over last year.

Li Shutian, Director of the Savings Bureau of the People's Bank of China, said that savings deposits have become the most stable funds in the Chinese bank.

Combating Waste

"Waste is a stumbling-block in the way of the four modernizations. If waste were not checked, the four modernizations would be out of the question." This statement was published in a recent *Renmin Ribao* commentary calling on the whole nation to combat waste.

The commentary criticized the viewpoint that "waste is harmless" and other excuses for waste. It pointed out: China is a big socialist country but it is economically backward. The average per-capita annual income last year was only 223 U.S. dollars. In these circumstances, it is all the more important to stress economy. Waste undermines the productive forces and constitutes a crime to the people.

In China today, many serious cases of waste have resulted not from lack of experience but from bureaucracy, subjectivism, wrong orders, irresponsible at-

titude towards state property and neglect of duty. Those responsible for these cases of waste might have good intentions, but the damage they had caused already constituted serious crimes.

The commentary suggested ways of curbing waste, particularly through drawing up practicable economic policies and state plans and improving enterprise management.

For a long time, the commentary added, the country's economic policies have been characterized by "Leftist" thinking and lack of respect for the actual conditions. This is the main reason why there have been unsteady development and frequent reverses in the country's economic construction. In importing techniques and equipment in the last few years, there have been cases of going blindly after advanced techniques in disregard of the state's capacity. These policy mistakes have seriously damaged the social productive forces. It is impera-



Ge Tingshui, a researcher of the Shenyang Institute of Metals, discussing with metallurgical workers the question of economizing on metals.

tive, therefore, to act according to our ability in the future and use our limited funds where they are most needed.

To avoid policy mistakes, the commentary said, decisions concerning important economic affairs should be made strictly according to the principle of democratic centralism and not by any individual or a few people. The optimum-seeking method should be used before adopting a plan so as to obtain the best possible economic results.

The commentary also emphasized the need of using the law, discipline and supervision to deal with waste. As regards serious cases resulting from neglect of duty or issuing orders in violation of the regulations, the leading personnel should be held responsible for the economic losses and be dealt with according to law.

In conclusion, the commentary said that Party organizations, people's congresses, C.P.P.C.C. local committees and mass organizations at all levels as well as financial departments, banks and tax bureaus should give full play to their supervisory role to eliminate waste.

Greater Role for Scientists In Policy-Making

More than 500 delegates to a national science symposium proposed that scientists play a greater and more active role in the country's planning so as to avoid possible errors in major economic policy decisions.

The symposium was held recently in Hefei in east China's Anhui Province. Among the proposals the scientists submitted to the government are:

— State and provincial authorities should establish

advisory centres to help in drawing up policies and making decisions;

— A committee of specialists should be set up to map out plans to be submitted to the government for scientific, technological and social development;

— Scientists and technicians should have greater freedom in choosing their work;

— More funds should be appropriated for science and education and talented people should be given greater encouragement;

— The State Scientific and Technological Commission should more often seek the advice of specialists so as to improve the administration of the programme for scientific development;

— The academies and other institutes of higher learning should train top management and administrative personnel.

The eight-day symposium dealt with three scientific disciplines which have become prominent in China in recent years.

The subjects are the science of sciences (the study of the laws governing science and technology and their relationship to social phenomena — known in the United States as the sociology of science), futureology and "rencaiology" (the study of making the best use of people with special training).

The scientists discussed how these disciplines, in the current modernization drive, should be dovetailed with social studies, economics, management, military affairs, education, medicine and planning. More than 300 papers were presented at the symposium.

Mass Supervision Over Prices

Forty workers and government employees (some of them have retired) living in the Erlonglu area in the western district of the Chinese capital have volunteered to help the government exercise supervision over prices. Divided into eight groups, they have this year made check-ups on prices in the area's 77 shops and service centres once or twice every month. They have helped stop the malpractice of raising prices at will or in disguised forms. Their voluntary service has been acclaimed by the residents there.

The members are invited to do the job by the Erlonglu neighbourhood committee, each with an identity certificate issued by the district government. They are vested with the right to supervise the work of controlling prices, to criticize those shops which violate the price policy, to report to higher authorities any problem that may arise, and to make suggestions for award or punishment as the case may require.

The consumers are the best price-checkers. The supervision groups in the Erlonglu area have attracted attention because they reflect the consumers' desires and demands.

Price check-ups are now being carried out in various places according to the State Council's circular on price control issued on December 7, and price supervision groups similar to those in the Erlonglu area are being set up in various localities. In east China's Jiangxi Province, for instance, 4,500 people from various walks of life have been invited to serve as price-checkers.

Of course, the key to stabilizing prices lies in increasing rev-

enue, curtailing expenditure, reducing financial deficit and preventing inflation. At present, however, price control and mass supervision are important supplementary measures.

Protecting Ecological Equilibrium

Chinese scientists attending a national ecological equilibrium symposium issued the call to protect and make rational use of the natural resources in the country's tropical and subtropical regions under a unified state plan.

The symposium, the first ever since the founding of New China in 1949, was held recently in Zhuzhou, Hunan Province. Participants suggested that a special committee be set up responsible for the planning, supervision and rational use of natural resources, especially those in the tropical and subtropical regions.

China's tropical and subtropical regions total two million square kilometres, or 21 per cent of its territory. The population in these regions is nearly 500 million, while grain and cotton output account for 60 and 40 per cent of the nation's total. According to statistics, there are over 1,400 genera of phanerogams, making up 50 per cent of the nation's total, and more than 1,500 species of animals are to be found in these regions.

However, as a result of the undue stress in the past on grain production instead of developing a diversified economy in these regions, particularly in the mountainous areas, the ecological equilibrium was destroyed.

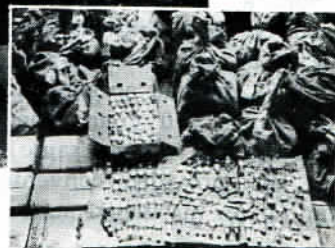
The scientists urged the government to take measures to

stop the indiscriminate felling of trees in these regions and to protect the wild animals and plants there. They also urged the government to pay attention to the serious ecological disequilibrium in Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Taiwan, Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Fujian and Zhejiang, and in parts of Shanghai, Anhui, Jiangxi and Guangxi, as well as the Tibet Autonomous Region. It is necessary, they suggested, to launch an educational campaign on the importance of ecological equilibrium and environmental protection.

SOCIAL

Smugglers Caught At Sea

Two boats from Xianggang (Hongkong) have been seized for smuggling off the coasts of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces. These were two of the biggest such cases since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.



The fishing boat from Xianggang (Hongkong) which was used in smuggling and seized last May off the coast of Fujian Province. Over 15,200 wrist-watches were confiscated.

The boat *Guandali* was seized on December 10 by an anti-smuggling squad off the coast of Xiamen (Amoy), Fujian Province. On it were found 60,000 wrist-watches, 600 TV sets, 1,000 tape-recorders, 100 sewing machines, 15,000 folding umbrellas, 24,000 sun glasses and other goods.

Another boat, *Tian Hai No. 1* which was disguised as a fishing junk, was seized off the southern coast of Guangdong Province. On it were found 2 million yuan (1.34 million U.S. dollars) worth of contraband goods including wrist-watches, TV sets, tape-recorders, sewing machines, vinylon mosquito nets, cloth and ready-made garments.

On the night of November 11, a Guangdong anti-smuggling squad on patrol duty came upon *Tian Hai No. 1* near Dangan Island sailing under the cover of darkness in a northeasterly direction towards a group of Chinese fishing vessels. The squad followed in a speedboat and tried to stop the smugglers through radio contact. But the

boat turned a deaf ear to all warnings and, on the strength of its large and solid hull, suddenly turned round in an attempt to crash the squad's speedboat. However, it failed in the attempt, and the Guangdong customs officers and public security personnel finally boarded the boat and forced it to follow their speedboat.

In order to safeguard the socialist economic order and combat smuggling and law-breaking activities, Chinese anti-smuggling squads have since mid-October seized over 20 boats engaged in smuggling.

Embezzlers Sentenced

Lin Tianfu, former vice-chairman of the Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese in Xianyou County of Fujian Province and managing director in charge of overseas Chinese remittances, was sentenced to death with two years' reprieve by the local people's court. His crime was embezzlement of huge sums of overseas Chinese remittances and savings deposits.

Taking advantage of his position, Lin had embezzled a total of 190,000 yuan of remittances and deposits of overseas Chinese from July 1963 through February 1979. He had squandered the money and used it to build houses for himself.

Wu Zhangzheng, former head of the savings deposits section for overseas Chinese in the People's Bank of Xianyou County, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. From 1961 to 1978, he had accepted bribes totalling 2,870 yuan from Lin Tianfu, and at the same time he had provided conveniences for Lin in his illegal acts.

The conviction of the two criminals demonstrates the determination of the Chinese

Government to protect the legal rights of overseas Chinese to deposit their money in the banks on the mainland and to encourage them to make investments in the four modernizations.

Wanton Felling of Trees Banned

The State Council, in a recent urgent circular, called for prompt and effective measures to stop immediately the wanton felling of trees in many localities where the forest resources had already been seriously damaged. The people's governments at various levels are required to check up on the implementation of timber production plans and to stop above-quota tree-felling.

Timber products in the forest areas are under the unified management of the forestry departments. No other organizations or individuals are allowed to fell trees or buy timber there. All free markets for timber products in those areas should be closed.

State timber production units must fell trees according to the state quotas, and collectively owned units must get permission from the county governments before they can fell the trees.

The railway and other communication departments should not undertake to transport timber products without permits issued by the forestry administrations.

Anyone who destroys forests or injures or kills forest guards will be punished according to law.

At present, the people's governments of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are taking effective measures to protect the forests. The Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in south China has recently promulgated a set of regulations forbidding, for the time being, the felling of trees in the whole region.

In Sichuan Province's Yaan County, three people were arrested for the wanton felling



Spraying insecticides in a new forestry area in Jiashan County, Anhui Province.

of trees and damaging of forest resources in the name of increasing the income of their production team from sideline occupations.

China is a country with a small afforested area. On the eve of liberation in 1949, only 8.6 per cent of the total area are afforested. Twenty-eight million hectares of trees have been planted over the past 30 years, thereby expanding the forest areas to 12.7 per cent of the country's total area, but this is still far below the average world level.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

No Significance in Holding 3rd Round of Sino-Viet- namese Negotiations

In its December 22 note to the Vietnamese Embassy in Beijing, the Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out that there is no practical significance in holding the third round of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at present.

The note said: Since the conclusion of the second round of negotiations, the Chinese side has repeatedly suggested that each side should study the viewpoints and propositions of the other side so as to find a way for a settlement. If the Vietnamese side had considered the suggestions of the Chinese side seriously, the third round of negotiations could have started earlier. But during this period, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to push their policy of opposition and hostility towards China and have intensified tension along the Sino-Vietnamese

border. At the same time, in defiance of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly, the Vietnamese authorities have refused to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea and have done their utmost to step up their war of aggression against Kampuchea. Moreover, they have massed troops along the Thai-Kampuchean border areas and intruded into the territory of Thailand, thus posing a grave threat to the peace, security and stability of Thailand and the Southeast Asian region as a whole. The Vietnamese authorities have acted as a tool and commando for the southward drive strategy of the Soviet Union and provided it with military bases, thus subjecting the west Pacific, particularly the Southeast Asian countries, to the growing threat of Soviet military buildup.

The note finally said: "The Chinese side hopes that the Vietnamese side will by its deeds create conditions necessary for an early resumption of the negotiations between the two countries."

Dutch Government's Unfriendly Action

The Dutch Parliament on December 18 approved the decision of the government agreeing to the sale of two submarines by a Dutch company to Taiwan. The Chinese Government has expressed strong dissatisfaction and deep regret at this.

A spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry said in an interview with Xinhua correspondents that, long before the Dutch Government approved the sale,

the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the Chinese Embassy in the Netherlands had clearly informed the Dutch side the Chinese Government's position on this issue, and requested the Dutch Government to set store by the friendly relations between the two countries and refrain from approving the sale. It is regrettable that the Dutch Government had not considered these representations seriously and had approved the sale on November 29. On December 3, the Chinese Government again made a serious representation, requesting the Dutch Government to reconsider its decision.

The spokesman pointed out that the sale of arms to Taiwan had gone far beyond the range of people-to-people trade and that the decision of the Dutch Government has violated the basic norms guiding relations between states as well as the principles set forth in the 1972 communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Netherlands. This unfriendly act has aroused the indignation of the Chinese people and cannot but have a negative impact on the relations between the two countries. Yet, an official of the Dutch Government asserts that this decision will not affect the long-term economic co-operation between the two countries. This is only deceptive talk and is obviously aimed at justifying this erroneous decision.

The spokesman stressed that the principled stand of the Chinese Government on the Taiwan issue is irreversible. Any action taken by any country to harm the interests of the Chinese people on this question will meet with the firm opposition of the Chinese people.

Hands Off Poland

POLAND is holding the world's attention. For almost six months, Poland has been rocked by a serious political, economic and social crisis. To add to its troubles, there is now the threat of foreign military intervention. Whatever happens will affect the fate of the Polish people and will also have a profound effect on the rest of the world, which is why people everywhere are closely watching developments there.

The Essence of the Matter

The crisis at one point was quite critical. Workers in some cities struck when the government announced higher meat prices on July 1. Soon there was a nationwide walkout, which lasted two months. The independent Solidarity trade union formed by striking workers rapidly grew into a national organization with some ten million members. First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Edward Gierek resigned and there were successive shake-ups in the Party Central Committee and the government.

All this was foreseeable. Polish leaders have said repeatedly that the present crisis was the result of serious mistakes in economic policy over the years, gross disregard of democracy in political life, deep-rooted bureaucracy and even bribery and corruption among some leading cadres, which engendered popular dissatisfaction with the Party and government. The only way out of the present crisis, Polish leaders said, was to correct the mistakes of the former leader-

ship, reform the economic system, democratize political life and overhaul all levels of Party organizations and thus restore people's faith in the Party. So, in spite of the acute unrest and drastic changes, the essence of the matter is clear. It is a domestic issue.

Turn for the Better

For the past five months or so, various forces inside Poland have been striving to overcome the crisis, and recent developments in the country show a turn for the better.

The Polish authorities and Solidarity have shown restraint in settling their differences, even when at times confrontations arose. Clashes were time and again averted. Similarly, the registration of Solidarity, which was a heated issue, was finally settled, because both sides made concessions. The Polish authorities repeatedly made it clear that the trade unions must figure more in the life of the country, while Solidarity declared more than once that there should not be irresponsible strikes. There have been no strikes of late and tension has more or less relaxed, although the situation is still far from being stabilized.

It has been noticed, too, that apart from publicly dealing with those leading personnel who had flagrantly violated the law and discipline, the new Polish leaders have adopted a policy of "socialist renovation." In order to rectify the mistakes of the former leaders, they have also taken specific steps to promote democracy and improve work in various fields.

This line of reform has the support of people of all strata. Solidarity leaders have said that trade unions would help carry out the reforms in Polish political and economic life. Although this line of reform has yet to be tested and is meeting with resistance in practice, it is bringing about better relations between the Polish authorities and the masses.

Moreover, the Polish authorities have adopted new policies and have taken measures to overcome economic difficulties and improve the working and living conditions of the people. The December 3 appeal of the Polish Party Central Committee to increase production has met with favourable response from the workers and peasants. Production in some areas is returning to normal. And although the economy is swamped by difficulties, an economic upturn in Poland is quite possible because all quarters want the economy improved and are working to bring this about.

It must be noted that the Polish authorities and the trade unions, too, have appealed to the Polish people to put their country's interests first, to close ranks and to overcome their present difficulties by themselves. The 35 million Polish people have the confidence and the ability to solve their own problems.

The Soviet Threat

It is a basic criterion in international relations that every country's internal affairs should be settled by its own people. The current Polish problem, too, must be left to the Polish people themselves to solve. Most countries, after the

outbreak of the Polish crisis, have declared that they uphold the Polish people's right to handle their own affairs. The Soviet authorities, however, have adopted an altogether different attitude. When the strikes first broke out in Poland, the Soviet Union was ostensibly silent, but covertly, it exerted pressure on Poland to influence developments there. After the Polish authorities and the workers reached agreement to end the strikes, the Soviet Union suddenly broke its silence and let loose a propaganda barrage against what it chose to call "anti-socialist elements" in Poland. Since Solidarity gained legal status, the Soviet Union went on to malign the process of reforming the Polish trade unions as an "anti-socialist tendency" and, using others to speak on its behalf, criticized the Polish authorities for their "weak leadership." Worse still, it menacingly declared that it could not remain "indifferent to the fate" of people's Poland. In the eyes of Moscow, the Polish people apparently have no right to settle their own problems. They must listen to what Moscow tells them. Does this not show how little Soviet hegemonism bothers about the rights of other countries and how flagrantly it disregards the norms of international relations?

Soviet interference in Poland's domestic affairs has been escalating rapidly. Now, the Soviet Union is threatening military intervention. It has massed its armed forces along the Soviet-Polish borders and has been carrying out military manoeuvres. Its official news agency, TASS, not long ago maliciously declared that "coun-

ter-revolutionary" unrest had occurred in Poland. *Pravda* pointedly carried an article about the 1968 Czechoslovak event. The recent Soviet military preparations and Soviet propaganda preparatory to intervention in Poland have gravely disturbed the peace of mind of people everywhere.

The Chinese people have always maintained and believed that the Polish people have the right and the ability to solve their own internal problems.

NATO Ministers Meet

Accent on Unity

THE shadow of the Soviet threat loomed large over the ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council and NATO's defence ministers' conference, both held in the first half of December in Brussels.

Over the past year, Soviet and Warsaw Pact military strength has grown and, in spite of world public condemnation, Soviet troops are still in Afghanistan. Areas regarded by the West as vital to its interests are being continually threatened. The situation in Europe at the moment is particularly tense as the Poles face a possible Soviet military intervention. This was why Poland, Afghanistan and measures aimed at strengthening Western allied defences figured so prominently at the ministerial meetings. This is in striking contrast to what happened prior to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

At the meetings the ministers stressed that recent Soviet actions gravely harm world stability and peace and international relations. They reiterated their condemnation of the Soviet oc-

The Chinese people are resolutely against any interference in Poland's affairs by any foreign power. Should the Soviet Union dare to mount an armed invasion of Poland in defiance of world opinion, it is certain to meet with resolute resistance from the courageous Polish people and universal condemnation and incur the gravest consequences.

— "Renmin Ribao" *Observer*,
December 19. *Subheads*
are ours.

cupation of Afghanistan and demanded that all Soviet troops be withdrawn. They declared that the people of Poland should be free to decide their own future by themselves.

They pointed out sharply that Soviet aggression and expansion outside the NATO area have a direct bearing on NATO member states' security and stressed that allied strength and cohesion, more than ever, were essential to the maintenance of stability and peace.

At the NATO defence ministers' conference, pulling forces out of Europe to boost U.S. and other member states' military capabilities outside the NATO area, such as the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, to meet the Soviet threat was clearly proposed for the first time.

It is worth noting, too, that for the first time the top commanders from the European Command, the Atlantic Ocean Command and the Channel Command attended the NATO defence ministers' conference,

where they addressed the meeting about the military situation. Among measures decided at the conference against a possible Soviet military intervention in Poland were: Bernard Rogers, Supreme NATO Commander in Europe, was empowered to adopt whatever urgent measures he considered necessary; suspension of the Christmas dispersal of NATO's standing naval forces in the Atlantic, and NATO ships to remain in readiness; and dispatch of four U.S. radar warning aircraft to Central Europe to watch the movements of Soviet troops massed along the Polish border.

The communique issued at the conference warned that "any Soviet military intervention in Poland would fundamentally alter the entire international situation" and would be met by tough political, economic and diplomatic counter-measures.

Observers point out that once Moscow dispatches troops into Poland, NATO's "flexible response strategy" of "deterrence, defence and detente" would be seriously endangered and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act would be proved worthless.

One of the major reasons why the Soviets have dared to do as they have done is because they felt they could exploit the contradictions which had emerged among the NATO countries in recent years. But ironically enough, what they accomplished was to engender greater unity among the NATO countries. Contrary to some people's estimation, the NATO member countries at the two conferences left off squabbling about specific issues of defence and, proceeding from their overall

interests, discussed ways and means to improve unity and co-operation.

It is generally believed that for various reasons the possibility of any major military response by NATO is slim. Nor must it be overlooked that some still fancy that the Soviet Union can be persuaded to stop short of military intervention in Poland and "detente," however precarious, can be maintained.

Still, the main trend of the ministers' meetings is unmistakable. The NATO member states are determined to bolster unity and defence. The possibility of NATO members taking retaliatory political, diplomatic and economic measures cannot altogether be ruled out by the Soviet hegemonists. What Moscow's next step will be is being carefully watched by the world.

— Tang Liuyi and Xin Shufan

A New Start for Uganda

AFTER eight years of misrule, Uganda has an elected president and stability. Leader of the Uganda People's Congress Apollo Milton Obote was re-elected president in a general election and took office on December 15. He had been driven out by Amin in a military coup in 1971.

From Uganda's independence in 1962 to 1971, when Amin staged his coup, the Uganda People's Congress was the ruling party and Obote the Prime Minister and President of the Ugandan Government. During those years Uganda enjoyed stability, its industry and agriculture developed steadily and the people lived comparatively better than people in other east African countries.

Then on January 25, 1971, Obote's former army commander, Amin, overthrew the Obote administration and appointed himself head of state and commander of the armed forces of Uganda. For eight years Amin suppressed all opposition, killing some 300,000 people and driving hundreds of thousands into exile. He spent 30 to 40 per cent of the

annual state budget bolstering up his machinery of repression and half the country's foreign exchange earnings on weapon imports. He bled the country white to keep the people down. Agricultural production fell year after year and industrial production was almost completely paralysed. Uganda's foreign exchange reserves were exhausted, commodities grew scarce and prices rocketed. Life for the population grew harder and harder.

On January 22, 1979, Tanzanian troops beat back an armed invasion launched by Amin and on March 29, Ugandan political parties and organizations in exile met in Tanzania to form a national liberation front and a national liberation army. Together with the Tanzanian troops these forces launched an attack on Amin's forces and on April 10 took Kampala, the capital. Amin fled.

A Ugandan government was formed, but the situation in Uganda remained unstable. Lule, the first president, was in office for 69 days and then Binaisa took over. The latter's two attempts to seize all power arous-

ed strong dissatisfaction and opposition from the other parties and factions. In mid-May this year, the Military Commission of the National Liberation Front under Muwanga put Binaisa under house arrest and announced in June the holding of general elections in September. Only four political parties, the Uganda People's Congress, the Democratic Party, the Uganda Patriotic Movement and the Conservative Party, were allowed to put up candidates. Elections were not held until December 10. After intense electioneering, the Uganda People's Congress under Obote won, gaining 67 of the 126 seats. President Obote has experience and is very competent, but the task before him is formidable.

The problems he faces are many. The contradictions and conflicts among the different religious groups, tribes and factions are complex and acute, the destruction wrought by Amin is staggering, the state has no money and its economy is described as desperate. Moreover, remnants of Amin's forces are making themselves a further nuisance, killing and plundering, and much remains to be done to restore law and order throughout the country. The long drought has brought crop failures, leaving several hundred thousand people in imminent danger of starving. All these are grave problems challenging the new Ugandan Government. As Obote said in his inaugural speech, Uganda still faces grave challenges politically, morally and economically. He called on the entire Ugandan people to make concerted efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild their country. Great as the difficulties are, Uganda has got a fresh start.

— Xu Dewen

Conservatism and Friedmanism

SOME in the West think that Reagan's smashing victory which makes him the 40th U.S. President is an indication that conservatism is on the rise in the United States. Actually, conservatism has been gaining ground in the West for some years now, and has become a trend worth watching. Complicated political and economic reasons are behind its emergence. Economically, the liberals' pursuance of the Keynesian economic theory — introducing a welter of social welfare programmes, "nationalizations" and so on — has caused mounting popular dissatisfaction as it has led to enormous government spending, soaring prices and other economic problems. The conservatives have made a point of attacking this in recent years. They advocated slashing government spending, cutting back on welfare programmes and reducing state interference and strengthening free competition. This school of thinking came to be considered as anti-Keynesian, and Friedman's propositions are most representative of this school. Behind certain political changes in Europe and America is the clash between these two contemporary major bourgeois schools of economics.

After the depression of the 1930s Keynesian economics became the rage in the West and achieved dominance. Contrary to the classical school of economics hailing free competition and free markets, this school advocated greater state interference in economic activities and the market. It offered the capitalist economy a panacea to all its ills: When an economic recession appears, boost government spending, cut taxes and lower the bank

interest rate to stimulate demand; when inflation appears, cut government spending, raise taxes and lending rates. This proved fairly effective for quite a period of time. After World War II, labour and socialist parties in a number of West European countries one after another introduced legislation creating "welfare states." Some nationalized the enterprises, bringing in more and more intrusive government regulations and intervention, so that when conservative political parties came into power, even they had to continue the trend. But with the sharpening and growth of the contradictions inherent in capitalism, Western countries in recent years have found themselves simultaneously beset by persistent inflation and stagnant consumer demand and high unemployment, a condition called "stagflation." Capitalism's saviour, Keynesian economics, did not work and this gave rise to various economic schools which opposed or revised Keynesianism.

The Friedman school stands for a free market economy, holding that spontaneous readjustment of the market enables the capitalist economy to naturally balance itself and effectively spur technological developments, while government interference only destroys the balanced development of the economy and hinders technological advances. This school avers that inflation is the result of excessive increases of the money supply. Therefore, it proposes limiting the volume of money supply, reducing government spending and holding down budgetary deficits to expand employment. Friedman's emphasis on the role of money on economic

development led to its being called "the monetary school." The Friedman school also favours efficiency through free competition, opposes welfarism and believes that the consequences of massive welfare is increased government spending and lowered labour productivity. In a word, the Friedman school more or less affirms the traditional bourgeois classical economics of the 19th century, which is why it is considered conservative by contemporary bourgeois economists.

This school is attracting attention in many quarters in the West and is being espoused by many in power, including Mrs. Thatcher's government. Reagan, too, claims his guiding theory comes from Prof. Milton Friedman.

For all that, Friedman has not and cannot entirely supersede Keynes, notwithstanding the decline of the theories of the latter, and Keynesianism still has a hold on many. Moreover, the economic policies of the conservative or liberal parties cannot be easily separated into two disparate whole. In certain aspects, the conservatives cannot eschew Keynesianism. Neither is the Friedman school a cure-all. Mrs. Thatcher has introduced drastic reforms according to the theories of the Friedman school, but Britain's economy still shows a high rate of inflation and unemployment, which is causing widespread discontent and even arousing the opposition of Heath and others inside her own party. Mrs. Thatcher, however, is determined to press ahead whatever the cost, holding that the ailing British economy cannot be cured without a

heavy dose of bitter drugs. After the elections, Reagan announced with great bravado that he is going to "turn the American economic situation around" by some remarkable reforms, by a policy of less government, less spending, less taxes and less welfare. But many are sceptical. Some ask how is he to balance the budget if he wants to build up American military might and cut taxes? Can he avert the old path to inflation? Others think that Reagan's proposals to reduce the size of government to trim expenditures look good

on paper, but that was what his predecessors had promised too, and they all had ended up with larger administrations and greater deficits. Reagan's proposal to cut social and welfare spending is going to hurt the poor a lot and whether it can be done without much trouble is questionable.

Although everything points to the failure of Keynesianism, the anti-Keynesianist conservatives are not likely able to give capitalism unflinching prosperity either.

— Xiao Xi

Pakistan-Saudi Arabia Joint Communique

A joint communique was issued on December 10 by Pakistan President Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq and Crown Prince Fahd Bin Abdel Aziz of Saudi Arabia at the end of the Crown Prince's three-day official visit to Pakistan. The communique reiterated their call for an immediate Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, their opposition to foreign interference in the Gulf area and their demand that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories. These requests conform with the interests of the people in the Middle East and West Asia as well as the people elsewhere.

The joint communique issued by the two countries must be seen as a telling rebuff to the five-point proposal made by Brezhnev in India on the same day.

The communique pointed out that the fundamental condition for a political settlement of the Afghan issue was the withdrawal of foreign troops. But

Brezhnev, while making a great play for a "political solution," declared that the Soviet dispatch of troops to Afghanistan was "just and proper." It shows that his "political solution" has the legitimization of the Karmal regime and Russian control of Afghanistan as its aims.

The communique pointed out that safeguarding the security and stability of the Gulf area was the exclusive responsibility of the Gulf states and outside interference was unwelcome. This is the nub. Outside interference is the source of turbulence in the Gulf region, and the main threat to the peace and stability of the Gulf region comes from the expansionist policy pursued by the Soviet hegemonists. Brezhnev's five-point proposal for the Gulf region can only further the Soviet Union's strategic southward thrust into the Gulf, which will cause greater turbulence and instability.

BEIJING REVIEW

Subject Index

Nos. 27—52, 1980

Supplement to BEIJING REVIEW

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Subject Index

(Nos. 27-52, 1980)

	<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>		<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
I. DOMESTIC					
1. Political Affairs					
1) General					
China to Mark 70th Anniversary of 1911 Revolution	42	: 3	Falsified Figures Exposed	29	: 6
2) Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Studies			Vice-Minister Shen Hong — Model for Ranking Cadres	30	: 24
On the Role of the Individual in History	32	: 17	Chinese Leaders Attend Lecture on Science	32	: 5
Theoretical Study: Is the National Question Essentially a Class Question?	34	: 17	Selecting Cadres From Among College Graduates	32	: 7
Academic Discussion: What Is the Motive Force of Historical Development?			People in the News: Wen Minsheng	33	: 28
Class Struggle Is the Motive Force in Private Ownership Society — Liu Danian	35	: 14	Less Publicity for Individuals	34	: 3
Material or Economic Interests of Mankind — Yan Zhongkui	35	: 16	Sweep Away Feudal Ideology	36	: 23
Joint Force of the Movement of Various Social Contradictions — Song Shitang and Li Demao	35	: 17	Premier Zhao on Political and Economic Reforms	38	: 5
Power Should Not Be Concentrated in the Hands of Individuals — "Hongqi" Special Commentator	44	: 15	National Day Celebrated in New Ways	41	: 3
The Need to Eliminate Feudal Remnants — Ruan Ming	45	: 15	Vice-Minister's Fraud Exposed	41	: 3
Engels Commemorated	49	: 3	Congress of Workers and Staff Members	42	: 3
Publicize Atheism	50	: 6	Combating Bureaucracy Encouraged Reform in Welcoming State Guests	42	: 4
Theoretical Discussion: Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend — Zhou Jin	51	: 12	Acclaimed	43	: 6
3) Rectifying Party's Style of Work and Reforms in the Political Structure			Privileges Challenged	44	: 6
Away With Feudal Ideas	27	: 3	Cadres' "Iron Rice Bowl" Cracks	45	: 3
Younger Cadres With Professional Knowledge	28	: 3	People in the News: Chen Aiwu	45	: 27
Strive to Improve Party Style of Work — "Renmin Ribao" editorial	28	: 16	Combat Favouritism	46	: 4
			The System of Lifelong Leadership Must Be Abolished	46	: 20
			People in the News: Meng Xiancheng	46	: 27
			Criticism in the Press	47	: 3
			Scientists as Advisers	49	: 5
			Strengthening Ideological-Political Work	51	: 3
			Chen Yun and Hu Yaobang on Party Discipline	51	: 4
			Bright Prospects for China's Reforms — Hu Yaobang answers "Avghi" editor's questions	51	: 11
			People in the News: Luo Yuchuan	51	: 29
			Greater Role for Scientists in Policy-Making	52	: 4
			On Personality Cult and Other Questions	52	: 13
			4) Democracy and Legal System		
			Direct County Elections	28	: 4
			Legal Advisory Office	28	: 25

	Issue Page No. No.		Issue Page No. No.
Letters: A Medium for Democracy	30 : 3	Lassoing Horses	28 : 26
Provincial People's Governments Elected	31 : 6	History: Research on Mongolian Philosophy	29 : 29
Local People's Courts	33 : 6	Grapes Abound in Turpan	31 : 30
Punishment for Squanderers of Public Funds	33 : 6	New Hotel on Sino-Nepalese Border	32 : 27
Democratic Elections at County Level	34 : 3	A Clinic of Tibetan Medicine	33 : 28
High Officials' Sons Punished	35 : 7	Tibetan Medical Graduates	35 : 27
Democracy in Factories — Our Corres- pondent Tian Sansong	35 : 19	Exhibition of Li Minority Costumes	43 : 30
Past and Present	35 : 22	More Minority College Students	46 : 8
Congress of Workers and Staff	35 : 24	Trade Fair in Northern Tibet	46 : 26
Democratic Election	36 : 7	6) National People's Congress and C.P.P.C.C.	
Oil Rig Accident Sternly Dealt With	36 : 7	N.P.C. Standing Committee Members on Inspection Tours	32 : 6
Report on Work of N.P.C. Standing Committee — Peng Zhen	39 : 23	Agenda of the N.P.C.	36 : 4
At 3rd Session of 5th N.P.C.: Report on Work of Supreme People's Court (Excerpts)	40 : 15	Fifth National People's Congress in Session.	
Report on Procuratorial Work (Excerpts)	40 : 16	Opening Speech	36 : 3
The Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China	40 : 17	Arrangements for National Eco- nomic Plans	36 : 4
The Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China Concerning Joint Ventures With Chinese and Foreign Investment	40 : 18	1979 Final State Accounts and 1980 Budget	36 : 5
Two Important Regulations	40 : 20	Third Session of Fifth C.P.P.C.C.	36 : 6
The "Dazibao": Its Rise and Fall: "Sida": Its Origin — "Beijing Review" Commentator Zhou Zheng	40 : 22	National People's Congress Ends Session	
Opinions From the People's Deputies	40 : 26	Reshuffle of State Leading Per- sonnel	37 : 3
Jurists' Views: Why "Sida" Has Been Abolished — Zhang Youyu	40 : 27	Premier Hua Guofeng's Speech	37 : 4
A Painful Lesson — Lei Jieqiong	40 : 28	Biography of Zhao Ziyang	37 : 4
Electing Director of Forestry Bureau	43 : 7	C.P.P.C.C. Closes	38 : 4
Freedom of Divorce Affirmed	43 : 8	A Meeting of Democracy	38 : 5
Factory Director Arrested	44 : 7	Hua Guofeng's Speech — At the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress	38 : 12
Answering Our Readers: Two Ques- tions About China's Criminal Law	44 : 17	Report on the Arrangements for the National Economic Plans for 1980 and 1981 — Yao Yilin	38 : 30
On the Nationality Law — Gong Qiuxiang	45 : 24	Biographies of New Vice-Chairmen and Vice-Premiers	38 : 43
The Role of Chinese Lawyers — Li Yunchang	46 : 24	At Fifth National People's Congress: Report on Financial Work — Wang Bingqian	39 : 11
Need for More Lawyers	49 : 3	Report on Work of N.P.C. Stand- ing Committee — Peng Zhen	39 : 23
Trade Unions Uphold Workers' In- terests	50 : 5	Democracy in Action, Accent on Re- forms — Sidelights on N.P.C. Session — Our Correspondent Tian Sansong	39 : 33
Embezzlers Sentenced	52 : 6	Tough Questioning	39 : 35
Wanton Felling of Trees Banned	52 : 6	At 3rd Session of 5th N.P.C.: Report on Work of Supreme People's Court (Excerpts)	40 : 15
5) National Minorities		Report on Procuratorial work (Excerpts)	40 : 16
New Economic Policy for Tibet	27 : 4		

	Issue Page No. No.		Issue Page No. No.
The Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China	40 : 17	Jiang Tengjiao Pleads Guilty — Xinhua and "Beijing Review" correspondents	50 : 20
The Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China Concerning Joint Ventures With Chinese and Foreign Investment	40 : 18	Report From the Court (4)	
Two Important Regulations	40 : 20	Jiang Qing and Her Cohorts Persecuted Innocent People — "Beijing Review" correspondent	51 : 14
7) Lin Biao-Jiang Qing Counter-Revolutionary Cliques on Trial		Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen Plotted Armed Rebellion — "Beijing Review" correspondent	51 : 16
Kang Sheng Condemned	30 : 3	Huang Yongsheng and Others Framed Cadres and Masses — Xinhua and "Beijing Review" correspondents	51 : 17
Principal Culprits of the Counter-Revolutionary Cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to Be Tried	40 : 3	Lin Biao's Abortive Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat — "Beijing Review" Correspondent Hua Fang	51 : 19
Chinese Communist Party Expels Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi	45 : 3	People Mentioned in This Article	51 : 28
Trial of Jiang Qing and Others to Begin	46 : 3	People Mentioned in This Article	51 : 28
"Four Major Crimes" — Indictment Against Lin-Jiang Cliques	47 : 3	Report From the Court (5): Special Court Continues Debates — Xinhua and "Beijing Review" correspondents	52 : 18
Trial of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Cliques: Major Points of the Indictment	47 : 12		
Trial of Lin-Jiang Cliques Begins	48 : 3	8) Others	
Ten Lawyers Act as Defence Counsel	48 : 4	Chinese Catholics Set Up National Commission and Bishops College	28 : 7
Trial of Lin-Jiang Cliques: Indictment of the Special Procuratorate	48 : 9	Taiwan Fishermen Leave Hangzhou for Home	29 : 26
Reports From the Court: Wu Faxian Admits: Lin Biao Plotted Counter-Revolutionary Coup — Xinhua Correspondent	48 : 29	Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin Removed	35 : 6
Wang and Yao Admit: Jiang Qing Was Chief Instigator of the Changsha False Charges — "Beijing Review" Correspondent	48 : 30	Explosion in Beijing Railway Station	45 : 7
Reports From the Court (2)		Railway Station Explosion Explained	47 : 6
Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao Tried for Making False Charges — "Beijing Review" correspondent	49 : 15	A Milestone in China's Student Movement — Reminiscences of the Ninth of December, 1935	
Investigation of Lin Biao Clique's Attempted Coup and Plot to Assassinate Chairman Mao — "Beijing Review" correspondent	49 : 18	The Eruption	49 : 20
Reports From the Court (3)		Indignation Didn't Amount to Anything; Adventurous Deeds Got Nowhere	49 : 23
Jiang Clique's Frame-up of Chairman Liu Investigated — "Beijing Review" correspondent	50 : 16	The Women Students	49 : 24
Wu Faxian Admits Collaboration With Jiang Qing	50 : 19	Integration With Workers and Peasants	49 : 26
		2. Economic	
		1) General	
		Report on the Arrangements for the National Economic Plans for 1980 and 1981 — Yao Yilin	38 : 30
		U.S.\$ 1,000 by the Year 2000 — Yu Youhai	43 : 16

	<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>		<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>
Interim Regulations Concerning the Control of Resident Office of Foreign Enterprises	50 : 25	On the Use of Foreign Funds — Liu Lixin	34 : 23
Protecting Ecological Equilibrium	52 : 5	New Management System in Factories	36 : 8
2) Economic Theory		Premier Zhao on Political and Economic Reforms	38 : 5
No More Folly	27 : 5	Against Bureaucracy	38 : 6
Economists on Individual Economy	33 : 3	Various Forms of Economic Integration	39 : 4
Special Interview: More on Economic Reform	36 : 18	New Management System in Commercial Enterprises	41 : 5
Economic Theory: On the Basic Economic Law of Socialism	41 : 15	Workers and Staff Must Have the Right to Manage Enterprises	42 : 14
The Basic Approach to Socialist Ownership — Yu Guangyuan	49 : 13	A Probe Into Some Employment Problems — Zhao Lukuan	43 : 18
Eliminate Feudal Vestiges in Economic Work — Qian Junrui	52 : 15	"One Pattern" Will Not Do	44 : 3
3) Economic Policies and Economic Reform		Wiping Out Bureaucracy in Commerce	45 : 4
Circulation of Commodities	28 : 4	Discussions About Individual Economy — Zhou Jinghua	45 : 20
What to Uphold and What to Oppose in Economic Work — "Renmin Ribao" editorial	28 : 22	New Chain of Command in Factories	46 : 3
Vice-Premier Zhao on Economic Reform	29 : 3	Protect Socialist Competition	46 : 4
Giving Play to Strong Points and Cooperation	29 : 4	A New-Styled Enterprise	47 : 5
Helping Poor Rural Areas	29 : 5	Independent Business Accounting	49 : 4
One Step Back, Two Steps Forward — Readjusting Capital Construction — Our Correspondent Tian Yun	29 : 15	New Investment Method	50 : 3
Why Shorten the Front?	29 : 20	Factory Directors Selected Through Examination	50 : 6
Use Resources Where Needed	29 : 21	4) Industry, Communication and City Construction	
Changes on a Construction Site	29 : 25	Energy Conservation	27 : 5
Services for the Retired	30 : 4	Pit-Head Power Plants	27 : 6
Vice-Premier Zhao on Economic Situation	30 : 3	Modernization March	28 : 6
Encouraging Competition	31 : 4	Industrial Production Up	29 : 3
Developing Labour-Intensive Trades	31 : 4	Investigative Report: In What Direction Should Shanghai's Industry Be Developed?	30 : 15
Economic Reform: A "Dragon" of Farming, Industry and Commerce — Our Correspondent Luo Fu	31 : 17	Urban-Rural Jointly Run Factories	30 : 16
State Farms Operate at a Loss: Why?	31 : 20	Shanghai Helps Hangzhou	30 : 18
The Chongqing "Dragon" Is the First to Take Off	31 : 25	How Should Beijing Develop?	31 : 3
What They Say	32 : 3	Six-Hour Day for Chinese Coal Miners	31 : 5
Promoting Economic Integration	33 : 3	Speeding Up Building of Hydropower Stations	31 : 5
More Enterprises With Greater Power of Self-Management	33 : 27	Investigating the Causes of Oil Rig Accident	31 : 7
Democratic Factory Management Helps New Employment Policy	34 : 4	Press Survey: Building a New Beijing	31 : 14
Techniques and Readjustment of Economy	34 : 6	People in the News: Han Jingxing	31 : 31
		First Joint Radio Enterprise	32 : 4
		People in the News: Liu Jun	32 : 28
		Farm Mechanization	33 : 5
		Readjustment of Economy Yields Results	34 : 5
		Energy Policy	34 : 6
		Some Questions on the Building of the 1.7-Metre Rolling Mill — Meng Xiancheng	34 : 26

	Issue Page No. No.		Issue Page No. No.
New Homes for Kailuan Miners	36 : 27	Marketable Grain Bases in the Northeast	34 : 7
People in the News: Xun Fenglian	36 : 28	Survey of Agricultural Resources	35 : 3
Handicraft Industry: Trends of Development — Our Correspondent Tian Yun		Develop Energy Resources in Coun- tryside	35 : 4
Proceeding From China's Reality	37 : 16	State Purchases of Grain Reduced Output, Reward, Responsibility	37 : 7
Tianjin Rugs	37 : 21	Buried Forests Discovered	37 : 27
Bright Prospects for Arts and Crafts — As envisaged by some artisans	37 : 24	Progress in Livestock Breeding	38 : 6
New Vinyon Mills	38 : 7	More Water Conservancy Works	41 : 4
CAAC Begins Improvements	39 : 5	300 Natural Reserves	41 : 5
Industrial and Agricultural Output: 1979-81 (Pictorial)	40 : 7	How Major Municipalities and Prov- inces Give Play to Their Strong Points	
Over the "Roof of the World"	40 : 29	Zhejiang — Mountain Area Con- struction	41 : 23
How Major Municipalities and Prov- inces Give Play to Their Strong Points		Northern Shaanxi — Speeding Up Forestry and Livestock Breeding	41 : 24
Tianjin — An Important Export Base	41 : 21	Melon Competition	41 : 27
Combating Bureaucracy Encouraged	42 : 4	Popularizing Agro-Techniques	42 : 4
Houses Sold to Individuals	42 : 5	How Major Municipalities and Prov- inces Give Play to Their Strong Points	
How Major Municipalities and Prov- inces Give Play to Their Strong Points		Fujian Province — A Cane Sugar Producer	42 : 17
Shanxi — An Ideal Energy Base	42 : 16	Hainan — A Treasure Island	42 : 19
New Cement Works	43 : 7	How Major Municipalities and Prov- inces Give Play to Their Strong Points	
Industry Continues to Grow	44 : 3	Heilongjiang — A Mechanized Granary	43 : 23
More Small Cities Needed	44 : 4	Inner Mongolia — A Stock-Raising Base	43 : 25
Urban Construction Needs Better Planning	45 : 6	People in the News: Li Huaiyu	43 : 31
Stress on Energy Conservation	47 : 4	Rural Savings and Credits Up	44 : 4
More Consumer Goods — An im- portant aim in readjustment of the national economy — Our Corres- pondent Tian Yun		Victory Over the Changjiang Flood- waters	44 : 2
Why Is Readjustment Necessary?	47 : 20	Afforestation on the Plains	44 : 6
The Zhejiang Way	47 : 23	People in the News: Wu Zhonglun	44 : 27
Adjustment Through the Market Under the Guidance of State Planning	47 : 25	Rural Contract	45 : 5
Not a "Consumer Society" at all	47 : 26	More Small Hydropower Stations	46 : 5
Proposal for Nuclear Power Stations	49 : 3	Peasants Buy More Consumer Goods	46 : 6
Reducing Scale of Capital Construction	50 : 3	Rural Housing	46 : 6
Labour-Intensive Trades Grow	50 : 4	No Intervention in Rural Cultivation Plan	50 : 4
		Mutant Date Tree	50 : 28
5) Agriculture, Forestry, Animal Husbandry and Water Conservancy		6) Finance, Trade and Tourism	
Increase in Peasants' Income	27 : 6	China's Growing Tourist Industry — Our Correspondent Zhang Zeyu	
Progress in Afforestation	28 : 5	Tourism Director Lu Xuzhang Answers Questions	27 : 14
No Deification of Dazhai Brigade	32 : 5	100 Places for Tourists	27 : 17
Becoming Well-Off Through Collective Strength	33 : 4		

Hotel Staff on Tourism and Tourists	27 : 20
American Tourists on Their China Tour	27 : 23
Tour Organizer Julian Schuman Interviewed	27 : 25
Attractive Huangshan	28 : 25
Growing Foreign Trade	30 : 4
Record Savings Deposits	30 : 5
Big Increase in Retail Sales	32 : 4
New Hotel on Sino-Nepalese Border	32 : 27
Markets Selling Agricultural and Sideline Products	35 : 3
More Tourists Visiting China	35 : 4
Taihu Lake	35 : 27
Chinese Cuisine	36 : 27
Convenience Food	36 : 28
New Hotel Opens in Zhuoxian	37 : 27
At Fifth National People's Congress: Report on Financial Work — Wang Bingqian	39 : 11
Service Workers Training Programme	40 : 29
Answering Our Readers: Does China Export Labour?	43 : 21
Competition on Repairing TV Sets	45 : 4
Bank Loans for Saving Energy	45 : 7
Beijing to Export Kites	45 : 26
New Tourist Centre in Guangdong	45 : 27
People in the News: Wang Juan	49 : 29
Campaign to Improve Services	50 : 27
Controlling Prices	51 : 4
Only One Exchange Rate for Renminbi	51 : 5
Steady Increase in Savings Deposits	52 : 3
Combating Waste	52 : 3
Mass Supervision Over Prices	52 : 4
Smugglers Caught at Sea	52 : 5

3. Culture

1) Art and Literature

Theatre: "Shanghai Spring" Festival	27 : 28
Press Survey: Social Effects of Literature and Art	28 : 19
People in the News: Guo Song	28 : 26
Theatre: Peasant Amateurs	28 : 27
Music School: Central Conservatory — 30 Years Old	28 : 27
Literature: Minority Nationality Writers	30 : 28
Traditional Paintings: Works Over the Last 100 Years	32 : 29
Drama: Beijing Opera Troupe Goes to U.S.	33 : 29

Pen Club: Coming Back to the World Literature: Women Writers	35 : 29
Folk Songs at the Zhuang Festival	36 : 29
Cartoon: One-Man Exhibition	37 : 28
Dance: National Contest	37 : 29
Film: 50-Year Film Career of Joris Ivens Celebrated	40 : 30
Theatre: "Mayor Chen Yi" Highly Acclaimed	41 : 28
Discussion on Leadership Over Literature and Art	42 : 29
Music and Dance: National Minority Art Festival	43 : 4
Film: The Passing of a Brilliant Star	44 : 28
Music: Concerts for Workers	45 : 28
Fine Arts: Gu Yuan's Woodcuts	46 : 28
Coconut Carvings of Hainan Island	47 : 29
Dance: Returning to the Stage	49 : 29
Theatre: Romanian Play in Beijing	50 : 30
Art: Rong Bao Zhai Celebrates Anniversary	51 : 30
	52 : 22

2) Education

People in the News: Hou Baolin	29 : 26
Policy Discussion: Reform Higher Education	
Open More Avenues for Education — Yu Xiafu	30 : 19
On Reforming University Education — Qian Jiaju	30 : 21
Running More Liberal Arts Courses — Liu Da and He Dongchang	30 : 22
Reforming Middle School Education	35 : 5
Tibetan Medical Graduates	35 : 27
Universities Begin Enrolling Self-Paid Students	39 : 6
Teachers' Summer Vacation	40 : 29
Spare-Time Education for Workers	41 : 6
People in the News: Jin Li	41 : 27
Psychology Training Class on Juvenile Delinquency	41 : 27
For More Liberal Arts Students	42 : 6
Home Education Research Group	44 : 26
Reforming Secondary Education	46 : 7
Self-Study Encouraged	49 : 5
Six-Year Curriculum Restored in Primary Schools	49 : 6
More Chinese to Study Abroad	50 : 7

3) Sports, Medicine and Health

Two Pensioners Lead Busy Lives	27 : 27
Sports: Guangzhou International Football Tournament	29 : 27

	<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>		<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
Sports: "Taijiquan": A Popular Sport	30	: 29	People in the News: Cao Heng	50	: 28
Dragon Boat Meet	30	: 30	Three Generations of Bird Specialists	51	: 29
Medicine: Early-Stage Liver Cancer	31	: 27			
China Red Cross Society Revives Its Work	31	: 30			
A Clinic of Tibetan Medicine	33	: 28			
Public Health: Better Hygiene and Sanitation in Sichuan	33	: 29			
Medicine: Traditional Chinese Medicine Practices Recorded	34	: 30			
People in the News: Wang Biyun	35	: 28			
Medicine: Artificial Blood	35	: 29			
Sports: American Ski-Mountaineers Conquer Mt. Muztagata	35	: 30			
Sports: China's Athletes in World Competitions	36	: 29			
Sports: National Middle School Games	37	: 30			
One Couple, One Child	40	: 4			
Student Tours China on Bicycle	41	: 26			
Medicine: Treating Mental Illness in Beijing	41	: 28			
People in the News: Hu Zurong	42	: 27			
Sports: Beijing International Track and Field Meet	43	: 27			
Sports: Women's Basketball Team Analyses Defeat	45	: 29			
Sports: Shanghai International Weightlifting Championships	46	: 29			
Answering Our Readers: Traditional Medicine in China Today — Our Correspondent Lin Yang	50	: 21			
China's Ancient Pharmacy	50	: 24			
4) Science and Technology					
Earth Science: Symposium on Qinghai-Tibet Plateau	27	: 29			
Medicine: "Qigong" Therapy	29	: 27			
Energy: Conference on Methane	35	: 30			
Opening Doors to Underground Wealth — Prospecting China's Mineral Resources — Our Correspondent Ji Zhe					
Vice-Minister of Geology Gives Answers	42	: 20			
Rewards for Reporting Minerals	42	: 21			
Distribution of China's Major Resources	42	: 23			
A Hydrogeological Team	42	: 25			
Scientific Survey: Surveying Xinjiang	43	: 27			
Humanities-Studies Company Begins Work	43	: 31			
Multi-Coloured Fish Under Study	45	: 27			
Baby Panda by Artificial Insemination	46	: 26			
Ecological Balance Improved	49	: 29			
Abacus News	50	: 27			
			5) Archaeology and Cultural Relics		
			Archaeology: Ancient Cliff Carvings in Inner Mongolia	29	: 28
			Cultural Relics: Tomb of Matteo Ricci Renovated	29	: 29
			Cultural Relics: Protecting Historical Sites	31	: 27
			Publication: Confucius Family Archives in Print	32	: 30
			Archaeology: Artifacts Aid Astronomy	33	: 30
			Cultural Relics: Tomb of Sulu Sultan Repaired	37	: 29
			Archaeology: A Neolithic Village	41	: 29
			"Four Treasures" Exhibition Opens	44	: 27
			Cultural Relics: Recommendation for Grand Restoration	46	: 30
			Cultural Relics: Ancient Bell on Display	47	: 30
			Linguistics: Ancient Minority Languages	50	: 29
			6) Books		
			"Essays on Chinese Economic History"	28	: 28
			"A Dream of Red Mansions"	29	: 30
			"History of the Student Movement in Beijing University (1919-49)"	31	: 29
			"Flying Red Flags" — Li Rongsheng	35	: 31
			"The History of the 1911 Revolution" (Volume I, in Chinese)	37	: 31
			"Stage Art in 'Teahouse'" (in Chinese)	39	: 38
			"Paleontology of Tibet" (Book I)	41	: 30
			"On the Party" (Liu Shaoqi's Theoretical Legacy) — Ye Duchu	43	: 29
			"Refugees From Viet Nam in China"	44	: 30
			"60 Scenic Wonders in China"	45	: 30
			"History of China: New-Democratic Revolution Period" (Vol. I)	47	: 31
			Introducing Minority Nationalities: "Brief History of the Zhuangs"	49	: 30
			"Minority Nationalities in Yunnan Province"	49	: 30
			"A Collection of the Best Short Stories of 1979" — Wu Zhilan	51	: 31
			7) Others		
			More TV Viewers	29	: 25
			Best Stamps in China	32	: 27

	<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>
Reforming Written Chinese — Our Correspondent Ling Yang	
Necessity of Reform	33 : 19
Simplification of the Ideograph	33 : 20
Origin of the Chinese Ideograph	33 : 20
Popularization of "Common Speech"	33 : 21
Chinese Phonetic Alphabet	33 : 22
How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet	33 : 24
Social Sciences: The Academy:	
Past and Present	34 : 29
Children Paint	35 : 27
Linguistics: Noted Linguist's Contributions	40 : 30
Publication: Record Circulation of China's Periodicals	42 : 29
Radio and TV Broadcasts	43 : 5
Publishing: Encyclopaedia Britannica in Chinese	43 : 28
Peasant Keeps Diary for 50 Years	43 : 30
Albino Monkey Needs a Mate	44 : 26
Publishing: National Book Fair	46 : 28
Storytelling: Yue Fei in the Air	47 : 29
Intellectuals of Taiwan Origin in Shanghai	49 : 28
Chrysanthemum Show in Beijing	50 : 27

4. Social Life

Helping Taiwan Compatriots Trace Relatives	27 : 27
20 Million More People Employed	29 : 5
Love and Sentiments	29 : 6
Living Standard Rises in Beijing	30 : 5
Shanghai Population Growth Rate Drops	30 : 6
Longevity Survey in Guangzhou	30 : 30
On the Death of Her Grandmother	31 : 31
Forum on Youth: Opening Up More Outlets for an Up-and-Coming Younger Generation — Zhong Peizhang	32 : 21
Peasants Sentenced for Maltreating Parents	32 : 28
Bird Business Flourishes in Beijing	33 : 27
A Discussion: The Meaning of Life	35 : 6
An Ordinary Citizen in a Courtyard	37 : 27
People in the News: Zhao Qiyun	37 : 28
Environmental Protection	38 : 7
A Rural Library	41 : 26
Helping Young People Find Partners	42 : 27
Study and Job Opportunities for Youth	42 : 28
Alive and Well at 142	42 : 28

	<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>
Unusual Concert	43 : 30
City Dwellers and the Neighbourhood Committee — Our Correspondent Luo Fu	
Assistant to Grass-Roots Government Agency	44 : 19
Reed Bed Neighbourhood Committee	44 : 21
Profiles	44 : 22
A Questionnaire	45 : 7
Prejudice Defied	45 : 26
Swindler Mends His Ways	46 : 26
Two Foreigners Stabbed by a Schizophrenic	48 : 5
Red Army Veterans in Chongqing	49 : 28

II. INTERNATIONAL

I. General

Olympic Games Without Olympic Spirit — "Beijing Review" news analyst Li Jian	30 : 9
What Should the Non-Aligned Movement Do? — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	30 : 12
Li Xiannian: Copying Will Not Do	31 : 8
South Pacific: More Pacific and Prosperous — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	31 : 10
No Glory in the Game — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	32 : 10
Why Memories of 1939? — Chen Youwei	32 : 14
Appeasement Not the Answer — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	33 : 7
Soviets Use Toxic War Chemicals — Fang Yuan	34 : 9
Outrageous Lies! — Ren Yan	35 : 13
Pen Club: Coming Back to the World	35 : 29
Military Manoeuvres of Warsaw Pact and NATO — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	39 : 10
Parliamentary Parley — Zhang Qihua	41 : 10
European Security Talks Deadlocked — Ren Yan	41 : 12
Growing Grain Shortage — Ding Shengjun	41 : 13
Principle of Independence of the Parties of Various Countries — Xu Junji and Wang Xingbin	46 : 15
Madrid Conference: Follow What Up? — Zhong Tai	47 : 9

NATO Ministers Meet: Accent on Unity — Tang Liuyi and Xin Shufan	52 : 9
---	--------

2. China and the United Nations

China Opposes Changing Status of Jerusalem	28 : 13
A Victory for the Palestinian Cause — “Renmin Ribao” Commentator	32 : 9
Chinese Foreign Ministry on Israel Changing Status of Jerusalem	32 : 9
U.N. Women’s Conference: Equality, Development and Peace	33 : 9
Sihanouk Asks U.N. Not to Recognize Puppet Regime	35 : 11
The U.N.: Not a Puppet Theatre — “Beijing Review” news analyst An Ding	36 : 11
Khieu Samphan on Kampuchea’s Seat in U.N.	38 : 9
Developing Countries at the 11th Special Session — “Beijing Review” news analyst Yu Pang	39 : 8
New Results of Sea Law Conference — Wu Yingchun	39 : 9
Question of Kampuchea’s Seat at U.N.: Moscow’s Mythical Three Million — Xinhua Correspondent Ji Ying	40 : 10
Huang Hua on International Situation	40 : 12
Aggressors Told to Pull Back — “Beijing Review” news analyst An Ding	41 : 9
Kampuchea’s U.N. Seat: Justice Upheld — “Beijing Review” news analyst Guo Fen	43 : 11
Moscow and Hanoi on the Defensive — “Beijing Review” news analyst Zhong Tai	44 : 9
Why Cuba Gave Up	44 : 14
By an Overwhelming Majority — U.N. General Assembly calls for an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan — “Beijing Review” news analyst Zhong Tai	48 : 7
Huang Hua on Opposing Colonialism	51 : 6

3. China’s Foreign Relations; Countries and Regions

1) ASIA

Fruitful ASEAN Foreign Ministers’ Meeting — “Renmin Ribao” Commentator	27 : 9
China Opposes Changing Status of Jerusalem	28 : 13
China Has No Relations With Israel	30 : 8
Egypt-Israel Talking Again — “Renmin Ribao” Correspondent Xing Xiangchao	30 : 13
A Victory for the Palestinian Cause — “Renmin Ribao” Commentator	32 : 9
Chinese Foreign Ministry on Israel Changing Status of Jerusalem	32 : 9
Southeast Asia: Increasing Soviet Menace — “Beijing Review” news analyst An Ding	34 : 10
Israel’s Policy of Aggression Condemned	35 : 8
Support for Palestinian People’s Struggle	36 : 9
Israel Bombards Lebanon Again — Ren Yan	36 : 16
Contrary to Begin’s Expectations — Xinhua Correspondent Zhong Dong	37 : 14
Clouds Over Gulf of Oman	43 : 10
Israel Wants the Golan Heights	43 : 14
ASEAN Economies Growing — Yang Ding	46 : 12
Support the Palestinian People’s Just Struggle	49 : 7
Afghanistan	
Support the Afghan Resistance Movement	27 : 11
Soviet Union in a Quagmire — Gui Tongchang	28 : 10
Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces — “Beijing Review” news analyst Yu Pang	32 : 11
Interview With President of Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan	40 : 9
Moscow Steps Up Its Afghan War — Fang Yuan	42 : 13
Afghan Official Denounces Moscow	45 : 12
Soviets Moving Into Wakhan Area	48 : 8

Bangladesh

Bangladesh President in Beijing 31 : 7

Burma

Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty 20th Anniversary — Wang Jienan 41 : 11

Burmese President Makes Eleventh Visit to China 44 : 7

India

A Foolish Decision — "Renmin Ribao" commentary 28 : 15

India's Decision Deplored — Li Xinhua 29 : 12

Indian Armed Personnel Released 35 : 8

Brezhnev's India Trip — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator 51 : 8

Iran

Iranian-Soviet Relations: Teheran Heightens Vigilance — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang 29 : 9

Unwanted Interference 35 : 12

The Iranians Did Right — Guo Feng 36 : 14

Premier Zhao on Iran-Iraq Disputes 39 : 4

Iraq-Iran Relations: Early End to Hostilities Is Best — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang 40 : 9

Iran-Iraq Conflict: Cause for Anxiety — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang 43 : 9

Gulf War Developments — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping 44 : 10

Iran-Iraq War: Impact on Oil Supplies — Dan Lin and Gu Yuqing 46 : 11

Iran-Iraq War: The World Wants It Stopped — Shi Kun 49 : 11

Iraq

Iraq's Legitimate Right 34 : 12

Iraq's Foreign Policy — He Li 36 : 15

Premier Zhao on Iran-Iraq Disputes 39 : 4

Iraq-Iran Relations: Early End to Hostilities Is Best — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang 40 : 9

Iran-Iraq Conflict: Cause for Anxiety — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang 43 : 9

Gulf War Developments — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping 44 : 10

Iran-Iraq War: Impact on Oil Supplies — Dan Lin and Gu Yuqing 46 : 11

Iran-Iraq War: The World Wants It Stopped — Shi Kun 49 : 11

Japan

Dramatic Shift in Japanese Politics — "Beijing Review" news analyst Li Jian 27 : 13

Premier Hua Attends Ohira's Funeral Report From Tokyo: Suzuki Cabinet's 29 : 7

Defence and Foreign Policies — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen 35 : 12

Why Moscow Is Pressuring Japan — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen 36 : 12

Soviet Submarine Surfaces 36 : 13

Japanese Foreign Minister in Beijing 37 : 9

Soviet-Japanese Relations: Moscow's Three-Stage Formula — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen 49 : 10

Conference of Sino-Japanese Government Officials 50 : 7

China-Japan: An Important Step Forward — "Renmin Ribao" Correspondent Zhang Yunfang 50 : 9

Jordan

Syria-Jordan Border 51 : 10

Kampuchea

Another Kampuchean Event Must Be Prevented — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding 28 : 12

India's Decision Deplored — Li Xinhua War Situation in Rainy Season 35 : 10

Sihanouk Asks U.N. Not to Recognize Puppet Regime 35 : 11

The U.N.: Not a Puppet Theatre — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding 36 : 11

Khieu Samphan: Three-Point Solution to the Kampuchean Question 36 : 11

Kampuchean Policy Shifts to Fight Aggression 38 : 8

Khieu Samphan on Kampuchea's Seat in U.N. 38 : 9

Question of Kampuchea's Seat at U.N.: Moscow's Mythical Three Million — Xinhua Correspondent Ji Ying 40 : 10

In Rural Democratic Kampuchea — Xinhua and "Renmin Ribao" Correspondents 42 : 11

Kampuchea's U.N. Seat: Justice Upheld — "Beijing Review" news analyst Guo Fen 43 : 11

Glimpses of Democratic Kampuchea 45 : 13

	Issue Page No. No.		Issue Page No. No.
Kampuchea: Call on Patriots to Unite Against the Enemy	49 : 9	Syria	
Kampuchea: First Joint Military Operation — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	50 : 13	Syria-Jordan Border	51 : 10
Korea		Thailand	
30th Anniversary of Korea's Father- land Liberation War	27 : 7	Vietnamese Invasion of Thailand Con- demned	27 : 7
For Reunification of Korea	30 : 6	Support for Thailand's Fight Against Vietnamese Aggression	28 : 7
South Korea: Why Chun Wants Kim Out of the Way — Zhou Bizhong	31 : 11	Another Kampuchean Event Must Be Prevented — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	28 : 12
New Dictator in South Korea	36 : 14	Thai-Lao Relations: Hanoi Hunting for a Pretext — Xinhua Correspondent Ji Ying	30 : 11
Kim Dae Jung Must Live — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	39 : 7	China Firmly Stands on the Side of Thailand	32 : 7
Korean Dialogue Interrupted	40 : 11	Thai Distinguished Guests Warmly Welcomed	45 : 8
Greetings to the Workers' Party of Korea	42 : 6	Fruitful Exchanges Between China and Thailand — Xinhua Correspondent Zhou Mu	45 : 11
For a United Korea — Kim Il Sung's new proposal	43 : 13	Gulf of Thailand: Soviet Show of Strength — "Beijing Review" news analyst Ren Yan	46 : 11
South Korea: Economy Stalling — Li Ming	46 : 13	Viet Nam	
Laos		Vietnamese Invasion of Thailand Con- demned	27 : 7
Thai-Lao Relations: Hanoi Hunting for a Pretext — Xinhua Corres- pondent Ji Ying	30 : 11	Support for Thailand's Fight Against Vietnamese Aggression	28 : 7
Anti-Viet Nam Front Set Up in Laos	43 : 11	Viet Nam Steps Up Provocations in Chinese Border Areas	28 : 8
Vietnamese-Laotian "Special Rela- tions" — Jin Lin	50 : 13	Another Kampuchean Event Must Be Prevented — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	28 : 12
Lebanon		Hanoi Helps Moscow Increase Military Might in S.E. Asia — Li Xinhua	28 : 14
Israel Bombards Lebanon Again — Ren Yan	36 : 16	Behind Hanoi's "Urgent Request" — Xinhua Commentator	29 : 10
Malaysia		Hoang Van Hoan on His "Trial"	29 : 11
Malaysian Parliamentary Delegation	42 : 8	Soviet-Vietnamese Agreement Illegal Behind Hanoi's "Four-Point Proposal" — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	31 : 8 31 : 9
Oman		Appeasement Not the Answer — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	33 : 7
Oman's Defence Measures — Ma Shi- kun	29 : 10	There Must Be Another Revolution in Viet Nam — Hoang Van Hoan	34 : 13
Pakistan		Zhao Ziyang Meets Hoang Van Hoan and Truong Nhu Tang	37 : 9
"Beijing Review's" Interview With Pakistan President Zia Ul Haq	45 : 9	The Vietnamese Memorandum — "Bei- jing Review" news analyst An Ding	37 : 12
Pakistan-Saudi Arabia Joint Communi- que	52 : 12		
Saudi Arabia			
Pakistan-Saudi Arabia Joint Communi- que	52 : 12		
Singapore			
Singapore Prime Minister's Visit	47 : 7		

Truong Nhu Tang's Press Conference in Beijing	37 : 14
Premier Zhao on Withdrawal of Viet- namese Troops	38 : 3
Heng Samrin — Tool of Moscow and Hanoi — Fang Yuan	38 : 9
Conditions Not Available for Sino- Vietnamese Negotiations	40 : 6
Vietnamese Called Upon to Unite for National Salvation	42 : 10
Guerrillas Active in South Viet Nam	42 : 11
Protest Against Vietnamese Armed Provocations	43 : 3
Bark and Bite	44 : 9
Viet Nam: Pie in the Sky — Ren Yan	49 : 8
Vietnamese-Laotian "Special Rela- tions" — Jin Lin	50 : 13
Protest Against Vietnamese Armed Intrusions and Provocations	51 : 6
No Significance in Holding 3rd Round of Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations	52 : 7

2) AFRICA

17th O.A.U. Summit: Solidarity and Co-operation Among African States — "Renmin Ribao" editorial	28 : 9
Premier Hua's Message of Greet- ings	28 : 9
African Countries Promote Economic Development — Xinhua Corres- pondents Kuang Luan and Cai Guozhong	29 : 14
Fighting Resumes in Western Sahara — Fang Yuan	41 : 14

Azania (South Africa)

South African Racists' Futile Struggle — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	27 : 12
South Africa: Growing Resentment and Resistance — Shi Fang	32 : 13
Zimbabwe: Cuts Ties With Unfriendly Neighbour — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	37 : 15
South Africa: Revamping Apartheid — Qiu Xiaoyi	47 : 11

Botswana

Botswana Democratic Party Delega- tion	27 : 8
---	--------

Congo

Distinguished Guests From the Congo	29 : 7
-------------------------------------	--------

Egypt

Egypt-Israel Talking Again — "Ren- min Ribao" Correspondent Xing Xiangchao	30 : 13
--	---------

Kenya

Kenyan President's Visit	39 : 3
--------------------------	--------

Morocco

Fighting Resumes in Western Sahara — Fang Yuan	41 : 14
---	---------

Namibia

Namibian Independence — Xu Dewen	36 : 16
Who Is Holding Up Namibian Indepen- dence? — Xu Dewen	50 : 15

Uganda

A New Start for Uganda — Xu Dewen	52 : 10
-----------------------------------	---------

Zambia

Secretary-General of Zambian United National Independence Party in Beijing	42 : 7
--	--------

Zimbabwe

Cuts Ties With Unfriendly Neighbour — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	37 : 15
Zimbabwe Since Independence — Ren Yan	44 : 13

3) LATIN AMERICA

Crumbling U.S. Image — Yan Jiu	43 : 14
--------------------------------	---------

Bolivia

Military Rule Again — Yao Chuntao	31 : 12
Chinese Trade Unions Condemn Sup- pression of Bolivian Trade Unions	31 : 12

Cuba

Why Cuba Gave Up	44 : 14
------------------	---------

Guatemala

Political Violence Mounts in Guate- mala — Zhang Hua	33 : 10
---	---------

Jamaica

New Cabinet Sworn In — Ren Yan	47 : 10
--------------------------------	---------

Peru

Peruvian Developments — Jin Jiang	30 : 14
-----------------------------------	---------

El Salvador

Multiple Murder in El Salvador — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	49 : 12
---	---------

	<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>	<i>Issue Page</i> <i>No. No.</i>
Venezuela		
Delegation of Venezuelan Christian Socialist Party	41 : 8	
4) NORTH AMERICA		
Canada		
Vice-Premier Bo in Canada	36 : 9	
United States		
Chinese Leaders Meet U.S. Senator Byrd	29 : 8	
Why Does Moscow Attack Sino-U.S. Talks? — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator	30 : 10	
Don't Miscalculate — "Renmin Ribao" commentary	34 : 10	
Sino-U.S. Relations: No Compromise on Question of Principle — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	35 : 9	
Sports: American Ski-Mountaineers Conquer Mt. Muztagata	35 : 30	
Vice-Premier Li on Sino-U.S. Relations	36 : 8	
U.S. Nuclear Strategy Shift — Wu Chu	37 : 10	
Sino-U.S. Agreements	39 : 4	
U.S. Violates Principles for Establishment of Diplomatic Relations With China	41 : 7	
Sino-U.S. Relations: An Inadvisable Move — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator	42 : 9	
Meddling in China's Internal Affairs	42 : 9	
Latin America: Crumbling U.S. Image — Yan Jiu	43 : 14	
Greetings to U.S. President-Elect Reagan	46 : 9	
Vice-Premier Yao on Sino-U.S. Relations	46 : 9	
Why Reagan Won — "Renmin Ribao" Correspondent Wang Fei	46 : 10	
A Confused American Strategist — "Beijing Review" news analyst Ren Yan	50 : 11	
Conservatism and Friedmanism — Xiao Xi	52 : 11	
5) EUROPE		
Europe at the Crossroads — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	38 : 10	
European Arms Talks: The Long Stalemate — Li Yunhua	46 : 14	
Economic Cold Front Sweeps Western Europe — Xinhua Correspondents Lu Hengjun and Yang Yuanhua	48 : 8	
France		
The French Neutron Bomb — Ru Sheng and Li Qun	33 : 8	
French President's Visit to China	43 : 3	
Federal Republic of Germany		
Economic Co-operation Between China and West Germany	34 : 8	
Greece		
Delegation of Greek Communist Party of the Interior	50 : 8	
Li Xiannian and Hu Yaobang Meet Greek C.P. Delegation	51 : 5	
Italy		
Terrorism in Italy	33 : 11	
Distinguished Guests From Italy	39 : 3	
Message of Condolences on Longo's Death	43 : 4	
Netherlands		
Netherlands Prime Minister's First Visit	45 : 8	
Dutch Government Urged to Reconsider — Xinhua Commentator	50 : 12	
Dutch Government's Unfriendly Action	52 : 7	
Norway		
Distinguished Guest From Norway	40 : 5	
Poland		
A Strike of Far-Reaching Impact — Fang Xuan	37 : 11	
Poland in the Limelight — Fang Xuan	47 : 1	
Guard Against Foreign Armed Intervention in Poland — Xinhua Commentator	50 : 9	
An Ominous Sign — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	51 : 7	
The Poles Will Settle Their Own Affairs	51 : 8	
Hands Off Poland — "Renmin Ribao" Observer	52 : 8	
Romania		
Distinguished Romanian Guests Visit China	49 : 6	
San Marino		
Greetings to San Marino Communist Party Congress	50 : 8	

	<i>Issue Page</i> No. No.		<i>Issue Page</i> No. No.
Spain			
Spanish Communist Leader on Relations With C.P.C.	41 : 8	Moscow Steps Up Its Afghan War — Fang Yuan	42 : 13
Spanish Communist Party Delegation Visit of the Spanish C.P. Delegation	47 : 6	Why Karmal Was Called to the Kremlin — Guo Ping	43 : 12
Comrade Hu Yaobang's Toast	47 : 18	Troika to One-Horse Sleigh	44 : 11
Comrade Carrillo's Toast	47 : 18	Limiting European Nuclear Arms — Fang Min	44 : 12
Each Communist Party Explores Ways Corresponding to Reality of Its Own Country	47 : 19	Puzzling Reshuffle — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	45 : 14
Talks Between the Chinese and Spanish Parties End	48 : 5	Gulf of Thailand: Soviet Show of Strength — "Beijing Review" news analyst Ren Yan	46 : 11
Soviet Union		Soviets Moving Into Wakhan Area	48 : 8
A Propaganda Ruse — Moscow's "partial troop withdrawal" from Afghanistan — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang	27 : 10	Soviet-Japanese Relations: Moscow's Three-Stage Formula — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen	49 : 10
Afghanistan: Soviet Union in a Quagmire — Gui Tongchang	28 : 10	Guard Against Foreign Armed Intervention in Poland — Xinhua Commentator	50 : 9
Hanoi Helps Moscow Increase Military Might in S.E. Asia — Li Xinhua	28 : 14	An Ominous Sign — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	51 : 7
Iranian-Soviet Relations: Teheran Heightens Vigilance — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang	29 : 9	Brezhnev's India Trip — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator	51 : 8
Soviet Spies Convicted	30 : 7	Sweden	
Why Does Moscow Attack Sino-U.S. Talks? — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator	30 : 10	"Spark" (Sweden): China's New Road	36 : 12
Olympic Games Without Olympic Spirit — "Beijing Review" news analyst Li Jian	30 : 9	Yugoslavia	
Soviet-Vietnamese Agreement Illegal	31 : 8	Hua Guofeng Answers Questions From Yugoslav Correspondent	33 : 12
No Glory in the Game — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping	32 : 10	Friendly Envoys of the Yugoslav People	46 : 8
What Does Moscow Want? — Xinhua Correspondent Tang Liuyi	32 : 15	6) OCEANIA	
Soviets Use Toxic War Chemicals — Fang Yuan	34 : 9	Australia	
Southeast Asia: Increasing Soviet Menace — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding	34 : 10	"Vanguard" (Australia) "Our Revolutionary Arena"	34 : 12
Unwanted Interference	35 : 12	Kiribati	
Outrageous Lies! — Ren Yan	35 : 13	Establishment of Diplomatic Relations With Kiribati	27 : 8
Strong Protest Against Soviet Government	36 : 9	New Zealand	
Why Moscow Is Pressuring Japan — Xinhua Correspondent Wu Xuewen	36 : 12	Distinguished Guests From New Zealand	38 : 3
Soviet Submarine Surfaces	36 : 13	Vanuatu	
Heng Samrin — Tool of Moscow and Hanoi — Fang Yuan	38 : 9	Oceania: Vanuatu, Newest Pacific Republic — Wei Yuqin	32 : 12
Protest Against Intrusion by Soviet Armed Personnel	41 : 7	For Your Reference: The Independent Republic of Vanuatu	32 : 13



On Personality Cult and Other Questions

“Hongqi” (Red Flag), a journal sponsored by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in its No. 24 issue published on December 16, 1980, carried an article by its Special Commentator under the title “Be a Thoroughgoing Materialist.” Here are excerpts dealing with some of the salient points in the article. The general heading and subheads used are ours. — Ed.

ONE fundamental principle of Marxism demands the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete conditions in a particular country. This principle is universally applicable. It is wrong, at any time, to content oneself with mechanically copying, relaying, transplanting or imitating the ideas of the higher level or of the central authorities, however correct they may be, without dealing with them in a concrete way in the light of the conditions in one’s own locality or unit.

Opposing Personality Cult

Is it possible for the Party Central Committee to make mistakes? Is it possible for responsible comrades of the Central Committee to make mistakes? Yes, it is in both cases. In the late 50s, due to lack of normal, democratic, life inside the Party, and due to lack of properly conducted criticism and self-criticism, the responsible comrade of the Central Committee deviated from his own correct thinking and made mistakes. For many years, especially in the days when Lin Biao and the gang of four were riding roughshod, the personality cult prevailed, so that a particular person was deified and it was assumed that whatever he said or did was one hundred per cent correct and there couldn’t possibly be any doubt about it. There were many other things that smack of feudalism and ignorance, things like: he understands the situation to the last detail, he sees right through everything, and he is our saviour. Even after the downfall of the gang of four, we still went in for the personality cult for a while. The consequences

of this were firstly, democratic centralism which is a Party tradition disappeared completely; secondly, it was utterly impossible to seek truth from facts; thirdly, it was utterly impossible to emancipate the mind; and fourthly, it inevitably led to feudal autocracy under which one person had all the say and patriarchal practices prevailed and this was exploited by some bad elements, who engaged in fascist practices. So the personality cult, something which is so completely anti-Marxist, must be repudiated in all seriousness and it must never be revived again in future.

We should not place an individual over and above the masses, or consider him outside the law of history. An individual cannot propel history forward in the way he likes. Why is it that the “headquarters of Liu [Shaoqi] and Deng [Xiaop’ng]” for ten years remained untoppled despite the call to overthrow it? This is because the call ran counter to the law of historical development and to the wishes of the Party and the people. Why is it that the gang of four was overthrown at one stroke? This is because the gang was acting against the law of historical development. Their evil deeds were a lesson to the people and the people had long been ready to put up a fight. The Tian An Men incident itself had prepared the ground — mass support — for toppling the gang. In the last analysis, the blow that ultimately smashed it represented the strength of the masses and was the inevitable outcome of the development of history and a graphic illustration of the masses propelling history forward; comrades of the Central Committee who made the policy decision in compliance with the wishes of the Party and the people and accordingly toppled the gang of four to avoid further losses to our Party truly performed a meritorious deed. But it would be anti-Marxist and wrong to reverse the roles of the two — the masses and the comrades concerned.

On the question of publicity of an individual’s role in history, there has been considerable confusion on our part, both ideologically

and theoretically in all these years, and it has not been fully clarified to this day. Some comrades are often swayed by the small producer's ideological influence. The shaky position of the small producer determines that he cannot be far-sighted and will look to someone else to represent him. As often as not he will turn to the great saviour while regarding himself as completely helpless. Much work needs to be done in regard to the narrow-mindedness of the small producer, in regard to feudal blind faith, so as to free people gradually from these ideological fetters.

Two Central Tasks

As a result of the emergence of some bad elements inside our Party, some of our leaders made mistakes and the socialist system in our country sometimes failed to make its superiority felt. But we must not for this reason write off the inherent superiority of socialism.

We have made tremendous achievements in the last 31 years. In the main, they are: first, we have eliminated the system of exploitation, established socialist public ownership, and initially realized distribution according to work done; second, we have built up a fairly large material base for socialist construction. With these two main achievements we have gained a position for further advance.

It is true that a serious crisis did arise in our Party and country. It came to a climax just before the 1976 Tian An Men incident. We had in the main brought the crisis to a close after the gang of four had left the scene, especially after the meeting of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee. But so far we have not yet completely freed ourselves from the aftereffects of this crisis. Economically there are many serious problems to be earnestly resolved by instituting effective measures.

Our central tasks at this moment are: One, to work energetically for a steady economic development, which should include a proper betterment of people's livelihood and some progress in our cultural, educational and scientific undertakings. To this end, we must unswervingly carry out our eight-character principle: readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, with the emphasis on readjustment. Further readjustments will be made next year, to be accompanied by further curtailment of capital construction to

a proper degree so that all construction projects undertaken in a haphazard way are stopped. Two, to develop a political situation of stability and unity. Further efforts should be made to remove factors detrimental to such a situation. Counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence must be resolutely struggled against according to legal procedure; those belonging to the factional setups of Lin Biao and the gang of four must be removed from leading posts; effective measures have to be sought and adopted to stop anti-Party, anti-socialist activities by so-called "dissidents."

Improving Party Leadership

The future of socialism is closely connected with Party leadership. It is impossible to adhere to the socialist road independent of Party leadership. The overwhelming majority of our 18 million cadres, both old and new, and 38 million Party members, both old and new, are good. This is beyond doubt. But, mainly as a result of the sabotage by the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, which wantonly damaged our Party and greatly sapped its fighting power, plus mistakes in work, our Party members are ideologically more contaminated than they were in the past, than in the days before the "cultural revolution," than in the Yanan days. A considerable number of them are below standard, or not quite up to standard; the Party's prestige has suffered great damage. That the Party is not highly respected is a fact. Therefore, to maintain Party leadership, we must improve it.

Our Party has gone through two stages during its history of nearly 60 years. In the first 28 years, it worked to achieve the democratic revolution and to seize political power; in the last 31 years it has been the Party in power. What is the fundamental difference between a Party in power and a Party operating underground, a Party not in power? Where lies the danger after the Party comes to power? It lies in the fact that when things do not go well, degeneration may occur. After it has come to power, the Party must not order the masses around, must not behave like the rulers and the ruling classes in the old society. Socialism may degenerate into social-imperialism — this is possible both in theory and practice. Mussolini who at first believed in socialism ended up by becoming a social fascist. The same thing happened in China when Lin Biao and the gang of four tried to reduce socialism to social fascism.

This is an extremely serious problem. One important move we must make in order to resolve it and prevent the Party from degenerating is to improve Party leadership in real earnest.

But how? This requires making a series of studies, such as on strengthening democratic centralism, eliminating lifelong tenure for leading cadres, etc. Another thing is to resolutely

correct unhealthy tendencies in style of work as a matter of principle about which there should be no hesitation. It goes without saying that in so doing we will meet with quite a formidable force of resistance. Nevertheless, we must be unswerving in our efforts to rectify and overcome improper styles of work; the method adopted and steps taken must be carefully considered. □

Eliminate Feudal Vestiges in Economic Work

by Qian Junrui

THE transformation of scientific socialism from theory to reality did not start in advanced capitalist countries as the founders of Marxism had predicted. On the contrary, it was in Russia, China and other economically backward countries that the proletariat first won the revolution and began socialist construction. Tsarist Russia was a feudal-military imperialist country and capitalism had developed under the tsarist system for only half a century when the great October Revolution overthrew the rule of the landlord and bourgeois classes and set up the first socialist state.

China is a country with a history of several thousand years of feudal rule. After protracted revolutionary struggles, it was transformed into a socialist country directly from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial one; that is to say, it bypassed an entire phase of historical development—capitalism. Bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, which was still deeply tinted with feudalistic colours, had existed in China for only about a hundred years before the revolutionary victory.

This heavy weight of feudalism greatly retarded the progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and China in regard to both the economic base and the superstructure. There is a direct relationship between the degeneration of the Soviet Union—the first socialist country in the world—into a social-

imperialist country today and its failure to get rid of this burden. This is something which we should think about seriously and guard against.

In eradicating feudalism on the economic front, New China has achieved more thorough results than other countries. For instance, the thoroughness of opposition to feudalism in the Chinese Agrarian Revolution (1927-37) and the land reform movement both in the liberated areas and throughout the country after the founding of New China was not only without parallel in France, Britain, Germany and other advanced capitalist countries; it was rare even in socialist countries. However, in the superstructure, especially in the ideological field, our fight against feudalism is far from complete.

Our Party has a fine tradition of serving the people wholeheartedly and keeping in close touch with the masses. But, after it came to power, particularly after great victories had been won in socialist revolution and construction, erroneous ideas and bad styles of work began to emerge. Arrogance, conceit, patriarchal methods, bureaucratism and hankering after special privileges have developed among some comrades, especially leading cadres. All these bear witness to the influence of feudal remnants.

Basic Features of Socialist Economy

One of the basic features of socialist economy is public ownership of the means of production. In China, ownership by the whole

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people and ownership by the collective are two forms of socialist public ownership. They will exist side by side for a long time to come and give play to their strong points. Public ownership of the means of production is the core of socialist relations of production, guaranteeing real equality among the people in the economic life of whole society, and ensuring that they will really be rewarded according to their work, not according to their capital or power. It can bring into full play the people's enthusiasm and creativeness in production and work, and achieve a continuous increase of social labour productivity and a high-speed development of the social productive forces, so as to secure the maximum satisfaction of the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the society.

Ownership is the most important economic relationship provided for by law. The Constitution and laws of the People's Republic of China stipulate that all the means of production in state-owned enterprises are the property of the whole people, and that the means of production in collectively owned enterprises, including rural people's communes, production brigades and teams, are the property of all the members of the collective. This kind of ownership is manifested mainly in the rights to run the enterprises and to distribute the products. The main standard for judging whether public ownership is real or complete is who, in fact, exercises these two rights.

Present Drawbacks

For a considerable length of time, China's enterprises have carried out a system of division of labour between the director and vice-directors of a plant (in rural areas, between the chairman and vice-chairmen of a commune or between the heads and deputy heads of a production brigade) under the leadership of the Party committee. In some places and units where democratic life is lacking and a patriarchal system is in effect, the rights to manage an enterprise and to distribute its products are in fact in the hands of the Party secretary and factory director (in rural people's communes, in the hands of the commune chairmen or brigade leaders). There are no meetings or congresses of workers and staff or meetings of commune members. Even when there are, they are nothing but rubber-stamp organizations without real power. Under such conditions, socialist public ownership is, to say the least, far from complete or even devoid of con-

tent. It is in essence ownership by the Party secretary and the factory director (in rural people's communes, by the commune chairmen or the brigade leaders). In such cases, the superiority of socialist public ownership is forfeited. So is the enthusiasm of the workers and peasants for production.

It is necessary to stress centralized leadership in socialist construction. But such leadership must be strictly differentiated from feudal autocracy and absolute power of individuals. Over-concentration of power — with the leaders sometimes deciding everything — is out of tune with a socialist economic system because it seriously violates the principle of simultaneously giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual; it dampens the enthusiasm of the various localities and nationalities to give play to their own strong points and to develop the economy according to their own actual conditions, divests the localities and enterprises of decision-making powers which they are entitled to have, and makes all of them responsible only to their superiors, not to the masses. Production and demand become disjointed as well as production and marketing. And so do the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Therefore, the economic results of enterprises are greatly reduced to the detriment of the development of the social productive forces and the improvement of the people's livelihood.

Manifestations

Socialism is the first stage of communism. It also occupies a considerably long historical period of transition from capitalism to the advanced stage of communism. The economy during this period is a commodity economy under the guidance of state plan. It takes public ownership of the means of production as its foundation and a limited sphere of individual economy and other economic sectors as a supplement. Being a highly developed commodity economy, it serves the development and consolidation of socialism and at the same time creates conditions for its own extinction and replacement.

Feudal economy is basically a natural economy, with commodities occupying only a secondary place. In old, semi-feudal and semi-colonial China, commodity economy did develop, but only to a very limited extent. Its vast

rural areas still remained in a stage of relative self-sufficiency. In our socialist construction after the nationwide liberation, we copied the Soviet model of the Stalin period. Moreover, our improper understanding of a socialist planned economy led to the mistaken belief that it is incompatible with the market. Therefore, the market was considered to be a feature of capitalism, or at least a hotbed for capitalism. Thus, administrative means were employed in all aspects of economic work; the market was eliminated, the law of value and other economic laws were disregarded; goods and materials were transferred and distributed in their natural forms—this was considered to be the major channel for circulation and distribution. These practices made up the foundation of China's economic management system. As we know, the Soviet Union suffered from this system in its early years of construction. We suffered even more because commodity economy was far less developed in China. There is a close connection between our throttling the vitality of socialist economy and the deep influence of the traditional natural economy in our minds. In addition, many of our enterprises do not like to engage in specialized production, share out work and co-operate with each other. They hope to undertake everything in the production process themselves. This is also a manifestation of the influence of the feudal manorial system and small production.

A bureaucratic style of work which is somewhat prevalent is another manifestation of the influence of feudalistic remnants in our economic work. In many of our offices and establishments of industry, agriculture, commerce, transport and communications as well as service trades, bureaucratism is often rife. This is more so in the state organs and enterprises owned by the whole people than in collectively owned enterprises, which, in turn, show more bureaucratism than individually operated businesses. The few individually operated businesses existing now are the least affected by this bad style of work. This seems to have become a rule, unfortunately, a rule descriptive of a malady. It certainly does not apply to a normal situation in the economic life of a socialist society. The essence of bureaucratism is to lose touch with the masses and look down upon them, care nothing about their interests, and even to use one's power to deceive or suppress them. This kind of bureaucratic style of work goes back a long time in history. It can be found in capitalism

and even more in bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, but its real roots are in feudalism. Only by completely eradicating feudal remnants, including bureaucratism, can we effect a radical cure of such chronic ailments in our society as overstuffed organizations, a dilatory style of work, negligence in serving the masses and paying no attention to economic results. The four modernizations will be out of the question if these social diseases are not cured.

Because of the deep influence of feudalism, the administrative division and jurisdiction of regions are often stressed one-sidedly as a yardstick in our economic work. This is actually an imposition of feudal separatist rule to hold up and undermine the natural trend of development of a modern economy. One characteristic of a modern economy is the socialization of production and other economic activities to form a unified, complete national economy and further to realize internationalization of economic life through rational international division of labour. In China it is necessary for all localities to make full use of their own conditions and give play to their own strong points. They should follow the principle of sharing out work and co-ordinating with each other, find various ways to organize integrated complexes and engage in competition under the guidance of the state plan. When conditions are ripe, economic zones and centres will naturally emerge and build up. At the same time, the situation of keeping the country closed to international intercourse, a situation reminiscent of the feudal era, must be changed to facilitate the expansion of international economic co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

* * *

The aforesaid influences of feudalism in economic work, particularly the patriarchal system and bureaucratism, are big obstacles to giving play to the superiority of our socialist system and to the realization of the four modernizations. Without wiping out these influences, the people cannot be the real masters of the country, the social productive forces cannot develop smoothly, the people's livelihood cannot be improved and socialist democracy and the legal system are only too easily circumvented and undermined. To put it in a nutshell, without eradicating these influences, a powerful socialist China with highly developed democracy and civilization will be out of the question. □

Special Court Continues Debates

Chen Boda Pleads Guilty

At the court debate on December 18 Chen Boda pleaded guilty and requested leniency.

Addressing the court during the debate, the prosecutor pointed out that the evidence supporting the charges against Chen Boda in the indictment was conclusive and that the defendant had raised no objections against the testimonies of the witnesses and other evidence presented.

The prosecutor added: From 1966 to 1970, Chen Boda had actively participated in the criminal activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. As one of the chief culprits Chen Boda had committed offences which greatly harmed the state and the people and violated several articles of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China.

The prosecutor recommended that the Special Court mete out due punishment to Chen Boda according to his offences.

Chen Boda admitted that he was guilty of attacking Liu Shaoqi, late Chairman of the State, of framing and persecuting Lu Dingyi, former Vice-Premier of the State Council, and of trumping up a case against the Party organization of eastern Hebei Province.

Gan Yupei and Fu Zhiren, defence lawyers of Chen Boda, then made a joint speech on Chen's behalf. They asserted that according to the court investigation, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers had for a long time harboured the scheme of framing and persecuting Liu Shaoqi. The decision to repudiate and struggle against Liu Shaoqi in July 1967 was only one of a series of offences in the frame-up of Liu Shaoqi. Chen Boda was responsible because he joined Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng in making this decision. But his position and role in the whole plot were different from those of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Zhang Chunqiao.

The lawyers pointed out that Chen Boda had been taken into custody as early as October

1970 and had not taken part in the other major offences committed by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others in the following years.

At the end of their speech, the lawyers recommended that the court mete out lenient punishment to Chen Boda in consideration of the above facts and his own attitude.

In his final statement to the court, Chen Boda requested leniency.

The chief judge of the First Tribunal of the Special Court then announced to Chen Boda that the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court would pronounce the verdict after deliberation.

Yao Wenyan Acknowledges Mistakes Only

On December 19, the First Tribunal of the Special Court held a debate on charges in the indictment against Yao Wenyan.

Yao Wenyan told the court that he still maintained his statements on the facts he had already acknowledged and would not argue further over these facts. He also brought up some arguments concerning charges against him.

When the debate opened, the prosecutor was the first to speak. He noted that court investigations proved that Yao Wenyan had, together with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen, formed a counter-revolutionary clique with the aim of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist



One of Yao Wenyan's lawyers makes a statement in his defence.

system. The offences he committed were serious, the facts were clear and the evidence was irrefutable. The prosecutor pointed out that the defendant had violated some articles of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, and advised the Special Court to mete out due punishment to him according to law.

In a statement in his own defence, Yao Wenyuan admitted that he had committed mistakes but denied his control and use of the mass media to agitate for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their joint speech, Yao's defence lawyers, Han Xuezhong (female) and Zhang Zhong, agreed that Yao Wenyuan was involved in a counter-revolutionary clique. They said that solid evidence proved that Jiang Qing was the ringleader of the clique, with Yao Wenyuan as one of the main culprits. It should be pointed out that some of Yao Wenyuan's offences were committed under instructions from Jiang Qing. His position and role were different from those of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao.

As to the charge in the indictment that Yao Wenyuan had prepared public opinion for an armed rebellion in Shanghai, the lawyers listed facts to prove that it could not be established and he should not be held legally responsible.

The prosecutor expressed his understanding of the lawyers' explanations and refuted Yao Wenyuan's argument that all his actions were due to the special historical situation. The prosecutor pointed out that in the ten years of turbulence Yao Wenyuan controlled the mass media and vilified a great number of veteran revolutionaries and leaders of the Party and state as "bourgeois democrats," "capitalist-roaders," "restorationist maniacs," "imperialist flunkeys" and "traitors" and smeared a large number of ordinary people and intellectuals as "counter-revolutionaries," and "reactionary academic authorities" providing "the social basis for a counter-revolution." He called for a brutal suppression of the masses, and even for the "execution of a bunch of them."

The prosecutor went on to ask, "What are these, if not moves to harm the People's Republic of China in an attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system?" He also listed specific facts to prove the existence of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, pointing out that it was futile for Yao Wenyuan to deny the truth.

After Yao Wenyuan made his final statement, the chief judge declared the conclusion of the debate and told him to await the verdict of the court.

Wang Hongwen Pleads Guilty

On the morning of December 20, Wang Hongwen (once vice-chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee) said in the debate of the First Tribunal of the Special Court: "All charges in the indictment and the supporting evidence are facts and have been substantiated."

In his speech, the prosecutor pointed out that the defendant Wang Hongwen had violated the Criminal Law and committed crimes of attempting to overthrow the government and split the state, plotting an armed rebellion, organizing a counter-revolutionary clique, framing and persecuting innocent people and engaging in beating, smashing and looting for counter-revolutionary ends. He asked the court to mete out due punishment to the accused according to law.

The prosecutor also called the court's attention to the fact that Wang Hongwen had pleaded guilty and, to a degree, had repented and shown his willingness to submit to the law.

In his final statement, Wang Hongwen said that he "sincerely pleads guilty," and "will submit to the verdict of the court." He also expressed his hope that the court would give him a chance to repent and reform himself."

The chief judge concluded the session by saying the bench would take into consideration the prosecutor's speech and Wang Hongwen's request.

Zhang Chunqiao: Defiant

At the morning session of December 20, the prosecutor cited a large amount of evidence showing that Zhang Chunqiao (once member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee) had committed crimes of plotting to overthrow the government, inciting an armed rebellion, libel, homicide, causing personal injury, and engaging in counter-revolutionary agitation. During the court hearings, he showed a defiant attitude and refused to acknowledge his crimes despite large amounts of incriminating evidence. The prosecutor asked the court to mete out severe punishment to Zhang Chunqiao.

The chief judge of the First Tribunal told Zhang Chunqiao that he had the right to make a statement in his own defence according to law. Zhang remained silent. The chief judge repeated his words and gave him two minutes; Zhang still refused to speak. Then the chief judge declared that the court debate concluded and Zhang had the right to make a final statement. When Zhang did not utter a word, the judge told him to await the verdict of the court.

Wu Faxian Shows Repentance

On the afternoon of December 18, the Second Tribunal of the Special Court held a debate on offences committed by Wu Faxian (once commander of the P.L.A. Air Force).

During the debate the prosecutor enumerated facts to show that Wu Faxian had actively joined the Lin Biao clique's counter-revolutionary criminal activities and worked hand in glove with Jiang Qing.

Wu Faxian confessed: "I brought real disasters and losses to the Party, the state, the people and the army. I am responsible for the serious crimes I committed." "I will submit to the judgment handed down by the court." He hoped the court would give him "a chance to repent and atone for his crimes."

Wu Faxian's lawyers made a joint statement in his defence. They pointed out that Wu Faxian should be held responsible for illicitly placing the command of the Air Force in the hands of Lin Biao's son, Lin Ligu. But, since at that time Wu was not aware that Lin Ligu used his power to prepare for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, he should not bear direct responsibility for these offences. They held that, though Wu Faxian committed serious counter-revolutionary crimes, there were some circumstances in which a lighter punishment could be meted out to him. In line with the policy of combining punishment with leniency as described in China's Criminal Law, they hoped that the court would impose a lighter penalty on the defendant.

Huang Yongsheng Denies Role as Chief Offender

The Second Tribunal held three sessions of heated debates on the charges in the indictment against Huang Yongsheng (former chief of the P.L.A. General Staff). They took place on December 18, 19 and 20, in the afternoon.



**Huang Yongsheng
in the dock.**

Huang Yongsheng spoke on several occasions, altogether some three hours, in his own defence, denying he was one of the principal culprits of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique and insisting that he was only "an ordinary member" of the clique. He said that he had nothing to do with Lin Biao's many counter-revolutionary activities, particularly the plot to assassinate Chairman Mao in September 1971, of which he had never been aware, to say nothing of participating in the conspiracy or carrying out the scheme.

He also argued that he bore no responsibility for framing and persecuting Peng Dehuai (late Minister of Defence) and had not even made any serious mistakes in respect to that charge.

Refuting Huang Yongsheng's arguments, the prosecutor pointed out that in September 1970, when the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique had failed in its plot to usurp Party and state power through a "peaceful takeover" at the Lushan Meeting, Huang Yongsheng consulted secretly with other members of the clique and told them to avoid "getting Lin Biao involved" in their statements of self-criticism. This showed that Huang Yongsheng had occupied a particularly important place in this counter-revolutionary clique.

The prosecutor continued: During the several days before September 13, 1971 (on which Lin Biao defected) when Lin Biao and his followers were busy plotting to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat and assassinate Chairman Mao, Lin Biao wrote a private letter to Huang Yongsheng, telling him that if he had any problems he should directly consult Wang Fei. Wang was responsible for the action in Beijing of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat and had been instructed by Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun to place himself under Huang Yongsheng's direct command in

the coup. Huang also secretly gave Lin Biao and Ye Qun reports of Chairman Mao's talks directed against them during an inspection tour of southern China, thus impelling Lin Biao to make up his mind to assassinate Chairman Mao.

Refuting the defendant's denial of framing and persecuting Peng Dehuai, the prosecutor pointed out that Huang Yongsheng had written the word "agreed" on the report submitted to him by the group in charge of Peng Dehuai's case. The report recommended imposing a life sentence on Peng Dehuai. Peng was later persecuted to death, for which Huang should bear unshirkable responsibility.

The prosecutor also enumerated a large amount of facts to refute Huang Yongsheng's arguments that he had not committed any counter-revolutionary offences.

On the afternoon of December 20, the prosecutor spoke in regard to Huang Yongsheng's attitude towards his crimes. He pointed out that since the court investigation started Huang's attitude had been intransigent. On many important problems, he denied facts and refused to admit his guilt in spite of conclusive evidence. The prosecutor requested the court to take this into consideration in meting out punishment.

After Huang Yongsheng stated that he would give up the right to continue to speak in his own defence, the chief judge declared the conclusion of the debate and told Huang Yongsheng to await the verdict of the court.

Qiu Huizuo Pleads Guilty

At a court debate of the Second Tribunal on the afternoon of December 20, Qiu Huizuo (former head of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department) pleaded guilty and said that he would not defend himself.

The prosecutor pointed out in a statement that Qiu Huizuo was one of the principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. His offences, which were aimed at overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, had seriously jeopardized the army and endangered the country's security. He had also actively followed Lin Biao in framing state leaders and leading members of the General Political Department of the P.L.A. and had taken an active part in the plot to "smash the P.L.A. General Political De-

partment." He had persecuted cadres and masses by setting up illegal prisons in the General Logistics Department to extort confessions through torture.

The prosecutor noted that Qiu Huizuo had violated certain articles of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China and recommended that in meting out punishment the court take into consideration the defendant's comparatively good attitude.

In his final statement, Qiu Huizuo read out his "statement of guilt." He said: "I committed crimes and should be subjected to trial and legal sanction. The trial I have been subjected to is a correct measure for enforcing law and upholding justice." He expressed his desire to reform.

Li Zuopeng Cannot Deny Facts

At a debate of the Second Tribunal on December 22, Li Zuopeng (former first political commissar of the P.L.A. Navy) said: "The charges stated in the indictment against me are basically right, but not all of them. Therefore I basically admit them."

As pointed out by the prosecutor, the court investigation showed that in regard to the offences committed by Li Zuopeng, the facts were clear and the evidence was irrefutable. Li Zuopeng had violated the Criminal Law by participating in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique, plotting to subvert the government and committing other crimes. The prosecutor recommended that the court mete out due punishment to him.

In a statement in his own defence, Li Zuopeng admitted that he had violated the law but argued later about some of the charges against him. However, he could not deny the facts proved during the court investigation.

In a joint speech, Li Zuopeng's defence lawyers pleaded on Li's behalf, citing the defendant's position in the Lin Biao clique and the character of the offences he committed. They held that Li Zuopeng on his own initiative had confessed some crimes during the pre-trial and had shown a certain degree of repentance since the court investigation started. They requested that the court, in view of the above considerations, mete out lighter punishment to him according to the law.

— *Xinhua and "Beijing Review" correspondents*

ART

Rong Bao Zhai Celebrates Anniversary

Beijing's Rong Bao Zhai art studio, famed throughout the world for its collection of both original and reproduced classical Chinese art works, recently celebrated the 30th anniversary of its post-liberation rebirth. More than 300 artists and art collectors were in Beijing for the event, including some 150 of China's well-known painters as well as art dealers from Japan.

For more than 200 years, the art studio and its predecessor, Song Zhu Zhai, have collected and sold traditional paintings, calligraphy, antiques, metal and stone carvings and woodblock prints. By liberation, however, the studio could hardly keep itself in business. The people's government helped Rong Bao Zhai out of its financial crisis in 1950 and converted it into a state-owned enterprise. It is the anniversary of this occasion that was just celebrated in Beijing.

Since the 1950s, Rong Bao Zhai has maintained its former excellence and made important advances in the art of wood-

block printing. The studio now specializes in authentic-looking reproductions of famous paintings and calligraphy by woodblock printing, though it has also become a leading collector of original Chinese masterpieces as well. Paintings and calligraphy reproduced at the studio have been exhibited in scores of other countries, and artists from Rong Bao Zhai have demonstrated their engraving and printing skills at international art fairs. The studio finished its latest series of exhibitions in Japan and Xianggang (Hongkong) last summer.

Among Rong Bao Zhai's finest achievements is a reproduction of Gu Hongzhong's masterpiece, *Han Xizai's Evening Party*, from the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten States (907-960 A.D.). It took eight years for four worker-artists, working on tracing, carving, toning and impressing, to finish the highly refined woodblock replica of the original painting.

As part of the 30th anniversary celebration, an exhibition of art works collected by the studio over the last 30 years has been held at the Museum of Chinese Art, including various

works by the famous traditional painter Zhang Daqian, as well as more than 200 original masterpieces and woodblock reproductions by other well-known Chinese artists. In addition, more than 100 popular painters gathered at the Xiyuan Hotel in Beijing for an afternoon of impromptu painting in commemoration of the studio's anniversary.

A deluxe album of the Rong Bao Zhai collection, produced in monochrome and full color, has been published to mark this occasion. This will soon be followed by the publication of a regular art periodical to display and discuss both ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy and creations by outstanding contemporary artists as well.

SPRING SILKWORMS And OTHER STORIES

by Mao Dun (Mao Tun)

This is a collection of 13 short stories written during the period 1927-44. Through these stories Mao Dun depicts Chinese society in the thirties: calamities in the countryside and economic depression caused by the dual pressure of imperialist aggression and feudal exploitation, as well as the misery of the people, the process of their awakening. He also describes the upheavals experienced by the people of various classes and strata during the period of the Japanese invasion. This book is a mirror of old China, when it was under reactionary Kuomintang rule. These stories are outstanding for their progressive outlook and artistry.

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An impromptu group painting by 12 artists at the Xiyuan Hotel for the "Beijing Ribao."



LETTERS FROM READERS

Productive Forces and Relations of Production

With great interest I read the article in No. 35 about the "Motiv Force of Historical Development." Allow me to make a few remarks:

Marx said that no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed. Once this point has been reached, the productive forces demand a change in the relations of production—i.e., revolution breaks out. Class struggle is the motive force of historical development precisely as the vehicle for this demand. The motive force of development of capitalist society itself is competition and profit.

As a result of, among other things, decades of colonial plunder, the basic contradiction of the fully capitalist countries—that between social production and private ownership—has not yet reached its bursting point.

The proletariat of these countries got their share of the plunder and are still benefiting from the monopoly of industry and technology. Thus the class expression—bourgeoisie proletariat—of the basic contradiction is still in a state of relative rest.

Ulla Hauton
Herlev, Denmark

Reliable Information

After the death of Comrade Mao Zedong and after the overthrow of the gang of four, we have heard a great deal about Mao and the people's practices he had summed up. Judging from your issues 32-34, it seems that you are bringing him back to earth and trying to free him from the ways with which the gang of four praised him to the skies. It is useful and interesting to have reliable infor-

mation, because it helps us distinguish whether the news published in the newspapers in Quebec is correct or not. I hope your forthcoming issues will also be interesting on the subjects of Mao and the gang of four.

Jean-Claude Blouin
Quebec, Canada

Punishing Scoundrels

We are pleased to learn that China is taking measures to punish scoundrels and prohibit the abuse of one's power, thereby ensuring the progress of socialist construction, bringing about a prosperous economy and increasing the gross national product. China has got a new lease of life after the smashing of the gang of four. However, China is a vast country and the pernicious influence of the gang of four still exists. From the news reported, I learn that the cases are being dealt with one by one.

The case concerning the boiler fraud fabricated by former vice-minister of chemical industry Li Guocai, who abused his position and power, has also been exposed.

I admire the spirit of marching forward along the correct socialist road, daring to expose the evildoers and evil deeds.

Yukio Kotani
Hyogo, Japan

Using Foreign Funds and Importing Technology

I share your frankness in pointing out the problems "On the Use of Foreign Funds" and "On the Building of the 1.7 Metre Rolling Mill" (No. 34).

I accepted the task of giving advice on management and technique in building a small sewing machinery plant and came to China and worked together with the Chinese workers from June 1979 through June 1980.

Prior to the building of the factory, I visited the enterprises concerned, mainly the state-owned enterprises, in various places. I found there were numerous difficulties to be overcome in order to make the products competitive on the international market. Finally, it was decided that the Chinese side would provide the plant building while the machinery and equipment would be imported from Japan.

The article "On the Building of the 1.7-Metre Rolling Mill" has expressed in a comprehensive way what I have actually experienced.

Minoshin Fukushima
Osaka, Japan

Performance of "Teahouse"

The Beijing People's Art Theatre visited Freiburg a short time ago and staged the *Teahouse*. I was fascinated by the performance and the story, for the play showed before the people of this city a China which they do not know but could only imagine. The play helped the spectators understand better the Chinese people's unique character and make them respect and admire it. For example, in finding the ways to tackle problems, priority is given to "consultation with each other," that is, clarifying each other's stand through delicate diplomatic methods and with an approach that is realistic, feasible and compromising. This noble character has existed for a long period and has won the respect of both friends and foes alike.

Joachim Angel
Freiburg, W. Germany

More Cartoons

In my last letter I suggested that more cartoons be published in *Beijing Review*. I am very sorry to say that no change has yet been made. The drawings about the gang of four show that there are quite many good painters in China. There is no harm for the Chinese cartoonists to learn and use the Western technique of painting.

Herbert Jorns
Basel, Switzerland

Thanks for your suggestion. Starting from next year, more cartoons will be published in our weekly.
— Ed.



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