

BEIJING REVIEW



A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- China's Independent Foreign Policy
- US Mid-Term Elections



**Premier Zhao:
Science Essential to Economic Upsurge**

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Science and Economic Development

Premier Zhao recently emphasized reliance on scientific and technological progress as the key to economic growth. He also spoke of the need to resolve questions concerning economic policy and systems in order to promote technical progress (p. 13).

China's Independent Foreign Policy

A leading Chinese scholar elaborates the basic principles of China's foreign policies and views on some major world issues (p. 21).

Zhao on China-EEC Economic Relations

During a meeting with the Sino-British Trade Council

Delegation, Premier Zhao reaffirmed China's intention to continue its policy of opening to the world. He expressed hope for further development in economic and technological cooperation between China and Britain and other EEC countries (p. 8).

US Mid-Term Elections

A first-hand analytical report of the recent US Congressional elections by a *Renmin Ribao* correspondent in Washington (p. 11).

Viet Nam Prepares for New Actions

Hanoi has recently moved more troops to Kampuchea. All signs indicate that new Viet Nam military actions are being planned (p. 9).

Asian Folk and Traditional Dance

Asian dancers and choreographers at the recent Beijing dance symposium discussed how to protect and develop national dance traditions and how to adapt folk and traditional dance to modern life (p. 23).



Premier Zhao with scientists at a national science and technology awards conference.

Photo by Guo Zhanying

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Policy Towards Dalai Lama

Do you have any comment about Dalai Lama's many recent trips to other countries this year? What suggestions and requests have his representatives to Beijing put forward and what is the Chinese Government's current policy towards him?

China opposes Dalai Lama carrying out activities in these countries because he is not simply a religious but a political figure, conducting political activities in exile. The Chinese Government cannot agree with any official of any country receiving him. Through diplomatic channels we have already made our position clear to governments involved.

In 1979, Dalai Lama initiated a request to send representatives to contact the central authorities. The request was welcomed by these authorities and, over the last three years, the central authorities agreed to receive four such groups. Some group members paid long-term visits to Tibet.

The Party and state leaders and responsible officials repeatedly told the groups the central authorities' views and policies towards Dalai Lama as follows: Although we are still critical of the 1959 rebellion launched by some members of Tibet's upper strata, we should not get entangled in rehashing this historical issue today. Dalai Lama and his followers are welcome to return to China. It is hoped that they will make contributions to the great unity of the motherland and of all the nationalities, as well as to the nation's four

modernizations. Upon their return, the government will make appropriate political and personal arrangements for them.

The three-member delegation sent to Beijing by Dalai Lama this year requested that the central authorities accord Tibet the same treatment as is provided for Taiwan in the Chinese Government's nine-point principle, and that all the areas inhabited by Tibetans in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan be incorporated with Tibet to establish a unified big Tibetan autonomous region. The central authorities' response to these questions is very clear: Both Tibet and Taiwan are integral parts of China, but there are big differences between the two. Tibet has been liberated for more than three decades. It has completed democratic reforms and socialist transformation, has abolished the feudal serfdom system characterized by a combination of political and religious rule, and has long been an autonomous region under the leadership of the central government. The nine-point principle, therefore, is not applicable to Tibet.

Neither is the request for merging all the areas inhabited by Tibetans realistic. For centuries, the Tibetan people have lived in separate communities within four other provinces in addition to Tibet itself. Just like other minority nationalities in China, they exercise national regional autonomy and are organized into an autonomous region, several autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties. It is not reasonable to change the historically deter-

mined administrative divisions simply according to the distribution of nationalities.

China's critics abroad often raise the question of the so-called "independence of Tibet." The assertion that "Tibet had always been independent in the past" is groundless. People who have a little knowledge of Chinese history know that the Tibetan and Han peoples began friendly contacts centuries ago. By the seventh century, in addition to economic and cultural exchanges, the two nationalities had established close political relations. During the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th century, Tibet was included in the domain of China and became part of China's territory.

The so-called "independence of Tibet" in modern history has always been a dirty allegation of imperialist aggression against China and has been opposed by the Chinese people, and most strenuously by the Tibetan people.

Today, some separatists and others with ulterior motives continue to flaunt the misleading banner of an "independent Tibet." In recent years, these forces have given enormous publicity to the "frenzied welcome" received by the visiting delegations from Dalai Lama. In fact this phenomenon is not at all surprising. For historical reasons, Lamaism has deep influence among the Tibetan people. Tibetan Buddhists regard not only Dalai Lama, but all the others they call "living Buddhas" as gods incarnate, and welcome them accordingly.

Some people who don't know this background have misinterpreted the Tibetans' religious feelings towards Dalai as polit-

LETTERS

Communist Ideology

The article by Hu Qiaomu ("On the Practice of Communist Thought") in *Beijing Review* (issue No. 42), I found extremely interesting and thought-provoking. I think it useful to distinguish between the practice of communism by a *whole* society, and the practice of communism by only a *part* of that society.

Communism is the felt need of workers and oppressed people everywhere. The very life of the workers makes them desire a society in which they have dignity, friendship, security, leisure to develop as human beings, and so on.

Consequently as soon as the proletariat emerges, elements of communism come into existence, being confined at first to tiny groups. In England in 1844 Engels was impressed by the internationalism of English workers, who accepted him regardless of his German nationality. Already he saw workers having sympathy for each other, especially when they were unemployed and faced with hardship.

With the emergence of the Communist Party, communism is practised by a *part* of society. Comradeship and sacrifice for each other are already real living communism, arising, yet again, from the felt need of workers and the oppressed in their lives. All the principles of inner-Party life come down to the practice of communism.

Thus the ideology of communism, communist thought, is never without actual existence, *as soon* as the proletariat comes into existence. It was from studying the positive side of working class life

ical trust in him. But some others have always taken advantage of the Tibetan people's beliefs in order to arouse a religious fervour that would serve their own aims of splitting the motherland and undermining our national unity. The future will provide proof that these efforts are in vain.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

that Marx and Engels came to see the possibility of the extension of communism across the whole of society. The workers in the Paris Commune, as soon as the restraints were lifted, immediately discovered in practice important elements of the future society. Communist ideology has always had a living base in that part of society which is reaching out to, and already practising, the life of the future.

A. N. May
Huyton, England

I would like to commend your magazine on the article, "On the Practice of Communist Thought" which appeared in issue No. 42. It was a dialectical presentation of a truth which is apt to get lost when people are in the midst of intense and arduous political struggle.

M. Vicker
San Francisco, Ca., USA

"On the Practice of Communist Thought" by Hu Qiaomu is a very elaborative article giving clear views on and solving some theoretical questions of common concern in the international communist movement. Hope that you will regularly publish similar articles by Chinese Communists.

At the same time, I would like to be confirmed about a word in the article. In the last but one paragraph on page 13, the last sentence begins . . . "Nor was socialism established by the Paris Commune, . . ." From the context, the word should have been "communism" instead of "socialism."

Despan Kumar
Kathmandu, Nepal

The translation should read:
"Socialism was not realized by the Paris Commune . . ." —
Ed.

Cut Protocol Coverage

I direct myself to improvements in your journal. I am bored by lengthy accounts of visits of foreign dignitaries with speeches full of diplomatic clichés. A sentence or two should do unless the visit is the occasion of the expression of an important change of policy.

As a reader of your journal from the time it was called *Pe-*

king Review, I must say that with all its faults it is presently possible to get a somewhat truer picture of the PRC than in the past.

Saul Birnbaum
Bronx, N.Y., USA

The articles I dislike (too strong a word) are those dealing with events abroad. The verbatim quotation of speeches made to and by foreigners during state visits, etc., with the usual clichés, are dull and uninformative. Would you confine your articles to your most exciting and inspiring topic—China!

Milton H. Friedman
Lake Worth, Fla., USA

More Theoretical Articles

In scanning the index of *Beijing Review*, Nos. 1-26, 1982, I was disappointed to find few theoretical articles on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. I simply can't understand this since yours is a political and theoretical weekly.

I hope you will overcome this shortcoming.

Luis Jose Fernandez Okdonez
Polade Laviana, Spain

Down to Earth

I have read only three copies of your magazine but find the style and approach most interesting. I consider the opinions honest and down to earth without stress on futurity.

Glossy or fancy covers will place your magazine in line with others of the popular crop. I know that coloured photographs are attractive but black and white illustrate the specific objectives of the articles. The layouts depend on the reshuffle of your main headings as overseas subscribers are unacquainted with nor interested in the extracts of your local press.

Alfred A. Remedios
Enmore, N.S.W., Australia

Announcement

Beginning with our next issue, we shall publish five successive reports on Tibet.

POLITICAL

Draft Constitution Being Revised

The draft of the revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China (see issue No. 19) has entered the final round of discussion and revision before it is submitted to the forthcoming Fifth National People's Congress.

It took 25 months from the inception of the draft to the present round of revisions. During this period, opinions were canvassed from all walks of life, and the draft was repeatedly discussed and revised. Approximately 80 per cent of the nation's adults have participated in discussion of the draft since it was published in April and many of their opinions have been drawn into the present draft of the revised Constitution.

Ninety institutions under the Party Central Committee, the State Council, the army and people's organizations have made suggestions and recommendations for the draft, according to Hu Sheng, deputy secretary-general of the national constitutional revision committee. Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Xianggang and Aomen have also contributed valuable suggestions. All the suggestions and recommendations had been compiled into five volumes and distributed to the committee members for consideration during the discussions.



Lake Taihu.

ECONOMIC

Utilization of Lake Resources

How to best exploit the lakes in the Changjiang (Yangtze) River basin is the subject of a just completed scientific survey.

The one-year comprehensive survey of the 35,300-hectare Honghu Lake in southern Hubei Province showed it to be one of the few unpolluted large inland lakes on the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang River. The survey, which began in June 1981, also identified nearly 500 kinds of water plants, waterfowls and other animals in the lake, many of which were not recorded previously.

So far, only 10 per cent of the lake's resources have been exploited, said the scientists participating in the survey. The

lake has an estimated reserve of 50,000 tons of edible lotus root and, if fully developed, the lake could produce 7,500 tons of fish annually.

In a related development, more than 200 scientists met recently to discuss the plan for the economic development of Lake Taihu on the lower reaches of the Changjiang River. The third largest freshwater lake in China, Lake Taihu covers an area of 36,000 square kilometres, reaching into Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces and the Shanghai Municipality. A centre of human endeavour for 6,000 years, the Lake Taihu basin today is China's most developed industrial and agricultural base. Its present gross annual industrial and agricultural output value approaches 100,000 million yuan, about one-seventh of the country's total, and its per-mu grain output averages 1,300 jin, which is among the highest in the

world. The scientists estimated that the Lake Taihu basin might be the first area to be modernized in China.

The scientists participating in the discussion pointed out that the area's present ecological system has suffered from its rapid economic development. The irrational distribution of industry, for instance, has resulted in environmental pollution and damage to its aquatic resources.

The scientists put forward suggestions for protecting the resources of Lake Taihu and for the scientific construction of the region. These include improving its ecological system, diverting water of other lakes and rivers to Lake Taihu so as to increase its water and improve its self-purification capability, and strictly control pollution.

These suggestions will provide the scientific basis for the government's plan for the economic development of the area.

A Large Shelterbelt

Just as its namesake grew brick by brick in the face of adversity, the gigantic north, northeast and northwest China shelterbelt, dubbed the "green Great Wall," is growing tree by tree.

The project began in 1978 and by last year more than 2.33 million hectares of land had been planted. But this spring a drought across the shelterbelt regions seriously threatened the afforestation campaign. The broad masses of the people met the challenge, fought the drought and kept on planting trees. In the first half of this year, 730,000 hectares were afforested.

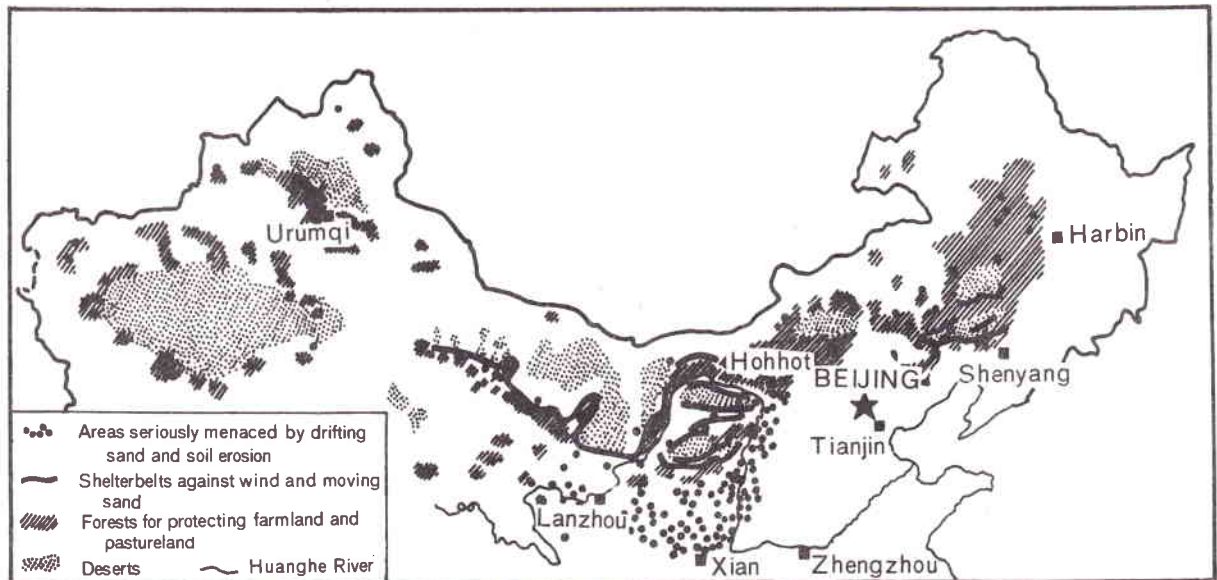
With the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region at its western end, the shelterbelt runs across Qinghai, Gansu, Inner Mongolia, northern Shaanxi, northwestern Shanxi and the Bashang

area in northern Hebei, to the western part of northeast China, embracing 324 counties (banners) which cover one-fourth of China's territory. Because of the scale of work involved and its importance, the people liken the shelterbelt to the ancient Great Wall.

More than 100 million hectares of desert in this area are designated for afforestation. Wind and sandstorms pose a constant threat to more than 200 counties and banners and 20 million hectares of farmland and pasture, and some areas suffer from windstorms more than 80 days a year. Serious natural disasters have impeded the development of agricultural production and livestock raising and in some places the people face extreme hardships.

The first stage of the project requires that by 1985 more than 5.93 million hectares of land in the agricultural, semi-agricul-

SKETCH MAP OF THE "GREEN GREAT WALL"



tural and semi-pastoral areas in the wind-swept region be afforested, increasing the forest cover in these areas from the current 4 per cent to 10 per cent. The percentage of afforested areas in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River, which currently suffer from serious loss of water and soil, will increase from 5 per cent to 18 per cent. About 10 million hectares of farmland and more than 3.3 million hectares of pasture menaced by sandstorms will be protected.

This year the state took several measures to accelerate the project. It allocated 40 million additional yuan and through the Ministry of Forestry established a shelterbelt construction bureau in Yinchuan city in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region to improve project management.

At one time, China had an extensive forest cover. But, several thousand years of large-scale deforestation for farming and wanton felling reduced the cover to only 5.2 per cent of the nation's total area by 1949, thereby damaging the ecological equilibrium in many places. After the founding of New China, the People's Government successfully organized professional tree-planting and popular afforestation campaigns, which have increased the forest cover to 12.7 per cent. In recent years, the state allocated special funds for numerous tree-planting drives. The shelterbelt project is the most important of these.

Expand Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry should be energetically developed in order

to speed up the growth of China's rural economy and improve the people's livelihood, commented *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Chinese Communist Party, in a recent editorial. It called for a reappraisal of the importance of animal husbandry in the national economy.

In expounding this new agricultural development strategy, the editorial pointed out that given the country's large population and limited farmland, it is extremely difficult to double the present annual grain output (over 325 million tons) in 10 years. However, to increase the production of meat, eggs, milk and other food and achieve an output value equivalent to that of more than 650 million tons of grain within a decade is feasible. The reasons are: China has vast mountain, water and grassland areas that have not been opened up but can be used to raise animals. A side benefit is that increased numbers of animals will provide more organic fertilizer for raising the per-unit grain yield. Moreover, an increase in the consumption of meat, eggs and milk will result in a corresponding decrease in the consumption of grain, and this will help improve the people's health.

This goal cannot be achieved if impractical methods are adopted. In the past, there was a rush in some places to construct state-owned mechanized farms for raising pigs and other animals while the efforts of individual commune members were neglected. Large sums of money were spent on these farms which yielded poor economic benefits. This hampered the expansion of animal husbandry because there was a

shortage of funds and fodder grain.

In rural China, 170 million households are engaged in animal husbandry, the *Renmin Ribao* editorial said. For this reason, while continuing to develop state-owned and collective animal husbandry, the potential of individual households should be fully tapped. The state should encourage and support the peasants' efforts to raise funds to improve breeds, establish animal-disease treatment and prevention networks and popularize advanced livestock-breeding technology with state support. At present, animal husbandry is a lagging sector of agriculture and its annual output value is only 14 per cent of the total of China's agriculture. But it can catch up with farming with many years of efforts.

The example of Heilongjiang Province in northeast China serves well to illustrate this point. The province has 5.06 million hectares of grassland and mountain areas below the tree line. In addition, it has other fodder including 260,000 tons of wheat and rice husks, 400,000 tons of soybean solids and nearly 3 million tons of dried beet leaves every year. Despite these favourable factors, animal husbandry in Heilongjiang developed at a snail's pace before 1978 because the local authorities emphasized grain production to the neglect of developing a diversified economy. Furthermore, when it came to animal husbandry, they favoured pigs over grazing animals such as cows and sheep. Starting in 1979, the province made changes in the geographical distribution of agricultural production and in stock-breeding,

and encouraged individual peasants to raise animals. This resulted in a rapid growth of stock-breeding. In 1981, the total number of sheep was nearly double that of 1978 and there were 115,000 dairy cows, an increase of 85.5 per cent, producing 73.4 per cent more milk than in 1978.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Zhao Ziyang on Economic Relations With Western Europe

Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that China's policy of opening to the world will remain unchanged, so will be her policy of strengthening economic relations with the West European countries.

The statement was made by Premier Zhao when he met with a delegation of the Sino-British Trade Council on November 3. He also told the British guests that China attaches great importance to developing its trade and economic and technological co-operation with the European Economic Community of which Britain is a member. He said that China and West European countries have much to do in such co-operation. He expressed the hope that a new situation will emerge in economic and technological co-operation between China and Britain and other West European countries.

On the energy exploitation programme in southwest China, Zhao said: "China welcomes foreign enterprises' co-operation. In addition to the exploitation of coal resources, we can also combine the exploitation of

hydroelectric and non-ferrous metals resources."

Celebrating the 60th Birthday of Samdech Sihanouk

President of Democratic Kampuchea Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and his wife arrived in Beijing on November 4. Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, gave a banquet the next day to celebrate Samdech Sihanouk's 60th birthday.

Deng Xiaoping said at the banquet: Samdech Sihanouk has been a friend of ours for dozens of years. We admire his patriotism, his inexhaustible energy, his outstanding ability and his efforts in working for the independence and survival of the Kampuchean nation. He noted that Samdech Sihanouk is a great patriot and an outstanding statesman as well as one of the founders of the non-aligned movement.

Deng added: Recently, Samdech Sihanouk spoke at the UN General Assembly. His speech has greatly inspired the patriotic army-men and civilians of Kampuchea and was warmly received by delegates from other countries, thus winning more sympathy and support for the Kampuchean people in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression. This is a great victory. Deng Xiaoping expressed his great appreciation and extended heartfelt congratulations to Sihanouk.

At a banquet he gave in honour of Sihanouk, Premier Zhao Ziyang said that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against

the Vietnamese aggressors until final victory is won.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and his wife invited Chinese leaders to a banquet to mark his 60th birthday.

October Revolution Anniversary Marked In Beijing

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association gave a reception on November 4 to mark the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

Attending the reception were Peng Chong, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Qian Qichen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other Chinese leaders.

Wang Bingnan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, in his speech extended festival greetings to the Soviet people. Soviet Ambassador to China I.S. Shcherbakov also spoke at the reception.

Soviet Ambassador Shcherbakov and his wife gave a reception at the Soviet Embassy on November 6 to mark the anniversary. Minister of Culture Zhu Muzhi, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen and leading members of departments concerned attended the reception.



Viet Nam Is Preparing For New Adventures

HANOI has just sent more than 20,000 troop reinforcements to Kampuchea and has raised its troop strength along the Kampuchean-Thai border to seven divisions in preparation for new, large-scale military actions.

Large quantities of sophisticated military equipment, tanks, armoured personnel carriers and heavy artillery have also been moved into west, northwest and southwest Kampuchea. Reports say that Vietnamese troops have brought several truckloads of chemical weapons to their base near the Kampuchean-Thai border. In the past few months, they have also built highways, bridges, logistic depots and airstrips in the border region.

These manoeuvres followed an "important strategic conference" of the commanders of the invading Vietnamese forces in Phnom Penh not long ago.

Hanoi's Designs

These activities indicate that Viet Nam is preparing for new military efforts in Kampuchea to extricate itself from its present predicament.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, formed this past summer by the three patriotic resistance forces, has won increasing support of the Kampuchean people. As more and more Kampuchean people and patriotic forces unite under the banner of the Coalition Government, the rising morale and effectiveness of the resistance forces pose an increasingly great headache to the Vietnamese aggressors.

Internationally, the Coalition Government has won support and sympathy from a growing number of nations, as the acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea by an overwhelming majority of the members of 37th Session of the UN General Assembly clearly proves.

It is clear that Viet Nam is beefing up its armed forces in preparation for an attempt to destroy the Kampuchean resistance forces and the Coalition



Government during the dry season which begins this month. By bringing the war to the borders of Thailand, Hanoi is also attempting to force Thai-

land and the other ASEAN countries to accept the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. While visiting Indonesia recently, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach argued that the ASEAN countries should adopt a realistic attitude. The puppet Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh has even threatened the ASEAN countries, saying that its patience has limits.

Moscow's Support

When Truong Chinh, a top Vietnamese leader, visited Moscow last month, the Soviet Union promised Hanoi its "faithful and reliable" support. Moscow then sent a military-political delegation to visit Viet Nam, after which hundreds of Soviet-made tanks, large quantities of long-range artillery and other weapons poured into Kampuchea. Moscow must be held responsible for Hanoi's unbridled adventurism.

While strengthening their military forces on the battlefield, the Vietnamese authorities have announced a spurious "partial troop withdrawal" from Kampuchea. They have attacked world opinion opposing and exposing Viet Nam's military actions as being motivated by "sinister intentions." But Hanoi's devices fool no one. The world will be watching closely Viet Nam's next move.

— Li Yongming

Argentina's Diplomatic Victory

THE 37th UN General Assembly has adopted a resolution requesting that Argentina and Britain resume nego-

tiations for a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. The resolution, co-sponsored by

Argentina and 19 other Latin American countries, was carried by a vote of 90 to 12 with 52 abstentions. The Malvinas question is included in the provisional agenda of the UN's 38th session.

Latin American Unity

The Latin American draft resolution is one indication of unprecedented unity among Latin American countries. Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari said that many Latin American countries consider it vital to their own interests to support Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

When the draft resolution was placed on the plenary agenda, representatives from many Latin American countries spoke in favour of safeguarding Argentina's cause. Their just stand has won wide support and sympathy.

Since the Malvinas war, Argentina has been working to strengthen its relations with other Latin American countries and to contribute to maintaining the continent's unity and integration. The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly is a measure of its success.

Chinese Permanent Representative Ling Qing told the General Assembly that the Chinese Delegation appreciated and supported the draft resolution as "a new effort" by the Latin American countries to promote a peaceful, just and equitable settlement of the issue. China agrees that Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands should be respected by the international community and that the relevant resolutions of the non-aligned move-

ment and of the OAS should be implemented.

Washington Votes Yes

After careful study and consultation, the United States voted for the resolution. Many Latin American countries were pleased, but Britain was not. During the Malvinas war, Washington expressed support for Britain and imposed sanctions against Argentina, moves that hurt its own interests and met strong opposition from Latin American nations. Some observers say that Washington is no longer able to insist on this stand and that it must improve its relations with Latin American countries. President Reagan must make a show of ending the South Atlantic crisis so as to create a favourable atmosphere for his upcoming visit to Central and South America.

The resolution's call for a rapid and peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands is generally supported by many countries, including some of those that abstained from voting. How-

ever, Britain has refused to meet this reasonable demand.

London Is Displeased

Defying the worldwide anti-colonialist sentiments and desire for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas, Britain attempted to obstruct the UN's adoption of the Latin American draft resolution. The British representative persuaded and even pressured some countries not to vote for the resolution. The results of the vote have forced Britain to lay its cards on the table.

Negotiations between Argentina and Britain have long been deadlocked. Argentine newspapers hailed the UN resolution as a step towards a settlement and called for greater efforts to implement it.

Nonetheless, the dispute over the Malvinas will not be easily resolved. Argentina will continue to face difficulties in safeguarding its sovereignty and carrying out its just struggle.

— Guan Yanzhong

Western Europe

Another Socialist Party Assumes Power

THE Spanish Socialist Workers' Party won 45.7 per cent of the votes in the general elections held on October 28, thus guaranteeing that its leader Felipe Gonzalez will be the first Socialist prime minister in Spain since the 1936-39 Civil War. This follows recent triumphs by the Socialist Party in France and the Panhellenic Socialist Movement in Greece.

Reason for Victory

Founded in 1879, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party joined

the Popular Front government in the 30s. During Francisco Franco's reign it was banned but not disbanded. Since political parties were legalized after Franco died in 1975, it has become the largest opposition party. The 1977 and 1979 general elections and regional elections have seen it growing stronger. In the elections in Andalusia last May it won more votes than the ruling Union of the Democratic Centre. It is well organized and has gained the support of the trade unions. Its Secretary-General

Felipe Gonzalez is influential in the Socialist International. Now it has swept to power in a strong election showing.

These election results reflect that Spaniards had lost confidence in the former ruling Union of the Democratic Centre which was weakened by internal divisions. After it did poorly in the Andalusia elections, strife among various parties in the union sharpened and many members of parliament severed their party affiliations. Furthermore, as the national economy stagnated and the political situation grew turbulent, general elections had to be called five months ahead of schedule. The conservative Popular Alliance Party gained strength in the elections and will be a strong opposition to the Socialists. However, the Popular Alliance's major policies are not as popular among the people as those of the Socialists. The Communist Party of Spain failed to play a decisive role in the elections and the moderate and conservative political parties were not united, so the Socialist victory was inevitable.

Another factor in the Socialist triumph was that they had a co-ordinated strategy and programme for these elections.

In recent years the Spanish economy has been in deep trouble. Last June unemployment topped 2 million, the yearly inflation rate approached 15 per cent and the state's foreign debts amounted to US\$27,000 million.

Therefore, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in its election campaign promised to deal with the economic crisis and the problem of unemployment first. It

issued a pledge to provide jobs for 800,000 unemployed within four years. It also put forward planks on measures against social inequality, terrorist activities and government mismanagement. To placate the big financiers, the Socialists revised their programme, stating that they would not carry out nationalization, would respect the market economy and protect competition. They also pledged more help to the medium-sized and small businesses. These proposals played a role in winning votes from diverse sectors of the electorate.

New Government's Policy

The elections outcome was the result of the political situation in Spain and the Spanish people's demand for speeding up democratization. However, some people think that with the Socialist government coming to

power contradictions between the Left- and Right-wing political forces will sharpen and the new government's relations with the army will remain a sensitive problem. The biggest hurdle the new government faces may well be economic recession.

On foreign policy, the Socialists are for joining European Community. In the past they opposed joining NATO but now they stand for more independence within this organization and not making military commitments. They plan to hold a referendum on whether Spain should remain in NATO. US military bases in Spain may also become an issue.

As Spain is located in a strategic position, the new government's internal and foreign policies are naturally of interest to the world.

— Zhang Qihua

What US Mid-Term Elections' Outcome Means

THE US mid-term elections of November 2 gave the Democrats 24 additional seats in the House of Representatives while the Republicans lost 26 seats. Two Georgia House seats, now held by Democrats, will be decided in balloting on November 30. The composition of the Senate remains unchanged.

In the gubernatorial races, the Democrats captured seven new governorships, and the Republicans lost seven.

Both Parties Claim Victory

President Reagan said on November 3 that he was "very

pleased" with the outcome of the elections and expressed particular satisfaction with his party's strong showing in the Senate, where the Republicans retained their 54-46 majority. As to the Republican loss of House seats, some Republicans said that it is common in US election history for the ruling party to lose some seats in the mid-term elections, and that the loss in this election did not exceed the number predicted. This shows, they said, that the American public has given its support to the president's determination to continue his policies and "stay the course."

Meanwhile, Democrats claimed that they had won a big victory, that the outcome indicated that the public is against Reaganomics and wants changes in the administration's policy.

The Republican claim of victory is clearly an act of self-consolation. This mid-term election shows that the trend towards conservatism that appeared in the 1980 presidential elections has been reversed. Many conservatives elected to congressional first terms in 1980 were defeated in this election.

The economy was the dominant issue in this election, which was widely regarded as a "referendum" on Reaganomics. The results of the election indicate that where the economy is fast deteriorating, most Republican candidates failed; and where the Republican candidates won, it was because they had kept their distance from Reagan's economic policy. American voters are disturbed with the state of the economy, with the record 10.4 per cent October unemployment rate and with the high rate of business failures.

The Democratic victory was not as big as projected. In October, when the unemployment rate and other statistics indicating a bleak prospect for economic recovery were disclosed, some people forecast a landslide Democratic victory in the elections. But this did not happen. The Democratic gains in the elections were not very impressive if compared with previous mid-term elections.

Democratic candidates were even defeated in some areas where Republican policies were by no means popular. In many other areas the two parties had a very close race. This may have

been partially the result of reinforced Republican campaign efforts just before election day and the personal campaigning of President Reagan. But fundamentally it was because quite a few voters, though not satisfied with the Republicans, did not have much confidence in the Democrats either. As some opinion polls showed, many Americans hold the view that although President Reagan should be held accountable for the ailing economy, the Democrats share in the blame.

Money Politics

American public opinion notes two outstanding features of this year's elections. One is the increasing "money politics" character of US elections. It is estimated that on average every congressional candidate spent US\$200,000 in the race. A few candidates spent \$5 million or more. Total 1982 congressional campaign spending is estimated at \$300 million, 50 per cent more than that in 1978.

The other feature is the widespread use of "passive propaganda" tactics. The majority of the candidates campaigned for voter favour not by putting forward their own policy propositions, but by attacking their rivals with sometimes false charges. Some newspapers lamented that election campaigning in the United States has turned from debate over political programmes into a mud-slinging contest. American democracy is increasingly degenerating.

Impact

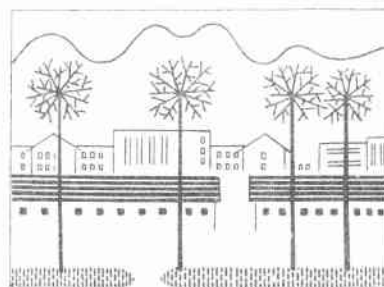
In any case, the outcome of the mid-term elections will have considerable influence on US policies in the near future.

Before the elections, although President Reagan faced a Dem-

ocratic House, he had the support of several dozen conservative Democratic Representatives who held views very similar to his and who voted with him on a number of major issues, making it possible to pass his economy recovery and other programmes through the Congress. The 1982 elections have brought about some changes in the balance of power between the conservative and liberal Congressmen, which will make it more difficult for Reagan to rely on the alliance of Republicans and conservative Democrats to pass his proposals. congressional disputes and stalemates between the President and the Congress may well occur frequently.

During the campaigning Reagan said he would continue his policies and "stay the course." However, over the past few months he already has modified some of his policies. He has agreed to a tax increase and signed Democrat-proposed acts to increase subsidies for unemployment and to set up employment training programmes. In the future, the Reagan administration, now half way through its term, will have to become more accommodating and will seek compromises on tax cuts, social service spending, military spending and other major issues. Changes in US political, economic and social policies are predictable.

— Yuan Xianlu



A Strategic Question on Invigorating The Economy

by Zhao Ziyang

The Importance of Science and Technology



In an important speech at the National Science Awards Conference on October 24, Premier Zhao said that a vigorous development of the economy is dependent upon the progress of science and technology. With this as the guiding ideology for economic construction, he outlined the tasks for scientific and technological work and emphasized the need to resolve questions about policy and economic system in order to promote technical progress. Following are excerpts of the speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

WHILE steadily improving economic results, we should strive to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production—from 710,000 million yuan in 1980 to 2,800,000 million yuan or so in 2000. This is a strategic common goal for the economy, science and technology and all other fields. It is a matter of common concern as to whether we can achieve this goal with our financial and material resources.

WE can give a rough estimate of the current state of our financial, energy and material resources. Based on the technical and economic targets we have so far achieved, we could say we face acute shortages in these areas. However, if our economic departments can gradually switch over to the use of new technology and raise technical and economic targets to a completely new level in the next 20 years of economic construction, then we can ensure that we will quadruple the gross value of industrial and agricultural production.

If the various energy resources we produced in 1980 were converted into standard coal, they would be equivalent to 630 million tons of coal. When put to use, 600 million tons of fuel can produce more than 700,000 million yuan in gross output value. By the end of this century, we can probably double our supply of energy. With doubled energy output, will we quadruple the gross output value. The answer is — it's possible we will and it's possible we won't. However, if we continue to use present-day technology and maintain the present ratio between the gross output value and energy, then we will only be able to double the gross output value. The situation will be different if we adopt advanced technology and raise the ratio between the gross output value and energy.

Judged by the unit consumption of energy in gross national products, we are lagging behind even when compared with other developing countries, not to mention developed countries. Japan's annual consumption of energy today is about the same as China's — roughly equivalent to 600 million tons of standard coal — but its GNP is about 3 or 4 times ours. Of course, there are incomparable factors here, such as a different energy structure and mix of products.

but the disparity is so great mainly because Japan's technical level is higher than ours. By the end of this century, we will still be unable to match Japan's level; but we should strive to achieve the gross output value of 2,800,000 million yuan by using 1,200 million tons of standard coal.

It is impossible to achieve such a new level merely by relying on a few enterprises or on one or several trades to raise their technical level. Equipment that uses fuel inefficiently must be replaced in every trade and profession. Furthermore, each field should make a series of major technical transformations, change technological processes and the mix of products. Only thus can we substantially reduce unnecessary energy consumption.

Whenever annual planning conferences were held in the past, participants competed for energy resources from energy and planning departments. As I see it, a new situation will certainly arise in the future when these trades and professions will come to you present here and other scientific and technical workers and ask for advanced technology for developing and saving energy. Similar situations exist in materials, including cement, timber, metal and synthetic materials, various kinds of new materials and substitute materials. Material-producing departments will ask you for advanced technology for producing more and better materials so that one ton of material can produce the same results as several tons did in the past. Material users will also come to you for designs that will reduce material consumption, for technological processes, equipment and products. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on the progress of science and technology to solve the shortage of energy and materials.

We keenly feel the shortage of funds, which will continue for a considerable period of time. Our foundation is poor. We have just so much money. We have to eat and to engage in construction. So it is necessary to make overall plans and take all factors into consideration and act in accordance with our capacity. The present problem is that our economic results are too low.

Take capital construction for example. One yuan of capital construction investment can only be converted into 80 fen of fixed assets; while in turn, in state-owned industrial enterprises one yuan's worth of fixed assets can only produce an output value of 96 fen. If we retain the present technical level and economic results,

we will have to double our investment in order to double our output value. Moreover, 20 years from now, the present fixed assets will almost be completely consumed. Further, our fixed assets cannot be used for production, they must be supplemented by circulating funds. The circulating funds our state-owned industrial enterprises now possess constitute over a quarter of our fixed assets. A calculation will show what a large sum of money we have to raise in 20 years' time! Our annual state revenues amount to only a little more than 100,000 million yuan. Of course, during the next 20 years, our state revenues will increase steadily. But there is invariably a limit to them. If we try irrationally to increase fixed assets investment, we will have to cut down consumption funds and will thus once again cause dislocation and economic disorder.

The way to solve this is to improve economic management and adopt advanced technology. Economic management as a branch of science is a weak link in our economic chain. Improved economic management will make it possible to achieve quicker results and tap huge potentials.

Today I want to deal mainly with production technique. Technical progress is the way to get rich. The State Council recently organized experts to discuss how to best use 100 million tons of oil. Their preliminary conclusion is that the oil refining and petrochemical industries need to improve processing techniques and the level of comprehensive utilization. This accomplishment would bring an additional annual income of 10,000 million yuan. The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company is a well-run enterprise. Its leaders organized discussions among its workers and staff members, and as a result decided to make 12 major technical innovations over three years. The money for this will be derived from internal accumulation and the returns of technical transformation; the state will not be asked for funds. Moreover, besides paying taxes, the company expects to turn over profits worth 1,050 million yuan to the state in three years, which is equivalent to its existing total fixed asset value.

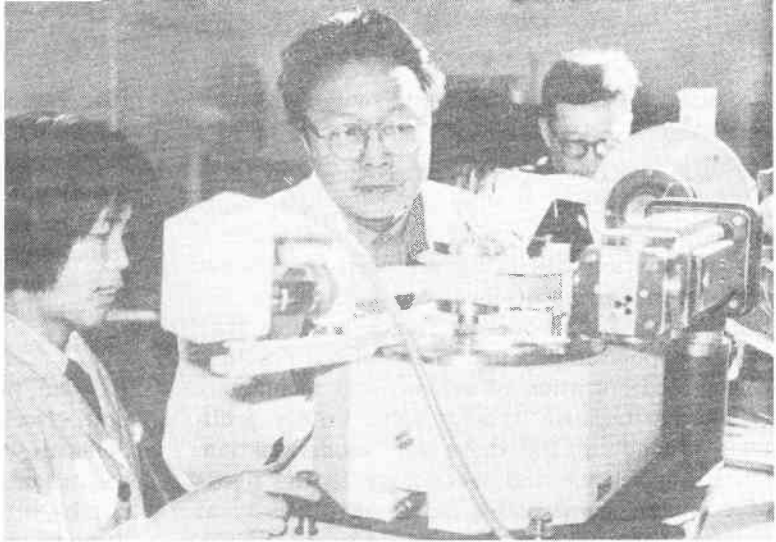
Between 1979 and 1981, by relying mainly on science and technology, Xiangfan city in Hubei Province doubled its gross industrial output value and turned over more than double the required taxes and profits to the state. It is clear what a tremendous role technical progress can play in improving economic results. Esti-

mated from our existing technical and economic indices, our funds fall far short of what is needed to ensure a quadrupling of the gross value of industrial and agricultural production and it is necessary to rely on scientific and technical progress to solve this problem.

Based on these analyses, we may conclude: It is impossible to quadruple the gross value of production on the basis of old technology, equipment, materials, technical processes and products and in line with the technical and economic targets we have already reached. But it is possible to attain the goal if we use new technology, equipment, materials, technical processes and products.

Therefore, industry, agriculture, trades and professions, old and new factories must grasp the link of technical progress and base their production on the use of new and advanced technology. Of course, we will build new and technically advanced factories in a planned way; but it is impossible for a large country like China to achieve modernization simply by building a few modern factories. Old factories must undergo technical transformation. If they remain in a state of backwardness, they will be unable to improve their technical and economic indices. New factories should be equipped with advanced technology in the process of construction, they should continue to update their technology after they are built. Between now and the end of this century, our national economic departments should switch over to the use of new technology in a planned, systematic and down-to-earth way. Accomplishment of this work is where our hope lies.

It is necessary to activate the economy by relying on scientific and technological progress. This principle must be taken as the basic guiding ideology for our future economic construction. Ministers, governors, mayors, county heads and factory directors must lead economic work through reliance on science and technology as well as policies. How should leading cadres rely on science and technology? Primarily, they should implement the Party's principles and policies. They should give full play to the enthusiasm of scientific and technical personnel; advise those in scientific and technical



Cai Qigong, an engineer of the General Iron and Steel Research Institute of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, has achieved outstanding results in the field of fracture mechanics.

projects; provide better conditions for scientific and technical work and pave the way for applying scientific research achievements in production. Numerous things are still strange to many of our comrades. So they must learn how to do this unfamiliar, arduous yet significant work well. They must learn this conscientiously and in a down-to-earth way. From now on, all departments in charge of financial and economic work, which include financial, monetary and commercial departments, should recruit into their leading bodies people with scientific and technical knowledge and who enthusiastically support scientific and technological progress. If they fail to concern themselves with this necessity, they cannot properly implement the relevant policies.

Science and Technology Oriented to Serving Economic Construction

THE second point is the guiding ideology for scientific and technical work.

Economic construction relies on science and technology. How should scientific and technical work be done? It should be oriented to serving economic construction. Scientific and technical workers should plunge themselves into the socialist modernization drive, especially economic construction. Scientific and technical work covers a wide area and involves many problems. But the first area of study in economic construction is the decisive scientific and technological problems affecting major economic results. Scientific and technical workers should make many-sided contributions, but the most important contribution is promoting the progress of

production techniques and improving economic results.

Will the development of science and technology be hindered if they are oriented to serving economic construction? I think not; instead, this orientation will bring prosperity to science and technology. Science and technology are components of productive forces because they can be applied in production and play a practical role. Modernization of science and technology is decisive because it helps solve knotty problems arising in the drive for modernization. Orienting science and technology to the needs of economic construction is aimed precisely at making them play a better and greater role. We should strengthen our study of applied science and pay attention to the study of basic science. The study of applied science and development in itself serves production; the study of basic science also serves production indirectly. Therefore, the majority of current scientific research can be directly or indirectly applied in production. Orienting science and technology to serving economic construction makes it possible for these most urgently needed fields to be the first to become prosperous.

The economy is the foundation; unless our economy is developed, science and technology will not progress. If our country achieves the goal of quadrupling the gross value of production, it will have solid economic strength and that will make things much easier. Then we will be able to devote greater resources to the study of basic science. But we cannot do this right now because we are restricted by objective conditions. We have a limited number of scientists and technicians. The vast majority of them must be organized into the practice of economic construction. If we do so, our country will become rich more quickly and we can ensure the accomplishment of the most important task of quadrupling the gross value of production, first develop science and technology, which are so urgently needed, and create a more substantial economic foundation for the comprehensive prosperity of our future science and technology.

Therefore, I think it is correct and necessary to clearly put forward the guiding ideology of orienting science and technology to serving economic construction.

How should scientific and technical work be organized in line with this guiding ideology?

I think we should at least do the following three things: First, we should define our scien-

tific research tasks and decide on the subject for study in accordance with this guiding ideology; second, in light of this guiding ideology, we should readjust the scientific research system and reorganize our scientific research forces; third, we should improve the system for checking on and rewarding our scientific and technological personnel in line with this guiding ideology.

Our present scientific research system cannot effectively serve economic construction. Scientific and technical problems in economic construction which require quick solutions cannot be promptly referred to scientific research departments. The achievements of scientific research departments are not well understood by producers. Scientific research forces are generally not well-organized or co-ordinated. Dozens of departments are doing identical research, an unnecessary repetition of basic procedures; while at the same time nobody is dealing with other problems that, if solved, could produce substantial economic results. Departments are heavily guarded against each other. It is said that some departments counteract each other's efforts and keep their achievements secret from each other. This is a function of unhealthy ideology and style of work in addition to a poorly organized system. The distribution of scientific and technical forces is irrational. Some departments have more hands than needed while in other departments, scientific and technical forces, those on the frontline in particular, are too weak. Certain scientific research departments have only a limited number of scientists and technicians. Problems such as these are legacies from the past, but if they remain unresolved permanently, they will be detrimental to work.

In my opinion, it is necessary to work out an overall plan to straighten out the scientific research system step by step. Problems that affect many areas must be handled with great care so that our major research projects will not be disrupted. Every readjustment that will benefit our work must be firmly undertaken.

First, we must consider establishing technical development centres for some trades. The number of such centres should be small, they must be well managed and function properly. They should concentrate their efforts on technical transformation, planning for technical progress and developing new technology and new products. Their working personnel should be picked and capable but personnel necessary for a particular field should be assigned. Readjust-

ment and replenishment should be decided on the basis of the needs of existing scientific research institutes within the industrial departments and large enterprises. These centres, when established, should be oriented to serving their own trades, particularly the medium and small-sized enterprises. Some centres can be organized by a single department; other trans-departmental centres can be organized but one particular department should undertake the primary responsibility.

Second, large specialized companies and key enterprises, particularly those designated for major technical transformation, with the approval of the appropriate departments under the State Council, can follow the above methods to establish or strengthen their own technical development centres. Their main task is to serve their own enterprises, but they can undertake some reasonable scientific research tasks for other enterprises. There should not be too many such centres. It is necessary first to experiment in selected units. When a group of such centres is well run, then we will proceed to operate a second group.

Third, the original organizational system should not be disrupted, nor should the subordinate relationships be changed. Scientific research departments should be encouraged, through a variety of ways, to establish ties with producers. The academies of science, institutions of higher learning and scientific research institutes with substantial research forces should systematically organize their personnel to assist enterprises with weak technical forces. But these personnel will remain staff members of their original departments.

With regard to the rewards system, inventors should be awarded, this has been laid down as a regulation. But our present system for rewarding and checking on scientific and technical personnel is neither complete nor perfect. Although many of our scientists and technicians, workers, peasants and managerial personnel have not invented or discovered anything, they have made important or outstanding contributions to developing new technology, new technical processes, new products or to applying scientific and technical achievements to their work. At their respective work posts, many have also contributed, through their creative labour, to promoting technical progress and improving economic results. We should work out regulations for rewarding technical progress. People should be awarded by their own enterprises, regions or departments or even by the

state in accordance with their contributions to accelerating technical progress and improving economic results. Egalitarianism should not be practised. Awards should be meted out in accordance with one's contributions to expediting technical progress and improving economic results. Policies and methods should also be drawn up to encourage and support scientific and technical personnel who go to factories, mines and enterprises, to the rural areas, to remote regions and other places where they are most needed in economic construction.

Scientists and Technicians Participating in Planning

THE third point is that we must rally scientists and technicians to participate in planning and in tackling key problems.

We intend to improve our planning work. First, we want to better co-ordinate the three fields of economic construction, science and technology and social development. Second, we wish to take a perspective view, work out overall and long-range plans and make major policy decisions. A 10-year plan (1980-90) for national economic development is being drafted. Our plans for the development of science and technology should cover a longer range extending up to the end of this century. Third, we should base our national planning more solidly on specific plans for the development of each trade and economic area and for the technical transformation of major enterprises.

I deem it necessary to emphasize the need to include scientific and technical personnel in all such planning.

Woman scientist Zheng Shouyi and colleagues studying the distribution and ecological conditions of modern benthon foraminifer in the East China Sea.



It is very important to formulate plans for each trade. In this regard, we must not devote our attention merely to output; the most important point is that we should give consideration to the orientation of development, the technological level and our policies regarding technology and equipment — all these call for comprehensive, sober-minded and thorough investigations and research and systematic considerations so as to map out an overall plan. With regard to the orientation of development, it is necessary to make certain major policy decisions according to macroeconomic requirements and the inter-relationship formed in the process of development between various trades and professions. In light of China's specific conditions, we should conduct thorough discussions and draw scientific conclusion on what level of production technique we should achieve by the year 2000. As to the nation's general goal for technological progress, can it be anticipated that by the end of this century, we will have basically popularized in our factories and mines the advanced production techniques which are suited to China's needs and are already widely used in economically developed countries in the 70s and early 80s, and will have brought about a technological system with a distinct Chinese style?

While planning for existing trades, we should also give due consideration to the establishment of new trades. If we need to set up a fodder industry and a computer software industry, for example, we should contemplate what steps are needed. There has been much talk about proceeding from China's specific conditions to establish technology-intensive, labour-intensive trades which enjoy abundant natural resources; now it is high time we worked out concrete measures.

By regional planning, we do not mean that every province or every county should come up with all-inclusive plans. But we do need a number of regional economic plans, such as a plan for the development of the Changjiang River delta, plans for the development of energy and of the chemical and heavy industrial base centred in Shanxi, and plans for regional development with big and medium-sized cities as the centres. Through such regional planning, we can decide on the general direction of development and make major policy decisions.

China has 380,000 factories and mining enterprises, but the state's financial and eco-

nomical situation hinges on the technical development and economic results of a few more than 1,000 which form the backbone of the national economy. To popularize in China the technologies already widely adopted in developed countries, we must first of all popularize them in these key enterprises. The State Council has therefore decided to draw up plans for technical transformation that will be carried out in groups and by stages among a large number of major enterprises, such as the Anshan Iron and Steel Company.

Scientists and technicians can at least play two roles while taking part in planning. First, they can contribute their knowledge and play an advisory role; second, they can acquaint themselves with the realities of economic construction and its actual needs both today and tomorrow so that they can arrive at a more comprehensive and accurate judgement while deciding upon the orientation of, emphasis and topics for research in their disciplines.

Developmental research, applied research and basic research should be rallied to solve difficult scientific and technological problems listed in the plans for future development. This should not wait until all the plans are mapped out; rather, whenever a group of problems are pinpointed, efforts should be devoted to tackle them.

The results achieved in scaling new scientific and technical heights should be utilized and popularized as soon as possible. It is imperative to organize the efforts to transfer scientific and technological results from laboratories to production, from pure military use to military-civilian use, from the coastal areas to inland, and from foreign countries to China. All channels should be opened — from intermediate experiments, industrial experiments and small-scale production to large-scale production until the results are finally popularized. In transferring technology, we should advocate socialist co-operation and curb the unhealthy tendency to monopolize technology. In the meantime, the efforts made by institutes and individuals for achieving scientific and technical results should be duly respected and their legitimate interests guaranteed.

The work of organizing scientists and technicians to take part in planning and in tackling knotty scientific and technological problems should be done by co-ordinating the efforts and resources of various fields under the unified planning and leadership of an authoritative

functioning body which is both efficient and compact. The Party Central Committee and the State Council will make decisions in this regard.

China is handicapped by a shortage of scientists and technicians. But because ours is a socialist country with a superior social system, we are fully capable of rallying all the available forces. This is where our superiority is. We successfully organized efforts in the 50s to meet the challenges of producing semi-conductors, computers and other sophisticated technological items; and in the 60s we succeeded in tackling difficult problems in the production of nine major kinds of mechanical and electrical products. The present task, which is more arduous but more significant, should be organized and done more successfully than the previous two.

Paving the Way for Technical Progress

THE fourth point is about the motive force propelling the technical development in all enterprises.

The institution in the rural areas of all forms of the responsibility system, which bases remuneration on farm output, has fired the 800 million peasants with soaring ardour for learning and using scientific knowledge. By comparison, arousing the enthusiasm of the industrial enterprises for technical progress has become a more urgent and outstanding issue.

I think we should be fair to those working in these enterprises. They are worried because, they say, new technology brings them no benefit. Some even do not want to make an effort to develop new technology, cynically believing that no pressure will be put upon them. Others who do try to make contributions meet one difficulty after another such as the financial squeeze in trial-producing new products and the lack of technical resources. During my stay in Liaoning Province last month, I learnt that the Shenyang Pump Factory had developed 22 new products and nine of them were high-efficient, energy-saving pumps which yield satisfactory economic results. However, the factory lost more than 300,000 yuan due to some haggles about the prices and it had to make good this financial loss by reducing bonuses, which the workers felt was unfair. The problem was finally solved when the Daqing Oilfield contracted to buy its pumps and let the factory share the energy-saving profits from the use of its products. But I'm sure there are many similar



Pedologist Hou Guangjiang's new paddy rice cultivation method has been popularized in many areas.

problems that have not yet been solved. For example, a factory under the Ministry of Railways has introduced a technological process that increase the service life of its railway switches from one year to three years. In spite of its obvious assets, the factory has had to pidgeon-hole this new process for fear that the orders for their products might be reduced and their output value might be affected.

When only a few factories are not eager for technical progress, this can be tackled without much effort. But if many are not enthusiastic, then we should locate the causes in our economic system and economic policies. Our current economic system is saddled with two fundamental drawbacks. One is that it cannot encourage enterprises to concern themselves with the needs of society and of the market and the inevitable result is that production is out of keeping with demand. The other is that it cannot capably encourage enterprises to care about technical progress. As a result "the same stuff is used over and over again for decades." Both drawbacks are related to each other. When one does not care about market demands and is not interested in developing new product varieties or designs, nor will he be interested in new technology. Without new technology, there will be no new products.

We have undertaken a number of initial reforms in the last few years. But because the problems are complicated and deep-rooted, it will take time and systematic efforts to straighten them out. We should concentrate our efforts

on solving the afore-mentioned two drawbacks when we decide upon our overall plan and various specific measures for economic restructuring. When we study the problems in the various fields, including our planning system, economic policies and administrative measures, we should keep the overall situation in mind and solve them step by step.

Within the planning system, the quota system should first be revamped. The practice of setting gross output value as the principal quota is disadvantageous to our effort to reduce consumption, lower the costs and introduce new technology. For the engineering enterprises to charge managerial fees in accordance with the amount of work done for capital construction projects has also engendered big problems. Even more wasteful practices abound. The use of heavier hammers for pile driving and new techniques for shallow ramming gets work done more quickly than the common procedures and saves on raw materials and energy. But construction enterprises do not like to use these because the reduced amount of engineering work affects their revenues from managerial charges. Before methods for completely solving all the problems are sought, we should first consider methods for addressing individual problems. It seems to me that state plans should set requirements for the production of new products and the popularization of new technology, as well as requirements for cancelling the production of outdated products and forbidding the use of backward technology; these requirements should be clearly listed as the major standards for examining an enterprise.

We must solve a series of problems related to our economic policies so as to pave the way for technical progress. In the financial field, for example, we should secure a regular source of funds for the trial-production of new products. In the field of credit, we should support the development of new technology and new products. In the field of taxation, we should adopt policies that encourage technical progress. In the field of prices, we should search for ways to implement the principle of fixing prices according to quality, including punitive prices for shoddy and outdated products. All the commercial, material and foreign trade departments should study how to improve methods of monopolizing purchases and sales. While enterprises producing new products should be accorded certain rights in marketing their own products, those producing outdated and shoddy products should not be allowed to muddle along. Many

stipulations in our current economic policies have hampered technical progress. I'd like to cite an example: Because of unsolved problems in purchasing high-quality coal at preferential prices, some places simply ship their coal out unprocessed. Our transportation facilities are already heavily burdened, yet we have to transport tens of millions of tons of gangue every year! Another example is taxation. The government's policy is to import more technology and fewer complete sets of equipment. But our taxation policy tends to facilitate the import of equipment rather than that of technology. Our economic policies should be designed to encourage technical progress; they should not become the stumbling block for it.

Here I've addressed some of the existing problems by example. These are the topics, and the articles on them should be written by the appropriate departments. We should emancipate our minds and make comprehensive examinations so as to boost the enterprises' enthusiasm for making technical progress. All departments concerned should write at least two articles: What is to be done from a long-term point of view and what is to be done in the immediate future? Don't write the articles behind closed doors. You should first make some investigations and studies in the enterprises. Once the articles are written, you should distribute them throughout the enterprises and invite opinions and comments. When the enterprises' workers and staff are convinced that the problems can be solved, then submit your reports to the State Council for approval.

All in all, we should come to grips with all problems in a down-to-earth way in order to arouse the enterprises' enthusiasm for technical progress. We should clarify the developmental orientation and make sure that we solve a number of problems each year.

My foregoing four opinions are all about the relationship between science and technology on the one hand and economic construction on the other, which, in my opinion, is by no means a trivial matter, but a strategic issue concerning whether China's economy can be boosted. Since the Party's 12th National Congress set forth the programme for creating a new situation in all fields of the socialist modernization drive, every department has been searching for the ways to bring about a new situation in its field. My opinions will serve their purpose if they can help promote the efforts to create a new situation in the scientific and technical and economic fields. □

Adhere to Independent Foreign Policy

by Huan Xiang

- A combination of patriotism and internationalism is the starting point in handling China's relations with foreign countries. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence apply to China's relations with all states, including socialist countries.
- In its relations with the third world countries, China has always followed the above principles. China is willing to consult with other third world countries on all major issues of co-operation. In its foreign trade, China will consider other third world countries' needs.
- China resolutely opposes power politics and hegemonism. It is wrong to think that China needs the help of certain countries for socialist construction and therefore will put up with their threats and interference.
- The superpowers have a dual character of being both powerful and feeble. A new world war may break out, or it may be prevented; both possibilities exist.

CHINA pursues an independent foreign policy. In his report to the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Hu Yaobang said the policy is based on:

— Upholding "the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence," and establishing and developing normal, friendly relations with all the countries that treat China as an equal;

— Strengthening unity and co-operation with other third world countries and friendly nations; and

— Opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace.

These principles are consistent not only with the interests of the Chinese people, but also the interests of the whole world, and China has never failed to follow them.

I

We are patriots and at the same time internationalists. Integration of patriotism and internationalism has always been the basis for our external relations. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the CPC's 12th National Congress: "Our adherence to an independent foreign policy accords with the discharging

The author is an adviser to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

of our lofty international duty to safeguard world peace and promote human progress."

Our foreign policy is that China never attaches itself to any big power or group of powers, never yields to pressure from any big power, and constantly safeguards the nation's security and interests. In his opening speech at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal or expect it to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to its interests." These words fully express our resolution to maintain independence.

In pursuing its independent foreign policy, China has always respected the security and interests of other countries and nations. China is different from certain countries, especially the superpowers, which, on the pretext of safeguarding their own security and interests, have pushed national egoism and hegemonism and wilfully encroached upon other countries' independence and sovereignty. They have routinely expanded their own spheres of influence at the cost of other countries' security and interests. The Soviet Union, on the pretext of safeguarding its security, has stationed a million troops along China's border, invaded Afghanistan and given support to Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, forming an armed encirclement of our country. The US Government has reneged on promises it made when it established diplomatic relations with China. Saying that to do so was vital to its interests, it passed the Taiwan Relations Act and continued to sell arms to Taiwan

and treat Taiwan as an independent political entity, in an attempt to undermine the cause of China's unification. These hegemonic actions by the two superpowers have seriously threatened the sovereignty and security of China and other Asian countries, and have become an obstacle to further developing Sino-US and Sino-Soviet relations. The Chinese people resolutely oppose these hegemonic acts of the two superpowers.

II

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are applicable to our relations with all countries, including socialist countries. On the basis of these principles, China has established and expanded normal, friendly relations with many countries. We think that these principles are the basic norms all countries should observe in international relations.

In his report to the Party's 12th National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that a normal development of Sino-US relations is in the interests of the two peoples, and China has "always hoped that these relations will continue to grow." However, a cloud is hanging over the relations between the two countries. Sino-US relations can continue to develop soundly only if the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs are truly respected.

As to Sino-Soviet relations, "the Chinese side sincerely hopes that all barriers harmful to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will be eliminated to bring the normal relations between the two countries on to the road of healthy development," said Comrade Hu Yaobang on October 17 to French reporters in Beijing.

Some people wrongly believe that China needs certain countries' help for its socialist construction and therefore will put up with their threats and interference. But China's socialist economic construction is based on "self-reliance" while at the same time "opening to the outside world." This reflects the spirit of equality and mutual benefit, not dependence on others. In implementing the open policy, our aim is to speed up our economic construction and at the same time make our contributions to improving the world economy.

In its relations with third world countries, again China has always followed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and also the principle of internationalism. To help third world

countries with construction, China has spared some of its very limited financial resources and given labour assistance and every other possible form of support, even during extremely difficult times for our economy, and with no political or economic strings attached. It is most important that the third world nations strengthen economic co-operation among ourselves, and expand mutual aid, helping each other on the basis of equality. Such co-operation is of tremendous benefit to third world countries' efforts to build independent national economies and to establish a new international economic order.

At present, the third world countries have two worries in their mutual relations. First, in building up their economies, the third world countries (including China) need to absorb foreign investments, so they are concerned about the effect of competition for funds. Second, most developing countries give priority to "expansion of export-oriented industries" in their developmental strategy. Therefore, with the present worldwide economic recession, they fear that fierce competition in selling commodities may affect their rate of development.

These concerns are understandable. We think that to reduce these practical contradictions, it is necessary for the third world countries to hold frequent consultations regarding economic problems, readjust and co-ordinate their mutual relations, and support each other in technology.

On the question of absorbing foreign capital and exporting commodities, China, guided by the policy of "mainly relying on our own efforts," will certainly consider the needs of other third world countries and never take a selfish stand. China is ready to hold consultations with other third world countries about important problems concerning co-operation.

III

Manipulation of the world's political situation by the superpowers has been a major phenomenon in international politics since World War II. The world's people have become increasingly familiar with the superpowers. Being a superpower does not merely mean that a country has vast lands and a "super" amount of power. More important is how the country uses its strength for what purpose, or what kind of policy it follows. The most fundamental aspect of a superpower's character is that it not only has unprecedentedly tremendous

economic and military powers, but also exerts these for its own interests and imposes its own will on other countries. The superpowers, if necessary, will go so far as to directly invade and enslave other countries. In this sense, the politics of superpowers is tantamount to the "politics of hegemonism." Therefore, a country that does not invade other nations and pursue a hegemonist policy is not a superpower, no matter how powerful it may be. Understanding this, China is strongly opposed to power politics and hegemonism, and has repeatedly declared to the world that it will never seek to be a superpower. Moreover, together with all peace-loving nations and people of the world, China has firmly supported all peoples oppressed by the superpowers and has opposed every form of hegemonism.

It should be noted that the presence of superpowers is a temporary phenomenon in history. On the one hand, as each superpower has extremely selfish aims and an ever-sharpening conflict of interests and fierce rivalry inevitably exist between them, it is impossible for them to unite to dominate the world. On the other hand, they are meeting increasing resistance from other countries, including their "allies"; it is impossible for them to fulfil their desire to pull the strength of their "allies" and that of many other countries together for the attainment of their hegemonic aims. The

strength of the superpowers has been contained and worn down in the course of their confrontation and rivalry, amidst the conflicts inside their own blocs and by the regional wars outside their blocs. As a result, an odd phenomenon has occurred in international relations that the war capabilities of the superpowers have been augmented to an extent never seen before, while their freedom to use such capabilities to manipulate world affairs and control their own spheres of influence has been unprecedentedly restricted. We must have a profound understanding of the superpowers' dual character of being at once powerful and feeble. Meanwhile, we should also clearly see that the superpowers are still very strong and the forces that are working to maintain world peace are relatively weak. The possibility of regional wars evolving into a world war should not be ignored.

Thus, there are still two possibilities as to whether a new world war can be averted — either the war will break out or it will be prevented. Which will become reality will be determined by the struggle of the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world. A new world war can be prevented if the people all over the world heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and launch resolute struggle against all manifestations of hegemonism and expansionism. □

Asian Dance Symposium

Protecting and Developing National Traditions

by Our Correspondent Ling Yang

COMPARING teaching methods and performing skills, and adapting folk and traditional dances to contemporary life were the main subjects of discussion at the First Asian Dance Symposium held in Beijing this September. The nine-day symposium, sponsored jointly by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Dancers' Association, was attended by some 40 experts from 15 countries.

Rich Cultural Heritages

All participants in the symposium agreed that as one of the cradles of human culture Asia has rich dance traditions dating back to

ancient times in many of its countries, that may still be found today in the ceremonial and folk dances of the common people.

Many of the speeches reflected this sense of great pride in the cultural heritage of their respective nations and introduced their efforts in preserving folk and traditional dances.

Mr. Ghulamhyder Siddiqui of **Pakistan** observed: In my country, dance, the most natural human instinct, is much richer and more varied than any other form of cultural activity.

In **Sri Lanka**, figures dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments are prominently depicted in the decoration of shrines and temples, said *Mr. H.A.P. Abeyawardana*.

In **Jordan**, the Greek, Roman and Islamic heritage provides a fascinating background to the national folk dances, noted *Ms. Fayzeh Ali Barto*.

In **Kuwait**, many unique and diverse folk dances of sailors and nomads contain elements of ancient folk tales and subtly revised old dance forms passed down from generation to generation, said *Mr. Sawgra Abdo Al-Razag Al-Bajaan*.

In **Bangladesh**, the artistic characteristics of the ancient inhabitants are still preserved in the highly influential Lathi (Kathi) Dance, Dhali Dance, Boat Dance and Marriage Dance, in the many stately or joyous folk dances popular among the different regions and tribes of the country, and in the classical Kathak Dance introduced in medieval times and still widely performed in the cities today, observed *Mr. Altamash Ahmed*.

Ms. Indrani Rahman from **India** spoke of the hundreds of simple unadorned dances so widely popular among the rural people of her country during the harvest festivals and community and religious celebrations. During the symposium, this artist of classical dances performed two slow classical pieces. Her mastery of the complex traditional movements, her grace and rich expression of feeling demonstrated the high level of her artistic attainments.

Mr. Ahmet Cakir, performing artist and choreographer from **Turkey** observed that "for centuries dance has continued to be one of the main traditions linking different aspects of life in Turkey. Music, costume and dance join together, blending into a harmonious whole, enriching all our rituals and customs, at weddings, at indoor and outdoor gatherings, at parades, parties, seasonal festivals and holiday celebrations."

Many of the participants regard folk and traditional dances as their spiritual and cultural treasures. "If we are wise," noted a **Pakistan** speaker, "we will fully recognize and appreciate the value of these priceless folk treasures and we will take positive steps to preserve them in all their original beauty and rustic simplicity. Future generations will praise and thank us for our wisdom and fore-



Some participants in the Asian Dance Symposium.

sight." These feelings were shared by many of the symposium participants.

Traditional Dances and Contemporary Life

Many of those attending the symposium agreed that to preserve folk and classical dances, efforts should be made to adapt the dance heritage to developments in contemporary life.

How to accomplish this was the topic of spirited debate in which the participants from all nations expressed their personal views.

Ms. Sathaporn Sonthong from **Thailand** said: A performing art, as a symbol of national pride and tradition, cannot survive without due consideration for the demands of the audience. Performers and producers need to be aware of the public's tastes and must keep pace with modern stage technologies, such as props, lighting and sound. In order to keep up with the faster pace of contemporary life, the stage art must quicken its own tempo in unfolding the plot as well as in its physical movements.

Gong Yong Il from the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea** spoke of his experiences in expressing the contemporary sense of beauty while maintaining one's national identity. He pointed out that the successful development of the new art of national dance is possible only when that part of the heritage which is progressive and is close to the people is inherited and developed in accordance with the requirements of the new reality. Video tapes showed the marked achievements made by his country in this field. He himself is a good example of his

theory. During the symposium he performed Korean folk dances for his colleagues and also joined in spiritedly with the teachers and students of the Central Institute for Nationalities in their Uygur, Tibetan, Mongolian, Korean, Thai and Miao minority group dances. People were not only impressed by his graceful traditional dance skills and lively group dance movements but also by his refreshing openness of spirit. His sense of joy was contagious and inspiring. This, I thought, is indeed the "contemporary sense of beauty" of a nation which has been emancipated from prolonged oppression.

Ms. Lucrecia Reyes-Urtula from the **Philippines** stressed that to transfer traditional folk dances from their ancient origins to the living, modern theatre is a painstaking process demanding great care to keep the unspoiled passion and vitality of the folk artistry intact. It also involves patient, subtle creativity so that dances and music may be just as soul-stirring in the glare of the stage lights as they are around the tribal camp fire.

Mr. Sawgra Abdo Al-Razag Al-Bajaan from **Kuwait** said that owing to the progress in the modes of production, such activities as operating sailing boats and pearl-diving came to an end 30 years ago. It is necessary, therefore, to analyse and study the values of these dances from their historical perspectives in order to preserve and develop them.

Japanese modern dance artist *Ms. Kaoru Ishii* pointed out in her speech that with the increasing exchanges among different cultures, we should, in the course of mutual enrichment, grasp the interior beauty of each other's culture instead of just imitating their exterior forms; art should progress in pace with the times, and move ahead of the audience; it should create beauty, and not merely aim at pleasing the audience.

Mr. Nasser Abdulrab Aly Shihan from **Oman** compared examples of his country's folk dances in both their traditional and modern developed forms. For example, the traditional form of the Sharaha (merry dance) is executed by just a few men — two men dance for a while and then are replaced by another pair of men. The repetition of movements, half fast and half slow, represents the man-

liness and dignity of the male. The modern developed form of the dance, performed by a group of people, is accompanied by music which is rearranged with elements of ancient music but endowed with new beauty.

Mr. Supiat Bin Mukri from **Malaysia** explained the two approaches the experts in his country take in developing contemporary dances. One is to combine various traditional movements in new works and the other is to analyse these movements in terms of anatomical emphasis, extending and incorporating them in works that also employ Indian, modern and ballet movements. The latter approach is regarded as one which looks at Malay dance from an academic and scientific standpoint and provides an opportunity to explore the very essence of Malay movements.

Participants from **China** brought forth their views of rejecting the dross and assimilating the essence of the tradition while constantly creating new ideas in the arts. *Zhao Wanhua*, choreographer of the Central Song and Dance Ensemble, said in her speech that each era has its own expressions of beauty which add to the beauty of the tradition as a whole. In China, traditional folk dance movements are collected and used as the basis for new creative works, while new artistic forms of beauty are sought in contemporary life. Newly created folk dances must however meet the general approval of the local people.

Another Chinese participant, choreographer *Huang Shi*, talked of his experiences in the



Paintings, photos and other arts depicting Chinese dances are exhibited in Beijing.

Liangshan mountains of southwest China where the Yi nationality live in compact communities, and where he himself lived and worked for almost three decades. From personal observation of the lives and customs, the feelings and characteristics of the local people, he accumulated a large quantity of expressive, colourful and unique source materials on both traditional and contemporary dances. These have provided a good foundation for his later creations which elevate beauty in life to beauty in art while still retaining the traditional styles. Many of his works are greatly appreciated both by professionals and by the public.

Current Problems and Their Solutions

Current political and economic factors, as well as changes in contemporary life, pose a number of problems for traditional dance in many parts of Asia today. Some dance forms are on the verge of extinction, while others are threatened with distortion. Dancers' problems vary greatly from nation to nation, from one region to another. There is a need for cross-fertilization, mutual exchange, encouragement and support.

The symposium also discussed the question of protecting folk and traditional dance from the influence of undesirable alien intrusions — a problem prevalent in most Asian countries.

Ms. Indrani Rahman of **India** pointed out that in her country "folk music and dance have fallen victim to vulgar commercialized films produced in large quantities and to Western influences. The artists are deeply worried over this decline of the dance art." Another participant held that to preserve and develop the folk and traditional dances of his country, undesirable alien dance elements should be prohibited from entering the country. Others argued that foreign dance and culture should not be rejected indiscriminately, but that one should adopt the attitude of absorbing what is good and rejecting what is bad.

Ms. Toth Kim Seng from **Democratic Kampuchea** reported that the attempt to preserve and develop her nation's folk and traditional dances has been disrupted by foreign aggression. Some dancers have been massacred while many others have been persecuted. Traditional musical instruments have been destroyed. Valuable statues and cultural artifacts in the museums and pagodas of Phnom Penh and other provincial cities have been mutilated and stolen.

The national culture and tradition of Kampuchea have been severely damaged. Even under these extremely difficult conditions, the Kampuchean artists have done their best to preserve and develop their traditional and folk dances. New works such as those of the Phnom Malay Artistic Group reflect the people's struggle against foreign invaders. The speech of the Kampuchean participant aroused widespread sympathy among the other participants.

Mr. H.A.P. Abeyawardana from **Sri Lanka** noted that the present prospects for folk and traditional dances are not particularly bright: "We may say that the chances of survival are diminishing in proportion to the speed of modernization." The measures he proposed to ensure the survival of the traditional dance arts in a modern society include using traditional dance troupes as entertainment in the newly expanding tourist business, the establishment of state supported dance ensembles and the use of the mass media such as TV.

The symposium also discussed the question of educating young audiences. There is a serious and widespread lack of interest in folk and traditional dances among Asian young people. Suggestions for dealing with this problem included, placing greater emphasis on improving the quality of choreography, using folk and traditional dances to express new ideas, creating dances adapted to the rhythm of modern life, introducing folk and traditional dances into the schools directly and organizing dance festivals and competitions.

During the symposium, the Chinese hosts invited their foreign colleagues to visit two national and folk dance ensembles and three college-level dance schools. The guests were also entertained by a newly created dance drama about the marriage between a princess of the ancient Tang Dynasty and the King of Tibet, and by two performances of Chinese and foreign folk dances. The Chinese Government's support for the development of dance in China was highly appreciated. Some participants also made well-meaning criticisms in regard to the shortcomings and places lacking maturity in the choreography of some Chinese dances.

At the end of the symposium, a 12-item draft recommendation was drawn up and submitted to UNESCO with the following suggestions: Encourage international and regional performances, dance festivals, lectures, workshops and symposiums; devote major efforts to the collection and study of source materials;

provide essential scholarships, funding, and professional services.

The success of the symposium has been a stimulus to the creativity of many of the participants. *Ms. Madeleine Gobeil, head of Artistic Creation in UNESCO*, noted that this

symposium was the best she ever attended and that it has aroused considerable international attention. *Mr. Bengt Hager, President of the International Council for Dance*, commented that this First Asian Dance Symposium was a landmark in the history of dance. □

Long History of Dance in China

by Dai Ailian

THE art of dance is nothing new in China. We have been dancing since time immemorial. Chinese dance is as varied as the country's many nationalities, and as ageless as its millennia of uninterrupted culture.

Records and Relics

The most ancient record we have of dancing in China—a pottery bowl (see below) unearthed in Datong County, Qinghai Province—dates back to primitive society more than 5,000 years ago. Near the inside rim is a pattern of three groups of five people hand in hand. Their heads are turned to the right and their lower skirts are swaying in the same direction, showing that the dance has a twisting movement.

Four lines beneath the human figures portray the surface of the earth, or perhaps of water, for the tomb from which the bowl was unearthed is not far from Lake Qinghai. The design is ingeniously created so that when the bowl is filled with water, the figures seem to be dancing around the lake.

Grotto frescoes of more than 2,000 years ago show hunter-dancers celebrating. There are long feathers on their heads and at the fringes of their skirts. In their hands, they are holding feathers, oxtails and other implements.

From a Jing Village in Luoyang, a jade carving of two girl dancers has been unearthed. They are wearing long sleeves, a tradition carried down to the present day.

People danced not only in celebration after the hunt, but when they worshipped the gods.



Tang Dynasty dance performed at the court banquet is reproduced on present-day stage in Xian.

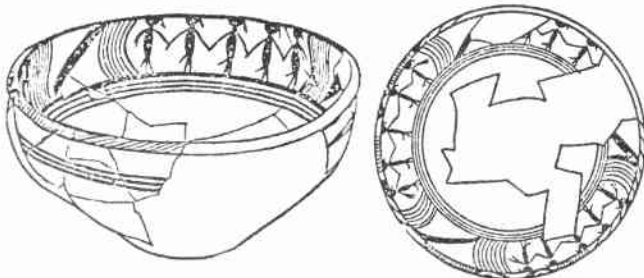
By 1027 B.C., whenever there was a change of emperor or dynasty, solemn music and dances were part of the pomp and ceremony. Court dance performances were already popular.

In the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the famous poet Qu Yuan in his "Nine Songs" described sword dances that portrayed both the heroism and the tragedy of battle. There also were love songs and dances in which the performers held flowers in their hands and wore dresses adorned with ribbons.

At a certain period in feudal society, professional dancers belonged to the lowest social category. They were destitute young girls, forced to sell their dances and bodies. Many had been bought or kidnapped from their families.

After the long Warring States Period, Qin Shi Huang (reigned 221-207 B.C.) united seven states in 221 B.C. and for the first time in many

The author is vice-president of the Chinese Dancers' Association and vice-president of the International Council for Dance.





Dancing figures picture on a bronze mirror of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) unearthed in Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province.

Right: A line drawing of a dancer from the Dunhuang murals of the Tang Dynasty (618—907 B.C.).



centuries, this multinational country entered a period of comparative peace. Dance, like all the other arts, began to prosper.

The history of dance in China is recorded in many ancient books, in the stone reliefs and murals of many grottoes and tombs. All show that both men and women danced.

A.D. 384 to 568 was a period of unrest. The capital was moved from Changan to Luoyang and many minority peoples moved into the central plains of China, including Uygurs, Uzbeks and Koreans. Indians also came, bringing their dance and music to enrich the development of Chinese arts. Both folk dance and court dance flourished.

Relics dating from the Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.) show dancers in long skirts with a definite curve of the hips swaying to one side. This style of dancing had not been found in China before and was a result of the interchange of cultures. These elements laid the foundation for the golden period of the arts in the Tang Dynasty which followed.

During the Tang Dynasty (618-907), the dances of the minority and Han peoples were thriving, and the Silk Road, reaching as far as Constantinople, brought to China many handicrafts and arts. The capital Changan, divided by straight roads at right angles, contained a quarter especially for Indian dancing.

The *Lion Dance* of those days is often performed today. In 1946, Mrs. Kagi of Japan told me that Tibetan folk dances and music are similar to those performed in some parts of Japan. Many figurines unearthed from Tang Dynasty tombs show postures similar to those of today's Tibetan dances. This has led me to think that the people of eastern Tibet might have kept alive the folk dances of the Tang Dynasty till today. Others agree with this theory.

In the Tang Dynasty, there was already a system of teaching music and dance in schools, in temples, and in the Pear Garden (the national performing arts academy) at Changan. Noted artists served as teachers, training professionals who were sent to perform in the homes of court officials, high military officers, and noble families. These professionals were no longer considered the scum of society. Even the daughters of respectable families began to sing and dance.

After the Tang Dynasty, China was divided and the economy suffered. In 960, China was reunited under the Northern Song Dynasty and handicrafts again flourished in the cities. However, performing artists became wandering minstrels and players, and this kept alive a great many of the countryside folk dances, which can be seen today more or less as they were 1,000 years ago. The wandering dancers organized themselves into troupes, and this tradition continued through the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911).

What we call the pure court dance now developed into a new phase of personifying different character roles. In time, these classical dances were integrated into what we now know as local and Peking operas.

— Excerpts from an article originally printed in "China Daily"

DANCE

A Dai Nationality Soloist

Dao Meilan brought the Dai cultural tradition from south-west China on to the dance stage of Beijing this October. She gave emotional solo performances of seven dances that depict the life, customs and sentiments of her Dai people.

Dao Meilan's tour de force is the *Golden Peacock*, an adaptation of the traditional peacock dance. On festive occasions, local dancers would perform this favourite dance which imitates the gestures of the peacock, a native species in the Dai area and a symbol of good luck and happiness. This traditional dance has a distinctive national character and set movements but varies in presentation from locale to locale. During the "cultural revolution" the peacock dance was banned and Dao Meilan couldn't dance publicly. In 1977 shortly after the downfall of the gang of four, the *Golden Peacock* was reborn.



"Golden Peacock."

The curtain rises with the awakening of the peacock at dawn in a forest. It looks around, prances, drinks water and arranges its feathers. Finally it spreads its wings ready to fly. Dao Meilan laces this graceful lyrical dance piece of which she is co-choreographer with her own joy about being back on stage and the people's happiness of winning their second liberation. Dao Meilan has performed this dance several hundred times, earning the nickname "golden peacock of our people" among the Dais but still each performance is fresh. The artist's presentation not only retains her long-cherished style — restrained, natural and distinctive — but adds new life and vigour, a reflection of present times.

Water and the *Song of New Rice* are other pieces developed from Dai folk dances and portray daily life. *Water* centres around a girl washing her hair by a river. When she feels her long hair and lightly sways her head, she is so graceful and placid that the audience senses the coolness of the spring water. When she imitates the movement of scooping a small fish from the water and then lets it go people can imagine the tiny fish swimming freely. The *Song of New Rice* choreographed by Dao Meilan is about a village woman cooking newly harvested rice in a section of bamboo, the traditional Dai method. She takes the steaming bamboo section from the fire and rolls it on her arms to cool it before opening the cover. The fragrance of rice and bamboo and her emotions are subtly communicated. What Dao Meilan performs on stage are what she has experienced or seen.

In the *Spring Comes to Xishuangbanna*, Dao Meilan dances the part of a girl expressing her feelings for a boy by throwing him a colourful cloth ball. In *Fishing*, she is a 12-year-old girl catching fish in a stream. Through her movements, she reveals the inner feelings of different people.

Dao Meilan was born into a peasant family in picturesque Xishuangbanna in Yunnan Province and joined a local art troupe in 1954. Today she is nationally famous but she often returns to her home village to



"Water."

perform in remote villages. A lover of her nationality and its art, she keeps her own village customs even though she lives in Kunming, the provincial capital. Her home is flooded by her own people. Some tell her of traditional dances, melodies and legends, while others give their opinions about her new creations.

The dancer's inspirations come from the Dai culture. In her

early childhood she often went to Buddhist temples with her grandmother. She was entranced with the life-like images in the murals and sculptures and she would imitate their gestures for hours. She also listened intently to folktales and legends as told by her elders and monks. In the mid-50s, her rendition of the legendary Princess Nannuona in a dance drama provided her with her first breakthrough. Since then she has danced many noteworthy numbers. She recently designed two dances for herself — *Warrior's Dance* about the martial spirit and *Candle Dance* about blessing and purity. Both utilized her familiarity with Dai habits.

Dao Meilan is a rare talent. Wu Xiaobang, Chairman of the Chinese Dancers' Association, describes her in a poem as a goddess of dance on earth. The dancer herself modestly says her success is a flowering of the People's Republic's concern for its national minorities.

LITERATURE

Modern Chinese Literature Archives

A preparatory committee for the building of the Modern Chinese Literature Archives began work last month.

The committee opened an office in the western suburbs of Beijing at Longevity Temple, the planned location of the first modern literary archives in China. The temple, built in 1577, boasts of nicely arranged halls, verandas and gardens and is an ideal facility for the archives.

Kong Luosun, chairman of the preparatory committee,

stated that the Modern Chinese Literature Archives would become an information and research centre of Chinese literature since the May 4th Movement of 1919. The archives will facilitate four activities: collecting and storing; cataloguing and editing; researching and notes comparing; reading and exhibiting. Conceived as a state archives, its collection will include Chinese and foreign languages editions of books by Chinese authors, magazines, and manuscripts, letters, diaries, photographs, portraits, documentary films, recordings, videotapes of contemporary Chinese writers, literary theorists, literary figures and translators.

The future archives will be a mixture of ancient buildings with modern facilities including exhibition halls, reading rooms and climate-controlled archive rooms which are fire- and theft-proof.

The building of the Modern Chinese Literature Archives was proposed last year by Ba Jin, chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association. He has already donated 150,000 yuan and pledged his huge private book collection to it.

ART

New Miniature Carvings

Zhang Yunhu, a miniature calligraphist from Shanghai, carved 300 Tang poems on a 33-square-mm piece of ivory. The 10,000 Chinese characters can be read clearly at 100 magnification.

Zhang previously carved 366 characters on an ivory piece as small as a grain of rice.

Miniature carving originated in the Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1066 B.C.). Chinese archaeologists found inscriptions as small as grains of rice or millet on oracle bones unearthed in the Shang capital city in Henan. They can be read at a magnification of five, and are considered to be China's earliest miniature carvings.

Zhang Yunhu's workmanship is beautiful and his characters are well balanced. With a red seal at the end, Zhang's miniature carving is a calligraphical masterpiece.

Zhang started learning calligraphy when he was very young and later took up miniature carving, which has no doubt been complemented by his calligraphical skill.

Another new piece is carved by amateur handicraft artist Zhang Yuji, 43, an assistant engineer at a Suzhou textile machinery plant in Jiangsu Province. He carved on a 33 mm by 14 mm ivory piece the complete text of *Master Sun's Art of War*, the earliest and most renowned ancient Chinese military work, and a biography of Sun Wu, the author, totalling 6,849 Chinese characters.

Zhang Yuji who began doing ivory carving as a hobby in 1958 spent more than three months on this work, carving from nine in the evening till about two in the morning. He finished it for the 55th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army last August. At 100 magnification the characters appear strong and clear.

CORRECTION: On page 6 of issue No. 45, line 6 of the first paragraph in the middle column should read: "reaching 1.203 million yuan."

Wu Biduan's Woodcuts



Lu Xun.



Lenin With Chinese Volunteers.

Summer.

Wu Biduan, born in 1926 in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, is teaching at the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing.

His efforts to employ the art of traditional Chinese painting in his woodcuts have imbued them with sharp black-and-white contrasts and a succinct and lucid style.



Off the Press!

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