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SINO-FOREIGN CULTURAL EXCHANGES



**China's Stand
On Gulf Crisis**

**Scholar
Discusses
Current
Issues
In China**





Tourists from China and abroad congratulate the bride and groom at a traditional Chinese wedding ceremony.

Photo by Li Di



Sino-Foreign Cultural Exchanges

□ In a recent interview with *Beijing Review* on China's cultural co-operation and exchanges with other countries, Liu De-you, vice-minister of culture, stressed that China should study and learn from all the fine forms of art expression created by other nations, be they ancient, modern or contemporary (p. 11).

China Opposes Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait

□ Chinese leaders on various occasions have said that China opposes Iraq's invasion. They call on Iraq to pull its troops out of Kuwait. China wants the UN Security Council resolutions to be really implemented (p. 4).

Scholar Discusses Democracy and Other Issues

□ In two separate interviews, He Xin, a Chinese scholar, talks about a wide range of topics such as China's democracy, the "June 4 incident," Marxism in China, economic and political reforms and China's future (pp. 18 and 27).

Li Peng Visits Indonesia and Singapore

□ Li Peng, the first Chinese premier to visit Indonesia in 25 years, and President Soeharto endorsed a memorandum of understanding on August 8 declaring the formal resumption of Sino-Indonesian relations. It marked a new chapter in the relationship between the two countries. While in Singapore, Li and his host Lee Kuan Yew played the role of "road cleaners," removing the last obstacles to the official establishment of diplomatic ties, which are to be realized in a few months (pp. 4-6).

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COVER: A grand occasion as Italian opera star Luciano Pavarotti performs at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing (up). Members of a Peking opera troupe from China receive a warm welcome after a performance in India (below).

Photos by Li Shengnan

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China Against Iraq's Invasion

China has made it very clear that she is against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait by voting for Resolutions 660, 661 and 662 of the United Nations Security Council," said visiting Chinese Premier Li Peng at a press conference in Singapore on August 12.

China is opposed in principle to military involvement by big powers, Li continued, because it could only aggravate the already complicated situation.

He said China held that the crisis should be resolved within the Arab League and the Gulf Co-operative Committee.

However, Li said, it was understandable that Saudi Arabia had taken some defensive measures for the sake of its own security.

Li made a similar statement at a press conference in Jakarta on August 8, saying that China hopes the UN Security Council's resolutions on Gulf crisis "will be really implemented."

At home, Chinese President Yang Shangkun urged Iraq to respond to the opinions of the international community and settle disputes through negotiations, so as to restore peace to the Gulf region at the earliest possible date. Yang made the remarks in a conversation with Saudi Arabia's first Ambassador to China Tawfiq Alamdar on August 7 in Beidaihe, a summer resort by the Bohai Sea.

Yang said resorting to arms and invading other countries should not be allowed in international affairs.

The fact that China had voted to support the UN Security Council resolutions, Yang said, indicated that "we oppose Iraq's invasion and call on it to pull troops out of Kuwait promptly, so as to restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country." ■



GUO ZHANYING

Chinese Premier Li Peng makes a speech at the welcoming banquet given by President Soeharto in Jakarta on August 7.

China, Indonesia End a 23-Year Chasm

When Premier Li Peng's special plane touched down on Jakarta on August 6 afternoon for a five-day visit on the first leg of his three-nation tour, he became the first Chinese top leader ever to visit Indonesia in 25 years and wrote finale to a 23-year chasm in the relations between Asia's two leading developing nations.

"Let bygones be bygones, and let's look forward," Li said in a two-hour private conversation with President Soeharto the following day. The latter was eager to agree. "Our two countries," the president told his Chinese guest, "should try to improve our relations in a forward-looking attitude and not to leave a burden to our future generations."

China and Indonesia established diplomatic relations in 1950. But these ties were suspended in 1967. Through friendly consultations, the two govern-

ments decided early in July to reopen their diplomatic relations as of August 8, a move seen widely as conducive to the peace and stability in the Asian region as a whole.

During the conversation on August 7, Li said that China and Indonesia have a history of being invaded by foreign countries, and that both are facing the task of developing their economies. That's why the two countries need a peaceful international environment and a stable domestic situation, he added.

"Since ancient times our two peoples have had the tradition of friendly exchanges and cemented a profound friendship," he said.

Indonesia was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, he noted. And there was once a period of good co-operative relations between the two countries.

"We highly appreciate President Soeharto's wise decision on resuming Indonesia's diplomatic relations with China," Li said.

"Persisting in the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, the Chinese government is working hard to attain economic development and improve the people's livelihood," he added. "China needs a long-term, stable and peaceful international environment."

Despite the vicissitudes in the international arena, China will steadfastly pursue an independent foreign policy of peace and it sincerely hopes to maintain and develop friendly relations and co-operation with all other countries in the world, Li said.

"We highly appreciate the increasingly important role played by ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in international affairs as a regional group working for peace," the premier added. "The Chinese government has always attached great importance to the development of friendly relations and co-operation with the ASEAN countries.

"Although China differs with the ASEAN countries in its social system," Li said, "this difference should not become an obstacle to the establishment and growth of friendly relations and co-operation between the two sides."

International practice has proved that state-to-state relations are not determined by similarities and divergences in the social system and ideology.

Li said that China stands ready to increase exchanges with ASEAN countries in economics, trade, scientific technology, culture and other fields on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and that it sincerely hopes to establish a partnership with the ASEAN countries characterized by mutual trust.

President Soeharto described

Li's visit to Indonesia as "a new historical milestone in the relationship between our two nations and countries."

On August 8, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who accompanied Li to Indonesia, signed a memorandum of understanding with his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, to declare the formal resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia.

The memorandum stated that the government of the People's Republic of China appreciates the position of the government of the Republic of Indonesia in consistently adhering to the one-China policy and its recognition of the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China with Taiwan as an integral part of China. The two governments have reached the understanding that Indonesia maintains only economic and trade relations of non-governmental nature with Taiwan.

The memorandum stated that both governments reiterate non-recognition of dual nationality for their nationals.

The two governments enjoin their respective nationals, who retain their respective nationality and reside as aliens, to abide by the laws of the country of residence, respect local values and customs and live in harmony with the people of the country of residence.

Premier Li left Indonesia and arrived in Singapore on August 11. The last stop of his three-nation tour is Thailand. ■

Li's Visit Enhances Ties With Singapore

Bilateral relations between China and Singapore, friendly neighbours for years, are about to enter a new

stage. Chinese Premier Li Peng's recent visit to Singapore is a clear indication of the two countries' enthusiasm for establishing diplomatic relations at an early date.

Li said that China is ready, together with the government of Singapore, to work for the fulfilment of this historic mission in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding, which represents the common aspirations of the people of China and Singapore.

During his August 11-13 official goodwill visit, Li and Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction over co-operative efforts between the two countries.

"Singapore hopes China will join the Asia and Pacific Economic Conference when she considers the time appropriate, and at the same time agrees to the participation of the economies of Hong Kong and Taiwan," said Lee Kuan Yew.

On the Kampuchean problem, Li stressed that any plan for solving the issue must have the "approval of the four Kampuchean factions.

"China holds that the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations should not be vacant before the setting up of the Supreme National Council (SNC) of Kampuchea," he said.

Lee Kuan Yew pointed out that the United Nations should have an enhanced role in the settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. Viet Nam must not be allowed to block the formation of the SNC, which will give all Kampuchean parties an equal chance of winning in the free elections to follow, and which will be held under United Nations supervision in a politically neutral environment.

While meeting with Singapore's First Deputy Prime Minis-

ter Goh Chok Tong, who will succeed Prime Minister Lee Duan Yew this November, Li said that Taiwan may develop unofficial relations with Saudi Arabia and Indonesia in economics and trade since China has established and restored diplomatic ties with the two countries respectively.

In the long term, he added, China's mainland and Taiwan will certainly be reunited.

Li told the press, when giving a news conference on August 12, that there were no major problems about the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Singapore. As to the date for the establishment of such ties, there is no obstacle from the Chinese side, but China respects Singapore's point of view.

On the Taiwan issue, Li said: "The disparity in economic development between China's mainland and Taiwan should not be a factor impeding the reunification of the country. We are glad that Taiwan has made much progress in its economy, because we belong to the same country."

The mainland, he added, has also moved forward in its economy over the past 40 years, establishing an integrated economic system. Each of the economies of China's mainland and Taiwan, Li pointed out, has its own strong points.

Replying to a question on Sino-Indian relations, Li said that he would like to see them improved.

"This would not only benefit the people of the two countries, but also the peace and stability in Asia and the world, as China and India are two giant countries in Asia," he said.

Li added that he has accepted an invitation from India's prime minister and hoped his visit to India would be realized in the near future. ■

News in Brief

Former Vice-Minister Freed

Luo Yunguang, former vice-minister of railways, has been exempt from prosecution for bribery by the Supreme People's Procuratorate, a senior procurator announced in Beijing on July 19.

Luo, 50, received more than 4,800 yuan in bribes when he served as vice-minister. He turned himself in to the judicial authorities last October (For detailed reports on this case see issue Nos. 13 and 26 of *Beijing Review*).

Four months later the case was put on record by the procuratorate and now the investigation has come to an end.

As a government official, Luo violated the Criminal Law and other relevant regulations by abusing his power for personal gains, the procurator said. But because the circumstances of the case are relatively minor and Luo turned himself in and showed repentance, the procuratorate decided to exempt him from prosecution.

Child Labour Forbidden

The Chinese government is taking action against the continued practice of using child labour.

Cases of child exploitation have been reported in the past few years. And each year, some of the children 16 years and under were sent home after government intervention.

However, the practice of hiring children has been found to be moving from coastal provinces such as Fujian, Guangdong and Zhejiang to inland areas.

Employers are usually private and individual businesses or businesses with foreign investment.

The State Council is considering a package of regulations which will mete out punishment

ranging from administrative disciplining to fines and suspending of business licences.

New Superconductor

Chinese scientists have developed an yttrium-barium-copper-oxygen superconducting material, whose critical current density at a 77k liquid nitrogen temperature and in a 50,000-gauss magnetic field still reaches 27,000 amperes per square centimetre, the best result reported in the world so far.

The material was obtained through the malttextured method. Its critical temperature is 90k. At a liquid nitrogen temperature of 77k and in a 25,000-gauss magnetic field, its critical current density surpasses 40,000 amperes per square centimetre, which is also the highest in the world.

The material was developed by Professor Hu Suhui, 61, and Luo Le, 34, of the Shanghai Institute of Metallurgy under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Sino-US Panda Research

An American zoo will join the Fuzhou Zoo of southeastern China's Fujian Province in the study of giant pandas in the next two years.

The Santiago Zoo of the United States will send experts to Fuzhou in February and June every year to study giant pandas with their Chinese counterparts.

The joint study will focus on the determination of the giant panda's ovulation period, the diagnosis of its pregnancy, improvement in artificial insemination and the breeding of baby pandas.

After two of the giant pandas from the Fuzhou Zoo — Basi and Yuanyuan — visited Santiago Zoo three years ago, the Santiago Zoo has repeatedly expressed its willingness to study pandas together with Chinese zoologists. ■

A New Era for Sino-Indonesian Relations

Chinese Premier Li Peng paid an official goodwill visit to Indonesia at the invitation of President Soeharto between August 6 and August 10. The following is an excerpt of Premier Li's speech at the state banquet held in his honour by President Soeharto in Jakarta on August 7. — Ed.

On the eve of the formal resumption of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia, it gives me great pleasure to make this official goodwill visit to your country at the invitation of His Excellency President Soeharto. As soon as we arrived in your beautiful capital Jakarta, we were accorded a warm welcome and generous hospitality by the Indonesian government and people. This morning, I had talks with President Soeharto on our bilateral relations as well as international issues of common interest in a sincere and friendly atmosphere and we came to a common understanding on a wide range of issues. I have also had friendly talks with His Ex-

cellency Vice President Sudharmono. Now Mr. President and Mrs. Soeharto are hosting this sumptuous banquet in our honour and President Soeharto has just made warm and friendly remarks. All this has touched us deeply. Please allow me to express my sincere thanks to President Soeharto and Mrs. Soeharto, and to the government and people of Indonesia.

Indonesia is a big country in Asia and its people are intelligent and hard-working. Under the leadership of President Soeharto, your people have chosen a road of development suited to your own national conditions, are vigorously exploiting rich indigenous resources and actively introducing foreign advanced technology so as to accelerate the

process of the country's industrialization. With the economy keeping a good momentum of growth, Indonesia has become one of the countries full of economic vitality in the Asian region. In international affairs, the Indonesian government follows the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and develops friendly relations with other countries in the world. Together with other ASEAN countries, Indonesia has made unremitting efforts for a comprehensive, fair and reasonable political settlement of the Cambodian question, thus winning wide acclaim and respect in the international community. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at the tremendous achievements made by the Indonesian people.

China and Indonesia are close neighbours. Since ancient times our two peoples have had the tradition of friendly exchanges and cemented a profound friendship. Indonesia was one of the countries that first established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. There was once a period of good co-operative relations between the two countries. Together we contributed to the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asian region. Having traversed a tortuous course in the bilateral relations, our two countries, with

President Soeharto meets with Premier Li Peng in Jakarta on August 6.

WANG JINGDE



our joint efforts, have gradually restored our economic and trade contacts and personnel exchanges in recent years. We highly appreciate President Soeharto's wise decision on resuming Indonesia's diplomatic relations with China. President Soeharto's meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Tokyo in February last year started the process of normalization of the relations between the two countries. Not long ago, Foreign Minister Alatas paid a successful visit to China, during which the two sides signed the communique on the resumption of diplomatic relations and decided to formally resume our diplomatic relations as of August 8 this year. This historical date marks an end to the past and the beginning of a new era of development in our bilateral relations. We firmly believed that the resumption and development of relations between China and Indonesia are not only in conformity with the aspirations and interests of our two countries and peoples, but also conducive to peace, stability and development in our region.

At present, the international situation is undergoing dramatic and profound changes, making a complicated impact on the world. While the relaxation of tension, the de-escalation of military confrontation and the removing of certain regional hot spots have provided new opportunities for striving for world peace, factors causing instability in the world are on the increase, and some regions are still plagued by tension and turbulence. As the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries is further widening, the developing countries are confronted with even greater challenges. Therefore, it is indeed necessary for them to strengthen unity and work for the establishment of a new international political order and a



Guo Zhiming

Premier Li Peng plants a Bayan tree in Jakarta's Miniature Park on August 7.

new international economic order.

Persisting in the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, the Chinese government is working hard to attain economic development and improve the people's livelihood. China must maintain domestic stability and unity, and it also needs a long-term, stable and peaceful international environment. Despite the vicissitudes in the international arena, China will steadfastly pursue an independent foreign policy of peace and it sincerely hopes to maintain and develop friendly relations and co-operation with all other countries in the world. We highly appreciate the increasingly important role played by ASEAN in international affairs as a regional group working for peace. The Chinese government has always attached great importance to the development of friendly relations and co-operation with the ASEAN countries. Although China differs with the ASEAN countries in social system, this difference should not become an obstacle to the establishment and growth of friendly relations and co-operation between the two sides. International practice has proved that state-to-state relations are not determined by similarities and divergences in social system and ideology. So long as the Five Principles of Peaceful

Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference are strictly followed, countries with different social systems and ideologies can surely coexist in amity and conduct mutually beneficial co-operation. China will, on the basis of the said principles, develop friendly relations and co-operation with the ASEAN countries. And it will, as always, support the ASEAN countries in their efforts for maintaining regional peace and strengthening regional economic co-operation, support their proposition for turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. China stands ready to expand exchanges and co-operation with the ASEAN countries in the economic, trade, scientific-technological, cultural and other fields on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It sincerely hopes to establish a partner relationship characterized by mutual trust with the ASEAN countries.

On the eve of the 45th anniversary of Indonesia's independence, a glorious festival for the Indonesian people, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Chinese government and people, our warmest congratulations to the government and people of Indonesia. May the people of Indonesia, under the leadership of President Soeharto, continuously score new achievements in their economic and social development. ■

China and Singapore: Friendly Neighbours

Chinese Premier Li Peng paid an official goodwill visit to Singapore from August 11 to August 13 at the invitation of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. The following is an excerpt of Li's speech at the welcoming banquet held in his honour on August 11. —Ed.

It gives us great pleasure to come to your beautiful country upon invitation for an official goodwill visit right after the celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of Singapore's independence. First of all, please allow me to extend, on behalf of the Chinese government and people, our warm greetings to the Singaporean government and people. Since our arrival in your country, we have been accorded a warm welcome and kind hospitality by the government and people of Singapore. We are deeply moved by this evening's grand welcoming banquet. Your Excellency and Mrs. Lee are hosting for me, my wife and my colleagues, and the speech you have just made which is filled with friendly sentiments. For all this, allow me to express my heartfelt thanks.

In the past 25 years, under the leadership of H. E. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, the Singaporean people have chosen a path of development suited to their national conditions, and attached importance to the introduction of advanced science, technology and management expertise of other countries while paying attention to the preservation and promotion of oriental cultural heritage. They have turned Singapore into a newly industrialized country of rapid development and scored univervally acknowledged achievements. For some of my colleagues, my wife and myself, this is our first visit to Singapore. Although we

have set foot on your land but a short while ago, we are deeply impressed by the social stability, flourishing economy, tidiness of the city and beautiful landscape of Singapore. We heartily rejoice at the successes achieved by the Republic of Singapore. We should learn from and draw upon the host of invaluable experience that the Singaporean people have accumulated in their nation-building.

China and Singapore are friendly neighbours. The people of our two countries have forged a profound friendship through long-standing contacts and exchanges. In recent years, thanks to the joint efforts of both sides, our bilateral co-operation in the economic, trade, scientific, technological and cultural fields have proceeded smoothly and yielded marked results. To establish full diplomatic relations on the basis of the friendly relations and co-operation existing between the two countries represents the common aspiration of the Chinese and Singaporean peoples and a natural development of history. The Chinese government is ready, together with the Singaporean government, to work for the fulfillment of this historic mission at an early date in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual understanding. I am convinced that with the further development of our bilateral relations the traditional friendship between our two peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two

countries will be ushered into a brand new stage.

At present, important changes are taking place in the world situation. While East-West military confrontation is moving towards relaxation, factors causing instability still exist. There are even intense turbulences in some areas. All this cannot but cause serious concern. The Singaporean government consistently pursues a foreign policy of non-alignment and independence in international affairs and forges friendly ties with all other countries. At the just-concluded 23rd meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers, Singapore joined the other ASEAN states in adhering to the position of seeking a comprehensive, fair and reasonable political settlement of the Cambodian question, thus winning acclaim from the international community. The Chinese government and people highly appraise the contributions by the Singaporean government and people to the cause of maintaining regional and world peace.

Today, China enjoys political and social stability. With the improvement of the economic environment and the rectification of the economic order and the deepening of reform in the past two years or so, the economy is developing in a healthy way. For over a decade, our policy of reform and opening to the outside world has been very successful, the people's living standards have kept on improving and China's economic

strength notably increased. We will unswervingly follow this road. China will continue to pursue an independent foreign policy of peace and stands for the establishment of a new international political order and a new international economic order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. As always in the past, China actively devotes itself

to the lofty cause of peace and development and will continue to do so in the future. Southeast Asian countries are China's close neighbours. China supports ASEAN in its efforts for safeguarding regional peace and strengthening regional economic co-operation and its proposition of establishing a Southeast Asian zone of peace, freedom and neu-

trality. It is a firm policy of the Chinese government to expand friendly relations and co-operation with ASEAN countries, including Singapore. We will, as always, continue to work together with the ASEAN countries for the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in Southeast Asia. ■

Li Peng Speaks on Kampuchea And Gulf Crisis

by Liu Zhengxue

China and Indonesia are in extensive agreement over the Kampuchean question, Chinese Premier Li Peng told about 100 journalists at a news conference in Jakarta on August 8.

"China and Indonesia agree that an early, comprehensive, just and reasonable political solution to the Kampuchean issue not only conforms with the interests of the Kampuchean people, but is also of great importance to peace and stability in the region," Li said.

"Both sides have agreed to support the documents concerning the military and administrative arrangements in Kampuchea during the transitional period, which were prepared by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council through consultations," the premier told the journalists from China, Indonesia and other countries.

As well, China believes that in the process of seeking a political settlement to the Kampuchean issue, it is of vital importance to bring the role of countries in the region into full play, the premier said.

China, Li added, also appreciates the statement issued by the recent ministerial meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and supports the efforts

made by Indonesia and other ASEAN countries over the years to politically resolve the conflict.

Indonesia proposed that the co-chairmen of the Paris International Conference on the Kampuchean Problem invite the four factions in Kampuchea to meet in Jakarta for consultations on the formation of a Supreme National Council and the political settlement of the question. China supports the initiative and wishes it success, the Chinese premier said.

Both countries also agreed that all parties concerned should make every effort to urge the four parties in Kampuchea to establish as early as possible a Supreme National Council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk to replace the legal seat of the Kampuchean National Government in the United Nations. However, before the setting up of the council, Kampuchea's seat in the UN should be preserved as it is.

Finally, Li said that both countries have agreed to increase their co-operation in the process of seeking a solution.

"China is willing to make its due efforts for seeking a solution to the Kampuchean problem and for the setting up of a Supreme National Council, but China cannot order anybody to do things," Li said.

Asked about the Chinese living in Indonesia, Li said that most of the people living in Indonesia who have Chinese ancestors have attained their Indonesian citizenship and naturally are citizens of Indonesia. China believes that as Indonesian citizens, they should serve their country. China has no intention whatsoever to use them to serve China's interests, the premier stated.

Turning to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Li said: "China voted for the UN Security Council's Resolutions 660 and 661 and hopes that these resolutions will be implemented effectively. We support the statements issued by the Arab League and the Gulf Co-operation Council on the event. We hope the conflict will be settled under mediation of the two organizations."

Asked about China's response to the stationing of American troops in Saudi Arabia at the invitation of the Saudi government, Li replied: "In principle, we do not support the involvement of the big powers. We don't want to see the already complicated situation in the Gulf become more complicated. However, as a sovereign nation, Saudi Arabia, out of its own security concerns, has adopted some defensive measures. We respect and understand these steps." ■

Sino-Foreign Cultural Ties In for a Bright Future

—An interview given by Liu Deyou, vice-minister of Culture, to our staff reporter Hong Lanxing.

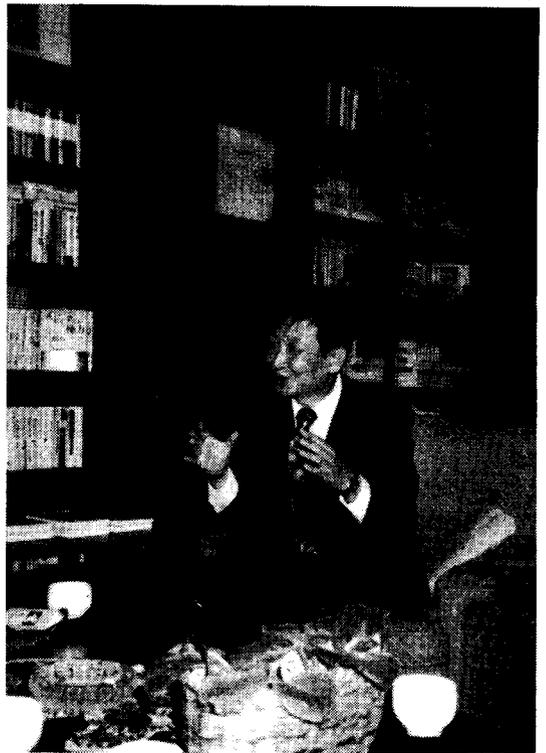
China is set to study and draw on all of mankind's positive cultural heritage, new developments of human civilization and fine forms of art created by various nations the world over.

Question: Please tell me something about China's current cultural exchanges with foreign countries.

Answer: With the implementation of the policy of reform and opening to the outside world and the flourishing of diplomatic work, China has established and developed friendly cultural co-operation and exchanges with many countries the world over. Mutual visits between governmental and non-governmental cultural organizations, academic groups and performing troupes have been in full blossom. Between 1978 and 1989, China signed 89 agreements with foreign countries on cultural co-operation and 215 annual exchange programmes in the fields of culture, art, education, sports, health, publication, historical relics, religion, youth, broadcasting, film and TV. The Ministry of Culture, for instance, conducted 6,100 such projects involving 50,000 people. For these projects, 68 governmental cultural delegations and 549 art troupes were sent to foreign countries while 222 governmental cultural delegations and 256 art troupes from other countries visited China.

China has also held 578 art exhibitions abroad and hosted 268 foreign art exhibitions. We have also sponsored such activities as a seminar on the classic novel *Dream of Red Mansions*, a symposium on Lu Xun and Chinese and foreign cultures, the Weifang international kite festival, the Quanzhou international puppet festival and the Wujiao international acrobatic festival.

The publication and distribution of foreign-language books have also developed rapidly. Now, books and periodicals China publishes in more than 30 foreign languages are on sale in 182 countries and regions. They introduce China's politics, laws and regulations, foreign policy, economy, culture and education, scientific research, sports, history, geography, minority na-



Liu Deyou gesticulates while making a point during the interview.

tionalties, scenic spots and historical sites. Some famous works including *The Lament*, *Selected Works of "Records of the Historian," Selected Works of Lu Xun*, *Camel Xiangzi* and *Select-*



XU XIANGJUN

A scene from the ballet *Nutcracker* directed by Masaru Akamatsu of the Japanese Masako Ohya Ballet Troupe and presented by the Beijing Institute of Dancing in July, 1990.

ed Paintings of Qi Baishi have been translated and published for foreign readers. Between 1949 and 1989, as it imported a large number of academic works and cultural books from abroad, China distributed abroad some 20,000 varieties of books and periodicals with a total of 7.38 million copies.

During this period, China also participated in some high-level art competitions with good results. From 1980 to 1989, Chinese artists sent abroad by the Ministry of Culture alone won 53 top awards and 30 runner-up and 24 third-place prizes at international acrobatic, ballet, national dance, piano, violin and various vocal and instrumental music competitions, in addition to 200 other individual prizes. Chinese acrobats have won many gold medals at the Paris "Tomorrow" World Circus and Acrobatic Competitions. Young Chinese singers have also made such an excellent

show at international song competitions that the Western music world looks at these Chinese singer hopefuls with increasing expectations. Ballet is internationally a symbol of a nation's artistic level. Chinese ballet dancers combined national content with traditional ballet style and have drawn the attention of the international dance world. Some foreign dance critics have pointed out that the combination of Western form and Eastern content represented a step forward and a development of ballet. Some home-trained young Chinese ballet dancers have won one award after another at international competitions for their artistic excellence. Between 1981 and 1989, Chinese paintings and children's works displayed at more than 100 international exhibitions and competitions have won some 800 prizes.

Q: Have China's cultural exchanges with foreign countries decreased since last year's "June

4th Incident"? If so, why?

A: To answer this question, let me tell you a story first.

Last year, several Japanese ballet dancers headed by Ohya Masako came to China and performed *The Nutcracker* together with the Beijing Institute of Dancing. The performance, the first time the entire ballet was done in China, was a great success. Ohya Masako told me, "Before I came to China, I had been in Paris. Some French friends had said they had been surprised to hear of my co-operation with the Beijing Institute of Dancing. They were concerned for me, asking, 'Do you still want to go to Beijing? Is there still ballet? Are China's institutes of dance still open?'" Masako told me that when he went back to Western Europe, he would tell his friends what he had seen in China and show them videos of the group's successful performances.

From this story, we can see clearly that many foreigners who thought that China would cut off cultural exchanges after the June unrest had misunderstood China. They were unaware of the truth. Of course, some Western countries have imposed sanctions against China and unilaterally stopped inter-governmental cultural exchanges with China. But, the people-to-people exchanges with these countries have continued and produced some exceptional results. China's cultural exchanges with many other third world countries have continued unabated. In a word, our policy has not changed. We sincerely hope to strengthen understanding and friendship with other countries through cultural exchanges.

In 1989, China sent eight governmental cultural delegations, five at the ministerial level, to more than ten countries in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Pacific region, sent 53 art troupes to perform abroad, held 65 art exhibi-

tions abroad, and received 15 governmental cultural delegations, 18 art troupes and 25 arts exhibitions from foreign countries.

Foreign art troupes that visited China in 1989 included a Korean art troupe, a Soviet ballet troupe, an Italian chamber music group, a Cameroon music group, an Indian dance troupe, a Mongolian acrobatic troupe, a Thai folk music troupe and an Argentine tango troupe. Particularly noteworthy are the Soviet, Korean, Italian and Cameroon troupes, and the Japanese singing group led by Sakura. Their performances added lustre to the Second China Art Festival held last September and October in Beijing. Last year the Chinese people also had the opportunity to enjoy the Japanese master calligrapher Yanagide Tai-un's calligraphy show and an exhibition of Japanese calligraphers' works. In addition, last December, Beijing played host to a meeting of chief librarians from 13 Asian countries.

Q: Can you tell me something about this year's plan for cultural exchanges with foreign countries?

A: This year, China plans to send abroad 287 cultural delegations of some 2,491 people and receive 351 delegations with 2,448 people from other countries. Aready this year, the Chongqing Acrobatic Troupe, the Jilin Peking Opera Troupe, the China Ceramic Exhibition, the China Dongfang Song and Dance Ensemble and the Xinjiang Art Troupe have gone abroad. China has hosted the Indian Song and Dance Ensemble, the Indian Textiles Exhibition and the Mexico Castanets Dance troupe.

Later this year, the Chinese people will have the chance to see performances by a British jazz band, and Belgian, Finnish and Cuban ballet troupes, as well as various kinds of chamber and pop music. Foreign exhibitions

of ancient urban architecture, plastic arts, sculpture, glass products, handicrafts and oil paintings will also be held in China later this year.

Q: How does China look at cultural exchanges with other countries? What a position do they have in China's policy of opening to the outside world?

A: The late Premier Zhou Enlai talked about this shortly after

leads to China's progress in both the material and cultural spheres. The world wants to understand China and vice versa. An analysis of China's 2,000-year history of cultural exchanges with foreign countries shows that Chinese culture has flourished by enriching its fine cultural heritage with the achievements of foreign cultures and in this way made its new



WANG JINGYING
Group dancing presented by the Braunschweig Sports Dancing Troupe of the Federal Republic of Germany in May last year.

the founding of New China. As he noted, diplomatic work had two primary wings, the economic and the cultural. Both played the vanguard role. The purpose, therefore, of China's cultural exchanges is, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of all countries, and to actively learn and absorb all beneficial elements of a foreign culture, while introducing both traditional and contemporary Chinese culture to the rest of the world as a contribution to the cultural progress of the world community.

The opening to the outside world is a basic state policy that

contributions to the world. Only a culture with national characteristics can get world recognition it deserves, and fine national cultures are never produced in isolation. Human civilization has arisen from the melding of various cultures.

The opening to the outside world has promoted China's economic construction. It has also injected new concepts into the people's cultural life. I think China has benefited from cultural exchanges with other nations over the past few years in at least five aspects.

First, the absorption of useful elements of a foreign culture has promoted the development of our national culture.

Second, contact with the

world's cultures of different styles and schools has greatly broadened the horizon of those working in the cultural arena.

Third, the public at large has greatly benefited from its exposure to different cultures. As people's aesthetic level has risen, their own capacity to create works of value has increased.

Fourth, cultural exchanges have enabled us to see the many strong points of cultural management and legislation in foreign countries. We should, as we seek truth from facts, make use of these methods in our own cultural work in order to construct China's own socialist culture and ideology.

Fifth, cultural exchanges have promoted friendship and mutual understanding between the Chinese people and their foreign counterparts.

Q: How does China view foreign cultures? What foreign culture does it want to introduce to the Chinese public? What part of Chinese culture does it want to introduce to the world?

A: Culture is a common wealth of mankind. However, in the practice of cultural exchanges, criteria vary from country to country on account of different social systems, moral concepts, aesthetic habits and mores.

Our criterion is to accept those which benefit China's material, cultural and ideological progress, the unity and stability of the socialist country, the flourishing of China's cultural endeavours and the prosperity of the people's cultural life. Anything that is obscene or ideologically reactionary or advocating colonialism and extreme individualism will be rejected.

China's national culture figures prominently in the history of world civilization. Our traditional culture is rich and our ancestors reached the pinnacle in many fields, exerting a tremendous influence on mankind's



ZHANG NING

Mexican actor Gonzalez imitating Sun Wukong (Monkey King) backstage when China's Yantai Peking Opera Troupe performed in his country.

progress and development. For this reason, whenever exhibitions of Chinese culture are held abroad, they never fail to capture the hearts of local people. For instance, exhibits such as terracotta warriors and horses unearthed from near the mausoleum of Qinshihuang, the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC), treasures in the Forbidden City, artifacts on the Silk Road and ancient Chinese dresses, have fascinated countless foreigners. Performances of China's acrobatics, singing and dancing, Peking opera and other local operas have created "acrobatics craze," "Peking opera craze" and "local Chinese operas craze" in many other countries. China's acrobatics are praised as "a crystallization of diligence and wisdom of the Chinese people" and "an art of real thrill" while local Chinese operas are like "a cup of scented China tea" or "a trickling stream" and Chinese dancing is "the incarnation of beauty" and "an exotic

Oriental flower." In 1987, for example, the exhibition of Qi Baishi's 113 pieces of paintings China held for the first time in Japan was highly acclaimed by Japanese inspectors.

On the other hand, cultural exchanges provide China with an access to cultures of other nations. The Royal Ballet of Britain, Bavarian State Opera of Germany and Dance Troupe of US Brigham Young University and world-famous artists such as Herbert von Karajan, Yehudi Menuhin, Seiji Ozawa, Luciano Pavarotti, Placido Domingo and Julio Iglesias, together with exhibitions introducing foreign paintings, sculptures, books, cultural relics and folk craftsmanship have received enthusiastic acclaim by Chinese audiences. Almost daily, we have also entertained the Chinese audience with foreign films dubbed into the Chinese language, and classical and pop music.

The mutual influence of cultures involve a complicated pro-



A Chinese kite provokes interest with the Chileans.

LIU ZHONGYANG

gress of analyzing, choosing, and digesting the material offered. The process must be done thoughtfully if the traditional culture is to preserve its own characteristics.

Q: Could you be more specific on this point? For example, what do you think about foreign pop music?

A: A specific analysis is needed to judge foreign pop music. Music that is popular with the Chinese people should not be rejected out of hand. Performances by French singer Matil and Japanese singers Saburo Kitajima and Ryotaro Sugi who visited China a few years ago were quite a success in China. However, the obscene and vulgar elements in Western art and music, found in such forms as striptease and sex films, must be strictly forbidden and rejected.

At the same time, we must remember that we introduce and absorb fine foreign culture in order to enrich and develop our own national culture. To simply

imitate others without striving to create something new brings us nowhere and will never land you on the pinnacle of arts. Only by combining both foreign and Chinese cultures with the fine traditions of our national culture can we improve the quality of Chinese art and scale the top of art.

Q: What concrete methods does China plan to adopt for cultural exchanges with foreign countries?

A: There is a multitude of channels and forms. At present, there are visits between government-run cultural organizations, non-governmental contacts and exchange programmes sponsored by a variety of competent authorities or between the sister provinces, cities, regions and counties. The most impressive area, however, is the expansion and development of non-governmental contacts. In China, non-governmental organizations and associations play an increasing role in promoting China's

cultural exchanges with foreign countries. More and more Chinese art troupes have been giving commercial performances abroad, a new step in non-governmental cultural contact.

Q: What will you see when you look ahead at the cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries?

A: Under socialism and as China opens itself to the world, we should be global-minded and more active to assimilate foreign culture. We should study, introduce and learn from mankind's positive cultural wealth and the new achievements of human civilization and fine forms of art expression created by all nations the world over, be they ancient, modern, or contemporary.

This is our consistent attitude towards cultural exchanges. I'm sure that, with the passage of time, China's cultural exchanges with other countries will further expand and develop. The future is bright. ■

A Dream Comes True for a German Girl

by Our Guest Reporter Xiong Sihao

While many young students from all parts of the world go to the United States to realize their "American dream," a German girl chose a different direction.

Five years ago, Sabine Dabringhaus went to China to study the history of Chinese nationalities during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Now, she has become the first foreigner ever to win a history doctorate in China.

Sabine Dabringhaus, or Dasubin in Chinese, was dressed in the style of Chinese college students—a T-shirt, running shoes and cotton slacks—and spoke Chinese softly and fluently during an interview with reporters.

In 1981, Sabine, a quiet girl from Freiburg, West Germany, enrolled in Freiburg University and majored in politics and history. There, she sometimes attended Chinese classes. Because she was interested in Chinese history and longed to go to China, she transferred her major to Chinese.

"I read some novels on Chinese history when I was 12 years old," she said. "One of them written by Pearl S. Buck impressed me greatly. It talked about Cixi, the Chinese Dowager Empress. It was that book that triggered my interest in China."

In 1984, her Chinese dream came true, when she got a one-year scholarship to study in



Vice-President Zheng Hangsheng conferred Sabine a history doctorate on July 16.

China. She enrolled in the History Department of Shandong University in Jinan, Shandong Province.

She was so eager she arrived early at the university, which was closed because the students were on their summer vacation. While waiting for it to open, she went to Sichuan Normal College in Chengdu in Sichuan Province, where one of her friends was studying. In Chengdu, she learned some Sichuan dialect and got used to eating the traditional hot,

spicy food. Sichuan's scenic spots also left an unforgettable impression on her. In August 1984, she began her studies at Shandong University and to collect materials for her master's thesis.

"That year was an important year for me," Sabine recalled with deep feeling. "I lived and studied with the Chinese people. My oral Chinese was further improved, and I made many friends there, those who greatly helped me with my studies."

When her year was up, she re-

turned to Freiburg University and completed her master's thesis on the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 in northern China. After she obtained her master's degree, she wanted to do further research in Chinese history, so she got in touch with the Chinese Education Commission. Eventually, in 1987, she enrolled in the Institute for the Qing Dynasty in the Chinese People's University, where she majored in the Chinese history of nationalities. Her tutor was a well-known professor, Dai Yi, the executive chairman of the Society of Chinese History and honorary director of the institute.

Dai described Sabine as "a very diligent student."

During the first two years, Dai said, she surmounted the language barrier and mastered ancient Chinese, an exceedingly difficult language, with the help of her teachers. She took many courses and scored high marks in every subject.

"At that time, I really wanted to pack my luggage immediately and go home to West Germany because the ancient Chinese was too difficult for me," said Sabine.

Associate Professor Wang Junyi, director of the Qing Dynasty Institute, said that Sabine started to lose weight.

"She got up at 5 o'clock every morning and studied late, until 12 every night," he said. "To avoid the noisy night life, she moved from the Foreign Students' Building to a quiet simple single-storey house."

To master the Mongolian language, Sabine spent a summer in the Holunbel Grassland of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region where she ate and lived and worked with Mongolians. She got up at 5 o'clock every morning and milked sheep with the local Mongolian women. She often rode a horse to wander around the grasslands. She got along well with the local herds-

men and very quickly could speak everyday Mongolian.

"She also got along well with the people at the institute," said associate director Cheng Chongde. "She lived with the families of her Chinese teachers and cooked Chinese dishes on holidays. She took part in all the activities organized by the institute.

"She is familiar with many people here including repairmen, vendors, drivers, even kindergarten children," he added. "Every day many passersby said 'how are you' to her, and she said the same in fluent Chinese."

"With my Chinese friends here, I feel I am just one of them instead of a foreigner," said Sabine.

Seeing that she was quite interested in Mongolian history, Professor Dai selected Song Yun to be the subject of her thesis. Song Yun was a Mongolian who was appointed governor of Tibet in the late 18th century.

Sabine relied on a lot of source material written in Chinese, Manchu, Tibetan and Mongolian. Finally, she wrote her 100,000-word thesis in Chinese.

"The thesis, a *Research on Song Yun's Tibet Policies*, is a successful one of high academic value and deep practical significance," said Professor Dai with pride. "We sent her thesis to 20 specialists on the study of minority nationalities all over the country. All of them share the same view, thinking that the thesis is a very successful one with rich materials and original ideas."

July 6 is a day that Sabine will never forget. On that day a group of historians and specialists on the study of Tibet and the frontiers formed a reply committee. They examined her research and historical knowledge. When they were finally satisfied, they expressed their admiration for her work and unanimously agreed to

award her a history doctorate.

As early as in 1988, Sabine and her tutors took part in the "Symposium on Chinese Frontier History," on which she made an academic report. In the same year, Sabine, co-operating with two other people, finished a research paper entitled "A Comprehensive Survey on the History of Chinese Frontiers."

"We were surprised to find a foreign woman student who was so enthusiastic about Chinese frontier history and had such a sound foundation in Chinese history," said Duojiechaidan, the secretary of the China Centre on the Study of Tibet. "We believe that she will become a No.1 tibetologist in the 21th century."

Outside the classroom, Sabine is a dutiful girl. While studying in China, she often missed her parents. Once she didn't receive her parents' letters for about a month and was so worried she cried. She admitted that she was greatly influenced by the devotion exhibited by the Chinese to their parents.

"She is really a student of good character and scholarship," said Wang Junyi.

When asked whether she had a boyfriend, she replied: "I am an introvert. I believe in luck by which my future boyfriend will be brought to me."

Sabine left China at the end of July. She said she planned to go to Harvard University where she would exchange ideas with her counterparts. She intends to look for a university in Hamburg or Munich to continue her research.

When asked whether she will be back to China, she said: "China is my second home. The Chinese People's University is my alma mater. I'll certainly be back and see my teachers here who greatly helped me with my studies. It is difficult to find teachers in Western countries who can help so much." ■



On May 15 and July 6, He Xin, research fellow with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was interviewed by Guy Sorman, a special reporter of "Figaro" of France, and Barbara Alighiero from the Ansa News Agency of Italy. During the interview, Mr He answered questions on developments in China which are of interest to many of our foreign readers. He Xin is a well-versed Chinese scholar with his distinctive views. Mr Sorman is a famous French political commentator and Barbara Alighiero is long familiar with China. Their conversations, conducted in Chinese, were free, frank and wide-ranging; and, as Mr He said, he aired his views on behalf of himself. With his approval, we have translated the recorded conversations into English and present them to our readers.—Ed.

China's Democracy and Future

—He Xin's Conversation With Guy Sorman

Sorman: Mr. He, recently I read an article in the *New York Times* on your views and unique judgment on the Tiananmen incident last year. I myself have written a series of articles on the same subject. Therefore, I wanted very much to meet you.

He: Glad to meet you. I also read that *New York Times* article you mentioned. There was a tendency in it that I didn't like. It described me as a political figure but, in fact, I'm just a scholar.

Sorman: Maybe. (Laughing)

He: I was originally interested in cultural topics, but in recent years I have had to air my views on some major political and economic issues. This is just because I cannot help but feel concerned about the fate and future of my motherland, which for a time became worrisome.

Sorman: This is exactly what I'm interested in.

Can you talk about it?

He: Could you specify which of my views would interest you most?

I. Democracy and China

Sorman: First of all, I'm interested in your views on Chinese democracy. I want to know if there is no compatibility at all between Western democracy and China's traditional civilization. For example, were the democratic demands raised by students a year ago completely out of a foreign influence? Without any connection to the inherent Chinese political heritage? Does this also mean that China will always be a benevolent dictatorial Communist country?

I'd like to make myself more clear. I'm concerned more with Chinese democracy as a cul-

tural attribute. Just like you, I'm not interested in real politics, because politics is constantly changing. What I'm concerned with is whether the spirit of democracy, as a symbol of mankind's persistent pursuit, is a tradition peculiar only to the West? In China's future political structure, how much is the possibility of Western democracy being transplanted in China?

He: You have posed so many tough questions. Democracy has become a worldwide concern as if it was the only major issue of our times. I've pondered on this question for a long time. I cannot but notice that democracy in the current international political context is not merely an issue of value. Nor is it merely an abstract cultural question. Rather, it is a very political question. To be exact, in the contemporary world, it has become a means for international strategic contention. It has transcended the scope of values or political system of a single country.

Sorman: Oh?

He: Yes. Several American reporters interviewed me recently and they all raised the question of democracy. But I want to ask my question, too: Do the decision makers in Washington care about Chinese democracy out of the pursuit of a spiritual value or out of potential strategic interests? If there is a motive for interests, then whose interests is the US government fighting for, the Chinese people's, or Washington's?

It would be very funny if the United States supports "democracy movements" in the world purely out of a spiritual pursuit. In a world in which countries contend severely for their own interests, how come the United States, which has all along been pragmatic, suddenly turns into an altruistic Robin Hood who cares only about others' interests?

Sorman: Oh?!

He: I wonder if you have noticed that the world's strategic posture in the late 20th century is evolving into a very interesting situation. People used to describe the world as bipolar. Later they said it became tripolar. Lately people are saying that the world is heading towards multipolarization. But I'd like to ask: Is the world heading towards multipolarization or monopolization? Now the Soviet Union is facing ethnic separatism and grave difficulties. If China sinks into a breakup and chaos, what would the world be like? Will humankind then enter the

paradise of "universal democracy"?

Once China and the Soviet Union are exhausted with internal disturbances or even a civil war and disintegrated by ethnic separation, what country in the world then is able to rival the United States economically, politically and militarily? Isn't the United States then going to be the indisputable world leader in economic, political and even ideological areas? Is this world a pluralistic, democratic world or a monopolar world centred around the United States? Is it going to be a new era of universal democracy or a world empire?

I use the term "world empire" because it already appeared in the works of US strategists (for example, Zbigniew Brzezinski). I can adduce many facts from their books and from the US strategic and military position in the world to support my assertion that there is such a blueprint — a world empire headed by the United States — in Washington's strategic plan. Therefore, proceeding from the context of international strategic rivalry, I think the question of democracy has obviously strayed off the direction that intellectuals usually pursue, seeking it as a value, an ideal.

Sorman: Oh!

He: I think as an economist, you won't deny the cruel reality of the political and economic inequality of countries in the world today. Not every country has equal opportunities on the road to prosperity, wealth and modernization. Not every big power is willing to see other countries become prosperous and modernized.

Today's world is no longer the romantic one during the French Revolution. If a country plunges into internal chaos, it will destroy itself, completely losing the opportunity to participate in international competitions. It seems that today nothing can more effectively destroy a developing nation from within than wielding the banner of "democracy." Because developing countries are economically and politically immature, it is true that democracy is not soundly developed there. Therefore, my view is that democracy is loveable, but watch out: in today's world politics, which is full of ruthless competitions, the banner of democracy has become a powerful leverage in international strategic contention.

Sorman: Oh!

II. If China Is Divided

He: In the last decade the United States has constantly preached about American-style democracy to the Chinese. Incidentally, I have no intention of commenting on US democracy itself. But I do confirm that it is in a sense a valuable modern political culture.

However, is it feasible to transplant this system into China? The United States recommends such a political system to China. But because China has an entirely different economic and political foundation, this type of system, if practised in China, would result in the creation of a politically weak, lax and extremely pro-US "molluscan" government unable to unite the nation.

Can such a "feeble" government resolve the current complicated and tough social problems in China? Can it prevent internal strife and the country from dividing? If Xinjiang and Tibet broke away from China, China's territory would shrink by a third. Already, the majority of the population is densely concentrated in the remaining areas.

In China's coastal and inland provinces, industry is comparatively developed, labour is abundant, technology advanced, capital is sufficient and educational and cultural levels are high, while outland Xinjiang and Tibet lack manpower, advanced industry and technology and capital to meet their needs for economic modernization. However, they are rich in underground and mining resources. If they broke away from the motherland, Xinjiang and Tibet would lose vital seaports and become isolated, backward landlocked regions separated from the world. This would shrink China's internal market and reduce its reserve resources. China's economic development would lose the room to manoeuvre and would not retain a balance. And what benefit would that be to Xinjiang and Tibet? A divided China (whether it be areas involving the Han majority or ethnic minorities) will have to lose the last opportunity and hope of catching up with and outstripping the developed countries.

Therefore, whenever I read in newspapers that Western politicians, in the name of "democracy" and "human rights," agitate for China's national division and oppose its population policy, I am perplexed over whether they love China or genuinely hate it? Are they concerned about China's development and progress or do they hope for an

early division of China's territory that will result in the Chinese people becoming destitute and homeless? Is this the strategic plan that some international strategists have meant to carry out in China or something that comes out of their political innocence in considering too much about the concept of value?

I am Chinese and I love my country. I don't like and cannot bear to see China fall into such a situation as I just described — even in the name of pursuit of democracy. This is why I cannot agree with some Chinese intellectuals who are now living in exile in the West.

III. Does China Have a Democratic Tradition?

Sorman: Can it be understood that you agree that China will pursue an enlightened autocratic system?

He: I notice that you have twice mentioned this concept. I don't agree with the concept. I also notice that you have just mentioned that China seems to have an inherent autocratic tradition and it appears the democratic tradition is solely peculiar to the West. As for this, I cannot agree with you. First, I cannot accept the ethnocentric assertion that Western civilization is central and I feel that some Westerners share a racial and cultural sense of superiority over the Chinese.

I realize that China today is still backward. However, on the basis of China's 5,000-year-old civilization, it is not necessary for the Chinese people to feel inferior. Even on the question of China's democratic tradition we do not have to feel inferior. I notice that Western political theory differentiates between "substantial" democracy and "formal" democracy. Such a differentiation is better than general talk of democracy. There are no such Western-style democratic forms as multi-party or parliamentary systems in China's tradition. But it doesn't mean that the tradition of China's civilization has no democratic ideas, nor does it mean that democratic function was totally absent in China's ancient politics.

Sorman: What is the "substantial democracy" you have referred to?

He: "Substantial democracy" is a concept by which to judge whether a system has a democratic function. There are two parts. First, to what

degree does policy, legislation and law of a government embody the fundamental and high interests of the majority of the people? And second, can the people's will, aspirations, hardship and demands be communicated to the decision-making organizations through a responsive, effective and orderly mechanism and finally affect, penetrate and embody the government legislature, policy and law? If there is such a mechanism in a political system, the actual democratic level it has reached is not affected by its political form, no matter what it may be.

Therefore, even if we do not take into consideration the fact that many statesmen in Chinese history had given numerous expositions of their views on civil rights and democracy (which are actually China's classic democratic theory) and that some legislation and political systems which had Chinese characteristics and embodied democratic spirit including one which controlled, supervised and impeached emperors and officials, I don't agree to the assertion that China has only autocracy but no democracy.

Sorman: In your opinion, which periods in China's history were democratic?

He: The Spring and Autumn period (770BC-476 BC) and the Warring States period (475-221 BC) were times in China's history that were full of vigour and democratic spirit. If there hadn't been such a democratic climate at the time, the many schools of thought could not have emerged. There were also periods of political purity, when knowledge was vigorously pursued and when societies were brilliant in economics and culture. Those occurred during the Han, Tang, Song, Ming and Qing dynasties.

France in the 17th century under Louis XIV and England in the 18th century under Queen system already established a modern style of parliamentary democracy. But the envoys and missionaries sent by the two countries to China couldn't help but be surprised at and expressed admiration for the effectiveness, rationality and superiority of politics and culture of the Qing Dynasty under Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong. They even suggested that Westerners learn from the Chinese.

Of course, I'm not saying that the politics of ancient China were always democratic, nor do I think that the democratic function of China's ancient politics is complete or it is still useful today. I'm only saying that the West has a democratic tradition in a Western style and that

China has a democratic tradition with its own characteristics. However, since the "cultural revolution" starting in 1966 when a nihilistic trend of thought characterized by its negation of Chinese national culture prevailed, the brilliance and the political spirit of China's ancient democracy have been entirely obliterated and inundated. This tradition needs to be further developed and recognized again.

Naturally, I am aware that some initial democratic functions in China's ancient societies were not as complete as the theory and system which the West has developed in modern history. For example, China had legalists in ancient times but no such figures as French philosopher Charles Montesquieu.

IV. An Ancient Monarchy Doesn't Mean an Absolute Despotism

Sorman: Thank you for mentioning Charles Montesquieu.

He: (Laughing) I'm impressed by your cultural patriotism. Some people take it for granted that China has consistently practised autocracy on the grounds that China's ancient political system had been a monarchy. In fact, looking at modern politics, it seems there is no absolute contradiction between a monarchy and a democratic system and this point of view has been supported by situations in some constitutional monarchic nations. I can assert, based on the historical materials that I have collected, that some practical systems in ancient China were similar in form to a constitutional monarchy. In recent years, the West has been driving to introduce to China the concept of "division of power into executive, legislative and judicial levels." Ancient China had no such perfect theory. But I have found, by examining the systems of the Ming and Qing dynasties, that the legislative and decision-making power fell into a joint conference attended by nobles and high officials trusted by the emperor, not the emperor himself. The prime minister or the head of the Privy Council of the Emperor controlled the executive power. The judicial power was relatively independent and cases were tried by the Dalishi (the Grand Court of Appeal) and the Ministry of Punishment (the supreme procuratorate) according to writ-

ten laws and common laws. Besides that, there was the Duchayuan (the Court of Censors), which was in charge of violations of the law by officials and unjust activities of the judicial organs. The judicial and supervisory departments were independent from other branches and were directly responsible for the state. In theory and practice, the cabinet conference, the prime minister and the censors had the right to advise, criticize and even impeach the emperor. In many cases, the emperors only dealt with rites and functioned as symbols of power. (In China's history, the fact that some child emperors performed the duties of an emperor was a reflection of this politically symbolic role).

I'm not deliberately trying to justify monarchism in ancient China. Instead, I just want to point out that the Greek model of democracy is not an absolute standard to be used to judge the real level of democracy. Some European cities carried the ancient Greek city-state democratic system into the Middle Ages. But they were not immune to the dark autocracy of the Middle Ages, like other regions in the West. Even Western religious organizations at that time were organized in a way similar to the modern parliament. By the way, if my memory is correct, the 17th century Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno was brought to Campo di Fiori to be burned alive through a majority admission of the Inquisition. His savage killing was supported by thousands of people in the square. This clearly shows that sometimes the formal majority is not reliable.

V. Direction of China's Future Democracy

Sorman: Do you acknowledge that China has a problem with democracy? And what's your ideal democracy?

He: Do not misunderstand me, Mr. Sorman! Of course, I think China needs more construction, enhancement and development of its democracy. I think this problem has become even more pressing in China than before, especially after last year's "June 4 incident." In my opinion, it would be better for China to build its democracy by expanding and improving essential democratic rights that are available to the people than blindly copying or emulating some democratic model of the West.

Sorman: What is the essential democratic right?
He: Essentially, political democracy is aimed at allowing the people to enjoy sovereignty over the administration of state. Indeed, democracy is just a means, not a purpose — as Mao Zedong correctly described.

The supreme goal of a state is to seek happiness for the people. In history, to devise democratic systems is always to prevent the people with power from abusing and misapplying that power in their pursuit of personal gain.

The long-term goal, as China pursues its democratic road, I think, is to devise and make a host of institutions and legislations to guarantee that the state's political and economic decision-making conforms with the basic interests of the vast majority of the people. People should be able to more effectively choose, recommend and appoint excellent leadership that is loyal to the interests of the state and people. The supervision and impeachment by the people over the officials at all levels should be substantially improved. And officials who are derelict in their duties or are incapable of performing their duties should be dismissed from their posts according to law, and this should be done without delay, in a bid to foster and strengthen an official's sense of responsibility and sacred sense to the people and their posts. In addition, more channels and institutions should be established to smoothly and closely link the decision-making groups and governments at all levels with the people. Thus the public opinions, situations, aspirations and criticisms can be expressed more freely and reported to the decision-making centres more rapidly, and the rational elements should have more influence on the state's decision-making and policy. With the expansion of China's democracy, I believe, the way in which the political leadership is exercised will improve and bring with it more rationality and flexibility.

Sorman: Oh!

He: I have often admired the national spirit of the Japanese people. Japan has created an effective democratic capitalist system by carrying forward some of its own traditions in its political civilization (such as the emperor system) and borrowing useful bits from ancient China and the modern West. This system has guaranteed Japan's long-term social stability and economic prosperity.

But it is widely known that though this system possesses some outside forms and functions of modern parliamentary democracy, it is characterized by Japan's politics and culture. There is an obvious distinction, both in form and content, between Japan's system and the capitalist democratic systems of America and Europe.

Sorman: But Japan practises a multi-party system and it does not allow the Communist Party to enjoy a special position.

He: In China, the special position and role of the Communist Party has been a result of China's history. When the Party came to power in 1949, it was broadly supported by the Chinese people.

As for the multi-party system in Japan, I notice that the Liberal Democratic Party has consistently held power since its founding and climbed to power 35 years ago. This shows that the Party also enjoys a special position and role in Japan's political life.

Also, I have noticed that the party has undergone both crises (in the 1950s and 1960s, for example) and successes. Corruption, scandal and inside stories of plots have often been exposed in the Party and in the political arena which have shocked the government and the public. But it seems that no criticism over Japan's undemocratic politics has been heard from the West.

VI. Significance of Marxism to China

Sorman: Do you think that the Chinese Communist Party will enjoy its special position and play a special role forever?

He: I remember Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong all said that no political party will exist forever. Just as it was born, it will die.

Sorman: Yes, that is what they said. And when will it wither away?

He: It is natural that it will go along with the history; the Chinese Communist Party will wither away after it has completed its political mission and function. However, I don't agree that it will wither away today and I also don't think it will this time. Without the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese society would again be in a state of disunity. China would lose a core political organization that has the ability to unite 1.1 billion Chinese people. If the Party was termi-

nated now, China would be thrown into serious political chaos and there would be no unity of the people. This would certainly bring disaster to China. By the way, I am not a member of the Chinese Communist Party.

Sorman: Oh, why?

He: Because I have not applied for Party membership. I have said I have no intention of participating in politics.

Sorman: You said just now that the Chinese Communist Party will complete its political function. What does that mean?

He: (Laughing) I meant it in a classic sense. Mao Zedong once said that when China realizes its socialist modernization and has evolved into a society that is superior to socialism economically, politically and culturally, the mission can be said to have been accomplished.

Sorman: I see that the Chinese Communist Party plays a great political role in China. But what role does Marxism play in Chinese society as a kind of ideology? Why did it fail in Eastern Europe? And will it last in China?

He: I think you have seen that Marxism in China is greatly different from Marxism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the time of Mao Zedong. Marxist tradition in China is more flexible in theory and has more vigour and creativeness, while it is more realistic in practice, paying more attention to integrating theory with practice.

Sorman: Yes, I have.

He: I am not surprised at what happened in Eastern Europe, for I made a prediction in my article which was published on May 19, 1989, in the Guangzhou-based journal *China Jinbao*. As for the question of the role of Marxism in China and the significance of incidents in Eastern Europe, I have deeply compared and pondered them again and again.

Sorman: What's the conclusion?

He: China has its own problems today, but I believe that the situation in Eastern Europe is unlikely to happen in China.

Sorman: Why?

He: Because Marxism has suited the historical needs of China's modernization, and it has not been introduced into China by outside forces.

For the Chinese people who suffered so much in the 20th century, Marxism, first of all, was an ideological weapon for them to oppose colonialism and imperialism. It encouraged the Chinese people, then facing the crisis that the country would be carved up and conquered, to carry on a victorious national liberation war and save China from splitting up. As a psychological strength, Marxism played a singular role in protecting China's national economy and revitalizing her national spirit.

Second, Marxism advocates the realization of state-ownership (public ownership) and planning of social capital and resources. Such a theory enables backward countries to rapidly concentrate and accumulate their capital for industrialization and to resist economically and technologically powerful nations on the international market.

Third, Marxism, as a theory to safeguard workers' and poor peasants' interests, advocates to decrease the gap between poor and rich people and provide the poor with a social guarantee mechanism. Formulated under the guidance of this theory, China's policy in the 1950s, when the country tried to realize industrialization, enabled China to avoid the brutal deprivation which had generally happened in the period of primitive accumulation of capital in the West (please look back on Britain's enclosure movement, the black-slave plantation system and the bloody Westward Movement in North America, and the cruel labour system in the United States in the 18th-19th century).

Fourth, under the guidance of Marxism, the Chinese Communist Party was formed and a large-scale social movement for the country's modernization emerged so that the Chinese nation, which had suffered from invasion by Western forces, gained strong political and mental strength for unity, thus promoting China's economic and political modernization process.

No matter what mistakes have been made by the Communist Party since 1949, I think no one who is fair-minded can totally deny the above-mentioned four points. In fact, at the end of the 1950s, China tried to learn from lessons from the Soviet experience. Although such a great tragedy as the "cultural revolution" occurred, China was one of the world's nations which saw a rapid development in its economy and culture in the past 40 years. Surely, if those mistakes could have been avoided, the condition would be better than now.

VII. The Tiananmen Incident of 1989

Sorman: Last spring and summer, some college students and other people demonstrated in Beijing and some other cities in China. Can you explain why they did this? Did they cherish illusions? Or were they manipulated by others? How do you explain their actions?

He: About the incident last year, Mr. Sorman, I was not taken by surprise. Two years earlier, I had pondered whether a turmoil would occur.

Sorman: Really?

He: In November 1988, I published a series of articles in the *Hong Kong Ming Pao* (a monthly magazine), in which I discussed the idea that China would experience turmoil. I supposed that the turmoil would result in military control. And if the turmoil was difficult to stop, China would fall apart and even become dependent on some big countries.

Sorman: But you have still not talked about the reasons for this.

He: Since I predicted the incident, I, of course, thought about the reasons. I suggest you read my articles, in which I tried to make an objective and level-headed analysis of some social problems and policy faults in China. Now, I have only one point to add. As for the reasons for the incident, some foreigners only saw what's on the surface and then jumped at conclusions. Some Western figures, for example, regarded the incident as a symbol of the failure of China's socialist system. They said the incident showed that most of the Chinese people want to abandon socialism.

Sorman: Oh, is it not the case?

He: No, it isn't. I noticed that grievances of the masses at the time were concentrated on runaway inflation, an imbalanced social distribution and officials' corruption and privilege seeking. Many people were also upset by the rapid social polarization, the feeling that social values were being lost, money worshipping and its influence on political activities. These grievances were the main reasons pushing people out on to the streets to demonstrate. This is precisely a sentiment to resist capitalist values.

Personally, I opposed their actions from the beginning, that is, I did not agree with people

expressing their opinions in a way which was irrational and violated the law. But I can understand their grievances. However, those good and honest people did not know that behind the scenes, the instigators had political intentions quite contrary to the will of the public. If they had taken power, they would certainly have made a series of policies that would have further promoted this irrational behaviour. So, it was an absurd situation in which the masses showed a tendency to resist capitalism but the people behind the scenes had political intentions to deepen and develop capitalism. In this sense, weren't the aspirations of the masses, their grievances and indignation, used by these schemers?

Sorman: At the beginning of our talk, we referred to the question of political reform. You said that some systems and channels need to be set up so that people can convey their opinions and demands to the policy-makers. Can you explain specifically what concrete concepts they are?

He: On political reform, it is easier said than done. First of all, China is a big country. In the eyes of outsiders, it seems that all Chinese are identical. But in reality, the political, economic and cultural development differs throughout China. The political level of the masses is also uneven. Any model of political reform in China must consider this complicated national condition before anything else. Currently, the state focuses on the political and ideological education of its citizens, and gives priority to resolving problems of wide concern, such as corruption and bribe-taking among some cadres. These measures are timely and appropriate and they are concrete steps in the political reform. Whenever Westerners talk of China's political reform, they focus on whether China will embrace a multi-party system.

Actually, more than 20 years ago during the "cultural revolution," the Chinese people were allowed to form parties and factions freely. As a result, a dozen or more political organizations including rebellious alliances were set up in cities, villages and trades. They debated endlessly, and even resorted to violence, causing major turmoil throughout China. In-fighting between the different factions scarred individuals emotionally. That situation, in a certain sense, was a type of multi-party or multi-faction system. Under the current social political climate of China,

if China permits people to form parties freely, I think, the chaotic situation will reappear.

VIII. Will the 'June 4 Incident' Be Reappraised by History?

Sorman: Did you speak on the relations between the Tiananmen incident last year and the "cultural revolution?"

He: (Surprised) Oh, yes. How did you know that?

In my opinion, any mass movement, if unlimited by laws and reason in the process of development, will become more politically complicated as it grows larger in scale and hence more inclined to be manipulated by careerists and intriguers. This is nothing new in world history. For example, in the early period of the "cultural revolution," the clique headed by Zhang Chunqiao and Jiang Qin made use of the people's worship of Chairman Mao Zedong and incited the mass discontent towards some senior cadres who sought political and other privileges. They promised to the people that by following them, the people would be led to a paradise where there would be no corruption or irrational phenomena. They launched a series of large-scale radical, crazy mass movements. (Some of them looked similar to the 'June 4 incident'.)

With the help of Lin Biao, the clique at last usurped high positions of the country. Not until then did the people realize that they had been made fools of. Seeing the disastrous effects of the clique's policies, they began to hate them. But it was too late.

Sorman: Do you think that people will take a different look at last year's incident in the future?

He: I know that people with different standings both at home and abroad hold different views on the incident. However, I believe it is highly unlikely that history will reappraise the movement no matter in what direction the situation will develop. I have noted that some people are trying to compare the incident with the 1976 Tiananmen event. Although similar in appearance, they are two completely different things.

The 1976 Tiananmen event was basically a spontaneous popular movement aimed at negating the "cultural revolution" and supporting

Deng Xiaoping as the leader of the country. So the movement was just and conformed with the will of the people. It proved to have promoted the country's great transformations and reforms in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields.

The incident last year was quite different. It had been manipulated by various political forces from the very beginning and was clouded in a conspiratorial atmosphere throughout the incident.

Apparently the movement asked for democracy. But the real scheme and aim behind it has been kept in the dark. I have met some innocent people who were involved in the incident last year. They all feel they have been fooled.

The 1989 incident took place at a time when China, though confronted by complex problems and mistakes after 10 years of reform, was still advancing on both political and economic fronts. It was a period full of hope for China. The incident cast a vast shadow over the future development of China and caused enormous economic and political losses. It can hardly be said that its consequences have been completely eliminated.

IX. China's Prospects for the Future

Sorman: Oh! What do you think of the future of China?

He: There are two possibilities. The first one is that the present stability and unity will last well into the future so that the Party and government will have enough time to correct the mistakes in their work and avoid making new ones. In such a way, China will become a prosperous and modernized country at the beginning of the next century. When we look back and review the incident then, we will probably feel sad about it, but it will not be a glorious event.

The second is that the domestic and foreign forces will succeed in their attempts to sabotage the stability and unity of China. If that happens, China will again be thrown into great disorder and torn apart by warlords and foreign forces just as during the period following the 1911 Revolution (the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen which overthrew the Qing Dynasty). It will be a great

disaster to the Chinese people. Tens of thousands of them will become homeless refugees in civil wars and turmoil. The positions of overseas Chinese will also greatly decline.

In that case, the 1989 incident will not become a glorious page in history, either. On the contrary, it will be viewed as a prelude to a series of historical disasters. Because China is such a big, important country with such a large population, no one country has the political and economic power to control it if it sank into chaos. The problem of refugees alone would cause great problems to the world.

Therefore, I can hardly understand why some Western intellectuals feel so elated and inspired by such an ominous incident. Is this a rational reaction?

Sorman: I do not want to explain to you why Western intellectuals reacted so positively to the Tiananmen incident. However, I suggest that you exercise tolerance and understanding to it. I hope you can see this issue from a broader perspective in the future.

He: (Laughing) From the point of view of ideal Western values, I can naturally understand it. However, although ideals are always wonderful, the realities of survival are grim. I remember that after the drastic changes in Eastern Europe, some Western politicians were extremely optimistic about the world's future. It was as if humankind would enter a brand new era of universal democracy and enduring peace.

Sorman: Yes?

He: Unfortunately, I haven't seen any prospects of such a bright future. On the contrary, I felt at the time that something ominous was looming. I felt that some of the political pillars which had bolstered world peace through the past 40 years had collapsed and the balance of power in the world was being broken. Do the stock exchange crises, high inflation and economic stagnation that have beset developed countries in recent years signal a worldwide economic crisis? Ethnic conflicts are sharpening in some areas, and new local and civil wars are looming. Is the world heading towards an era of lasting peace or an era of repeated, widespread social turmoil and interlocking local wars of medium and small scale? I think everyone who sincerely wishes a brighter tomorrow for humankind should be vigilant over these questions. ■

Economic and Political Reforms

—He Xin's Conversation with Barbara Alighiero

Barbara: Mr He Xin, I've read some of your articles.

He Xin: Oh, what are they?

B: One was your recent talk with Guy Sorman, a reporter with *Figaro*. But I have also read an article you wrote for the reference of leaders of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau. The article was about the student turmoil last year. In it you raised some moderate proposals.

H: Do you mean the one translated by someone called Geemie Barme and carried in a publication of the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

B: Yes. I'd like to know what drove the hard-liners in the Chinese government to refuse your proposals?

H: I don't know what you mean by "hard-liners."

B: Everyone knows, such as Deng and, also, Li Peng.

H: When I said I don't know what you mean by "hard-liners," I mean the political implication of the term is ambiguous and unclear.

I believe every Chinese state leader will be a hard-liner when it comes to China's independence, unity and state sovereignty. None are willing to be condemned through the ages for betraying the interests of the nation and motherland.

With regard to the event last year, I hold that the standard used abroad to divide the so-called "hard-liners" from the "moderates" among the Chinese leadership is very questionable. Is it really true that the leadership was divided because some took a fairly moderate attitude towards the students while others took an uncompromising stand?

I'm not very clear about the differences among the top echelon of the government. But, according to my study of the changes in the Chinese economy, politics and policies, I believe that it is superficial and meaningless to use such physical terms as "hard-line" and "moderate" to portray political and historical events.

In order to elaborate this, I'd like to give you

some background information based on my personal experience.

B: I'm very interested.

I. A Meeting in Zhongnanhai

H: A special meeting was held in Zhongnanhai (site of the government—*Ed.*) on June 1 last year. Please note that the date for the meeting was two days before the "June 4 incident."

The meeting was summoned and presided over by Premier Li Peng. The participants included leaders from the State Education Commission, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Party committee of the Beijing Municipality, as well as some specially invited experts and scholars. I was one of them.

Premier Li Peng said that the meeting would discuss two questions. One was how to distinguish the students and masses who took to the street out of love for their country and opposition to corruption from the "tiny handful of people" who plotted subversive activities behind the scenes; the other was how to find a safe and temperate way to reverse the worsening course of events.

Prior to this meeting, the premier had prepared a document for participants in order to solicit their opinions for amendments. From my recollection, that document spoke firmly and favourably of the patriotic spirit displayed by most students and the masses. All the participants took the floor at the meeting, airing their views from different perspectives. Some of them stood for a moderate attitude and some others stood for a hard line.

I observed Premier Li Peng from beginning to end and discovered him to be very attentive to the others' statements. He took detailed notes of our opinions. I didn't find any hint of a jaundiced attitude on his part towards what was happening outside Zhongnanhai.

I think you still remember the atmosphere prevailing over Tiananmen Square outside Zhongnanhai. Posters such as "Down with Li Peng" could be found along Changan Boulevard. Some lampooned Li Peng as a fascist military officer. My eye-witness impression of Premier Li Peng, however, is that of a modest and self-disciplined man who is ready to listen to others.

I remember that at the meeting, some criticized the government for the ineffective enforcement of martial law, its weakness and compromises, because of which the troops were prevented from entering the city and for many days social order could not be restored. They also said it was better for the government to lift martial law if it remained ineffective. With a sense of humour and a tolerant smile, the premier said: This is Chinese-style martial law, isn't it?

At the meeting, I did not spot any sign of "high-handed suppression." At that time, martial law had been imposed for a dozen days. Judging from the document which was to be circulated nationwide, the central government was still patiently seeking to persuade the majority of the people in order to change the situation in a peaceful way.

Therefore, I'm deeply convinced that if there had been no sudden change in the situation the next day and if no unexpected events had taken place there would have been no unfortunate incident later. At the time, those swollen-headed people miscalculated China's political situation and stirred up troubles, doing everything to aggravate the situation in an attempt to overthrow the government.

B: People weren't aware of the meeting.

H: Right. No reporters were sent and no coverage was given to the meeting in the Chinese press. But I think the participants, including such famous intellectuals as the linguist Xu Guozhang and economists Tao Dayong and Wu Shuqing, are witnesses to this historic event.

II. The Issue of Tibet

B: You once mentioned foreign subverters in your report to the Politburo members. Now you also mentioned "a tiny handful of people." Could you tell me who you are talking about? Do you think foreigners really want to invade China?

H: By foreign subverters I refer to the countries with global strategic ambitions. In my opinion,

they are glad to see an enfeebled, divided China. For instance, some people in the West support independence for Tibet....

B: Who said that? It is not true at all.

H: Nobody in the West supports independence for Tibet?

B: No. They only want to protect Tibetans. They are only showing their solicitude for the issue of Tibet.

H: I think that they do not need to show their solicitude (laughing).

B: There is a difference. They don't stir up trouble. This is the same as we support the democratic movement that took place in Hungary and Romania. By the way, have you ever been to Tibet?

H: Not yet.

B: You'd better go and have a look. There you may find the reasons behind the conflicts between the Chinese and Tibetans and then you may not talk about schemes of foreign countries. If you find how many people show sympathy for the activities, you may see clearly that it's not foreigners that support independence for Tibet.... I have never heard of a foreign government wanting Tibet to be independent, only Tibetans.

H: You say that you didn't support independence for Tibet, but just now, you separated the Tibetans from the Chinese. Are Tibetans not Chinese? Are the matters occurring in Tibet not Chinese affairs?

B: But no country wants Tibet to be independent.

H: Didn't the European Parliament make a declaration on Tibet? Didn't the American Congress publish similar statements? Certainly, at present, no country dares to publicly support independence for Tibet. They pull strings behind the scenes. Strategically, they want to do so in two steps. At present, when the Chinese government is strong, it is impossible for them to flagrantly support Tibetan independence, for such a step would inevitably damage their relations with China. So the best they can do for the time being is to create public opinion and engage in secret activities. Using some internal problems as a pretext in their open statements, they work to sow dissension between Tibetans and the Hans and between the central government and the Tibetan regional government.

But if it happens that the Chinese government's strength and control ability is weakened, some Western strategists' attempt to separate Tibet and other ethnic minority regions from the Chinese nation may be openly placed on the

agenda. To them this is a matter of time. What they do today are preparations for their goal tomorrow. Can't we see the relationship between these two steps?

III. The World Strategy of the United States

B: Do you think the "June 4 incident" was caused by Western schemes?

H: (Laughing) I can assure you that this is not my idea.

About domestic reasons behind the event, I've said much in my conversation with Mr. Guy Sorman. So, I think it is unnecessary to repeat it.

B: But in your previous statement, you indicated that some foreigners wanted to split China.

H: Yes, because I have evidence.

I have studied works written by some Western strategists. During the American Roosevelt time, there was a senior adviser as well as a famous geo-strategist named N.J. Spykman. In the late stages of World War II, he designed the postwar American foreign policy and wrote a book entitled *The Geography of Peace*. When discussing the East, he said that after Japan was defeated, the United States must guard against China becoming a strong, unified and industrialized country.

He held that the formation of such a new power centre in the East would be harmful to American security and world interests. He considered that the best policy was to divide and rule China and so he put forward a policy of containment. In regard to the global goal of the United States, he believed that a world government was inevitable when the whole world was integrated. In order to guarantee American interests, however, the United States had to maintain its dominant position in the world.

In addition, Professor Zbignien Brezinski has written a book entitled *Game Plan*.

B: Yes, I know. I've read the book.

H: This book was written for highly placed politicians in US Congress. The author begins by saying that the contention between the United States and the Soviet Union is not anything between different ideologies or social systems, but a scramble for territories. In other words, the question is who will establish an empire to rule the world.

You might remember the two maps printed in the book. One is the world with the United States

as the centre and the other takes the Soviet Union as the centre. Both are very interesting.

B: Yes, I know.

H: From these two books, I got some idea of the global strategy of the United States. In my opinion, America's position in the present-day world has three basic characteristics:

1. The United States is the leader of developed countries in the West.

2. The United States has always striven to become a world overlord and global leader. In the past 50 years, it has been an economic, political, military and ideological superpower.

3. Since its defeat in Viet Nam, however, the United States' national strength has been on the decline, a decline in the absolute sense of the term. The key reasons for such a decline are its problematic economic system, low economic growth rate and huge deficit. There are too many difficulties for the United States to cope with. The other reason is the rapid rise in the economic positions of other countries including Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and China and their increasing role in world political affairs.

These three characteristics have hampered the global strategy of the United States and threatened to throw it into panic. While consolidating its present position, the United States has tried its best, without so much as to betray its real intentions, to check the rapid emergence of those countries as a potential threat to it.

In the overall strategic plan of the United States, I think China was considered a key link. I think that in the past ten years America's China policy has been a systematic one which was worked out after careful considerations.

For instance, the United States has spent a lot of money on cultural and ideological infiltration. On the one hand, it encouraged a corruption of the Chinese cultural mores, and, on the other, it guided and supported certain intellectuals in an anti-system movement in the name of "democracy." In some Chinese's minds, the United States is so perfect, so strong that it looks almost like a god. In the June incident, for example, didn't some people regard the United States as a goddess out there to protect China's "democracy"?

Some American economists have meticulously created the myth of a perfect American laissez-faire market economy, which they have extolled to the skies and want China to copy.

In a word, it is a whole complex strategy, yet it is executed in such a clever fashion that no trace of real US intention is betrayed.

IV. The Question of the Market Economy

B: The market economy can generate high economic efficiency. Without it, you would not have the economic reform today, would you?

H: I am not opposed to introducing market mechanisms into China's economy to an appropriate degree. Rather, as I said in a recent essay, it is because China introduced the market mechanism into its planned economy earlier than the Soviet Union that China's economy has become more vigorous and successful than that of the Soviet Union.

However, it would be absurd if China took the US type of free market economy—the much-vaunted omnipotent “invisible hand”—as the ultimate goal of its economic reform.

The problem is that the United States' economic system is not as good as it has claimed to be. Far from it. If it were really so good, the United States' economy would not go downhill and no Americans would say that there are lessons to be learnt from Japan.

B: Japan also practises capitalism.

H: Yes. Their means of production are privately owned but, as is known to all, Japan's economic system, as is Germany's, is quite different from that of the United States.

Japan's economic system is subject to a good deal of guidance and control by the state's industrial policies; it is a “mixed” system that blends the advantages of planning and market mechanism. Germany's is similar. The Germans praise their system as “a social market system” in order to set it apart from the American economic system of free market.

Japan and Germany both refuse to copy the US economic pattern. I think this spirit of independence is one of the reasons behind the rapid growth of the postwar economies of Japan and Germany.

That the United States is now forcing Japan to “restructure its economy” is really interesting and thought-provoking. Since the United States has always advocated an economy of free market and free business competition for the fittest to survive, how is it that United States now forces Japan to restructure its economy?

Japan's highly efficient economy has invaded the turf of the United States. Therefore, it is (according to the Japanese) America, not Japan, which should restructure its economy. However, the United States is trying by might and main to

force their version of “economic reform” down the Japanese throat.

What is behind the Japanese-US trade friction? To put it bluntly, it is nothing short of the United States using its political strength to compel Japan to reduce its industrial efficiency and weaken its competitiveness on the market so as to protect the US industrial technology that is trailing behind day by day. Thus the American “invisible hand” suddenly becomes visible.

Since China is economically backward, the United States peddles its economic pattern by playing up its “invisible hand.” Since Japan is economically developed, having the strength to overdo the United States, the United States urges Japan to “reform” and “transform” its economy by administering a dose of its own economic formula. Is it reasonable that the United States tries to transform the whole world along its lines rather than transforming itself?

In my opinion, creating and propagating the mystery of a free-market economy is a strategic step by the United States in order to lord it over the world. The United States wants to establish a global economic system of free markets favourable to itself, a system in which all markets are open to the United States while the US market is not necessarily open to other countries.

Here, I do not mean that China's economic system does not need a reform and that China's economy is free from problems. Just like when treating a patient, we cannot prescribe medicine without a proper check-up. If I am suffering from chronic indigestion, only a doctor who wants to kill me would recommend a complete blood transfusion.

It is strange indeed that in recent years many socialist countries have asked US economists for a hand to remedy their economies. Is it that some people have forgotten that the United States is not only a political and ideological rival of socialism but also its economic rival? In appearance, the cold war is a war of politics and a war of ideology. Looking deeper, however, one will see it also embodies an industrial war, a technical war, an economic war and a war involving national interests.

The United States looks so smart that many socialist countries ask it for prescriptions. The doctor says that your disease is low economic efficiency and the remedy is a market economy. The first dose is liberalization and privatization of the economy. It is said that this cure-all can bring everything back to life. If the dose is taken and the disease is not gone, then he will give another dosage of the same recipe: liberalization

and privatization of the economy. He then will say the first dosage is not big enough to produce an obvious effect. Therefore, it is necessary to repeatedly increase the dosage until the state-owned economic system of a socialist country completely falls apart.

The outcome of this is that the national economy goes bankrupt; factories close down; workers are laid off in great numbers; and the country is buried deep in internal and external debts and bogged down in runaway inflation. By then, the US economic doctor goes away in silence. When you ask him for more help, he will administer another prescription for you: Endure the pain, please, he will say, because this is the price and investment you have to pay for the transition from a less efficient to a highly efficient economy, from a backward to an advanced system. You will have to endure the pain and tide over the difficulty. After all the pains, you will reach the Land of Promise.

However, only God knows how long the problems will last and how high a price must be paid. As everyone knows, some Latin American countries have plodded along this road for decades, and their debts have reached astronomical proportions. They can hardly keep their heads above water.

The problem is that no one can promise the people of a country that paradise lies ahead after paying a certain price. People of some socialist countries who have made such an attempt may regret their action. Once you get on such a road, however, there will be no return.

In my opinion, it was the United States that benefited the most from last year's unrest in the world arena. It destroyed a group of potential rivals and weakened another group. Isn't this proof of the success of the United States' strategy?

V. Why Foreign Investment Cannot Go to China on a Large Scale?

B: (silence) But the United States cannot represent the West as a whole.

H: The United States is the leader of the Western world. Of course, the interests of the United States do not cover those of the entire West. The United States' policy is different from those of other countries.

Italy is also a capitalist industrial country. However, it is only a country of regional proportions and part of the European Economic Community. Italy is not globally oriented and so far has no worldwide political intentions. That may be the reason for the difference between Italy's global policy and the United States' global strategic goal.

B: Absolutely different.

H: However, your two countries do share the same ideological and cultural background. And, between your two countries, there are intricately complicated ties of economic and political interests.

The United States has kept saying it cares for and supports China's modernization programme. In the past decade, however, how much assistance has the United States really given China for its economic construction?

B: Do you know how much foreign countries have invested in China, exactly?

H: It is not difficult to provide the figure. Right now, I do know the figure from two years ago.

By 1987, the West's direct investment in China reached some US\$2.2 billion, mainly from foreigners of Chinese origin. To know what is behind this figure, we have to make a comparison. At the time, China's total investment in the state-owned sector's fixed assets amounted to more than US\$110 billion, some 2 percent of which was foreign investment. I still remember quite well that in the 1950s and 1960s Taiwan got approximately US\$10 billion in aid and investment from the United States and other countries, assistance which played an important role in Taiwan's economic growth. The mainland's population is 50 times bigger than Taiwan's. However, the economic aid it received from foreign countries may be much smaller than that received by an African country.

As a Chinese saying goes, "An empty promise is no better than paying lip service." I wonder whether this can be used to describe the attitude of some developed countries towards China's modernization drive.

B: Do you know about the problems and troubles foreign investors have encountered in China?

H: I have talked much about such problems with some Westerners. I know some of their complaints are reasonable, such as bureaucracy in some government departments and the incomplete infrastructure.

But I don't believe these are the real or major barriers preventing foreign investors from entering China en masse. I think most of the develop-

ing countries in the world, say Southeast Asian, African and Latin American countries, share the same or similar problems. If viewed from its political and social conditions, maybe China has more advantages in many aspects, not to mention the fact that China is striving to improve its investment environment.

In my opinion, the failure for large sums of capital from the West, the United States in particular, to enter China may stem from strategic and global considerations, just like in the case of the Soviet Union, which has also been prevented from receiving Western investment in large volumes.

VI. Social Turmoil: A Bane to Economic Development

B: Don't you mean that America's present policies towards China are like those of China towards the third world countries in the 1960s? Does the United States, in your opinion, really want to export revolution to China?

H: (Laughing) What you said is quite interesting.

This kind of "revolution," just like last year's disturbance in China, is to some plotters a political movement designed to subvert China's existing system and policy. It is true that the United States is exporting "revolution"—anti-socialist "revolution"—in the name of "democracy" to not only China but many other third world countries as well. The United States is playing the energetic role of a democratic fighter and a world policeman.

In my memory, the United States used to be against any mention of "class struggle" in the ideological field. But, during last year's turmoil, the VOA's broadcasts to China urged Chinese almost every day to go in for "class struggle."

B: In fact, Mao Zedong was also opposed to China's bureaucrats and the privileged class.

H: Don't you mean that China needs another "cultural revolution" and a "rebellion"?

Why don't you first go back and make a revolution and rebellion in Italy? Aren't there millionaires, bureaucrats, persons who enjoy privileges, and paupers in your country? Again, why don't you go to the United States to instigate rebellion? Is the American society so exceptionally equal that it does not have all these things?

To date, no country in the world is able to

eliminate the differences between the various social strata. But, if you look carefully, you may find that the differences between various social strata in China are fairly small. For instance, the monthly salary of China's top officials is only several hundred yuan; this, plus the cost of housing, car and telephone, amounts to around 1,000 yuan. The figure is much lower than that earned by some businessmen and entrepreneurs who have their own businesses in this country. The lowest monthly income of China's urban dwellers is 50 yuan, 20-fold less than that of senior officials. In Western society, however, it is common to find 1,000-fold, 10,000-fold and 100 million-fold differences between the highest and lowest incomes. The annual income of a US president is several hundred thousand dollars while that of a senior professor is only 30,000 to 50,000 dollars, to say nothing of ordinary wage earners. If we talk about a campaign against bureaucrats, privileges, differences and inequities between social strata, which country most deserves revolution and rebellion?

B: (Silence).

H: I see clearly the numerous problems in our society but I believe we cannot rely on rebellion and disturbances to resolve them. Disturbances will only suspend and disrupt the continuous development of the economy and cause enormous losses. The various social problems can only be resolved step by step through the development of the economy, the constant growth in national wealth and the firm and steady reform of society.

VII. On Neo-Authoritarianism

B: You said just now you expected to resolve China's problems through social reform. But how will the economic reform be promoted without political reform? During the ten years of reform, the economy has developed, but political reform has not followed suit. Obviously, the latter has fallen behind the former.

H: This used to be a fashionable theory advocated by Yan Jiaqi. I've never accepted this theory.

B: It is not only Yan Jiaqi who has this point of view.

H: I know some American scholars also hold similar viewpoints. They claim China's economic reform is a failure because, when it touches on the fundamental question of the ownership

system, the government draws back. They say it is the political system that impedes China's reform.

B: Isn't this the case?

H: Let's first have a look at the Soviet situation. In the last two years, the Soviet Union has done many things in its political reform. For instance, they have introduced the presidential system and they seem about to try a multi-party system. They have put into practice the theory of letting political reforms lead economic reforms. But, has this solved the Soviet Union's social problems, particularly its economic problems? Are people optimistic about the future of the Soviet Union?

B: But the Soviet Union never practised any economic reform.

H: Did the Soviet Union never practise any economic reform? I think you need to read up on its history. Khrushchev, Liberman and Kosygin, in different ways, all attempted to reform the Soviet economic system.

B: There is indeed a neo-authoritarianism, don't you agree?

H: No, I don't. I very much despise this kind of naive political theory.

B: Why?

H: Some people dished up this theory in 1988 for two purposes.

First, at the time, some people attempted to bring forth a person who arrogated all powers to himself, an autocrat. It was said that this person could be counted on to reject varied opinions, smash the resistance of conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders, and enforce the economic reform line.

Second, the reform the neo-authoritarians advocated was nothing abstract. Their plan for reform was very clear: to go full steam ahead towards the privatization of the economy and a free market.

As I said just now, to set the establishment of the private free market economy as the target of China's economic reform is, in itself, a matter of grief. What is even stranger is that there were people who openly advocated the use of autocracy, totalitarianism and despotic rule to promote this kind of economic reform. A neo-authoritarian once made a speech at Beijing University saying that neo-authoritarianism meant the practice of private ownership and that those who oppose it would be shot to death. Somebody then asked him about democracy. He said it would not be too late to consider "democracy" after the market mechanisms were fully installed.

Who would have imagined such a ludicrous, naive and terrible theory was almost put into political practice?

VIII. The Myth of the Market

B: But what about you? Don't you, now, also propose dispensing with democracy in favour of strengthened government authority?

H: When did I say there should be no democracy? During my talk with Sorman, I explained in detail my views about China's democracy. You may want to have a look at it again.

I am only against indiscriminately introducing Western political forms into China even though they are unsuitable to China's national conditions. As we know, the so-called "freedom and democracy" are not just political demands; they are also closely related to the social and economic system, economic policies and economic concerns.

For instance, in considering such a question, if China directly copied America's political and economic system, one needs to ask what would immediately happen in China's rural areas. What demand would the farmers raise?

B: To have more children.

H: (Laughing) What else?

B: To build houses without restriction.

H: No, this is only a secondary question. If we immediately gave up state planning and control over society and the economy, the farmers—not to mention people of other social strata, who would raise their own demands—would quickly demand three things of the government.

1. Allow free birth.

2. Abolish the permanent residence system and allow the rural population to freely move to cities.

3. Grant freedom to grow what they want to according to market prices. The price of farm produce would be dominated by the market and farmers allowed to sell their products to anyone, at any price and in any place as they wish.

In an abstract sense, some of these demands, such as abolishing restrictions on urban and rural permanent residence registration, are not necessarily unreasonable. With the passing of time, these restrictions will be abolished sooner or later. But if you put it into practice tomorrow and allowed people to migrate and settle freely, I'm afraid tens of thousands of rural people would pour into the large cities. In terms of

housing, employment, food and even water supply, however, the population in many large and medium-sized cities has almost reached the saturation point. This demand alone could throw China into turmoil.

B: How could that be?

H: How could it be otherwise? I would be glad if you have better solutions.

It is known to all that abolishing the family planning policy will harm China. With regard to free planting, China is a country with a huge population and limited land and, so, the fact that the Chinese people, more than 1 billion in population, have just enough grain to eat is closely related to careful agricultural planning and the state monopoly for purchase and marketing of grain and edible oils. To abolish these policies and let agricultural production be regulated through the market would permit a lot of cultivated farmland to be used for cash crops such as fruit and oil-bearing crops, whose prices are as a rule higher than those of grain. In that case, China would soon become a grain-deficient country, and hundred of millions of Chinese people would go hungry.

B: Some problems may crop up at the outset. However, the short supply of grain will mean a rise in the grain price. Automatic regulation through the market would encourage the farmers to grow more grain the following year.

H: Again, you're talking about the "invisible hand." But, first of all, the market price can regulate production only when there are ample home supplies of the materials essential to raising the output; or else enough imports should be guaranteed.

But as things are, China is short of arable land as well as funds for developing agriculture. When grain is in short supply, so will other agricultural products (because of expanded consumption and other reasons) and prices will go up. Under these circumstances, farmer judgment of the market demand is blind at best, and there is no knowing whether they will grow more grain the next year to meet market demand.

Second, even if the international grain market can be relied upon, China's foreign exchange income and reserve are limited. Enormous imports of grain will naturally handicap the import of other products, and, consequently, industrial and technological development. If grain is in short supply for China's several hundred million people, who on earth would be able to make up for it?

Third, supply through market regulation needs a "buffer" period, the length of which is

determined by the cycle of production. With regard to grain, the cycle is about one year, but people will go hungry without eating for a single day. In other words, even if we are convinced that the law of the market can ultimately regulate supply and demand, there will be a famine and many people will die of hunger as we wait for the market regulation to take effect.

B: But has this anything to do with democracy and freedom?

A: Yes, it is directly related to your version of "democracy" and "freedom." My point is that China cannot follow the economic system of the free market. Agriculture alone determines this. Once agricultural production completely breaks away from the guidance and overall control within the framework of state plan, the Chinese people will go hungry. This is determined by the fact that China has a huge population but limited arable land and the fact that its agricultural productive forces are still low. It is a fairy tale that China can completely rely on an ideal market mechanism to regulate the entire economy. If such mechanisms were imposed on China, it would lead to utter social chaos.

Those whose fetish is the myth of the market economy don't know that there is a more profound meaning behind it. The aim of those who want to export the Western market myth to China is to ensure that China's economic lifelines will ultimately depend on a world market under the control of developed Western countries and put China at their beck and call like many poor countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

IX. Empty Talk Can Only Hurt China.

B: But democracy and freedom have other aspects.

H: You know that I believe in this tenet of Marxism. That is, the economic base will restrict and determine the superstructure.

People may wonder what empty talk means. Empty talk may appear impressive and convincing, but acting in accordance with it will lead to great chaos, to the detriment of the country and its people.

In recent years, there has been no lack of such armchair-strategist talk. Recently, I received an anonymous letter from someone, apparently a colleague in the academic circles, who told me

not to worry that China would find itself in turmoil.

He said if I recognized that China was in a structural crisis, then only a structural transformation could solve the crisis. He also noted that disturbance only stemmed from unorganized forces constantly coming out of the old structure. To him, turmoil is a good thing because it provides the force needed to revamp China's structure. The reason why China is so slow in progress is that there has never been a disturbance that is thorough enough. A turmoil of ten to 20 years is needed, he said, to clean China of all the corrosive factors which have accumulated for several thousand years, and only thus can the nation dispose of several hundred million inferior people and overhaul the old social structure and rebuild a new one. Only thus can China move from disorder to order and create the prerequisites for modern democratic politics and economic modernization.

B: (Laughing) This means it is right to rebel against reactionaries.

H: It is precisely this theory that sounds so appealing with so many catchy phrases. But, in my view, it doesn't hold water. The other day, when I was making a speech in a university, I read out the letter and, to my surprise, some people clapped hands to show their approval. I responded by saying that my theoretical level was rather low and that I didn't quite understand the so-called structural problem. Now, would you people who have clapped your hands in approval please stand up and put the theory into practice. The theory said that the surplus population will be eliminated through turmoil. I think the surplus population can be eliminated without turmoil. Those who advocate the theory should set an example, however, by taking their own lives, so as to implement the theory of self-elimination of the population. Otherwise, who has the right to decide who should be eliminated in the turmoil and who should be protected?

I told the audience that I was a mediocre person who thinks of problems in practical terms. The theory tells me that after decades of turmoil, China will become as good as a paradise. I am so shortsighted that I am always afraid that I cannot see what will happen decades from now, but I do know that if things are handled according to your theory, China will soon be in the lap of turmoil and the chaos of war, millions will be out of work and deprived of an education, numerous families will go homeless and fall

apart. Ask our folks if this is what they really want.

X. Price Reform And Inflation

B: In 1988, you foretold the political crisis. What is your opinion about the current government?

H: I think the crisis is over. The current Party Central Committee and government are more sober, prudent and practical than before June 4 last year. They are also more enlightened in some aspects. I think China's political situation is stable. The fact is that the current government policies enjoy broader popular support than before the turmoil. I can understand, also, that Western observers may not be happy to see this.

B: But I believe it. If you don't jack up prices, the policies will surely win support.

H: To control inflation is just one aspect of the current policy that has won support. There are other causes, but in my opinion, the key is that the policies are moving in the right orientation. With regard to prices, they have been adjusted this year. From a long-term point of view, the reform of the current price structure is inevitable.

B: Are not price hikes and inflation the same thing?

H: Price reform and inflation are certainly not the same thing. The price reform entails readjusting the prices of some commodities in a planned, selective, controlled and limited way, while inflation means the failure of the price policy and loss of government control, resulting in runaway spontaneous rise in prices. If cyclical price rises occur, galloping inflation will be the result, bringing untold harm to society.

I think people can distinguish price reform from inflation. Judging from the economic history of various countries, a period of ascendant economy is almost certain to be accompanied by price increases. So long as the government adopts proper measures the populace will be glad to accept the moderate reform of the price structure.

Before I finish this conversation, I must say that I am not an official. I am only a scholar who ponders and studies the problems of the contemporary world. My words have no policy implications, and I only air my views on behalf of myself. ■

Jiangsu's New Investment Boom

According to the Jiangsu Commission for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, the province continued to enjoy a booming economic and technological co-operation with foreign countries in the first half of this year. By the end of last June, a total of 179 projects had been newly approved with a contracted value of US\$124.227 million. Of this figure, 127 are foreign-funded enterprises with an investment of US\$74.219 million.

Investors come from a dozen or so countries and regions such as Japan, the United States, Singapore, Thailand, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Australia, Switzerland and the Netherlands as well as Hong Kong and Taiwan. Jiangsu approved the establishment of four enterprises overseas. At the same time, it actively helped 302 foreign-funded enterprises now in operation to resolve difficulties in their production and management. This resulted in the export growth of foreign-funded enterprises. Statistics indicate that their export value has already reached US\$68.76 million, an 81.77 percent increase over the corresponding period last year.

There has also been a new development in labour service contracts signed with foreign countries. In the first six months of this year, for example, new contracts worth US\$37.824 million were signed, an 81.77 percent increase over the same period last year. Some new features have appeared in labour service for foreign countries. For instance, the market has been shifted to the Asian Pacific region from the Middle East. In the first half of this year, the province clenched 18 new labour contracts with the

Asian Pacific region. The contract value was US\$7.278 million, an increase of 120.48 percent over the same period last year. On the other hand, there is also a new development in labour co-operation with the Soviet Union. In the second quarter of this year, for example, Jiangsu signed contracts for seven construction projects and sent out 563 laborers to the Soviet Union. ■

Yanhua Co. Extends Time Limit

Good economic returns have brought brighter prospects for a co-operative arrangement of the Yanhua Electrical Equipment Co. Ltd. (YEEC). Before the expiration of the contract term, the two partners in mid-July signed an agreement to extend it for 10 years.

Located in the city of Shijiazhuang, the YEEC, Hebei's first joint venture, was established in 1980 by the Shijiazhuang No.17 Radio Factory and the CNT Electronics Co. of Hong Kong. Over the past decade, the company, by importing and making full use of advanced technology, had developed more than ten new products including radio movable communications facilities, safety-protection devices for civilian purposes, different buckle-type alkaline electric cells, large capacity and durable lithium batteries, some of which were sold on the international market. At the same time, some foreign businessmen asked the company to transfer technology patents for some products or to act as overseas sales agents.

Good business brought rapid development. At present, the company's fixed assets increased from 72,000 yuan to 1.2 million

yuan, and the output value rose from 150,000 yuan to 9 million yuan. Over the past decade, it earned a total profit of 3 million yuan, 3 times the total investment.

The two partners have decided to reinvest 2.16 million yuan in profits without distribution for the expansion of production.

by Li Zhuqing and Zhang Xiaodi

WFP-Aided Grain Project Goes Well

The Grain project aided by the World Food Programme (WFP) is all proceeding smoothly.

The project coded No.3557 is a comprehensive project to develop irrigation in Wulan County of northwest China's Qinghai Province. Begun in July 1989, the first stage of the project will take 13 million man-days in four years. WFP offered 35,000 tons of wheat worth US\$5.4 million and Qinghai Province provided 40 million yuan.

Located in the Qaidam Basin, Wulan County is a dry land with little rainfall. Water evaporates at a rate 14 to 40 times rainfall. This, combined with poor irrigation facilities, has resulted in low and erratic grain output.

The project is designed to improve the living standards for more than 50,000 farmers in 84 villages. The first stage of the project will include building two reservoirs on the Dulan and Saishike rivers which pass through the county, building more than 120-kilometre waterproof ditches, repairing more than 190-kilometre village roads, afforesting 416-hectare wind-breaking green belts and expanding the irrigated area to more than 4,000 hectares. In the second stage, farmland of another 1,500 hectares will be irrigated. ■

The 'Chronicle of Zhou Enlai'

The *Chronicle of Zhou Enlai*, edited by the Party Literature Research Centre of the CPC Central Committee and co-published by the Central Party Literature Publishing House and the People's Publishing House, has already been distributed both in China and abroad.

With its rich variety of first-hand material, the biographic chronicle is believed to be the most up-to-date resource and most substantial in content among the books published on Zhou Enlai up to now. Historical documents from the CPC Central Committee, conference records of the Party's secretariat, politburo and its standing committee, and telegrams which indicate contacts between Zhou and the Party's Central Committee and other leaders including Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De are extensively quoted. Manuscripts, reports and letters written by Zhou, as well as his diaries, essays and school compositions are widely cited in the book.

The Central Archives, the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the Zhou Enlai Research Institute at Nankai University provided relevant materials and the No. 2 Museum of History offered pre-1949 minutes of the Kuomintang (KMT) regime. Hundreds of Zhou's comrades-in-arms and friends presented their memoirs for reference. Many experts and scholars showed their concern for the subject matter by providing invaluable help in the book's compilation.

The chronicle was completed after ten years of painstaking effort. It presents a faithful description from Zhou's early family life and relationship with his relatives and friends to his sin-

cere care for comrades and friends and strict demands on himself, and from his revolutionary practice and theoretical formulations to his life in war-torn China and during the making of New China.

Zhou was a leading member of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China and one of the key founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The publication of his chronicle can thus help give readers not only a better understanding of Zhou's life and achievements but also a new perspective on modern Chinese history and on the history of the Communist Party of China. It is a valuable reference book for researchers in China and abroad interested in Zhou's life. ■

'Deng Xiaoping on Party Building'

Deng Xiaoping on Party Building, edited by the Reference Office of the Bureau of Secretaries under the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, has been published by the People's Publishing House.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party 11th Central Committee in 1978, Deng Xiaoping, faced with a new situation under the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, has made profound expositions on Party building. The book is a collection of 39 articles, speeches and talks on the subject.

In the book, Deng touches on such important questions as how to understand Mao Zedong's thoughts on Party building fully and succinctly, restore and carry forward the Party's fine tradition and workstyle, and uphold the Party's guideline and improve its work. He notes the importance

for adhering to the four cardinal principles (upholding the socialist road, the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the people's democratic dictatorship and Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought), emphasizing the political and ideological work, opposing the mistaken ideological tendencies, constructing both socialist material civilization and socialist culture and ethics and restructuring China's political system. He calls on Party members to observe organizational disciplines and says that correcting the Party's work style is the key to improving the general social atmosphere. He asserts that the Party should tacitly lead the people and purify its own ranks. ■

Documents on World Communists

Co-edited by the Research Centre and Literature Editing Centre of the CPC Central Committee's International Liaison Department and the Shandong Academy of Social Sciences, a large-scale reference book *Selected Documents of the World's Communist Party Congresses in the 1980s* (in Chinese) was published recently by the China Radio and TV Publishing House in Beijing and is to be distributed both domestically and abroad.

The book is the first of its kind and will help readers understand the programmes and policies of the communist parties in various countries in their study of the international communist movement. The 2-volume, 7 million-character book is a collection of reports, programmes, constitutions, statements and resolutions adopted by the world's 62 Communist Parties at their congresses held in the 1980s. ■

Modern Education Flourishes in Tibet

REMIN RIBAO
(People's Daily, Overseas Edition)

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, education has undergone a fundamental change. The old educational system having religious doctrines as its main theme has been replaced by a modern system that emphasizes scientific and technological knowledge.

Currently in Tibet, there are 2,538 schools. They include three higher educational institutions, 15 polytechnic schools, 68 middle schools and 2,398 primary schools. Of the 170,000 students, minorities account for 88.6 percent.

To promote the development of modern education, the state has allocated money for scholarships. Therefore, all the students are receiving an education free of charge.

Special attention has been paid to teaching students in the Tibetan language, with education in primary schools mainly conducted in Tibetan. The curriculum of middle schools includes courses in the Tibetan language and literature. Tibet's universities and colleges provide classes in the Tibetan language and literature, history, medicine, religion, art and astronomy.

Since 1984, the state has provided funds to start more than 100 classes aimed specifically at training professionals for Tibet in some universities in the hinterland. More than 6,400 students who come from Tibet are studying at universities and colleges of other provinces and municipalities. Several universities and colleges throughout China have established ties with Tibet in order to help train people for the autonomous region.

The amount of money spent

on education in Tibet has increased steadily, reaching 143 million yuan in 1989. After 1959, the state has allocated 950 million yuan to Tibet, guaranteeing improved conditions in education. Today, Tibet owns six ground receivers for educational satellites. Some schools of higher learning, polytechnic and middle schools are now complete with modern libraries, language training rooms and computer centers. Middle schools have been equipped with TV sets, laboratories for classes of physics, chemistry and biology and other teaching facilities. Even the key primary schools have modernized their teaching facilities.

(July 4, 1990)

The Query Is Queried

YANGCHENG WANBAO
(Guangzhou Evening News)

In an article carried in *China's Population Newspaper*, demographer Bian Houze questioned the truth of the statement "wrongly criticizing one person has resulted in an increase of 300 million people." (See *Beijing Review*, issue No. 17, 1990) "I have no doubt about the final conclusion that Professor Ma Yinchu was wrongly criticized," Bian said.

Bian was referring to Mao Zedong's criticism of Ma in the 1950s for his population theory arguing that China's population was increasing at an alarming rate and that steps should be taken to control the population growth.

However, Bian said, "it was unfair that the increase of 300 million people between 1957 and 1979 can be attributed to the 'wrong criticism' of professor Ma. The history of that period

tells us that the natural growth rate of the population was not affected by the 'wrong criticism.'"

In his article carried in *Yangcheng Wanbao* on May 11, Zhang Ming, also a demographer, queried Bian's query.

Bian Houze said that the wrong criticism had not any effect on the general situation of China's population increase; the birthrate had dropped continually because of natural and man-made calamities. According to the fact that China's birthrate dropped between 1957 and 1961, Bian concluded that even if China had not launched a "wrong criticism," its population would have greatly increased anyway more than 20 years later.

But in fact, it was the wrong criticism along with slogans like "More people to do things better" that caused the rapid increase of population in China in the following years.

In 1963, the growth rate of China's population hit 38.33 per thousand. In the following 10 years, the rate ranged between 20.89 per thousand and 28.38 per thousand and didn't drop to less than 12 per thousand until the year 1980 when China's family planning policy had been in force for several years.

Bian had also argued that China's large population—the world's largest—was the result of "its profound political, economic, cultural, historical and biological background" and that this situation could not be immediately changed by the criticism of one or two persons.

It is true that China's population problem is the result of many things. However, we are blind if we don't see an error in policy-making resulting from the "wrong criticism." If we had taken a positive point of view of Professor Ma Yinchu's popula-

tion theory, we would surely have slowed down the pace of population increase earlier. In Bian's eyes, whether China had launched a "wrong criticism" or not and no matter which policy it had taken, the result was the same. According to Bian's theory, China was doomed to increase its population to 1.1 billion.

That is typically a pessimistic and fatalistic point of view.

(May 11, 1990)

Asia's No.1 Plastic Surgery Hospital

LIAOWANG
(Outlook Weekly, Overseas Edition)

The Hospital of Plastic Surgery under the Chinese Academy of Medical Science, located near the site of the Eight Temples Park in Beijing, is the biggest hospital of its kind in Asia. Every year it undertakes 50,000 plastic surgery operations for Chinese and foreign patients.

Covering an area of 100,000 square metres of land, the hospital has 20 full and associate professors and 500 medical workers. It boasts 15 modern operating rooms equipped with such advanced plastic surgery instruments as microscopes, wide-angle X-ray machines and sound spectrographs. Established in 1957, the hospital has since that time hosted ten major international academic symposiums on plastic surgery. In 1983, the hospital's head, Song Ruyao, won the Golden Saw Prize, the highest award for the plastic surgeons in the world. Song is one of the three prize-winners in the world.

The hospital can treat congenital defects, remove lesions caused by fire, chemical and

physical burns, and provide satisfactory cosmetic treatment after the removal of tumours.

The surgeons headed by Professor Song have successfully reconstructed such organs as deformed ears and penises in one-step treatments requiring about one month. In general, such operations usually require three or four steps and take between half a year to two years.

The hospital has an international reputation for the reconstruction of harelips, cleft palates, and rifted urethra as well as for microscope surgery.

The achievements have brought the hospital to the attention of its foreign counterparts. Song's works on plastic surgery have been published in the United States and many countries have invited him to lecture. Some 400 plastic surgeons from more than 30 countries and regions have come to the hospital to perfect their skills.

(March 19, 1990)

Artificial Breeding Of Alligators

LIAOWANG
(Outlook Weekly, Overseas Edition)

The Chinese Alligator Research Centre has succeeded in artificially breeding a second generation of the Yangtze alligator.

Located in Xuanzhou, Anhui province, the research centre consists of three reservoirs, a breeding ground, an artificial lake for raising alligators, ten ponds for different ages of alligators and an incubation system for infant alligators. The centre covers 1,000 square metres, where more than 2,000 alligators of different ages are now raised. In August 1989, 22 infant alligators of the second generation were placed in the incubation

system and all are still alive after more than one year's trial. This was the first successful artificial breeding in this field in the world.

The Yangtze alligator has a history dating back more than 200 million years. In 1897, a French biologist gave the alligator living in its ancestral home in the Yangtze River basin the name Yangtze alligator.

As civilization progresses, the areas where alligators live have become smaller. Between 1975 and 1981, Chinese scientists found that there were less than 500 survivors.

In 1972, China listed the Yangtze alligator as an animal subject to first-class preservation. In 1973, the United Nations listed it as a species near extinction and forbade its removal to other places. In 1979, the Yangtze alligator breeding farm was set up in Xuancheng County, where large and small alligators found in mountain ditches and ponds were brought to the centre for breeding. In 1982, the people's government of Anhui Province listed Xuancheng, Nanling, Jingxian, Langxi and Guangde counties as natural reserves, covering an area of 900,000 hectares. In 1983, the state allocated funds to expand the Xuancheng breeding grounds, and set up the only research centre for breeding the Yangtze alligator in China. A total of 200 alligators are bred every year. Now there are over 2,600 alligators at the centre, ten times more than at the beginning of the year.

The incubation period for the Yangtze alligator lasts 60 to 70 days. The incubation temperature is an average 30 degrees Centigrade. The survival rate is more than 95 percent by using artificial incubation compared with 20 percent under natural conditions.

(April 30, 1990)

Guitar Gains Popularity in China

Like all the foreign guitarists who have visited China, Josef Ka-Cheung Fung received loud applause from the audience when he plucked the first triplet of *The Love Romance* during a concert at the Haidian Theatre in western Beijing.

Fung felt less confident, however, when he began to introduce

his *Moment For Solo Guitar*, which has strong modernist elements. Adapted from his second guitar concerto, *The Mystical Hexagon*, it uses a variety of techniques to convey the mysteries of outer and inner space. But he found that the audience understood the music; the theatre was quieter than when he had played the piece in Vienna.

Fung was born in Hong Kong but is a citizen of Iceland who now lives in Vienna. In 1973 he studied guitar at the Norton Royal Conservatory of Music in Manchester under the renowned John Williams.

During his Beijing concert he played such guitar classics as *Prelude* by Villa-Lobos, *The Miller's Dance* by de Falla and *Oriental Cherry* by Yuquijiro Yocoh. Fung found that the Chinese audience was

quite familiar with these tunes, applause erupting at the last note of each piece.

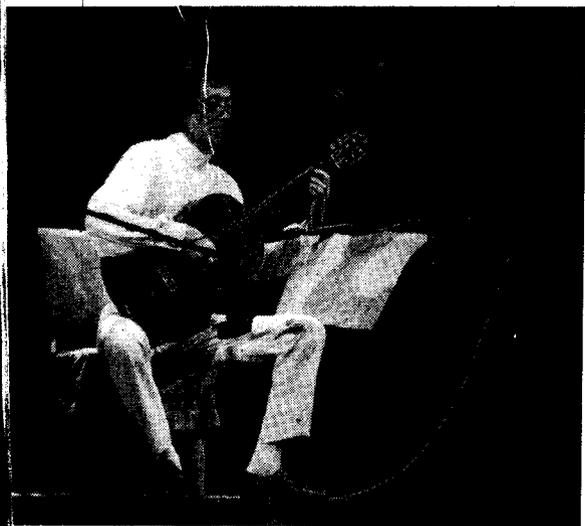
In the past decade, millions of Chinese have been caught up in the guitar craze. Although many can play no more than one tune, usually *The Love Romance*, more and more Chinese now consider the guitar as more than a mere hobby. Outstanding guitarists have emerged in Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai and Harbin in recent years and their technique approaches the highest international level.

They play difficult works by such masters as Sor, Albeniz, Bach and Agustin Barrios Mangore, and seek to emulate great guitarists like Williams, Andrés Segovia, Manuel Barrueco and Julian Bream. At the Zhuhai International Guitar Festival held in Zhuhai, Guangdong Province, in 1987, foreign performers were surprised at the great progress Chinese guitarists had made in recent years.

As yet, China has no special guitar school and there is no guitar major offered at music conservatories. Lacking a formal training place, Chinese guitar lovers grasp every opportunity to

REN WUJING

Josef Ka-Cheung Fung performs in Beijing.



Wu Yan gives a performance at the Beijing Concert Hall; Zhang Luchun (fourth left, back row), Wu Yan (second right, back row) and Zhang Jie (first right, back row) after a performance at the Kunlun Hotel.

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learn. Fung's performance certainly provided them with a very good one.

At that concert, Chinese guitarists Zhang Lushou, chairman of the Beijing Guitar Association, and Li Huizhe, first prize winner at the Tianjin Guitar Competition, also performed. Zhang impressed the audience with his wonderful presentation of *Gran Jota* by Tarrega.

Constantinos Michaelis, secretary of the Cypriot embassy said, "Zhang's playing technique is a match for many professional guitar players in the world. But he, first of all, should have a better guitar."

Fung agreed that the talent of Chinese guitarists has been cramped by the poor quality of their guitars. Good instruments, however, are too expensive for Chinese players. At the end of Fung's concert one guitarist said, "I felt envious to hear Fung's guitar producing such a refined sound."

Guo Yulong, 33, showed Fung a guitar he had made himself and Fung said, "This is the best Chinese guitar I have ever seen." Guo, who began making guitars four years ago, said, "Guitar makers in the West have several generations of experience to rely on. What I have is hard work and persistence."

This reporter paid a visit to Zhang and some friends in a small courtyard in Xisi, a western district of Beijing. They had transcribed John Denver's song *Choice* into a guitar quartet and were busy practising.

Li Huizhe lives in Tianjin but takes the train to Beijing every week to take part in these sessions. Guo Yucheng, who left his original job as a college teacher to study with the Central Opera and Dance Drama Troupe at his own expense, rides his bicycle to the rehearsals. A guitar is all he wants, he said.

by Lou Linwei

A 'Jade Age' in Prehistoric China ?

Two Chinese archaeologists have challenged the universally acknowledged chronological schemes for pre-history of humanity. The ages—Stone, Bronze and Iron ages—were put in order by Danish archaeologist Christian J. Thomsen (1788-1865), who based them on the first appearance of means of production in a period of social development.

Senior researchers Mou Yongkang and Wu Ruzuo with the Zhejiang Provincial Archaeological Research Institute have proved in a recent study that a "Jade Age" existed between Stone Age and Bronze and Iron ages in China.

Despite Thomsen's classification of the ages, the belief that the evolution of civilization in eastern Asia took a unique course becomes more clearly.

The Chinese archaeologists arrived at their findings on the basis of the discovery of a large amount of jade articles of the Liangzhu and Hongshan cultures. The Neolithic culture of Liangzhu was first discovered at Liangzhu Town of Yuhang County in eastern China's Zhejiang Province in 1936. The Hongshan site, also a Neolithic culture, was first discovered in 1935 in Chifeng in Liaoning Province in northeast China.

In 1986, Mou and six other researchers were involved in an archaeological dig at a large burial site of the Liangzhu culture. From 11 tombs they excavated more than 1,200 funerary objects, 90 percent of which were jade articles including *cong* (square-shaped jade with a hole in the middle), *yue* (an ax) and *bi* (a round-shaped ornament worn by nobles at court when offering sacrifices or at funerals). They also discovered many

other rare precious relics such as a god figurine with an animal mask carved in jade, a *pai* or sceptre with a dragon head design, a jade ax complete with handle and many other painted artifacts decorated with jade pieces. In 1987, they excavated 700 more pieces of jade from another 11 tombs of the Liangzhu culture in a dig of the Yaoshan altar.

In 1988, the Liangzhu research project, including the study on a "Jade Age," was included in the list of the state's major scientific research projects and financed with state social sciences funds.

The application of jade was one of the major features marking the beginnings of Chinese civilization, Mou said. The idea of taking jade as a blessed object was central to the "Jade Age."

As impractical tools of production, jade products actually marked the beginning of the ritual system in China, which was based on the classes of society. At the time, jade was a symbol of privilege and power.

The appearance of jade products can be traced back 7,000 to 8,000 years. However, the "Jade Age" would have dated back 3,500 to 5,000 years.

The application of jade covered a wide area in ancient China from the Yanshan Mountain range in the north to Shaanxi Province and the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in the west, to the Taishan Mountain area in Shandong Province in the east, and to Guangdong Province in the south, forming a crescent shape of jade culture. This vast semi-circular area was the region where Confucianism prevailed in later years.

Mou also disclosed that at the Liangzhu site, they have found an earthen construction built 5,000 years ago covering more than 300,000 square metres.

Many noted professors and archaeologists have inspected the

site. Yan Wenming, director of Beijing University's archaeology department, believes the discovery marks the first time such large-scale ruins of culture and religion have been found in China. It's also a major find throughout the world, Yan added.

It will also likely provide further evidence in the near future to support arguments of the "Jade Age" in China. ■

Figurines With Rich Facial Expression

Recent achievements in research were presented at the Third Symposium on Qin Culture and Figurines held at Lintong County, Shaanxi Province, where a large number of terra-cotta figurines have been unearthed.

The Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC) was founded when Qin Shihuang (the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty) united the various Chinese states under his rule. His mausoleum, with its terra-cotta army of 8,000 horses and warriors, was discovered in 1974, some 37.5 kilometers east of Xian. It is regarded as the eighth wonder of the world.

Researchers Feng Shengqi, Li Yongxin and Zheng Jianhong examined the figurines and found that 80 percent of the warriors are muscular, nearly 90 percent are tall and every general is stalwart with thickset bones and well-developed muscles. This is a combat ready army composed of strong healthy soldiers, they said.

Experts observed 3,119 facial lines and found that 100 percent of the figurines have philtrum, nasolabial folds, chin folds and forehead folds, over 95 percent have folds on the upper eyelid,

lower eyelid and eye socket, more than 20 have wrinkles on the forehead and between the eyebrows and 0.4-0.52 percent have furrows.

The length, width and depth of these lines vary, depending on the person. Experts say the facial expression of the figurines is much richer than that on ancient Greek statues of Venus and Apollo.

Experts measured the earlobes of the figurines and found that more than 50 percent are round and nearly 20 percent are square, a proportion similar to modern Chinese. They also discovered 25 styles of beard, each style corresponding to the age, character, face shape and post of the figure represented.

In his article *Hand Shape, Gesture and Function of the Qin Military Men*, Wang Wangsheng wrote that the Qin figurines have seven different hand shapes. Four gestures—the weapon style, shovel style, hook style and pincers style—are almost identical to the gripping, lifting and stretching of modern Chinese soldiers.

The China Qin Figurine Association was established in the autumn of 1986. The more than 80 theses presented at this symposium demonstrated that academic research has expanded from cultural relics, archaeology and history circles to art, science and technology, military affairs and other fields.

For example, geology and hydrology experts have put forward many original ideas about the mausoleum's layout and the techniques used in building Qin Shihuang's underground palace. Some scientists have studied the site's microclimate as well as measures to protect the excavated figurine pits and the remaining traces of paint on the figurines. ■

Ancient Nomads in Rock Carvings

A new study containing pictures of more than 1,000 rock carvings in Inner Mongolia sheds new light on the life of the nomadic peoples who roamed northern China in ancient times.

Rock Carvings of Ulanqab by archaeologist Gai Shanlin is the second monograph about rock carvings published in China. Rock Carvings of Yinshan Mountain, another site in Inner Mongolia, was the first.

Gai, of the Manchu nationality, went to Ulanqab Grassland in the 1980s to inspect more than 10,000 carvings scattered in the area. Ulanqab League, a district the size of Austria, is situated in central Inner Mongolia, one of the birthplaces of Chinese nomadic culture.

Historical research indicates that the carvers ranged from the primitive tribesmen, who lived in the area 3,000-4,000 years ago, to Huns during the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), Turks and Mongolians during the post-Han period and Han Chinese during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).

Depending on the period, carving was done with stone, bronze or iron tools. Animals are the dominant motif. Experts found 27 breeds, not only wild and domestic horses and goats and gazelles, but also ostriches and the now extinct woolly rhinoceros.

The carvings also show animals in pens, the pens indicated by squares and the animals by dots in the squares. This shows that prehistoric hunters enclosed and domesticated wild animals in the transition from an economy based on hunting to one based on animal husbandry.

Many symbols have also been found on so-called "Turk rock pictures." Experts say these are of high academic value in deciphering the scripts of ancient Chinese nationalities. ■



The Roar of a Tiger.

獨步山林
丙寅初秋
朱育蓮
畫



A Tiger With Its Cub.

水龍
丙寅初秋
朱育蓮
畫

ART PAGE

Chinese Paintings by Zhu Yulian

Zhu Yulian, born in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province, in 1926, is now the director of the Shenzhou Studio of Art and Calligraphy. Specializing in Chinese landscape, flower and animal paintings, he is particularly adept in drawing the tiger.



A Pack of Tigers.

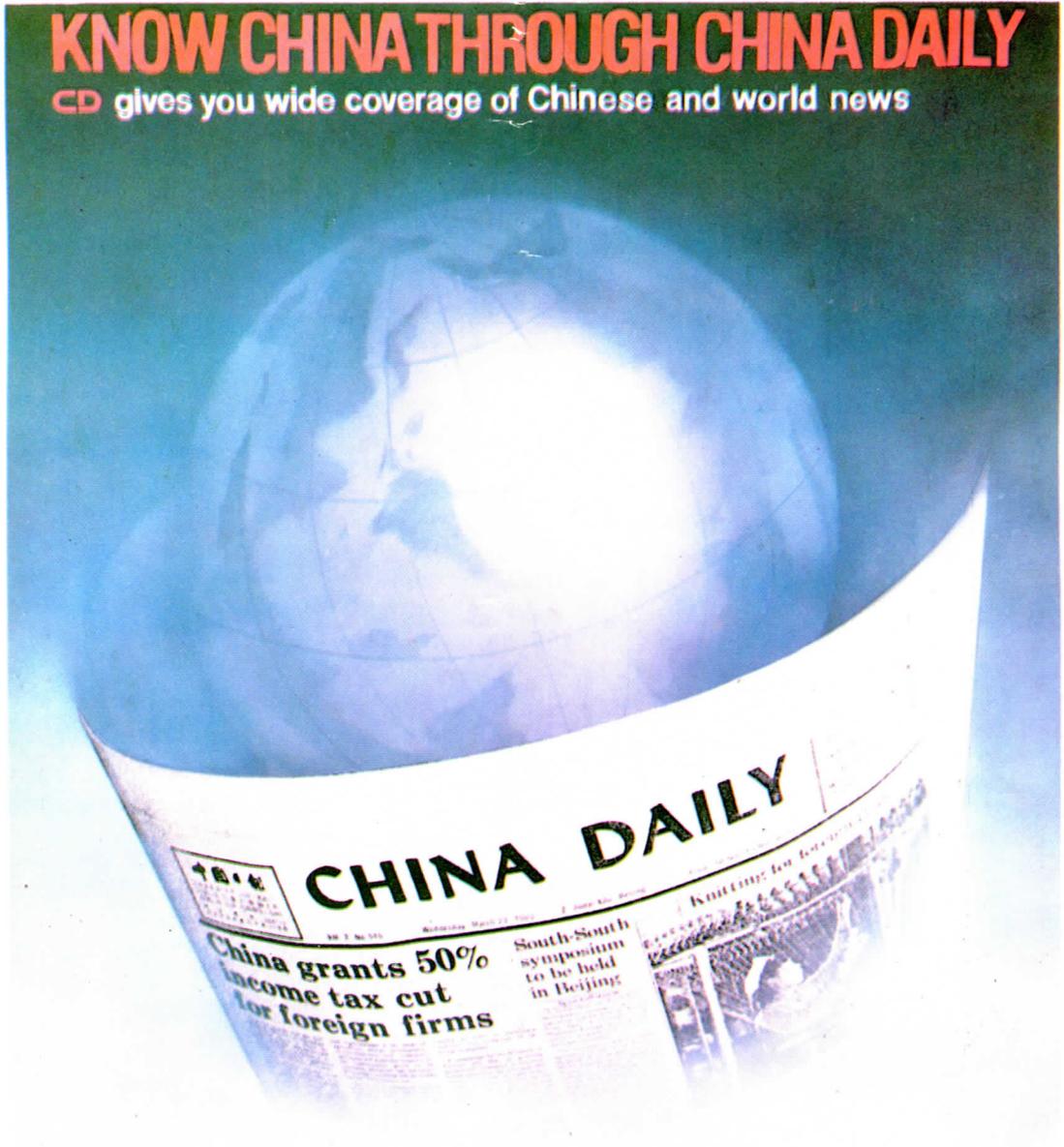
羣莽圖

丙寅仲夏
朱育蓮
寫於上海
時年六十
夢頭八海揚七海一披鐵筆
錄光鏡元脫詩
錄光鏡元脫詩

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