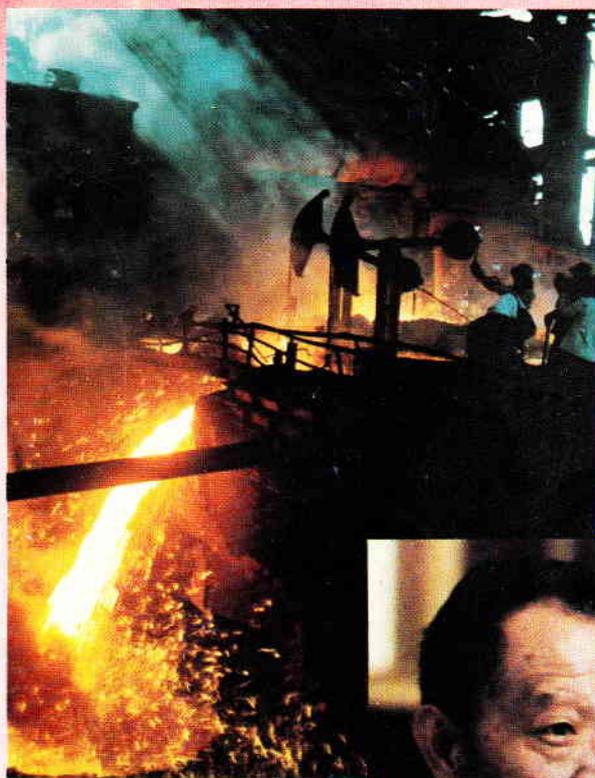


# MONSOON

## IS PRAGMATISM ADEQUATE?





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Pragmatism, according to the dictionary, is a philosophy holding that practical consequences are the criterion of knowledge. More specifically, *Webster's Dictionary* describes it as a method in philosophy which determines the meaning and truth of all concepts by their practical results. Despite its American origin, Chinese leaders are gradually finding the concept acceptable, whether as a general philosophy, or as a method in philosophy. Indeed, the press in China has their own definition for pragmatism: To seek truth from facts. The saying is regarded as applicable to the modernization drive, and to practical as well as ideological matters.

But, people ask, is it enough? Can pragmatic policies bring back the idealism in China's socialist construction and re-inject into her the revolutionary spirit of former times? Now that a balance sheet is being drawn up for the Cultural Revolution, it has dawned to some people that a great deal of feudalistic practices, vulgar bureaucratism,

elitism, and general vices of the old Chinese society have found their way back, some stealthily, others openly. The fact is, China has never been able to wipe away those undesirable influences even after liberation. The time has come to deal with them decisively and thoroughly, if modernization is to be assured any degree of success.

Right now, nobody seems to be particularly concerned about such ideological inquiries. The general thinking is that as the material needs of the people are slowly being satisfied, China will be in a better position to deal with theoretical inquiries and disputes. For the latter half of this year, two important gatherings have been scheduled. They are the Third Session of the present National People's Congress, and, the Twelfth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Decisions from these meetings will signify in which direction the country will be moving in the coming years.

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The Chinese system of romanization (Pinyin System) is used unless specified. In accord with East Asian practice, all surnames are given first. *Signed articles express the views of the writers and not necessarily those of the magazine.* We welcome articles, letters and comments from our readers.

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# Is Pragmatism Adequate?

Staff Reporter

After nearly four years of pragmatic rule, the Chinese economy seems to have attained some achievements in terms of higher production and better livelihood for both workers and peasants. Travelers recently returned from Beijing reported that pork is no longer rationed in the capital; people can buy as much as they want. Supplies in provinces, notably Sichuan and Anhui, are reported to be quite sufficient. Even in Guangzhou, a city where the demand for consumer goods is always heavy, meat, and household items, are always available, a phenomenon found only during the trade fair season in former times.



Television sets in department stores

In mid July, Xinhua News Agency reported that China's exports jumped 35.5% in the first half of this year, giving it a trade surplus of RMB 200 million yuan for that period. In his talks with visiting U.S. Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, Chinese Vice-Premier Zhao Ziyang described the economy as being in good shape generally after important adjustments were made

two years ago. One of the important new adjustments had to do with the re-alignment of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry, in that order of importance. Of the three, agriculture seemed to have made some satisfactory progress over the last year. It has, after all, a much simpler process of production compared with industry. As can be expected, heavy industry fared the worst among the three. Steel production, with an increase of 8.5%, is still comparatively low. Coal and crude oil, two very important fuels, have an increase of only 2.8%. A decrease in oil production is envisioned for the coming year. The growth rate of light industry averages around 7% between 1978-79, 1.7% lower than planned. It is revealed that the economic readjustment period, initiated in 1978 and lasts for three years originally, would have to be extended for two years, that is, until 1983.

## Reasons for Industrial Lag

In an interview with Japanese friends, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping enumerated several causes for the slow advance in industries: insufficient electricity and energy, probably on account of backward exploration and exploitation methods; insufficient infrastructure facilities; inefficient management and a lack of skilled labor. Of course, one sees what the immediate problems are. It will be more profitable, however, if one attempts to analyse a bit further and dig up some of the roots underlying those problems. Since last year, a discussion was launched in the press and academic circles in China as to the general aim and purpose of production. It was found that a good deal of people involved in industrial management had no idea what it was for which they are producing. It was a common mistake of "production for production's sake". As a result, the following abnormalities are found:

1. Production is carried out without regard for market demand. Many factories follow the plans prepared from

above without really questioning whether there is any real need for their products.

2. Factories produce what their machines and equipment allow them to produce. Little attention is paid to whether the end-user finds it necessary, useful or satisfactory or not.
3. There is an over-emphasis on quantity and on the dollar-value of a product as far as the producer is concerned. Quality control is conducted in a very casual way, and relatively low-priced products are, in many cases, neglected.

## Backward Structure and System

Under the influence of Stalinism, China had concentrated all its powers in the central government since 1949. It goes without saying that in economic planning, which is mainly a responsibility of the center alone, a good deal of plans are either impractical, or not easily implemented. For example, among the major medium and large scale projects scheduled to be completed in 1980, it will have to take at least six or seven more years to implement them, that is, "really completed." Only recently, some provinces such as Guangdong and Fujian are demarcated as special economic zones and are given greater autonomy in designing their own economic plans. What may seem slight, irrelevant, or inappropriate in the center sometimes means a lot in the provinces, and any miscalculation could lead to disaster at the grassroot level.

For the last three decades, China's economic structure had been designed around heavy industry, with particular emphasis on the steel industry. Until most recently, heavy industries still receive the lion's share in the allotment of capital, land and raw materials. With heavy industry absorbing most of the available funds in new investments, the national economy is reduced to a slow rate of progress and internal economic activities remain more or less stagnant.



**Steel production: Heavy industries still eat up a heavy portion in capital allotment**



**Factory foreman instructing workers: High calibre management personnel needed**

latter half of the twentieth century is highly sophisticated and technical, and demands greater precision and efficiency than ever before. In China this truth is not universally accepted. It has been reported that Wuhan Steel Works had a modernized plant installed some time ago, but found that it was unworkable for lack of electricity. Not a terribly complicated case, but, obviously, things like this happen frequently.

#### **Confidence Crisis**

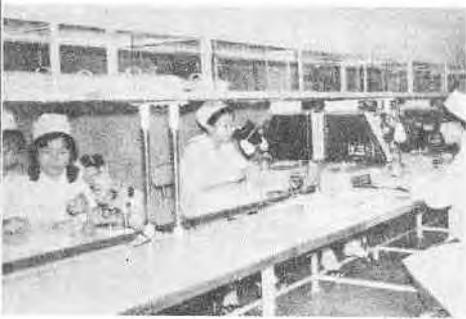
Some months earlier, Chinese leaders admitted that many people, both inside and outside the party, have expressed reservations concerning the eventual outcome of the modernization programs. Some even go further as to question the viability of the present social and political system. Such "confidence crisis" is more prevalent among young people, who are, first, impatient with the rate of change that is taking place in the party and in the economy. Secondly, in comparing with the high technological standard and strong economic potential of capitalist countries in Europe, America, and Japan, people are not quite sure about the prediction that socialism will eventually overtake capitalism. Granted that such fears and doubts as to the superiority of socialism over capitalism were a bit premature, and that the merits of a social system is measured against an historical era, the question still remains: Are the pragmatic policies adequate to bring China's

economy back on the right track?

Consider the following cases: In one case, construction workers in Guangzhou refused to install a swimming pool for an institution of higher learning because their stipulation that there must be overtime work was not approved. Second, in the recent pay increase for the nation's 40% workers, no prescribed method of evaluation was formulated and a lot of ill feelings were roused by the whole affair, causing disruption in production and, in many individual cases, demoralization. To a lot of people versed in management practices outside China, such cases are simply unimaginable. Evidently, a good deal of education is needed both at the top and down below.

It is generally heard in China that feudalism is still a force to be reckoned with in China, and because of it, many problems like bureaucracy and favoritism still find their way into the workings of party and state affairs. Then, also, the terms "Chinese-style socialism" and "modernization" are repeated often by officials of high rank. What is really meant are not clear at all to the general public. Over the last two years, the economic targets in the modernization program has been forced to be revised several times. In the field of politics, democracy has repeatedly been promised to the people. So far, elections at the grassroot level has been going on, and is about to spread out on the same level, but not any higher up. In the party, the cadre system is being overhauled and anyone proved to be unsuited to his job and duties will be duly replaced. How fairly will it be carried out will, of course, remain to be seen.

All these problems leave us with open-ended answers. Presumably, party leadership at the top are aware of the present shortcomings, and are, indeed taking measures to remedy them. One uncertified news item referred to the replacement of Yu Quli, Vice-Premier, by Yao Yilin as Chairman of the Econ-



**Light industries: Remarkable progress in 1979**

In some provinces like Sichuan, this trend is beginning to be reversed, with remarkable results.

From now on, re-investment on basic construction projects will be confined to 25% of the GNP, a general decrease of more than 10%.

The problem of co-ordination, that is, how well the economic system operates, remains a major obstacle. In the past, Chinese leaders have been known to deal with economic problems the way army commanders go about waging wars. But, as they find out soon enough, in the battle-field of economics, it is not easy to find out who or where the enemies are, much less annihilating them. Large-scale industrial production in the



Yao Yilin: New head of the State Economic Planning Commission

omic Planning Commission. In handling nation-wide economic planning, the former is reputedly over-ambitious, while the latter takes a more prudent and effective way, always guarding against inefficiency with a healthy dose of competition. If it is a pragmatist China needs, then, let him be a prudent one.

## China's Economic Performance In 1979

### Key Economic Indicators

	Performance		
	1978	1979	% increase 79 over 78
Total industrial and agricultural output value (RMB billion)	569.0	617.5	8%
Total industrial output (RMB billion)	423.1	459.1	8.5%
Heavy industry	N.A.*	261.1	7.7%
Light industry	N.A.	198.0	8.5%
Total agricultural output (RMB billion)	145.9	158.4	8.6%
Population (million, excluding Taiwan)	958.09	970.92	1.17%

\*N.A. - Not available

Source-China National Bureau of Statistics

**Industrial Production** (million tonnes unless otherwise stated)

	Performance		
	1978	1979	% increase 79 over 78
steel	31.78	34.48	8.5%
Pig iron	34.79	36.73	5.6%
coal	618.00	635.00	2.8%
Crude oil	104.05	106.15	2.8%
electricity (billion kwh)	256.55	281.95	9.9%
Timber (million cu. metres)	51.62	54.39	5.4%
cement	65.24	73.90	13.3%
chemical fertilizer	8.693	10.654	22.6%
motor vehicles ('000 units)	149.10	186.00	24.8%
steel ships ('000 dwt)	865.90	809.00	-6%
cotton yarns	2.38	2.63	10.5%

**Agricultural Production** (million tonnes unless otherwise stated)

Items	Performance		
	1978	1979	% increase 79 over 78
grain	304.75	332.11	9%
cotton	2.167	2.307	1.8%
oil-bearing crops	5.218	6.435	23.3%
sugar cane	21.117	21.508	1.9%
Hogs (million)	310.29	319.70	6%
sheep	169.94	183.14	7.8%
aquatic products	4.66	4.30	-7.5%

**People's Livelihood**

Items	Performance		
	1978	1979	% increase 79 over 78
Average monthly per capita income for peasants	74.0	83.4	11%
Average monthly per capita income for urban employees (RMB)	54.2	58.7	7.6%

## Sichuan—Zhao's Country

*Sichuan is one of the few provinces that have won considerable economic success in the past two years in consequence of the adoption of a series of pragmatic policies. But whether or not these policies will take effect on a national scale remains to be seen.*

by T. Cheng



**Zhao Ziyang: The future Premier of China?**

quiring less moisture: wheat, maize and sweet potatoes. As a result, for the past three years the province's grain production jumped from 50 billion jin in 1976 to 62 billion jin in 1979. Total agricultural output



**Purchasing farm produce and sideline products from the peasants**

Zhao Ziyang, China's rising star in the State Council, is said to have allowed almost every economic unit during his time as party chief of the southwestern province of Sichuan to boost up production. Under his rein, the province scored many a first in the economic reform of the country and thus became an economic model. Zhao recently summed up to the visiting U.S. Senate majority leader Robert Byrd the guiding principle of the country's economic reform as "emancipating the mind, adopting a flexible policy and enlivening the economy generally."

The economy of China in 1976—before the arrest of the Gang of Four—was on the verge of collapse, and Sichuan was no exception. The province was in shambles when Zhao arrived from Guangdong in 1975. It had to remain that way for another year until Deng Xiaoping returned to power. Once the way was clear the dynamic Zhao moved quickly. He traveled widely throughout the province, listening to the complaints of peasants and workers and knowing their needs. His first important step in the province was a new food production program. Due to intermittent drought and inadequate irrigation, crop yields have always been irregular in some parts of Sichuan. Zhao persuaded peasants to grow two rice crops a year instead of the usual three. He also encouraged them to plant more crops re-

last year was RMB 3.3 billion yuan more than in 1976, or an annual growth rate of 10.3 per cent. Next, Zhao won permission to put Sichuan in the forefront of experimenting on the new economic policy. This made the province a step ahead of the rest of the country, which started to reform in late 1978.

The economic reform allows for a scheme which supplemented the state planning system with free market elements. It was hoped that supply and demand can be met. In the province's 181 counties, the traditional free market was revived. The market also existed in about 5,000 cities and towns of the province. It proved to be a success. Take Dayi County as an example. Over 10,000 farmers took part in it; the items

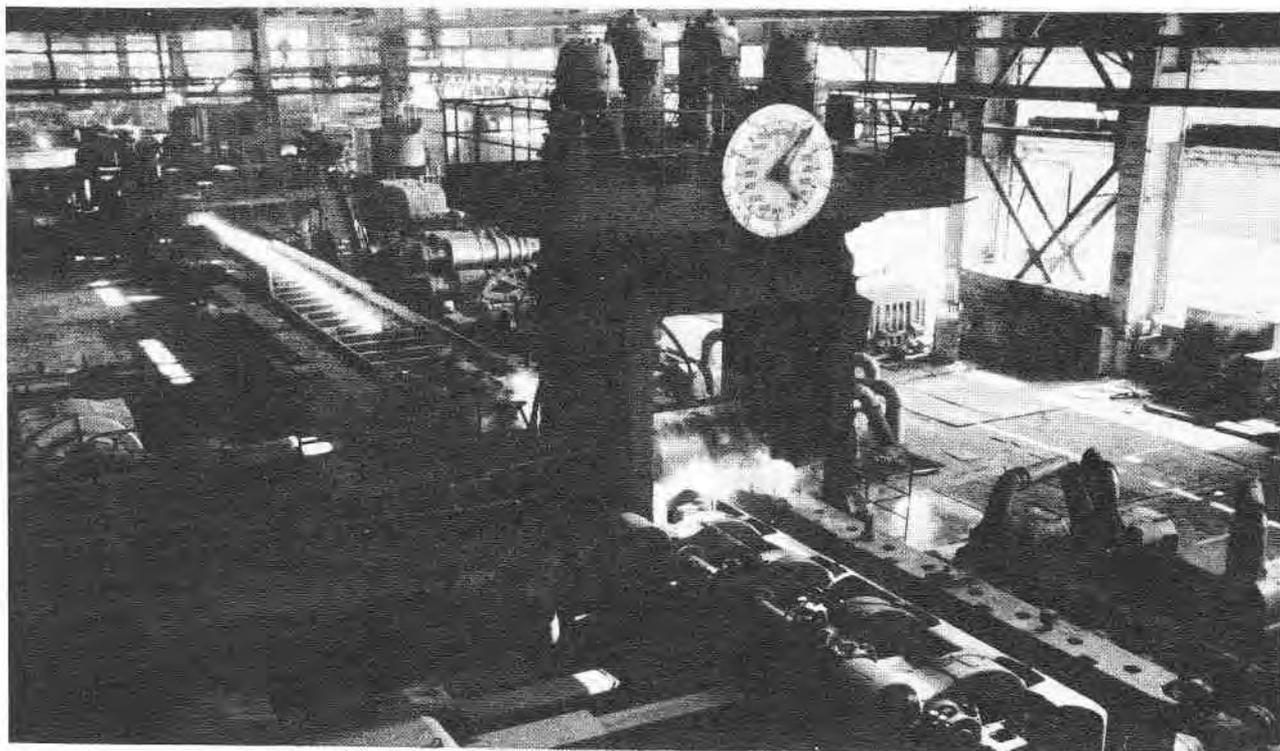
sold included grains, vegetables, poultry, eggs, sea food and miscellaneous produce. Also, production materials, such as tractors and cows,



**Tangerines for export: Agricultural growth rate is 10.3% annually**

can be put on sale in the market. A production team of Qingkou Commune at Bazhong County recently sold their cows and used the profit to buy a diesel machine, which could help them irrigate the farms and generate power in workshops.

Sichuan, with one-fifteenth of the country's arable land, is feeding one million people, one-tenth of the Chinese nation. Last year, Zhao scored another first in launching a birth control plan that awards a bonus to parents with a single child. If the parents give birth to a second child, the bonus will be withdrawn. The check is effective. The 1979 birth rate figures are just over 10 per 1,000 in rural areas.



The blooming mill of Panzhihua Iron and Steel Company: A new steel base in Sichuan

Last year, the province boosted industrial output by RMB 10.8 billion yuan compared to 1976. An annual growth rate of 22 per cent was achieved during the past three years. Sichuan people last year spent RMB 12.3 billion yuan on consumer goods, or an average of 10 yuan a month for each individual. This is very small by the standards of advanced countries, but it is impressive compared to the situation a few years ago. Revenue collected last year totaled RMB 1.6 billion yuan more than that of 1976, or an average annual growth of 22.8 per cent.

After Zhao's departure, Sichuan's economic reform is still in full swing. The province is now developing a new form of united enterprise which includes agricultural, industrial and commercial units. Within one united enterprise, factories purchase raw materials directly from communes and sell directly to shops without going through the local government's purchasing and selling departments. Such an enterprise in Chongqing, called the Changjiang Agriculture, •Industry

and Commerce United Enterprise Company, is doing quite well. The company consists of 26 communes, factories and shops and is engaged in almost every kind of trade.

Decentralization of power is further extended to the communes. Some supplementary enterprises formerly run by communes are now run by production teams. In the past when the enterprises were run by communes, production teams could not exercise their supervision over them and they received no real benefit from them. Now members of the teams are really concerned with the enterprises. The teams can exercise their control over the enterprises through "the general meeting of the shareholders" and the management committee. Some counties of the province are enforcing the production responsibility system. There are three characteristics in the system: Specialization, fixation and reward. By specialization, teams, groups, households and even individuals are put together for a particular assignment according to their special skills. By fixation, the amount of work, production



Xin Wen, Director of Sichuan Planning Committee

quantity, price, and reward are fixed. Reward or idemnity are given according to good or bad performance. Reward can be in wage units, cash or gifts. Many enterprises have since improved and are beginning to make money for the first time in years. Last year the province Sichuan handed RMB 80 million yuan to the central government as compared to 1 billion yuan from Guangdong and 15.3 billion from Shanghai.

## More Freedom of Employment

by Anthony Yau

Chinese manpower policy and employment practice, like everything else, are undergoing a good deal of change since the fall of the Gang of Four. The problem of unemployment, together with the lack of skilled labor for industry, commerce and research, have forced officials to re-examine the existing method of staff recruitment, and to make policy modifications in easing the strain caused by unemployment.

### Youth Unemployed

Since the founding of the People's Republic, unemployment seemed to have been the least of the worries confronting the new government. Over eighty percent of the entire population lived in rural areas, which meant that they could take care of their own employment problems. Graduates from high schools and colleges, far less numerous in those years than they are now, were speedily absorbed by various projects then under construction for the growing socialist economy. Young men and women were willing to go to sparsely populated areas in the border regions and work out their destinies there, often in the company of minority peoples. Nobody had any complaints; morality ran high.

Unfortunately, the Cultural Revolution changed all that. For a prolonged period, the national economy stood still while population remained unchecked. By the end of 1976, when the Cultural Revolution

was formally put to an end, the population had almost doubled as compared to 1949. At the same time, the total number of high school and college graduates have increased many times. As it was, the state had great difficulty in absorbing all fresh graduates through factories and public institutions, because it simply did not have enough funds to finance new projects. To add to the already desperate situation, millions of young people who had been forced to go to the countryside during the Cul-

tural Revolution have now been allowed to return to urban areas unconditionally. Most of these young people simply cannot find any jobs, and are left to rely on their own resources for a living. For many of them, unemployment has almost become a way of life.

### Bypassing Manpower Department

Last year, cities all over the country have followed Beijing's lead and began to recruit new workers through public examinations. The old practice of deploying

In a cooperative art store set up by young people: One of the few ways to solve the unemployment problem





A new apprentice at a Beijing garment factory learns from a veteran seamstress.



A veteran worker passes on her skill to new apprentices.

labor with little regard for personal preference or talent was temporarily abandoned, partly because there is a sizeable pool of manpower to choose from. Young people were made to sit for examinations in language, mathematics and other subjects. Those who passed with good marks were given jobs in industry, transport, capital construction, trade, and cultural establishments. Others took examinations for skilled labor, such as driving, electrician, and carpentry; still others for menial jobs in construction sites or with neighborhood co-operatives. Recently, as more power and autonomy is enjoyed by individual enterprises, examinations have been organized by single factories or institutions to pick the kind of help they need. In this way, they are bypassing the Department for Manpower which, formerly, had sole authority and discretion to assign jobs to the unemployed.

### Scouting for Talent

In the past, once a job is assigned, it is almost impossible to switch to another position, whatever the reason or excuse. Complaints or applications for transfers just brought "ideological and political" talks and indoctrination from



A Chinese air hostess: CAAC is the first Chinese enterprise to recruit employees through public examination

cadres in charge of personnel. Lately, however, there are signs that things may be able to change for the better. Last month, the *People's Daily*, which is the most important newspaper in China, advertised in their columns for editors and reporters to work on its English edition,

which is going to come out in October. Anyone who is already employed in a profession, similar or otherwise, may apply, provided he has obtained the prior consent of his own unit. The *People's Daily* also suggested that "Help Wanted" advertisements in papers and magazines, so far aimed only at the unemployed, should, in future, be expanded to cover those already employed but looking for a better chance to employ their skills and knowledge. By so doing, they will be making the best use of the nation's talents.

With the revival of individualism and competition, the nation's centralized job assignment system, sometimes called the "Iron Rice Bowl" system, certainly needs some revamping.

Renmin Ribao recently put out an advertisement for competent editors for its English edition

# 人民日报

RENMIN RIBAO

# Job-contracting Abounds in Communes- A Case Study

by James Zhu

In the province of Hunan, where Chairman Mao made his investigation on the rural situation in China half a century ago, the practice of job-contracting is beginning to take hold in the communes. The *People's Daily*, calling it the "responsible production system", gave coverage to similar happenings in Liaoning, Hubei, and Jiangxi.

At present, there are two types of job-contracting in Hunan:

1. Individual job-contracts — A job, like ploughing a field, or leveling a hill, is assigned to an individual or a team who undertakes to finish it within a certain duration and according to specifications. If it is finished sooner and better, a bonus is awarded in addition to the number of work-points given to the job. If the job is not satisfactory, work-points are deducted.
2. Long-term job-contracts — a production team in a commune is sub-divided into smaller teams for the purpose of undertaking its own production and accounting for the entire production year. By the end of each year, it stands to gain or lose by the work it has done and the yield they have got.

Following is an example of job-contracting in Laiyang County, Hunan Province. It is carried out by the 14th Production Team of Qutong Brigade, Xinxi Commune. There are 217 people, separated into 54 households, in this smaller team, one of the three in the commune. Arable land comprises of 129 mou of rice fields, and 40 mou

of dry land on slopes of hills. Before job-contracting was practised, yearly per capita income was RMB 79 yuan plus basic foodstuff. In 1979, the year job-contracting was introduced, there was an increase of 40% in crop yields, and the net cash income per person jumped to RMB 130 yuan.

The following table is based on an average of figures drawn from the three small production teams:

Items	Average crop yield per mou	Total production	Worth per work point	Average work point per person	Grain Allocation/person	Cash Allocation/person
1979	1,800 j in	210,000 j in	7.3 cents	3,600	720 j in	\$30
1978	1,300 j in	150,000 j in	5.7 cents	2,200	600 j in	\$79
1976	520 j in	60,000 j in	2.0+ cents	1,200	400 j in	\$30+
% inc. 79/78	38%+	40%	28%	83%	20%	64%



Chen Dengqi (right) of the Xinxi Commune

According to Production Team Leader Chen Dengqi, it was a mistake to organize large-scale production teams in this particular spot in the first place. The houses are widely dispersed, and the land is cut into small pieces. Water has to be welled up from mountain streams, which is then allowed to warm up under the sun. There is no way to pool the water together. Farming is, therefore, much better done in small groups than in large teams. In the past, there has been a good deal of waste in organization and utilization of manpower. A lot of time was



Harvesting in the countryside

also wasted in meetings. The accounting system was loose in the production brigade, and there were frequent requisition of manpower from the households without compensation. All these contributed to the lowering of production by the end of the year.

Chen Dengqi mentioned not all cadres are favorable toward the idea of job-contracting. They can't, of course, say it is revisionist now. Rather, they hate to lose part of their power and authority as well as some special privileges. Chen himself has to join one of the three small production teams and work just like everyone else to earn his living. Besides, when job-contracting is practised, each small team assumes full responsibility and authority within its own sphere, and there is no tempering with their ways and means of production. It has been said that the two merits of the commune system are first, its size and manpower, and second, its fairness. But the case in Qutong Commune he proved otherwise. The commune system itself may, therefore, have to undergo a metamorphosis if things like job-contracting keep springing up from the countryside.

## Sky is the Limit

—Sino-Japanese  
Economic Cooperation

Jon Woronoff

Question put to Premier Hua Guofeng when he visited Tokyo this past May.

“Do you see any limits to the extent to which your economic system can cooperate with the West? What are the limits?”

Hua's reply was:

“Our experience up to now amply shows that, despite different social systems, on the basis of equality and reciprocity we can be complementary; we can support and help each other. I don't think there is any hindrance. I don't think there is anything that prevent it ... . As I see it, between the capitalist system and the socialist system, I don't believe there is any limit to economic cooperation. Should there be a limit, the limit may arise from the Chinese people's own ability to digest what you have, and the matter of compliance with the law in China. Of course, the Chinese legal system has been legislated in the spirit of protecting the interests of foreigners, too.”

Since 1911, China has traditionally eschewed dependence on foreign countries and preferred forms of self-reliance. It also has bitter memories of the “cooperation” it received from the Soviet Union after the 1940s, as well as the domination of the Western powers and Japan before the war. Now, of course, it is embarked on a massive program of modernization, and it does seem it needs all the help it can get. However, there has been fears among Japanese and western businessmen that soc-

ialist ideology may come between the spirit of cooperation. Premier Hua's words have dispelled some of those fears. Indeed, China and Japan have been engaged in a joint development of the former as a modern economic power which, it is hoped, will benefit both parties. China sorely needs advanced technologies and efficient manufacturing plants. Not only is Japan willing to produce turn-key factories for China, she will provide her with knowledge and methods of quality control and high productivity as well. During Premier Hua's visit, three different Japanese companies have been contracted to build television assembly plants. They are Matsushita, Hitachi, and Japan Victor. Along with these, Aiwa will be producing radio-cassettes for China, Sanyo Denki household electric appliances, Itoman women's apparel, Kon-do carpets, and Wacoal, of all things, ladies brassieres.

But all this pales when compared with China's most ambitious industrial project ever, one which is beginning to look very much like an exercise in Sino-Japanese cooperation and which may well symbolize the whole period. It is the construction of the Bao-shan steelmaking complex. Expected to be not only China's biggest, but one of the largest steelworks in the world, it should be producing 6.5 million tons of crude steel annually when it is completed later in the decade. In addition to pig iron and crude, it will produce semi-finished steel, seamless pipes, sheeting and other articles. The total cost is estimated to attain



The late PM Masayoshi Ohira and Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng at government Guest House, May 27, 1980.

\$5 billion.

The chief Japanese firm involved in this project is Nippon Steel Corp., which is helping the China National Technical Import Corp. build this ultramodern integrated steelworks in the suburbs of Shanghai. It will be providing, among other things, a giant blast furnace that can turn out 3 million tons of pig iron a year. Also engaged in the project are well-known firms like Mitsubishi Heavy Industry, Mitsui Shipbuilding, Hitachi Shipbuilding, and Kobe Steel. The list of contractors also includes American, German, and other companies, but the Japanese — and the Chinese themselves — will play the leading role.

In return for these assistance, the Chinese are reciprocating in several ways. One is to offer Japan access to the country's tremendous reserves of raw materials. Two of the most important are oil and coal. But they will be joined by bauxite, tin and other minerals. China is also helping Japan by permitting joint ventures and other arrangements using the massive cheap labor of the world's largest population. Finally, in trying to modernize rapidly in the coming decades, China will turn more and more to Japan.

## China's Foreign Policy after the Fall of the Gang of Four

Dr Joseph Y.S. Cheng  
Lecturer in Government and Public Administration  
Chinese University, Hong Kong

After the political demise of the Gang of Four in 1976, both the internal and foreign policies of China have witnessed great changes. Under the present leadership, China is obviously relying more and more on the West in order to import sophisticated technology to speed up her economic growth on the one hand, and, to enlist their support in checking the global scheme of the Soviet Union on the other. How effective is China's foreign policy with regard to these two goals? Is it done at the expense of socialist ideals and obligations? These are interesting points to explore.



Deng Xiaoping visiting the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center in Houston last year

### China, the United States and Soviet Union

On November 1, 1977, in reply to an Albanian attack on Chinese foreign policy, the *People's Daily* published a lengthy editorial entitled "Mao Zedong's Three Worlds Theory is a Significant Contribution to Marxism", which expounded on the ideology and guideline of China's foreign policy. According to the essay, by forging an exten-

sive united front among second and third world countries, hegemonism by either of the superpowers, that is, the United States and the Soviet Union, can be checked. What is more noteworthy is that the essay elaborated on why the Soviet Union is more dangerous than the U.S. in threatening world peace. The reasons are:

1. The Soviet Union is a newcomer in the family of imperialist nations, with insatiable desires.
2. The Soviet Union is relying on military muscles in her overseas adventures to compensate for its weakness in economic development at home.
3. The Soviet leadership has transformed the Soviet economy and state machinery into a highly centralized and militaristic one.

As a consequence of increasing Soviet military menace, Sino-U.S. relationship has taken on a new course. In May, 1977 Carter aired out his support for a Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty which would include an anti-hegemonism clause. The treaty would obviously draw Japan and China closer together for joint efforts in stabilizing the northeastern quadrant of the Asia-Pacific region. A few days later, Carter's National Security Adviser pledged that Sino-U.S. relationship was founded on long-term strategic interests and that Washington would support China in opposing any country which tries to establish global or regional hegemonism.

On August 20, 1978 China signed the Friendship Treaty with Japan, with the anti-hegemonism clause clearly inscribed on it. On



Geng Biao embraces U.S. Defence Secretary Brown on arriving at Washington

December 16, Beijing and Washington announced simultaneously to normalize bilateral relations and, again, an anti-hegemonism clause was included in the agreement. Moscow, seeing a gradual formation of a China-U.S.-Japan tripartite "coalition", was quick to adopt counter-measures. On November 3, 1978 Moscow signed a Peace and Friendship Treaty with Hanoi and, shortly afterwards, came off with a similar treaty with Afghanistan.

China's tilt toward the United States and the West is paralleled by increasing Sino-Soviet antagonism which includes military confrontation along the border areas. Since 1969, China has responded to the Soviet military threat by building up her own nuclear defense. Only last month China successfully launched a long-range carrier rocket into the South Pacific. However, in

terms of conventional weaponry, China still lags far behind the super-powers. Undoubtedly, easing the

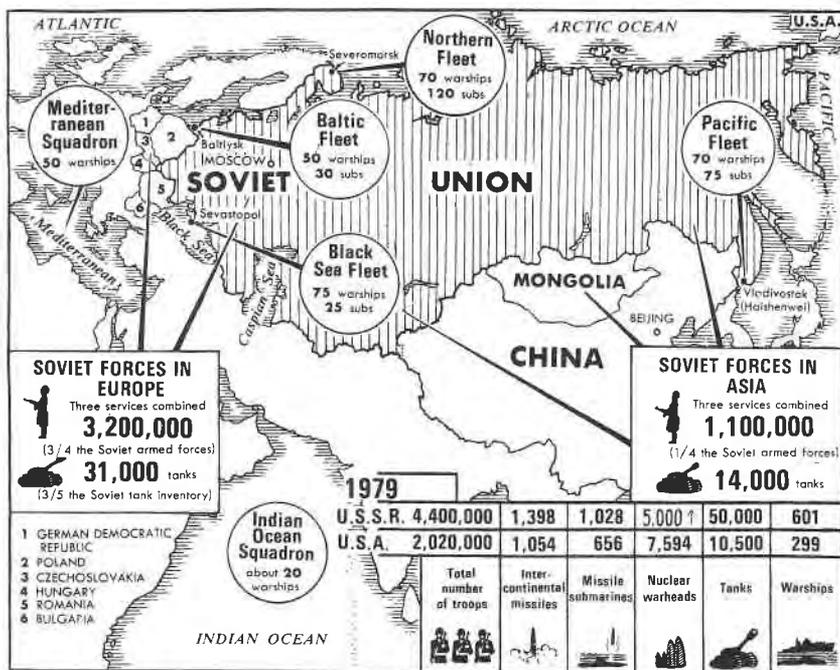


Wang Youping, China's Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, was greeted by Leonid Ilytchev on his arrival at Moscow for Sino-Soviet Talk.

moves in winning over the second-world countries. Last October and November, during his four-nation



Hua Guofeng reviews the guards of honor at Orly Airport, Paris in October 1979.



Soviet military buildup in Europe and along Sino-Soviet border

Sino-Soviet tension is beneficial to her quest for modernization, but a speedy rapprochement is out of the question.

### China's relationship with Developed Countries

China's ties with the second-world countries have been improving in the past few years. Western European countries and Japan, like

the U.S., have found there are limitations to detente, partly because U.S. military supremacy has waned. So, they are willing to establish ties with China as a means to set off the Soviet menace. Also, China's modernization plans open up an enormously big and potential market for western capital and advanced technology.

In the past few years, Chinese leaders have carried out diplomatic

tour in West Europe, Chairman Hua called for a quicker and more solid alliance among the industrial nations. In an earlier interview given to reporters, Deng Xiaoping also pointed out:

1. If the world-made preparations for the outbreak of a war, the Soviet Union will not dare to act too rashly.

2. The Soviet Union may outnumber the U.S. in conventional weapons, but is still relatively backward in her technological and economic development. It would be most unwise to extend credit, loans and technological transfers to Moscow.

China's efforts in winning over second-world countries has not always been smooth. To abandon detente completely, European nations are caught between the dilemma of having either to lean heavily on the United States, or to develop their own nuclear weapons. The former would mean a partial sacrifice of their own independence and the latter is too heavy an economic burden for them.

In the past few years, the Chinese have also been trying to bridge the ideological gap with the Euro-Communist parties. The high-

### Hua Guofeng with General Secretary of Communist Party of Italy Enrico Berlinguer





Tito, late President of Yugoslavia, receiving Hua at Brioni, 1978

light was the visit of Italy's Enrico Berlinguer to Beijing. Berlinguer's tour was widely interpreted as China's approval of Euro-Communism.

#### China and the Third World

China's relationship with the

third-world countries is met with troubles and policy zig-zags. For a long time, China has declared herself to belong to the family of developing nations, yet she is not a member of the 77-Nation League, by far the most representative of third-world coalition. In most of

Huang Hua meets Carlos Romulo of Philippines: Strengthening ties with ASEAN



the third-world conferences and organizations, China keeps a low profile partly because she is afraid of giving the impression of commandeering over the small nations. Thus China's role among third-world countries is less than assertive.

Another dilemma is that China maintains diplomatic relations with some pro-western totalitarian regimes, while, at the same time, China's material aids to guerilla units and communist parties in the third world have diminished. As a result, a number of them in the Middle East and Southeast Asia have turned toward Moscow, or, simply split into small factions.

#### Conclusion

After the convening of the 3rd Plenary Session of 11th Party Congress, China's interpretation of "revisionism" has altered. Instead of labeling Moscow leaders as "revisionists", China calls them expansionists and adventurists. The Sino-Soviet bone of contention is now less theoretical than practical. The development of international situation in the past few years has given evidence to China's viewpoint that the Soviet Union is less than helpful in maintaining world stability and peace. The greatest priority for Chinese leaders will be to urge the West to be on the alert on the one hand and to keep Sino-Soviet bilateral talks open so as to avoid a major conflict in the border areas on the other. In short, China is buying time to strive for her modernization goals. Of course, under China's new open door policy and the subsequent influx of western capital, she has to learn particularly how to handle adroitly foreign economic relationships in order to create a better atmosphere of cooperation. Diplomacy is not simply confined to politics after all.

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# Election to Be Held

by T. G. Chen

When the United States recognized the People's Republic of China on December 15, 1978, an election campaign was in progress in Taiwan. But as the news of the establishment of Sino-American relation reached Taiwan President Jiang Jingguo announced that the elections were postponed since the country was in a "critical situation".

The non-party candidates viewed Jiang's announcement as a pretext to escape another Kuomintang defeat in the election campaign as they were sure to win many seats in the national elections.

Since then oppositionists had been urging publicly through their own publications that the government should resume the elections as soon as possible. The ruling KMT ignored all the appeals and continued its hardline policy toward the non-party members. However, with the arrest of nearly all the important

leaders of the non-party forces after the Kaohsiung Riot on December 1979, the KMT made it known that the elections would be resumed very soon.

On June 11, President Jiang told his people that the government had decided to resume the elections in December. He said: "With the country in face of continuing difficulties at this moment, such decision is made not only to accomplish an election but also to build a foundation for the country's long-term development, and for a democratic constitutional era."

The government also declared that there will be a larger additional body to be elected into the National

**KMT members casting ballots for congressional candidates**



**Jiang Jingguo: A hardline policy toward the oppositionists**



Congress. The National Congress consists of three organs: the Legislative Yuan, in charge of legislation; the Control Yuan, a watchdog body exercising censorial and impeaching powers; and the National Assembly, which elects the president and vice-president every six years. The tenures of elected members vary from 3-6 years respectively. The present congress was actually formed

between 1947 and 1948 in Nanjing, two years before the KMT retreated from the mainland to the island of Taiwan. Of course only part of the congress members followed. It is they, since 1949, who have constituted the National Congress in Taiwan. Soon, the question of a quorum arose as there was an insufficient number of members present in Taiwan, and as subsequent deaths occurred. The problem was solved by filling in these vacancies with whoever had run for the congress in the mainland and who now happened to be in Taiwan, regardless of how many votes they got. Further, the government proclaimed the terms of the members of congress would be extended indefinitely, thus, in fact, according lifelong tenures to all members.

The non-party forces denounced such measures, pointing out that such a congress could not represent the majority of the residents in Taiwan. Under increasing pressure, the KMT was compelled, in recent years, to allow for some congressional elections to be held. Those elected in Taiwan as additional congress members are subject to limited terms as originally prescribed by the constitution; and those exiled from the mainland continue to enjoy life-long status. After these additional elections, the ratio between life-term and limited-term members is as follows (January 1978):



Non-party candidates running for congressional seats

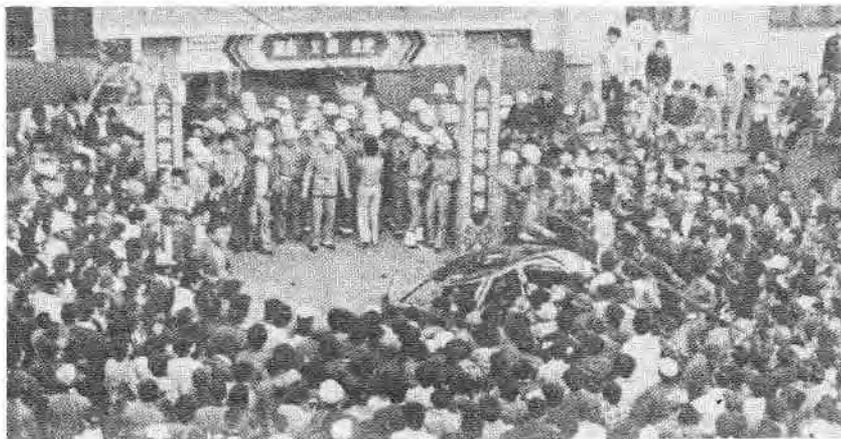
ORGAN	LIFELONG MEMBERS	LIMITED-TERMS MEMBERS
Legislative Yuan	87%	13%
Control Yuan	77%	23%
National Assembly	95%	5%

In view of the fact that nearly all the opposition leaders are in jail, the KMT has reasons to feel safe for the coming elections. KMT leaders predict that most of the new seats will be occupied by KMT members or other pro-government elements because the non-party force is now at its weakest, and in no position to challenge the Kuomintang.

As it is, the KMT tried every means to keep opposition members from getting elected. In order to ensure its full success in the elections the KMT resort to ballot-stuffing, falsification of tallies, deletion of parts of candidates's platforms, arrests of candidates and elected officials and even offer payments to elected officials for votes.

In November 1977, an angry mob burnt down a police station in Zhongli, a town south of Taipei after they had discovered a KMT election scandal. Two people were killed in the riot. The KMT made some concessions and allowed many oppositionists to take their seats in the provincial assembly and some local bodies.

The election to be resumed in December will be the biggest one since 1949. According to KMT's announcement, more than 200 seats in the National Congress will be up for re-election. It will change the ratio between life-term and limited-term members as indicated in the right:



The Zhongli Incident: A rebuke to a KMT election scandal in 1977

ORGAN	LIFELONG MEMBERS	LIMITED-TERMS MEMBERS
Legislative Yuan	77%	23%
Control Yuan	57%	43%
National Assembly	94%	6%

# Taiwan's New Strategy for Economic Development

T. S. Yu

*The article is based on a report presented to Taiwan's "Commission for the Design of Recovering the Mainland" on May 1980.*

Taiwan's trade with the United States reached 9 billion U.S. dollars in 1979, an increase of 22% over the previous year. The fact that this amounted to 29% of Taiwan's total foreign trade indicated the importance of the trade with the United States. Jiang Kuangshi, Taiwan's Minister for Economic Affairs, forecast that trade with the U.S. will exceed the 10 billion dollar mark for the first time in 1980. However, Taiwan's economists and planners are not without worries. To them, an economic threat is looming across the Strait of Taiwan in the form of Four Modernizations, which are slowly taking shape as new, pragmatic policies are being implemented.

Indeed, China's vigorous modernization activities should not be taken lightly. While some of us still belittle Beijing's chance of success in her modernization programs, it must be conceded that breakthroughs and major achievements in some areas cannot be ruled out. It is, therefore, natural that China's new economic measures will indirectly affect Taiwan's economic developments.

The area which worries the Taiwan authorities most is China's expanding trade with the United States. Although the amount is still not very large, Sino-American trade has every potential to develop to such a level as to endanger Taiwan's

position in the U.S. market. The threat from Russia calls for closer and better Sino-American economic as well as political relations. Of late China has shown much greater flexibility in her dealings with other countries, both in economic and political affairs. China has been accorded most-favored-nation status by the United States, and is expected to be given preferential tariff treatment soon. On the other hand, Taiwan's enjoyment of the preferential rights will end as it gradually comes to be listed as one of the developed countries. Economists in Taiwan fear that the competitive power of China's products in the American market will increase tremendously at the expense of Taiwan exports.

Diplomatically almost completely isolated, the survival of the government in Taipei depends very much on its foreign trade. As China is expected to be able to take a big slice away from Taiwan's most important market, the authorities in Taiwan deem it necessary and urgent to devise a new strategy to deal with the menace from the Mainland.

The first proposal put forward is to change the components of Taiwan's exports. According to economists in Taiwan, China's exports to the international market in the next ten years will mainly consist of agricultural products, processed farm produce, and primary industrial products. Looking ahead, Taiwan should stop producing those commodities which China can export to the U.S. on preferential treatment, thus avoiding the pre-

dicament resulting from a pernicious competition with China. To do this, the present labor-intensive industry has to be replaced by a technology-intensive one; and this in turn depends on the successful import of advanced technology and the training of a working force capable of meeting the new requirements. The authorities concerned have been urged to study and implement policies that will lead to a re-structuring of the components of Taiwan's exports.

More obstacles are bound to come up in Taiwan's trade with developed countries, especially the United States, which the present Taiwan economy depends on so very heavily. A flexible trade policy should be adopted which would consist of a diversification of trading partners. According to some economists trading partners should not be limited to those from 'free' economies.

At present, the backbone of Taiwan's industry is composed of small and medium-sized factories. Confronted with fierce competition from other countries, these factories are not in a position to distinguish themselves in the international market. In view of this situation, Taiwan economists have begun to advocate the merging of small and medium-sized businesses and factories into larger units or even conglomerates. They maintain that only large-scale enterprises will be able to shoulder the task of opening up foreign markets, importing advanced technology, and carrying out research and development. While guarding against the monopoly of

production or uneven distribution of wealth, the Taipei government is urged to encourage and help small and medium-sized factories to merge.

Foreign trade will have to continue to play a leading role in Taiwan's future economic development. With China gradually increasing the speed and scale of her penetration into Taiwan's established foreign markets there is an urgent task to gather information on China's economy. An information center has been proposed, and all information collected by government or nongovernment bodies is to be channeled to the center. The center will study and analyse the information and issue reports on China's economic situation to government departments and those in industry and commerce for their reference. The following Chinese saying is now governing the minds of the economic planners in Taiwan: Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat.

### Welfare for Workers and Peasants

Other measures proposed to bolster Taiwan's economy include the promotion of closer and better relations between employers and employees in the industries, the raising of real income for the peasants, and the implementation of a comprehensive scheme for labor insurance.

Some economists argue that the principal way to bring about a rational distribution of income is to keep on improving the welfare of the workers, and this depends mainly on the strength of the enterprises. As only enterprises of considerable size are in a position to provide better welfare for the workers, those enterprises that are at present owned by one person or members from the same family should be changed to joint-stock companies, with workers and other members of the public becoming shareholders. When the workers are given some say over the ownership of the enterprise, their sense of belonging to the enterprise

will increase, and they will tend to share wealth and woe with the management.

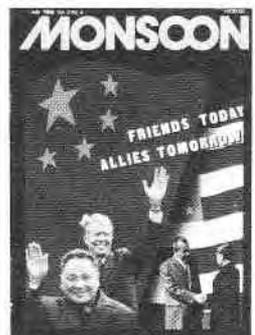
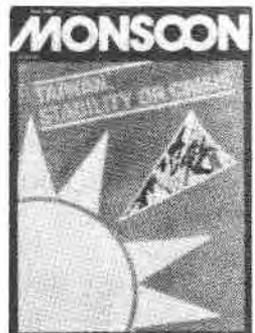
As a result of the speedy development of industry and commerce, and the steady increase of industrial wages, the gap between the income of the worker and that of the peasants for farm work has thus gradually dwindled. Reports from Taiwan say that the root of the problem in agricultural production lies in the fact that the plots of land to be worked upon are too small, making farming uneconomical. The rural population is too large and at the same time ageing, and the traditional concept which stresses on self-sufficiency in all crops consumed are hindrances to raising output. Yu Tsung-kwong, one of Taiwan's top economists, suggested four ways to tackle the problem:

1. Ownership of land for farming should be concentrated in fewer hands, and production is to be run in the way as an industrial enterprises.
2. Rural areas should be divided into special agricultural zones according to geographical conditions. Factories or other businesses are strictly forbidden within these zones.
3. The feudal land tax is to be abolished, and in its place a new land tax is to be levied
4. Peasants should be discouraged to produce crops that are uneconomical to grow.

The objective of the second land reform is to reduce the peasant population from five million to three million in the next ten years, so that the income of the peasants can be kept at a relatively high level.

After the completion of the Twelve Big Projects, the active implementation of social welfare policies will be paramount. At present, some wages are so low workers can hardly save up money. As the pension system is still not widely applied, and young people tend to leave their parents when they grow up, workers often spend their later years without being provided for. Soon, this problem may become

urgent. Taiwan economists see the solution is in a countrywide labor insurance scheme, which, they claim, will be a major step toward a rational distribution of income.



## Troubles Brewing in

Last June when Asean foreign ministers were about to meet in Kuala Lumpur to discuss the Kampuchean crisis and it had been expected that Vietnam would be in good behavior during that period, a new incursion by Vietnamese soldiers into Thailand took place. Earlier, Thailand had announced the repatriation of Khmer refugees, most of whom were from the Khmer Rouge controlled camps. Hanoi and her Phnompenh client protested strongly to Bangkok saying that Thailand was sending back Pol Pot's men to Kampuchea.

It seemed that Hanoi had counted on a flash attack at the border which would paralyse the Thai armed forces quickly and would force Bangkok to the defensive. Yet, the invasion was driven back after only one or two days, without causing too much harm to the Thais.

**Khieu Samphan: A tough war is going on**



South Vietnam.

The decision to invade Thailand also reflected the differences in Hanoi. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach was then on a tour in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. In the past few months, Thach had been waving an olive branch in Southeast Asia, giving sweet promises to Asean members. It seemed Thach himself knew nothing about the incursion beforehand, which made him very embarrassed. When he arrived at Thailand after the incident, he was greeted by furious demonstrators at the airport.

Shortly after the incursion, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and Vo Nguyen Giap went to Moscow begging for more aid. Some time earlier, Moscow had announced the withdrawal of part of her army in Afghanistan so as to make the Olympic Games look more peaceful. The incursion was surely harmful to the image of the Soviets whom people believed to be the boss Indo-chinese government. Anyway, as Vietnam got bogged down in Kampuchea, her dependence on Moscow could only increase. It was reported that the Soviets had moved into Cam Ranh Bay, a former U.S. military base in South Vietnam.

The incursion sparked off wide condemnation among the states in the region and made Asean members more united. Before the meeting, it had been reported that Indonesia and Malaysia were willing to accept the pre-eminence of Hanoi in Indo-China. So it seemed that Thach's effort was about to bring harvest. Thach had argued that the Kampuchean crisis is a problem

between Vietnam and Kampuchea. Bangkok shouldn't have interfered in the business at all. However, the incursion had spoiled what Thach had longed to see and Bangkok was at once strongly backed by fellow members of Asean.

Elsewhere, Beijing and Washington joined forces to condemn the Vietnamese invasion. Washington immediately showed her support by dispatching its sophisticated arms to Thailand immediately. Hua Guo-feng and Carter later met at the funeral of Ohira in Tokyo. Both leaders voiced opposition to Vietnam's penetration in Kampuchea and incursion into Thailand.

Fighting is still continuing along the Thai border, but mainly on the Kampuchean side. It seems that Hanoi wants to wipe out the Khmer Rouge stronghold in the Malai Mountain. A tough war is going on. Some reports say that the Khmer Rouge main forces are retreating, leaving only some guerrillas to slacken the advance of the Vietnamese.

According to a French left-wing newspaper "Liberation" which interviewed Khieu Samphan recently, the Khmer Rouge still have enough arms to fight, including launchers, machine guns and rifles which are shipped in from China. However the guerrillas are now lacking in food. The international relief agencies had stopped sending food to areas controlled by the Khmer Rouge because it was reported that much of the food were used to feed the guerrillas.

Certainly, the ordinary Kampuchean refugees have suffered a lot

# Indochina

Zheng Guangbiao



Carter and Hua in Japan: Closer ties between Beijing and Washington

Khmer refugees crossing into Thai territory: Gloomy future



during and after the incursion. Now their number is about one million. Hundreds of them have been killed or injured the last few weeks. As fighting is becoming more intensive, their fate would become more gloomy.

Last May, shooting also broke out between Laos and Thailand in the Mekong, killing a Thai officer. Thailand has not only suspended trade with Hanoi, but with Laos too, and has closed the whole Laos-Thai border. Bangkok argued the shooting in the Mekong is part of the plan to invade Thailand. The landlocked country immediately faced severe difficulties. Supplies became extremely short, and prices in the black market is soaring up. Laos had urged Bangkok to re-open the border but the latter had turned a deaf ear. Later, it is reported that Laos has deployed more soldiers along the border. Anyway, Thailand has to face the danger of being attacked from two fronts.

At the same time, tension has mounted on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Observers have talked about a second punitive action from China. At least, China has increased war preparations along the border. Richard Hobbrooke, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State recently on a visit in China said a Chinese move against Vietnam was possible. Some observers suggested that China might bomb Vietnam's industrial centers so as to paralyse her economy. Thach even claimed that China had recently sent three new divisions to the border, which were stationed near Vietnam's strategic province Lang Son.

Beijing has denied that more troops were sent, saying that it was Hanoi's trick to divert attention from the Thai border. If it was so, then the recognition of Heng's regime by India was surely another way of shifting the focus, with New Delhi fooling herself by becoming the target of world-wide condemnation. As a matter of fact, the second punitive war is always a possibility in the future. So long as Vietnam's expansionism exists, her neighbors would find themselves threatened.

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# Sketches Of Guilin

by Jiang Dong  
translated by Jun Tao

## I

*The gauzy clouds enveil the mountain's eye,  
Thousands of green peaks in Li River lie,  
Rushing headlong the trains push the ranges apart,  
Flipping the bluff bands the sails glide and dart,  
The rills wind the hills; the hills among the rills,  
They sit the city on the picturesque sills,  
From ancient times men sought the Fairy Isle,  
Not in Earth's End but here in Guilin it smiles.*

## II

*The old banians put up their green mantles,  
The young cassias breathe their scents gentle,  
Flowers vying with their charming sarongs,  
In all seasons light breezes sing their songs.  
Blossoms among picturesque vicinities,  
It's a city of all blooms in their pretties.  
Don't think it's nowhere to be found, gone is the season,  
In all weathers, spring lives here in Guilin.*

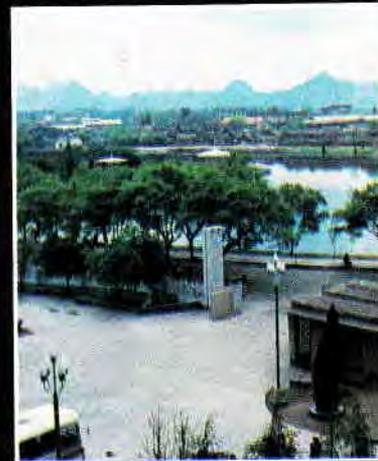
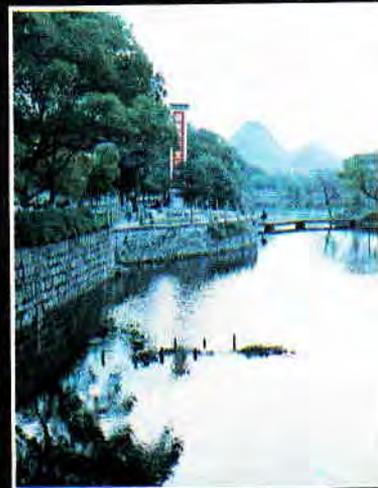
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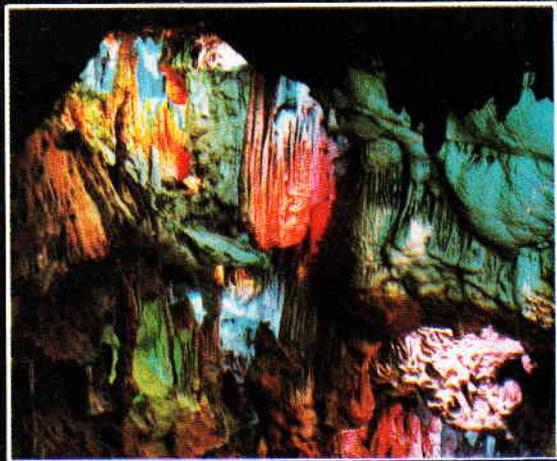
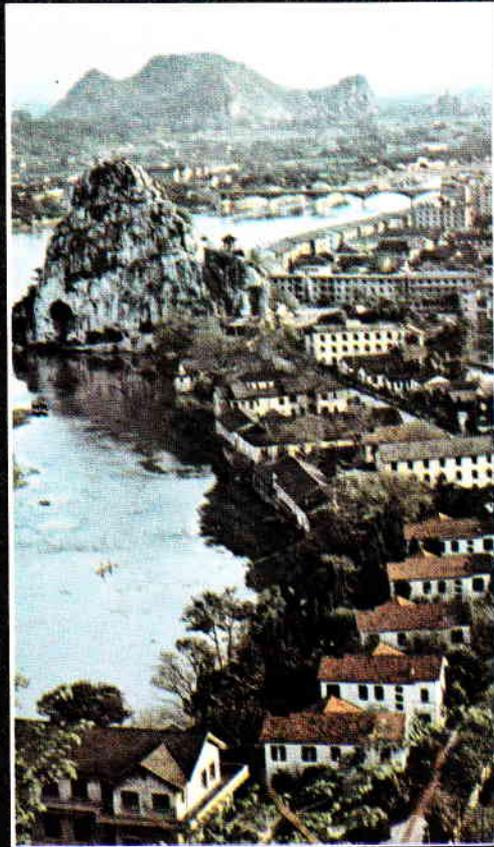
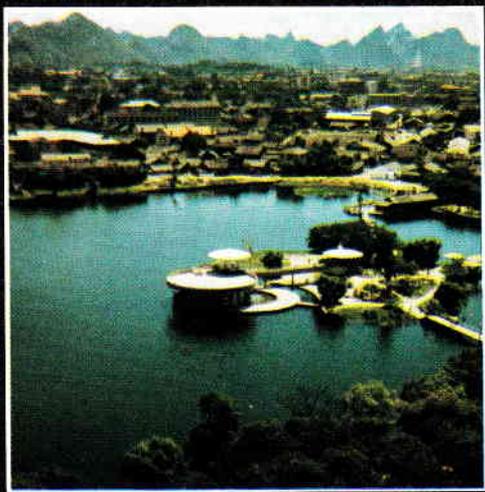
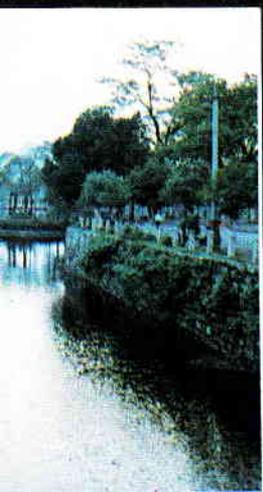
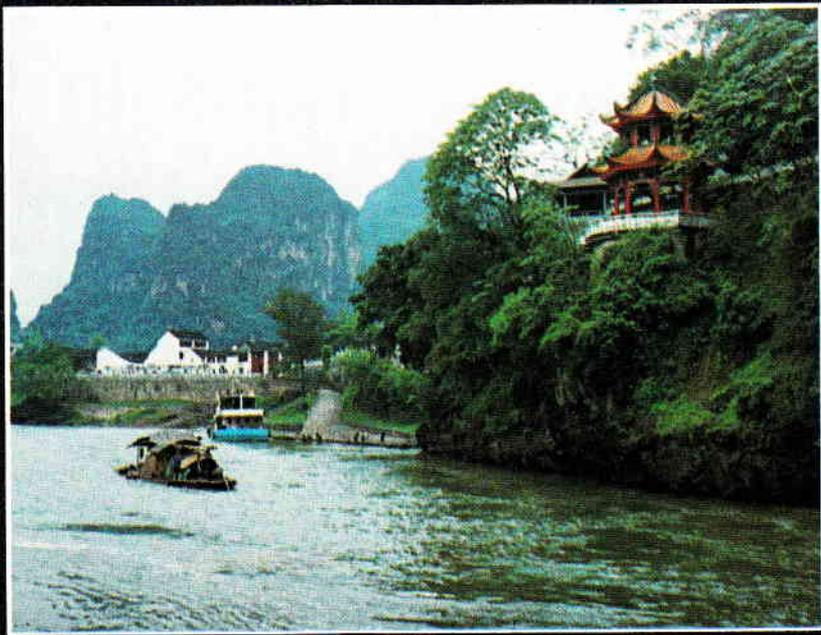
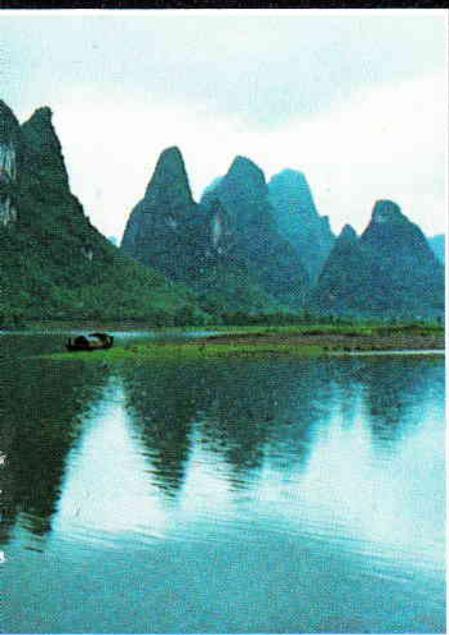
*Buildings piercing the clouds floating at ease,  
The King's Town\* welcomes guests from all seas.  
They mount the hills, visiting every nook and cranny,  
And descend scholars's Arch in happy company.  
A culture with a thousand years' history.  
There's a sea of poetry and stone tablets,  
Come to Guilin and you'll find antique sets.*

## IV

*They city by the ranges bearing fame world-wide,  
Covered with footprints of folks from all sides.  
Many races in colorful dress tour,  
Meandering among the hills, making detours.  
With joyous hearts and faces of happiness,  
They chorus: a city of friendliness.  
The mountain city, a deep bow:  
Always at your service, it vows.*

\* An old imperial mansion from the Ming Dynasty.





## Great Changes in the Cadre System in China

by M. Wong

The 5th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPC held in late February this year decided to put an end to the lifelong tenure for office-holders. Officials would be obliged to retire after a fixed term of office.

Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping said in an interview that this will apply to all officials holding government and party positions, including the Chairman of the Party, the top rank for Chinese cadres. It means that the obligatory retirement program will cover the whole party, state and military apparatus without exception.

The General Secretary of the party, Hu Yaobang confided to

some Yugoslavian journalists in June that China is developing a collective leadership system, so that no future leader will have the excessive power of the late Chairman Mao Zedong. He said that the changes would prevent too much power falling into the hands of a small group or one man.

What are the changes described as epoch-making in the history of the CPC?

### Main Points of New System

The new system for cadres has been laid down in the revised draft party constitution, submitted for discussion throughout the party and to be adopted at the 12th National Party Congress at the end of this year. The regulations appeared for the first time in the CPC's constitution, and has never been adopted by constitutions of other communist parties.

It has been stipulated that members of the Central Committee and of local party committees could only serve for 3 consecutive terms of 5 years each or of 3 years each for members of county party committees. Some suggested that for young cadres with exceptional abilities, the term of office may be prolonged, provided he or she gets 4/5 of the votes. But others disagreed, as this contradicts the idea of abolishing lifelong appointments. They held that such persons could be re-elected after an interruption of at least 5 years following his or her third term of office, and only

when he or she continues to do splendidly in other jobs.

To promote rejuvenation and regeneration of the leadership at various levels, an average age limit for each level has been put forward: 55-65 for Central Committee members, 50-60 for executives of



55-65 for Central Committee members

the provincial party committees, and a maximum 45 for executives of the county party committees. Cadres are obliged to retire when they reach the age of retirement fixed by the state, which is usually 55-60 for women and 65-70 for men.

Wan Li: "The young generation"



Hu Yaobang: A relatively young leader





**Wang Renzhong:** Member of the relatively young and competent Secretariat

To resolve the succession problem and ensure a smooth transition, a system of advisors is introduced, for example, the Council of Advisors for the Central Committee and for provincial party committee, and advisors or group of advisors for lower party committees. These councils or groups would comprise experienced cadres who are either advanced in age or in such ill health as not to be able to handle day-to-day work. By retiring, these veteran cadres would relieve themselves of the heavy pressure and tedious tasks so that they would have time to give full consideration to major issues, sum up their own experience, and help guide and bring up young and middle-aged cadres. It has been suggested that advisors should shoulder certain practical activities, and therefore should be selected and officially announced. They should not hold the posts permanently, and would completely retire after a prescribed time.

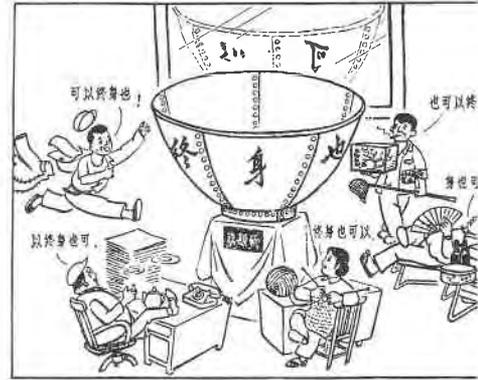
It has been stressed that successors should not be appointed individually and separately, which was the practise in the past, but should be selected as a group of successors, and that all major issues relating to party line, personnel appointments or government matters, are to be submitted to committees at various levels and not to be left for individual leaders to decide. This will both ensure the continuation of a collective leadership, prevent the emergence of a single omnipotent leader, and enhance the spirit of

team work.

Strict requirements and rules have been put forward for leading cadres. They should not only have a good theoretical knowledge and adhere to party line and policies, but should also have the professional skills to manage their specific jobs. They should not abuse their powers and indulge in special privileges. They should keep close contact with the masses. They must be good at uniting with those who disagree and should by no means conduct factional activities. Every cadre should be regularly tested morally and vocationally. Those with good conduct and excellent performance should be promoted, while those who fail after consecutive tests, should be demoted or dismissed.

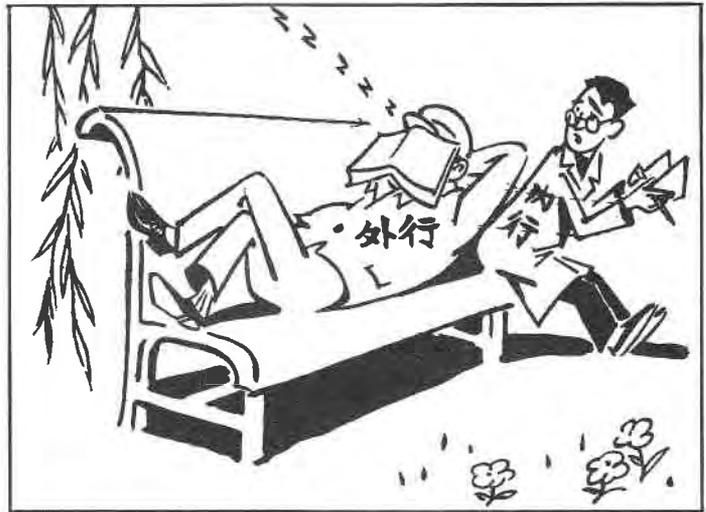
### Background for Reforms

The Chinese cadre system, scaled into twenty six grades, is shaped after the bureaucratic hierarchy of the Soviet Union. The "iron bowl



**Iron bowl system**

who are asked to retire or to be transferred to lower positions according to their ability, view it as a degradation or penalty, and are reluctant to obey such orders. The resistance comes also from a large number of young and middle-aged ultra-liftists, who gained power during the Cultural Revolution. Reproached by the people, they were forced to make self-criticism,



**Wake up, comrade!**

system", so called because cadres could not be fired from their jobs, enables cadres to hold their posts all their life without regard for their ability and old age. As position means privilege, very few of them are willing to step down to make way for younger, more able and technical-minded officials. Those

but some of them still try to put up a resistance by conducting factional activities and secretly sabotaging the implementation of the new policies.

Deng Xiaoping and his associates are quite aware of this danger. In the last few months he has been urging that the question of succes-

sion must be solved within 3 years. Even 5 years would be too long. He also pointed out that the modernization program would come to nothing if paternalism and factionalism are not curbed.

Chinese leaders are facing the question of succession that has never been properly solved in all communist countries, where the dictatorship of the proletariat often degenerated into dictatorship of one man. A swing of policy often occurs after the death of the top leader, causing chaos and instability. The Chinese communists are trying to tackle this problem by fighting the personality cult and establishing a collective leadership.

### Setting Examples

The new regulations laid down in the revised draft party constitutions are important steps toward solving this knotty problem. To break the ice, the Central Committee members and Deng Xiaoping himself had to take the lead by setting examples. The 5th Plenary Session



Deng Xiaoping informs foreign visitors of his plan to retire in the near future

of the CC had elected a powerful Secretariat of eleven, who are rather young by Chinese leadership standards, politically open-minded and experts of different fields. They control the day-to-day running of party affairs, setting an example of collective leadership.

The supporter of the ultra-leftist line, the so called "junior gang of four" in the Politburo, were urged to make self-criticism, have resigned from all their party and government posts and were transferred to lower positions, setting an example of how to deal with unqualified leaders.

A Council of Advisors within the

Standing Committee of the Politburo, with 5 advisory members, was set up.

Deng Xiaoping himself plans to resign all his posts by 1985 and assume the role of advisor. It is quite likely that the Chairman of National People's Congress, Marshal Ye Jianying, an octogenarian, and the two septuagenarian Vice-Premiers Li Xiannian and Chen Yun, will soon retire from their active roles within the government.

Recently, about 1600 veteran cadres in Guizhou province, have retired or took the role of advisors. In the Shenyang military region, elderly officers at the divisional level and above, have stepped down to become advisors, and a group of graduates from universities, post-secondary and technical colleges have taken over leadership at the divisional level and above. This is just the beginning of the long, tortuous and painful process of structural reform, which will have a direct impact on China's modernization drive.

## CHINA'S NEW DEMOCRACY

— With full texts of  
the three constitutions of  
the People's Republic of China

Qi Xin and others

*Democracy is an issue of crucial importance in China at the moment. All discussions of democracy in China inevitably include references to and comments on important events in contemporary Chinese history. This book attempts to give a context to the complex issues involved in the development of democracy in China. The appendix of the book includes the three constitutions of the People's Republic of China — reference materials that are not readily available to the non-specialist.*



# Education — A Crucial Factor in China's Modernization Drive

by G. Ngai

After three years of embarking on the modernization drive, the new Chinese leadership seems to have realized that there is a serious lack of educated manpower as well as a shortage of financial resources and of modern technology.

In an important address this year, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the country's modernization drive needs an additional 3 million teachers for primary and secondary schools, and at least 2-3 million personnel of professional skill from colleges and universities, plus 2 million judges, lawyers, procurators and special police. He criticized the party organizations at different levels for neglecting their responsibility to discover, cultivate and promote persons of professional skill in making better use of their respective talents.

Speaking at the national conference of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association in March this year, party General Secretary Hu Yaobang urged scientists to assist the party in cultivating better qualified scientists, technical workers, theoreticians, inventors, innovators, engineers, agronomists and medical specialists. He said that the country must put greater energy and effort into education and must gradually make major improvements in this field.

On the occasion of celebrating Children's Day on June 1 this year, Vice-Premier Zhao Ziyang pledged the government's determination to take more effective measures in educating a new generation with good morale, fit physique and ample knowledge.

But what are the troubles behind all these words? What are the boiling problems which have caused Chinese

leaders to turn their attention to education?

## Healing the Wounds

China is slowly healing the wounds caused by the Cultural Revolution, which had the most destructive effect on education. Many Chinese still feel horrified when they recall the total ruin of the educational system, which was turned into a brooding nest for anarchism, hooliganism and terrorism. The new leadership have

## Youngsters loitering and sloganeering during the days of Culutral Revolution



made painstaking efforts to restore it from chaos. Schools were reopened or revamped, textbooks were rewritten, teaching methods were modernized, and treatment of teachers were generally improved. But still, many problems remain.

Persons with professional skill comprising merely 2.5% of the population are still too scarce in quantity and weak in quality compared with developed countries and some developing countries. The U.S. with ¼ the population of China, has 4 times more colleges and universities and 9 times more

college students than China. The standard and percentage of scholars and skilled personnel are even higher in the Soviet Union. The scarcity of intellectuals is one of the main indications that China is at least two decades behind in modern science and technology.

But it is quite unfortunate to see that the intellectuals are still suffering from financial and political discrimination in many parts of China. It has been officially recognized that intellectuals receive 10-30% less pay than manual laborers. Workers get bonuses if they work hard, peasants can earn more by selling their products in the free market, but intellectuals get no bonus for their special accomplishments. There is still a strong tendency to level off differences between manual and mental labor by lowering the wages for intellectuals.



Unemployed youths outside a recruiting center: Ability comes first

Politically, intellectuals are still being distrusted, and often not given the right job to develop their capabilities and skills in the interest of the state. Quite a few specialists and talented persons, unable to use their skills fully or afraid of being humiliated for the second time, have left or are applying to leave the country.



Chinese and American scientists at Beijing seminar: Interflow of ideas and experience



A teacher instructing his students in Qinghua University (Beijing).

### Lacking Qualified Teachers

Chinese leaders have correctly pointed out, that the training of professionals depend mainly upon the teachers, and that their social status should be raised to match their "glorious and arduous task". In some big cities, "special-class teachers" in primary and secondary schools have been selected as models, commended for their rich teaching, and given a salary equal to that of skilled workers. But the majority of the 10 million teachers, especially the primary school teachers, are still poorly paid. A primary school teacher of 10-20 years standing, usually gets RMB 40-50 yuan per month, lower than workers of the same length of service. Teachers receive much less social benefits than workers, say, in housing, which is becoming more and more an acute problem. More than half of the teachers in secondary schools are graduates of the same level, while many teachers in the primary school are just graduates from junior middle schools. These teachers never had a training in normal schools or teachers' training colleges. The situation is even worse in the countryside, where education has been more seriously neglected.

To improve the situation, the Government has promised to raise the salaries of teachers starting next

year, set up more normal schools and teachers' training colleges, and help teachers follow on-the-job courses to increase their knowledge and improve their teaching. Unqualified teachers would be checked and asked to change their jobs if they don't improve themselves.

### New Imbalances and Problems

Although the total number of students in tertiary institutions has reached a record of 1.02 million last year, doubling the figure in 1965, the places for freshmen only expanded from 270,000 last year to 300,000 this year, an increase of 30,000. In all, 4.6 million youngsters were competing to get these places. Only 6% of the applicants could get them, among which 3% came from high school graduates, a very low percentage compared with other countries. (In the U.S. 60% of high school graduates continue their studies in tertiary institutions).

The new enrolment policy does create problems, giving more chance to urban residents and children of intellectuals, who have more time, better tuition and financial support. A survey in Beijing showed that more than half of the freshmen class consisted of children from families of intellectuals and government officials. It seems that the authorities are becoming aware of the problem, resulting in a hot debate

of what kind of educational system China should adopt. Many experts in education are for diversification of the educational system. On the one hand, the "key-point" system -- that is, putting emphasis on some top schools -- should be maintained to keep abreast of international standards. On the other hand, great attention should be paid on spare-time and on-the-job studies.

Beijing University is now giving courses through public television, enrolling more than 40,000 students, mostly unemployed young people. Those who pass the end-of-term exams can receive a college diploma recognized by the state. This will reduce the pressure on conventional colleges. The 4.5 million TV sets in China could be used for the purpose of satisfying the young people's thirst for knowledge, especially in rural areas.

Well over 1.6 million workers in the 4 major industrial cities -- Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Harbin -- are studying in spare-time schools run by the factories, trade-unions or schools, comprising 1/5 of the total work-force in these cities. The percentage is still very low, as more than half of the workers in many cities had an education lower than junior middle school. Recruiting new workers through examinations in language, mathematics and special skills, started last year in some cities, is also a good method of



Students taking a break in the campus of Beijing University

stimulating the young people for further studies.

About 70,000 leading administrative personnel in commercial positions are attending special courses of management, including subjects on industrial management, specialization and coordination, planning, quality and cost control. Commercial colleges and schools have increased from 131 last year to 194 now, and the number of students from 31,000 to 40,000. Vocational schools, completely neglected during the Cultural Revolution, are being restored, gradually turning the ratio of senior middle schools and vocational schools from around 10:1 at present to 1:1 after 6-7 years, giving youngsters a better opportunity of employment.

#### Moral Problems

Chinese leaders and teachers are confronting problems of low morality among the students. The first year after restoring the system of exams saw a slackening of anarchism which had plagued the schools for a decade. But the euphoria soon wore thin as new problems arose. Seeing little chance of entering college or getting a job in the cities after graduation, students with low grades feel disheartened and frustrated. Some of them are apt to get into mischief by abandoning their studies and by gambling, stealing, smuggling and fighting. Juvenile delinquency

has increased sharply in the last few years. The government is tackling this problem energetically by putting them in work-and-study schools, trying to reform them, but too often factories don't want to employ them afterwards.

Problems are a bit different for college students. Most of them study hard, and try to make up for the time lost in the Cultural Revolution. But many of them, especially students in science and engineering are not interested in politics, and are reluctant to attend political lectures or to take part in political discussions. Some of them don't want to work at the grass-root levels in the countryside or in border regions. The students are not entirely to blame for the reversal. Methods of theoretical indoctrination simply do not solve practical problems.

Secondary students attending an English class.



## Facts and Figures

The Chinese Ministry of Education has furnished the following figures.

- Kindergartens: 164,000 with 7.87 million children, 60.5 times the peak year of 1946 before China was liberated in 1949.

- Primary schools: 949,000, or 2.7 times those of 1949; pupils: 146.24 million, 6 times those of 1949.

- Ordinary middle schools: 162,000, or 40 times those of 1949; students: 65.48 million, 63 times those of 1949.

- Secondary technical schools: 1,700; students: 530,000 or 6.9 times those of 1949.

- Colleges and universities: 598 offering over 800 specialities of which over 500 are in science and engineering; students: 850,000 or 7.3 times those of 1949.

- Post-liberation graduates from full-time institutions of higher education: 2.946 million, equal to 16 times the total number of graduates from old China's colleges and universities in the 20 years before liberation.

- Post-liberation graduates from teachers' colleges and universities: 636,000, or 30.3 times those trained in the 20 years before liberation.

- Post-liberation graduates from teachers' schools: 2,372,000 or 6.5 times the total number trained in the 16 years before liberation.

- There are 68 million workers, peasants and cadres now studying in spare-time primary and middle schools, and 550,000 in factory-run or spare-time colleges.

- There are 420,000 (including on-the-job personnel) students and 200,000 auditors in the Central Broadcasting and Television University and 28 other such institutes run by various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

*(The above figures are based on 1978 statistics.)*

## Advertising in China

—*Making up for Lost Time*

Connie Wei

Within the last twelve months, advertisements have intruded upon the lives of almost every urban and suburban citizen in China. The moment he or she opens her eyes in the morning, she is liable to catch an ad over the radio, and, by the time she is about to go to bed, she may well be confronted with some other on television. The fact is that an ad-fever has caught up with the communications media in China, and every newspaper, magazine, radio or television station is out to get any advertisement it can possibly find. Not only that; billboards have sprung up in every conceivable spot in cities and in the countryside, where tourists might sometimes visit, and in airports, trains and bus depots, hotels and restaurants. To an observant visitor, commercial advertisements have largely replaced the political slogans that have become omnipresent throughout China since the days of the Cultural Revolution. To Chinese officials, the advertising business serves at least these purposes:

1. To promote the country's modernization program through the dissemination of useful information in industry and commerce.
2. To draw income for the public news media and for professional publications, which are almost entirely dependent on state or public support.
3. To exchange useful knowledge and information with foreign countries, and, to absorb foreign currency.

Within those months, also, advertising agencies have been incorporated in major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hangzhou. With the exception of the last one, which is under the auspices of the special economic zone of Guangdong, all these agencies are operated by the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Their business are two-fold: to act as an agent for foreign advertisements, and, to handle Chinese advertisements aimed at foreign markets. Whereas these companies take care of more or less all the products controlled by the national exporting companies, they are far from monopolizing the advertising business in China. For example, they are in no position to control those ads going into China from foreign countries. These are largely taken care of by advertising companies operating in Hong Kong. In fact, most national media, and some local ones in the provinces, accept their own ads or have their own agents in Hong Kong to do it for them. Most common among these agents are China Advertising Company in Hong Kong, and the two leftist Chinese dailies, *Wen Wei Pao* and *Ta Kung Pao*. *Wen Wei Pao*, for example, is the sole agent for television stations in Guangdong, Sichuan, and Shanghai, as well as for provincial newspapers in Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Hebei.

At present, four national dailies in China (*People's*, *Guangming*, *Workers'*, and *China's Youth*) and



A billboard advertisement for China-made commodities



An advertisement in shop-window

numerous provincial papers accept advertisements. Because of its mass circulation of 7 million printed copies, the *People's Daily* charges around US\$10,000 for a 1/6 page advertisement. Others, such as the *Tianjin Daily*, with a circulation of 600,000 charge somewhere around a quarter of that rate or lower. *Beijing's Market News*, a biweekly paper specially designed for the exchange of information regarding the marketing of economic products, enjoys a readership up to a million and is considered a good bet for advertisers.

Among the 400 magazines open for advertisements, including both general and professional magazines,

## China Pictorial Accepts Advertisements

We welcome Chinese and foreign manufacturers and traders to advertise in our magazine. Please contact our ads department at 28, Huayuancun, Beijing, China (Tel: 895118; Cable Address: CHINAPIC).

Advertising provisions and rate card will be sent on request.



China Pictorial is one of the highest-priced periodicals for foreign advertisements

only a small percentage has good quality paper and printing. The rest are more or less geared to the internal market only. So far, only a few foreign advertisements have appeared in the colored pages of *China Pictorial*, one of the best, and probably the highest-priced, in the field. It is interesting to note that *Hongqi*, the official theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party, is also going after advertisements.

A good proportion of television stations in China accept advertisements, among them, those in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Nanjing and Guangzhou. It is estimated that there are 5 million TV sets in China, with a viewing audience of 200 million. So far, the most frequent ads appearing on screen are Japanese-made watches and electrical consumer items, whereas, other consumer products such as patented medicine are also heard over the radio, which, incidentally, reaches almost every single home and household in all of China, and, hence, enjoys the largest possible audience.

Commercial billboards are a bit of novelty in Chinese cities. Now they adorn every central business district in major cities, most famous

among these are Wangfujing in Beijing, the Guangzhou Trade Fair, and the major international airports in China. Even tourist spots are not exempted. Surprisingly, billboards have become the most popular outlet for advertisers, both local and foreign, the reasons being cheaper expenses and longer duration.

Generally speaking, foreign advertisers adopt a wait-and-see attitude when they come to the point of making decisions. With the

possible exceptions of Coca-cola, Kodak, and Citizen watches, there seems to be little prospect of immediate returns for them. Some businessmen prefer to arrange for exhibitions in which they could actually display their products, mostly in machinery, technology, and equipments. A kind of Canton Fair in reverse, one might say. Exhibitions of this kind have been found to be quite effective. Whatever the methods of persuasion, it seems most likely that advertising is going to stay in China for a long time to come.



A billboard advertisement of a foreign bank outside the Trade Fair Building

## A Publisher Speaks His Mind

Staff Reporter

— from a speech delivered by Chen Yuan, Vice-Chairman of the Publishers' Association of China, while visiting Hong Kong

To the general public in China, the publishing business has undergone a drastic change for the better over the last three years. The Cultural Revolution had brought havoc to publishing, as it had to other fields. But, as more and more books are coming out in print, the confidence of publishers has been regained in a relatively short time, because 90% of the books are selling at a rapid rate. Now, as many restrictions are being done away with in publishing, a much greater variety of books are being released. In 1979, there were 17,000 titles in print, of which 4,000 were in science and technology, 2,500 in literature, and 1,500 in social science. The total printed copies amounted to 4 billion, or, four copies for every person in China.

### Copyright Laws

China is now looking into the field of legislation for publishing. Groups of experts are engaged in the drafting of laws in regard to publishing and copyright. Copyright laws are less complicated, and should be ready within a year or two. It is envisioned that once both sets of laws are ratified, China will be in the position to consider whether it is appropriate to join the International Copyright Agreement.

### Two Criticisms

A few years ago, during the Cultural Revolution, it was suggested, and, indeed, observed, that all editors should bear in mind the concept of

two criticisms.

That is, anything

published must contribute to the objectives of criticizing both revisionism and capitalism. In bringing everything in line with party ideology, a good deal of useful or harmless books were either forbidden, or voluntarily omitted, thus rendering the publishing business in a state of stagnation and ill-repute.

The last three years saw the dismantling of such ideological barriers, and the revival of all sectors in the publishing business. Most notable are children's books. Of late, they have become the most popular items in bookstores. Then, there are those which teach you how to do this and that -- practical knowledge and skills. One bestseller is called *"How to be a Good Parent"*. But, among adult



Chen Yuan addressing a reception in Hongkong

readers, and a good deal of young people, too, certain short stories dealing with social themes, as well as stories of espionage and adventure are considered most enjoyable, or relaxing. Translations of Agatha Christie's *"Death on the Nile"* and *"The Orient Express"* are gaining a very wide readership in China now. Even Sherlock Holmes has been revived, and avidly followed. But, by and large, books on popular science and technology have the greatest circulation because they are tied in with the modernization drive in China.

### Forbidden Areas

In the past, people have been told by party officials that most of

### Queuing up for new books.



the books that existed were, to a certain extent, objectionable from the point of view of ideology, because they were products of the old feudalistic society, or, of capitalist society. One wonders, however, how far this principle of evaluation could be applied. Even now, of course, there are those who would say that Agatha Christie's books are "no good", or "not literary enough". Granted they are no "Hamlet", nor "David Copperfield", nobody can say they are bad either. Publishers have often been accused in China of "adulterating the minds of youngsters" by publishing obviously harmless books. One fails to see any connection between the existing crime rate in China and the detective stories that have been reprinted. It seemed the accusations were grossly unfair.

### Respect for Intellectuals

It has recently been decided that writers and authors get a general increase of 40% in royalties. Intel-

lectuals generally had a very rough deal during the Cultural Revolution, and their books were all too lightly labeled "rightist" or even "anti-revolutionary". In fact, they were looked upon as no more than "third class" citizens. Now, writers and authors are slowly regaining their due respect from society. Politically, they have been re-classified as part of the working class. Publishers are

doing their share in giving authors those economic and political privileges which rightly belong to them. In addition to royalties, bonuses are issued with every reprint. The right of authors to make alterations for new editions is also taken into consideration. Publishers think these are the least they could do to promote a better atmosphere of co-operation.

A display of books and periodicals published by China: Still lagging far behind the demand



## Facts and Figures

According to *Market News* in Beijing, there are now over 5000 newspaper, magazines and periodicals published in China and 30% of them are distributed through post offices.

Some statistics released by National Publications Bureau relating to newspaper and magazines are shown below:

### Newspapers

Year	Number of Publication	Printed copies (in billion)
1952	296	1.608
1968	42	3.577
1978	186	12.776
1980	328	N.A.*

\*N.A. - Not available

### Magazines

Year	Number of Publication	Printed copies (in billion)
1952	354	0.204
1968	22	0.027
1978	930	0.761
1980	1358	N.A.

## Breezes From China

Peregrine Lin

**S**ources stated that the Bohai Gulf accident occurred after the Party Secretary in charge of the rig ordered it to be moved to a new drilling location despite warnings of a storm in the area. Though the engineers onboard the rig reportedly opposed the move they were over-ruled. Now, isn't that another costly example of the "the layman leading the expert"?

**O**ver dinner one evening, a middle-aged couple, both cadres, were discussing whether to first build a house or make the arrangements for the wedding of their son. The husband was in favor of the former, but the wife retorted: "Don't be foolish. Didn't you know that a party secretary received a few thousand dollars in presents for his daughter's wedding?"

**I**n his letter to an evening newspaper in Guangzhou recently, American Consul-General Richard Williams urged that more historical temples in the area should be renovated and opened to the public. Ancient relics in Guangzhou, despite its long history, are few and far between. It seemed a great waste if they are not restored properly.

**W**hat a change! "Situations Vacant" advertisements should not only aim at the unemployed but also at those who are looking for better jobs to suit their skills. The suggestion in the *People's Daily* is worthy of praise. I recollect the story of a guide in Nanjing holding a degree in French but didn't really like being a tourist guide. But, in the nation's centralized job assignment system, he had no choice. Let's hope that for him at least the day will come when he can be employed in the career of his choice.

**J**udging from the suicide trend now in China, most are caused by persecution from bringing out the truth about fraud and corruption of cadres. It would be profitable to the society to set up an agency like the Samaritan's, don't you think?

**B**elieve it or not, a Chinese woman was detained for questioning by the police in Beijing just because she was wearing a strongly-scented foreign perfume. Also reported is the case of busy-bodies ruining young people's trousers with scissors just because they looked like bell-bottomed ones. What happened to the individual's constitutional rights, one wonders.

**A**ccording to American Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Holbrooke, there has been a reduced tendency on the part of the Chinese in the last two years to lecture the U.S. on their shortcomings. Who's been improving, the Chinese or the Americans?

**T**he Australian tune 'A Pub with No Beer' will soon be a popular song in Beijing where there is a shortage of beer for this summer. One reason I can think of is that soft drinks in Beijing are getting more and more expensive nowadays. Compared to them, beer is a bargain.

**C**hina is now competing with Taiwan, South Korea and Philippines for dispatching teams of skilled or semi-skilled laborers to the Middle East as another means of earning hard currency for its modernization program. Indeed, a noble act. Remember the 'cheap coolie labor' in America during the 19th century? History seems to repeat itself, but with a twist.

**N**obody can accuse the Chinese Communist Party of not practising democracy now. In preparation for its Twelfth National Congress which would probably take place at the end of the year, Party branches in various units have been asked to organize general meetings for all members for the purpose of electing their own representatives to the Congress. Prospective candidates would be asked to make speeches at these meetings, much as any political campaigner running for office is expected to. Good show!

**A**ccording to the latest count by the United Nations, Shanghai is the most populous city in the world, with over 10 million people. Moscow comes 8th, with around 7 million. Shouldn't there be a recount, now that the Olympic Games have started and people are flocking to the Soviet capital in search of nice food and consumer items specially prepared for the duration of the Games?

**F**our Chinese with modern electronic calculators competed with three Chinese using the centuries old abacus in doing math problems. It was found that the abacus was 20 per cent faster in adding and subtracting, but the calculator was 60 per cent faster with the rest. Just shows you that you can't win them all, can you?

# Sons and Successors

Written by Ru Zhijuan

Translated by Ellen Klemptner



Ru Zhijuan

## Introduction to "Sons and Successors"

"*Sons and Successors*" deals with a phenomenon that is fairly recent in China — the "generation gap." Although the specific term is seldom used in China, it has been generally recognized that the problem exists, and articles in various periodicals, particularly "China Youth", have appeared on the subject. First published in the January issue of "*Shanghai Literature*" this year "*Sons and Successors*" is one of the first piece of contemporary Chinese fiction to focus on the problem. The main "young" character in the story, 28-year-old Kuai Chi, like many of China's youth today, has had no experience of the abject poverty and national degradation that was China before the Revolution. Nor has he had much of a chance to witness some of the truly moving acts of self-sacrifice that had once managed to win over the hearts of the Chinese people to the Communist Party in the past. Growing to maturity during the Cultural Revolution, a period in which the gap between ideals and reality in China had become a chasm, Kuai Chi is fed up with listening to tales of the "glorious old days" and his mother's past heroic feats in the P.L.A. This is especially true now that he is not infrequently confronted with examples of bureaucratic behavior and special privilege among officials and cadres. His own mother, Tian Jing, daughter of a poor peasant, now a middle-level cadre, who has tried to pull every possible string to "set up" her son is without exception. His reaction, however, is not to rebel or struggle, as some young people have, but to turn to the pursuit of more material pleasures in the attempt to lead a "good life". In this, he had the moral support of his girl friend, the attractive, fashionable factory hand, Wang Jiali. This eventually leads him into direct conflict with his mother, who feels he ought to rid himself of the bad influence of Wang and to "maintain the revolutionary way of hard struggle and plain living". But yet, has Tian Jing herself been really so dedicated to the "cause"? If so, then how does she explain the "illegitimately nurtured feudalism" that has caused her to devote so much energy to "arranging" things for her only son? Her answer seems simple enough: "The Revolution is safe and secure in China now." The implication is that the "successors" problem has been neatly taken care of following the advent of the Communist Party to power. But in reality, the situation is not quite so simple and clear-cut, and, as can be seen in "*Sons and Successors*", an adequate solution has yet to be found.

I'd been standing watch at Tian Jing's bedside for more than an hour. It was only a few days into Autumn, not quite six in the evening and the sky was just beginning to get dim. As I sat there in a single room in the Critical Ward, I was helplessly witnessing a human life quietly slipping away. It was simply ebbing, breath by breath, thread by thread -- dissolving into the dusky light of early evening. Despite my ability to think objectively about Tian Jing and my cool attitude toward this inexorable fact, I found it hard to take. And it made me think a lot, too, after I'd run into her son, Kuai Chi a moment ago on the stairs.

I had been the one to recommend Tian Jing to join the Party. My husband had died early, as hers was a little later, leaving me with no children or household burdens. I became her intimate friend and advisor. Since then, she had become a middle-echelon cadre. She was a very capable person and could do men's work as well as women's. Needless to say, her son, Kuai Chi, was always immaculate and fresh-looking. The teachers at her school often said, "Our Party Secretary Tian is like a janitor when she's at school, and a regular laborer at home." The way I see it, that was both her good point and bad point.

Yet now, she was lying there so quietly; no struggle, no groaning, as if she felt no pain at all. But I knew just how unmistakable her suffering was, as she soberly, silently waited for that one moment. The lines at each side of her mouth now looked as if they had been chiseled into place, carved out by her pig-headed tenacity. From time to time she would open her eyes and look at me, or at the high, dark ceiling and weakly ask, "What time is it?"

"Six o'clock."

"What about him?" The "him" in question was her son, Kuai Chi. I could only answer according to prior arrangement. "He went to take a nap."

Her murky gaze stopped at a fixed point in space. "That's fine!" she said slowly and clearly.

"Don't worry." I knew her

suspicious were up, and so in an attempt to divert her attention and make her last moments happier, I told her how her favorite student, Jia Minghua, had skipped a grade and passed the university entrance exams. He would be going to report very soon.

"Jia Minghua, . . . . what Jia Minghua?" She was a bit out of it now.

"The student who made you a cabinet last summer. You said his father had died and mother remarried and that he'd been learning carpentry ever since he was small."

She fixed her gaze again, but you couldn't tell if she remembered him or not, so I continued: "I bumped into him a few days ago in front of your house. He had come to visit you."

"Hugh! . . ." She had intended to give out with a disparaging snort, but instead it resulted in a short, abrupt groan. "That phony!" she muttered. "Putting on his new shirts, has he? Couldn't fool anyone but a corpse, . . . and I'm not one yet!"

She was still thinking about Kuai Chi. I could only keep my mouth shut.

I'd been coming to see Tian Jing constantly ever since she had taken a turn for the worse. Then, as I came puffing up the stairs to the second-floor ward after work today, I saw her: a young woman, sitting on a bench by a window in the big corridor near the stairwell. Her long, long curly hair was coiled up on top of her head, and the bangs on her forehead had been meticulously arranged to give a casual appearance. Her eyes, already flawless, had been made to look even larger and brighter by the eye-shadow applied around the lids. Under the perfectly straight nose was a full, lightly lip-sticked mouth. Beneath the form-fitting bell-bottoms of her grey, simple-lined Western suit, was a pair of equally grey leather shoes. The only thing to break up the monochrome was the small, blood-red georgette scarf at her neck. She sat there, meeting all the glances thrown her way without a trace of timidity. I thought to myself -- this must be

her -- Wang Jiali.

"Vixen!" That was how Tian Jing referred to Wang Jiali. And sure enough, under her influence, her son had begun to grow sideburns, his hair had gotten longer, and he'd started to wear checkered shirts. The problem was, Kuai Chi had always been very docile up till now, and Tian Jing had gotten used to it. He had never gone against his mother's will before, nor had he ever wanted to, because everything had been arranged so well for him, so comfortably. Well, maybe it hadn't been the best of possible arrangements, but it wasn't the worst either. But now faced with the problem of choosing a wife, all the pains his mother had taken collapsed like a pack of cards, making her seem more like a fussy old nag than anything. As a result, Tian Jing was broken-hearted, and her son wasn't too happy either. Three months ago, Kuai Chi had ignored Tian Jing's opposition and brought Wang Jiali home for the purpose of, as he put it, making his mother "widen her knowledge" and get use to Wang Jiali. However, he really underestimated his mother's strength, as the hitherto consistently mild-mannered Tian Jing had gone so far as to point at Wang Jiali and say, "No one like you has ever come out of my house, and no one ever will, unless it's over my dead body!" Wang Jiali swung around and walked out without a word. The next day, Kuai Chi left home and moved into the factory. Tian Jing came over to see me, glowering inflexibly. "I won't compromise! I won't compromise!" she repeated. I tried to convince her that it wouldn't hurt to make another effort to understand just what was it that young people really wanted nowadays, but she just shook her head, saying, "Vixen! Vixen!" and walked out. Later on, I tried to talk to her one more time, but to no avail. The deadlock between mother and son didn't end until it was discovered that Tian Jing's lung cancer had spread, forcing her into the hospital. Kuai Chi moved back home then, and their relationship improved somewhat, but Wang Jiali

was still on their minds, even though mother and son studiously avoided all mention of her. And now, the person sitting right there by the stairwell was very possibly Wang Jiali, herself.

In all fairness, she was really quite pretty. I was just about to take another look at her, when she stood up, all wreathed in smiles. "You must be Auntie Liu," she asked. Then continuing in the soft Shanghai dialect that seemed to flow effortlessly out of her mouth: "I saw your picture in Kuai Chi's

photo album. He talks about you a lot."

"Oh!" I didn't know what to say and just stood there, thinking the whole while how intelligent she seemed. Fortunately, Kuai Chi came rushing out of Tian Jing's hospital room just at that moment, stripping off his work-clothes as he walked, revealing a snow-white shirt and a pair of Western-style pants underneath. He seemed stunned for a moment when he saw me standing together with Wang Jiali, but, then, still managed to give us an introduc-

tion: "Auntie Liu, this is Wang Jiali." A despondent expression came over his face as he spoke, as if to tell me, "See? There's nothing wrong with her."

Immediately understanding Kuai Chi's unspoken message, Wang Jiali's smile disappeared and she turned her head away, pretending to have a great interest in a patient who was walking by.

"How's your Mom?" I asked Kuai Chi. Actually, I was just trying to change the subject.

"The doctor said she'll be all right for the time being."

"Oh. Have you gone in to see her?" I asked Wang Jiali, trying to be casual.

She lowered her head and shook it slightly.

I didn't care to delay any longer. "I'm going in to see her for a short while, then leave," I said. I hadn't taken more than a few steps when Kuai Chi called me.

"Auntie Liu!" He thought to himself a bit, biting his dry lips, then spoke: "Could you stay with her till ten o'clock?"

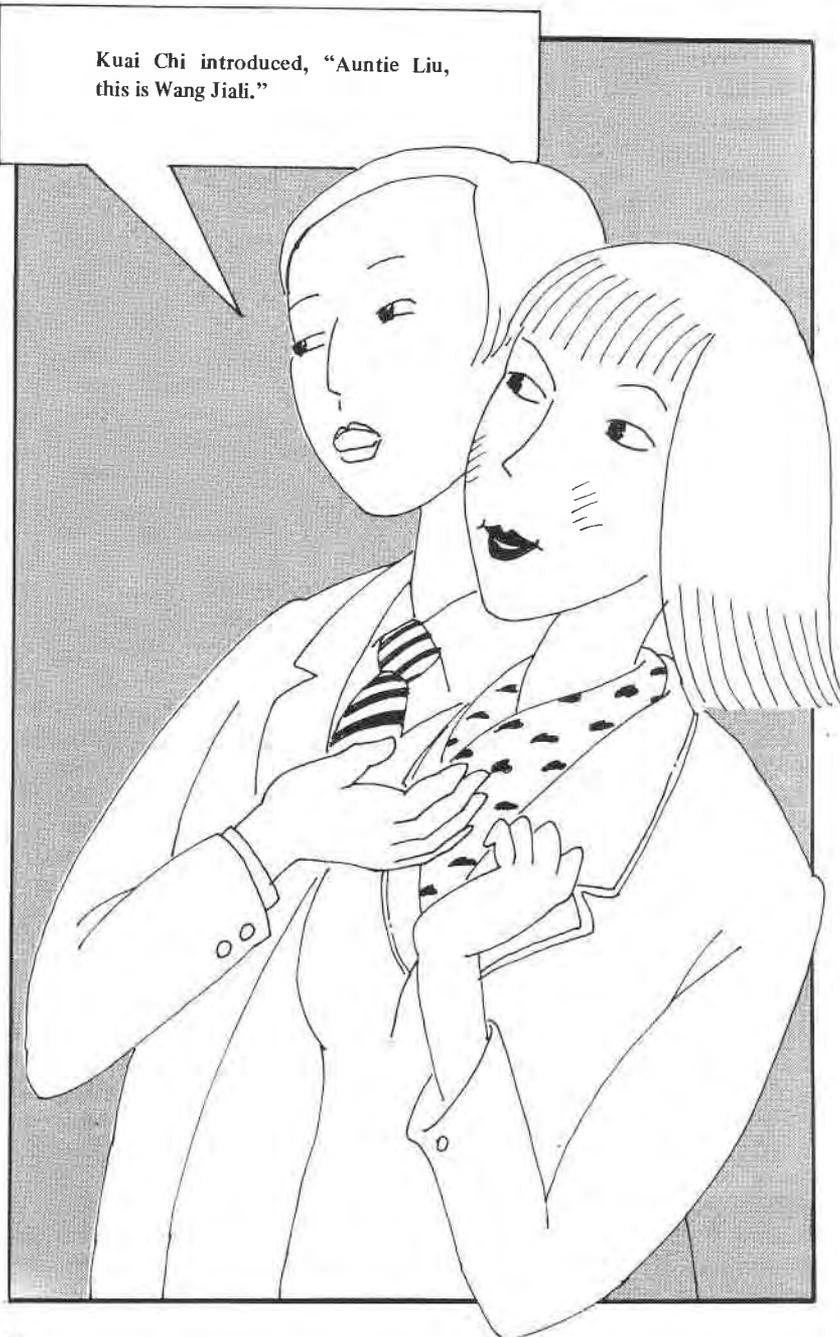
"What for?"

"Well, frankly speaking, . . . ." He had only managed to get half a sentence out.

"Go ahead and speak. Auntie Liu isn't an outsider," the girl said. Obviously, she was much more sophisticated than he was.

"Frankly speaking," he continued, "Wang Jiali and I are going to attend her older brother's wedding." He removed the rest of his work-clothes while talking, and then drawing out a maroon diagonally-striped tie from Wang Jiali's bag, proceeded to tie it at a lightning pace. Still working on the tie, he went on, "Of course, Xiao Wang's parent's will be there. Plus they're bringing the son of a high cadre with them to introduce to Xiao Wang. We're going to be checking them out and they'll be checking us out. So what can we do? I have to go! I realize how sick Mom is, but I, . . . ." He paused for a minute and carelessly rolled up his work-clothes, stuffing them savagely into the bag and continued, "I still have my life to live . . . ." He pulled a brand-

Kuai Chi introduced, "Auntie Liu, this is Wang Jiali."



new jacket out of the bag as he spoke.

I saw no reason to make my position known, so I just stood there, staring blankly. Then Wang Jiali spoke: "We borrowed these clothes from someone, you know. And this is not the sort of thing we can let anyone know, not even my own mother. No one else will know except us. If we say anything at all at this party, it'll just be about how great Kuai Chi's apartment is." Wang Jiali's eyes were brimming with tears at this point.

What could I say to them? I was ignorant about their kind of life, struggle, and human relations. What could I say? I had been very familiar with Kuai Chi up till now. But to these two young people, under these circumstances, I just didn't know what to say. I could only stand there looking stupefied watching Kuai Chi put on that . . . . that jacket as if he were pulling a rabbit out of a hat. His whole appearance suddenly changed as soon as he put it on. He became . . . . became . . . . well, impressive. That head of long hair of his went well with the new clothes, too, and no longer seemed so offensively conspicuous. He was standing on one leg now, changing into leather shoes, as he spoke: "I told Mom I was sleepy and wanted to go home to take a nap. If she asks about me, just tell her that." He finished putting on the shoes and stood there. "Lying to a sick person is a virtue," he said. He had avoided looking at me the whole time he was talking, but now he looked at me and said, "Don't blame me, Auntie Liu!"

Wang Jiali, who had been standing to one side without uttering a word, added, "There's nothing I can do, either."

"All right. You. . . you go ahead." I said, nodding in agreement as I spoke. I really didn't know what else I should say.

At this, the two of them took their things, and, casting a smile in my direction, took off down the stairs.

But happily, Tian Jing didn't bring up the subject of her son again. I noticed that she was breath-

ing with difficulty, her chest rising and falling rapidly. I called in a nurse, who hooked her up to an oxygen tube. Her condition became a bit more stable after that, and she just lay there, silently looking at me, her eyes gradually misting over with a layer of tears. I knew she had to be thinking of her son, whom she both loved and hated so much. I hurried to turn on the overhead lamp, but its dim, yellowish light only served to increase the cold, cheerless atmosphere. I could only force a smile and sit down beside her, trying to think of some of the happiest, most glorious moments of her life to talk about. Ever since her joining the army thirty-two years ago at the age of twenty, we had been working in the same city, and I had never lost contact with her. Which memories would console her? There must be some high points in the long life of struggle of a Communist Party member. But what were hers?

She had been Party Secretary in a high school these two years after the smashing of the Gang of Four. Actually, it was in name only, as she was in poor health. Her most prominent worry for the past two years had been Kuai Chi's job -- it was not ideal. He was working in a textile factory, oiling the machinery, alternating day and night shifts. Needless to say, it was a tough job, and held little possibility for future advancement. So Tian Jing started rushing around, going to a lot of trouble, looking up old senior cadres she had served under and old comrades, telling everyone, "I don't have any requests for myself. I'm too old for that. My only worry is setting things up right for my son." I don't know how often I heard her say this. Finally, she managed to get him transferred into the factory's propaganda department, but that had its shortcomings, too, as there still isn't a bright future in store for a person without any special skills. However, now that she was working in a school, Tian Jing was in an opportune position to find a good teacher to coach her son in maths and science. But it was about at this

time that Wang Jiali made her appearance in Kuai Chi's life. I really wouldn't know how much effect the coaching had on him.

Like the vast majority of other cadres at the time, Tian Jing had to "stand aside during the Cultural Revolution." All she got each month was a little bit of money for living expenses, so things were extremely hard for her then. In addition to making her own clothes, which she already knew how to do, she also had to learn how to cook. This she learned quite well, and anything that came out of her kitchen was tasty, even if it were just green vegetables and turnips. But even in the midst of all this adversity, she still managed to save seven yuan a month to pay for the not terribly brilliant violin tutor she had found

for Kuai Chi. I remember one winter, she borrowed forty yuan from the cadre school and came back to buy him a practice violin. Violins were a scarce commodity then. She had to run around to all of the second-hand shops in Shanghai to find a suitable instrument, hoping all the while that no one would spot her. This wasn't easy, as either the price wasn't right, or the violin wasn't to her liking. Finally, after dashing about all day, she found one with a decent tone for forty-two yuan. She was so happy that evening, her son's future was guaranteed. The whole thing was very moving, but also a little pathetic. Two years afterward, when Kuai Chi was assigned work in a State-run textile factory, Tian Jing was so happy that she prepared a banquet for guests, and even handed out candy in celebration. Naturally, that put an end to the violin lessons, too.

I held her thin, bony hand in mine. It was so cold! I was just about to put it back under the covers, when it suddenly squeezed my own hand. Tian Jing was looking at me through barely opened eyes. "What are you thinking?" she asked.

"I. . . I was thinking of how you escorted those prisoners-of-war one time in the battle for liberation." In my haste, I had hit



After dashing about all day, she finally found a violin with a decent tone for forty-two yuan. She was so happy that evening, her son's future was guaranteed.

upon the climax of her life. What fiery days those were! What a flaming youth! And sure enough, the corners of her mouth moved a bit. It had made her feel better!

It was in the Spring of 1947, not long after Tian Jing had joined the army. The Battle of Laiwu had just started and Jing and I had been sent to the front lines from the cultural troupe to do prisoner-of-war work. We had to escort 120 P.O.W's out of a forward position to a camp sixty li away. The combat company that had captured them could only afford to send four soldiers to help. No sooner had we left the forward position than we realized that the territory we were covering was a battlefield that hadn't been cleaned

up yet. The Kuomintang army had tried to hold fast to their position here and the whole place was strewn with corpses, documents, papers, and more important, with guns and ammunition. If only a few of the prisoners-of-war bent over and picked up a couple of hand grenades, the situation would reverse itself, and the six of us, with our four guns, would be helpless! I was extremely anxious, but had no way of discussing the problem with the other comrades as I was bringing up the rear. Our four soldiers were marching on both sides of the contingent, and Jing was leading up front. The sandy battlefield stretched out endlessly ahead and there was no sign of human life. I was

sweating and feeling tense when, all of a sudden, I heard a crisp, sharp voice up front issuing a command: "Everyone, hands up and run!"

"What a girl, Jing! Growing up in the middle of the 'Anti-mopping-up Operation' really paid you off with valuable experience!" I thanked her in my mind as I ran, huffing to catch my breath. As our contingent turned onto a path between the fields, I could see her small, thin figure, running as fast as a little deer, and with such pep that her heels were knocking against her butt. In one half hour, we covered several miles, safely passing the danger zone.

I squeezed Tian Jing's thin hand and straightened out her straw-like hair. "Then, once, our troupe was having a victory celebration when a guest came running up just for the purpose of giving you a small pistol and three rounds of bullets. You remember, don't you?" I said, forcing a smile.

"Lao Kuai!" Tian Jing's eyes opened wide and an excited expression came over her face.

"We all could sense what was up then. Everybody was saying you were probably in love."

A trace of a smile danced in Tian Jing's eyes as she spoke: "I didn't know about anything in those days. No one really paid much attention to me either, but for some reason, he'd noticed my name. He asked me why I was named 'Jing' ('well' in Chinese), and I said there were always droughts where I came from. So then he asked wouldn't it be better to call me 'Hai' ('sea' in Chinese). I said no, sea water is useless for farming. He said well then, a pond was still better than a well. I said after Liberation we'll have everything, but right now just call me 'Well'." She spoke very quickly and clearly, but her excited state didn't seem like a good omen to me, so I didn't dare continue her thread of discourse. But oh, Jing! Jing of those days! I was still calling to her in my mind, searching. . . .

She paused for a second, then continued, "Later, when I first knew I was pregnant, I decided right

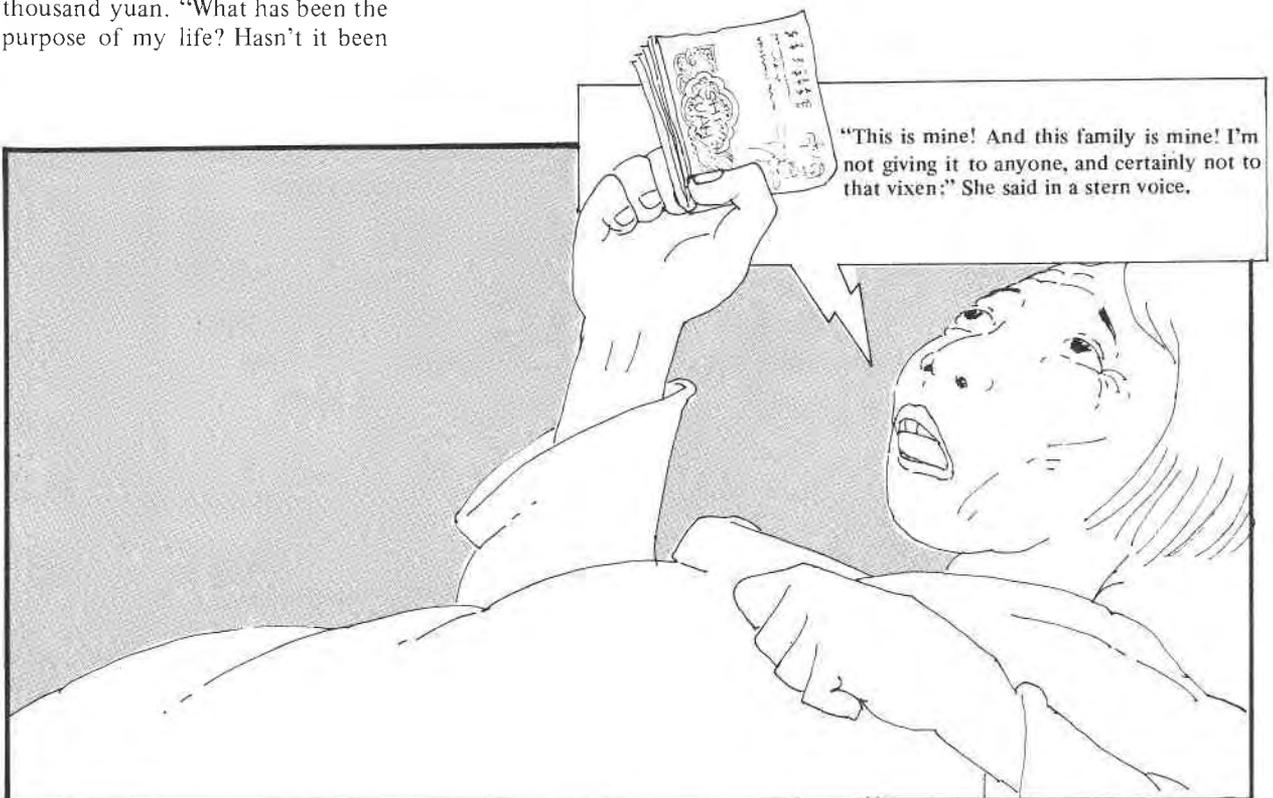
away what to name the baby -- "Chi" ("pond" in Chinese). . . . . Then she fell silent. After awhile, her lips started to tremble violently and a choking, gagging noise came up from her throat. There seemed to be a half-extinguished fire in her eyes, still burning faintly with resentment, indignation and grief. Then she exploded. "Lao Kuai!" she shouted hoarsely. "I haven't let the family down! I've down right by your son! . . . . I never had even one day of ease and comfort. I . . . ." Suddenly, she threw off my hand and began pulling at her sweater with her own badly shaking hands, trying to undo the buttons. Before I had a chance to help her, she had already roughly torn it open, and had pulled out a stack of deposit slips from her undershirt pocket, frantically searching among receipts with face values of thirty yuan, fifty yuan, and even one hundred yuan. Ah! What a hard life she'd had! She even had had to borrow money from me during those days when everyone had to "stand aside" and try to survive on a living allowance. At last, she found what she was looking for -- a slip for five thousand yuan. "What has been the purpose of my life? Hasn't it been

precisely for. . . .?" she said, clutching the slip in her hand, both cheekbones flushing deeply. I grabbed her hand again: "You've been for the Revolution, Jing; for maintaining the revolutionary way of hard struggle and plain living. You're the daughter of a poor peasant and can bear any hardship. Isn't that right?" I lied. I could hear Kuai Chi's voice again: "Lying to a sick person is a virtue." Yes, just like opium and morphine. Tian Jing nodded her head. As I expected what I said had enabled her to get a hold of herself, but in a short while she started up again. "This is mine! And this family is mine! I'm not giving this to anyone, and certainly not to that vixen!" she said in a stern voice, somehow managing to half prop herself up as she spoke. Then she went on, looking at me with flashing eyes: "I'm a member of the Communist Party. I don't have any inheritance to pass on. Give, . . . . give this to the Party as dues!" Finishing her speech, she collapsed back onto the pillow, soaked in sweat, as if she had spent every last drop of strength. She was still hold-

ing the deposit slips tightly in hand, though. I understood her, and therefore, was a bit annoyed at her falseness, but I still attempted to reassure her. "If you want to hand in dues, you can do it yourself. Why don't you just let me put these things away for you," I said as I lifted up her shirt pocket and carefully put the slips back, one by one. She seemed to relax and quiet down. Then I noticed her sweat was rather sticky and gave her a tranquilizer to let her sleep for awhile. I straightened up and leaned back on the chair.

Children! When did they first appear in our lives? And when was it that they managed to capture the commanding heights of the Revolution? . . . . It's as if from the very moment they were born, they began to occupy a dominant position. I don't know about other people, but Tian Jing had once said that her only worry was about setting up things for her children. And the Revolution? Her answer was: "The Revolution is safe and secure in China now."

The hospital room was peaceful



and quiet. The ceiling seemed especially high. Maybe it was because the room was so narrow. The wattage of the overhead light was very low. It's dull glow hid a lot of the ominous signs on Tian Jing's face, at the same time adding to the chilly, desolate loneliness . . . Then, I seemed to see a pair of bright, sparkling eyes getting nearer and nearer. There was eye-shadow around the lids, and that little, blood-red scarf. It was Wang Jiali! I could see her clearly now, moving about that bright, gleaming-clean two-room apartment as if she owned the place. The rooms were a little messier now, but seemed somewhat warmer. Wang Jiali was speaking to me with a little smile on her face, but the voice I heard was Kuai Chi's:

“ . . . . . I know what Mom's dream is — she wants me to become a great man and do great deeds. But her position just isn't high enough for me to become a great man and do great deeds. Otherwise, there wouldn't have been that problem with the high cadre's son today. First she wants me to learn how to play the violin, then she wants me to study maths and science. It's like her main talent lies in torturing me. But it's no good anymore. I'm twenty-eight years old. I'll never become a great man or do great deeds. Nor do I have the ability to become a great man and do great deeds. And I'm certainly not going to pretend to be something I'm not. I just want to have a good life. For this I do have to thank Mom — she gave me a little “capital” in that. And so has Xiao Wang. . . . . Xiao Wang's working in a little street association factory, you know. Is that her fault? But Mom won't even look at her. So she likes to dress up. Does that get in the way of the Four Modernizations? But Mom looks down on that, too. She criticizes every little thing about Xiao Wang. What does she want, already?! I'm not a great man and can't do great deeds. I just want to have a good life. Get it? A good life!” The voice got louder and louder and more and more unfamiliar.

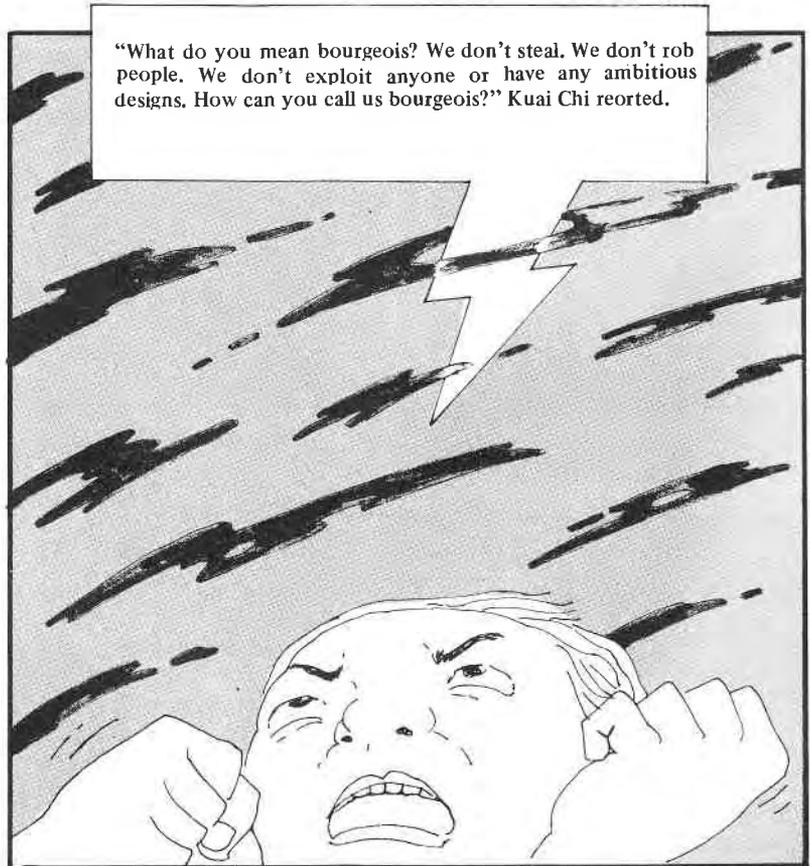
“No, I don't get it. I don't understand!” I was seized with terror. Really! I didn't recognize that voice at all. And I didn't know what kind of life he meant by a “good life.”

Wang Jiali giggled and sat down on the sofa, looking even more satisfied. “Isn't that the purpose of living in this world — to eat, to dress? It's not like I'm going out and doing anything bad.”

“Complete philistines! Bourgeois thinking! And you, you Vixen!” Tian Jing suddenly appeared, the oxygen tube still attached to her nose, but her voice sounded just the way it had when she'd been healthy.

“What do you mean bourgeois? We don't steal. We don't rob people. We don't exploit anyone or have any ambitious designs. How can you call us bourgeois?” Kuai Chi was speaking now, his head turned sharply around.

“And you're proletariat, I suppose? I think feudal might be a better word for your thinking. You say I'm bourgeois? Hoping for a better life is bourgeois? Then why don't you just not pass down anything at all?” Wang Jiali was still smiling as she spoke. “But there's no way you can get away with that! Sooner or later, this world is going to belong to us, and when it does,



we're going to seek truth from facts. We know how to look at things!”

Proletariat, bourgeoisie, plus an illegitimately nurtured feudalism — all living together at the same time, under one roof. What a mixed-up age! Shaking my head with force, I woke up from my half-asleep state. It was a bit chilly. Looking at Tian Jing, I found her still sleeping. I put

her hand back under the covers. It was icy cold, as were the blankets. Then I suddenly realized what a frightening thing it was that Tian Jing was facing. She wanted to pass on her world. It was imperative for her. But to whom could she pass it on? To a “useless” son and his “vixen”? Could she offer her entire world to them? . . . . .

"What time is it?" Tian Jing raised her eyes and looked at me. She was waiting for her son.

"Eight o'clock." I looked at my watch. It was a quarter to nine. I deliberately made it seem earlier so she would think that her son had returned quickly when he came back later. She cocked her head to the side, then turned it back around, looking at me. "I want to go home," she murmured, a teardrop trickling down out of the corner of her eye as she spoke.

"All right," I said, putting my arm around her shoulders. "I'll take you home as soon as it gets light."

She nodded and closed her eyes again, but her breathing was quite rapid. She was waiting for dawn . . . I stood up, wiped the tears from my eyes, and started walking about the room. Could she make it till dawn? I would've taken her home right then and there if it had been possible. That bright, gleaming-clean home was hers. It was what she was familiar with, and she wouldn't be getting too many chances to see it in the future.

The only window in the room had a northern exposure, and it faced out onto the hospital wall. At the foot of the wall was a cricket, chirping miserably in the cold, and beyond it, a baby was crying. Somewhere in a far off place, the festive banquet was reaching a climax. I wondered how much assurance the ten-degree cadre's son had of victory. Next to me, a human life was disappearing, but Life itself had not come to a halt, and was continuing forward in the quiet of the night. "Life goes on, but where is it going?" I brooded to myself. Then the two made-up eyes appeared in front of me again, and clean, white little ears peeped out from under the soft, coiled-up hair. I don't know why, but for some reason, I imagined a pair of blood-red earrings hanging from them. "What's the right direction, you ask? From the 70's to the 80's!" she said, eyes sparkling. "When has there ever been a Proletariat that didn't hope to live better from generation to generation?"

"Maybe you're right. I don't

know . . . . ." I answered haltingly.

The door behind me opened and Wang Jiali's beautiful face disappeared. I looked at my watch — nine thirty. Kuai Chi had actually come back a half hour early. Not bad! But then I heard the door being closed very lightly and carefully. It wasn't Kuai Chi, after all. Turning around, I only saw Jia Minghua, his head soaked with sweat, standing by the door with some wooden object over his shoulder, dumbly staring at Tian Jing with wide-open, glistening eyes.

"Jia Minghua! You're here!" I don't know why, but as soon as I saw him, I felt an inexpressible joy, as if I were meeting with an old familiar friend.

"I told the nurse I'd only come in for a few minutes. I had no idea Teacher Tian was as sick as . . . this!"

"Weren't you going to Beijing? How come you haven't gone yet?"

"I'm going tomorrow. I had some things to do so I put it off for a few days. I had no idea that Teacher Tian was so sick. Otherwise, I would have come to see her before." He remained standing by the door as he spoke, as if one extra step would have had a bad effect on the patient.

"Sit down!" I said, moving the only chair in his direction.

He opened his eyes wide and looked at me, then at Tian Jing, totally stunned. "Does she need blood? Mine's good — type 'O'!" he said, looking at me again.

I shook my head, then, before I had time to speak, I discovered that there was something wrong with Tian Jing's breathing. She was struggling. "My boy's coming soon," she said.

"Tian Jing, what's the matter?" She didn't make a sound, but only clutched the clothing about her solar plexus. After awhile she spoke up: "The money . . . . give it to him, to my son." You could hear the phlegm in her throat as she talked.

I felt my own heart thud to a stop for a second, but then it quick-

ly resumed beating. The moment of parting had come. But Jing! Wait awhile!

"Doctor!" I could only wave my hand at Jia Minghua, but he caught the meaning of my gesture, and the empty hallway immediately resounded with the sound of his footsteps. I straightened up and took a look at my watch, one hand pressing over my own old, feeble heart. It was exactly ten o'clock. Kuai Chi would be back any minute. Perhaps Tian Jing could hold out till then and pour out all her last hopes and instructions.

A very familiar person was about to become part of the past, taking with her things very familiar to me. I knew that I wouldn't be present much longer either. The future belonged to Jia Minghua, to Kuai Chi and Wang Jiali, and of course, to the high cadre's son, too. They would have high points in their lives, some exceeding ours, some perhaps not. But whatever the case may be, I hope their high points won't be subjected to compromise, expediency, or antagonism.

I heard Jia Minghua running back with the doctor.

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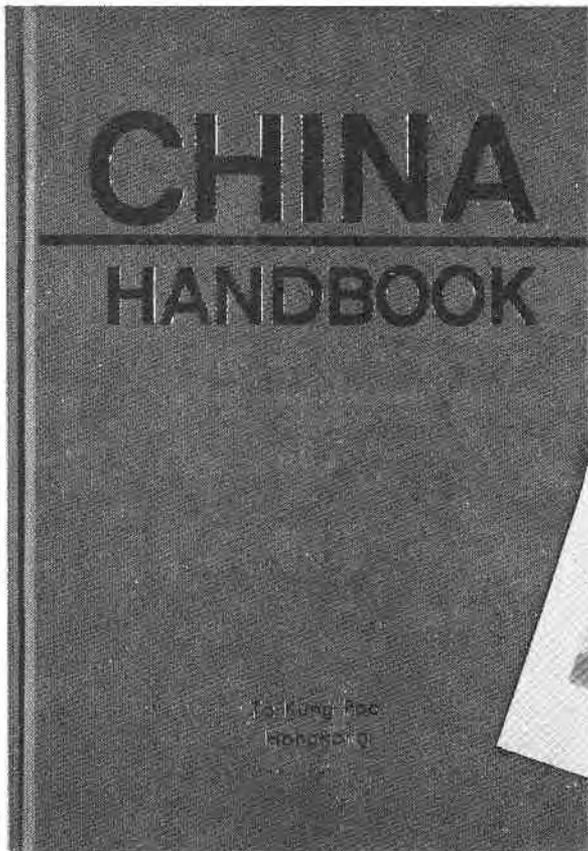
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**MONSOON**

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Philip Wu



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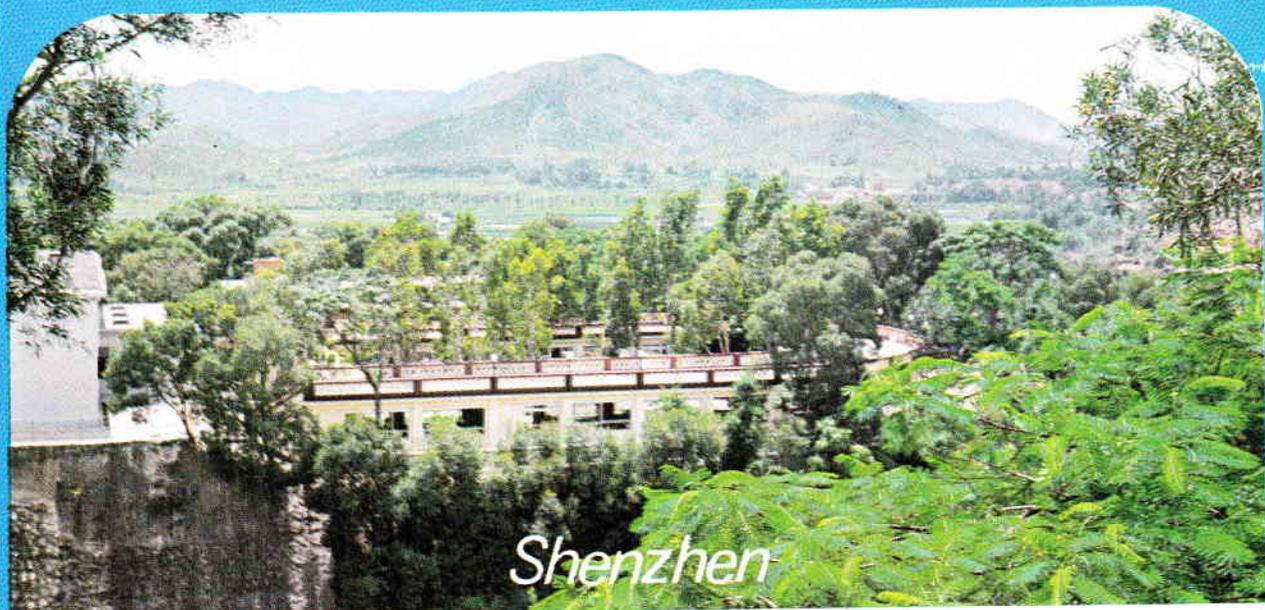
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