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No. 2, 2 February 1979

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE IS A GENERAL SUBJECT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 2-7

[Article by Wu Jiang [0702 3068]]

[Text] The party Central Committee decided that the focus of the whole party's work had to be shifted to modernization beginning in 1979. As early as the initial stage following the founding of the PRC, and particularly after the socialist transformation had been basically completed, Comrade Mao Zedong more than once proposed shifting the focus of party work to economic construction and technical revolution. As is stated in the communique of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have the conditions to make this shift. In politically conforming to this shift, I believe we should revive the very important view taken by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1957--"the general subject here is the correct handling of contradictions among the people." The reasons for reviving and reestablishing this view follow:

I

Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership in February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong made an important report on the general subject of the correct handling of contradictions among the people. In the article "The Situation in the Summer of 1957," written in July that year, he again stressed that "the general subject here is the correct handling of contradictions among the people" and that "the method is to seek truth from facts and follow the mass line."

Having seized political power, the proletariat embarked on socialist revolution and construction and established a government based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its relationship with all antisocialist hostile elements was one of hostility and embraced acute class struggle. The method used was coercive, not persuasive; dictatorial, not democratic. This was practiced mainly in the political sphere long ago. However, the proletarian government's relationship with the people involves relationships among the people. Their problems are solved by persuasion and not by coercion, by democratic and not dictatorial means. This is a new kind

of political relationship. Therefore, our present political endeavors partly embody the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy but largely embrace those among the people. We can no longer consider politics to be simply a matter of antagonistic class struggle like that waged in the past and deny that the handling of contradictions among the people is also a matter of politics, even predominantly so in a socialist society.

As Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly declared: Following the completion of the socialist transformation of ownership, the class struggle was by no means over. However, "the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have mainly come to an end." He also pointed out: "As far as our country is concerned, the current class struggle consists partly of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy but is largely reflected in those among the people." Long social practice over the past 20 years or so, whether positive or negative (gained after undergoing bitter experiences and paying heavy prices), has proven Comrade Mao Zedong's completely correct assertion. On the one hand, we must not view the class struggle as having died out; on the other, we must not believe that it has become increasingly acute. As long as we correctly assess class struggle and strictly distinguish between contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy, the revolutionary movement will develop soundly, the socialist activism of the masses will be greatly promoted and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated. Otherwise, we will confuse the two different types of contradictions, disrupt proletarian politics, impair the activism of the masses and give the enemy a chance to hit back and take advantage of us. The most important task is adherence to the general subject, which is the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

II

The view that the general subject is the correct handling of contradictions among the people is determined by contradictions in the socialist mode of production.

The mode of production is a unity of productive forces and production relations. Different modes of production in the past were characterized by particular contradictions. It is common knowledge that the principal contradiction of the capitalist mode of production is between the socialization of production and capitalist ownership. This contradiction finds expression in men's interrelationships and in class relations: that is, the contradictions between the two major opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This kind of contradiction can only be finally resolved by socialist revolution.

What is the contradiction in the socialist mode of production?

The socialist mode of production is based on public ownership. It eliminates man's exploitation of man and turns over products to society, the collective and individual toilers. As a lower form of the communist mode of production, the socialist mode of production in its transitional stage still carries traces of the old society and seeks to develop into a higher form. Abundant facts appearing since 1956 show that contradictions commonly observed in the socialist mode of production are those between social production on the one hand and the growing material and cultural needs of the members of society, along with the need for change and development in the social mode of production, on the other. In a less-developed economy this type of contradiction is more pronounced. The growing needs of society call for the rapid development of production, while the development of productive forces particularly requires changes in production relations to solve this problem, that is, to promote social progress. The main thing is to continually raise labor productivity under conditions guaranteed by the dictatorship of the proletariat and based on a high level of technology, so that socialist production can be continually developed and perfected and socialist production relations correspondingly transformed.

Stalin once discussed the basic economic laws of socialism by pointing out that the main thing was to use a high level of technology to continually raise and perfect social production and to insure that society's growing material and cultural needs are met as completely as possible. Clearly, this is based on an analysis of the contradictions in the socialist mode of production (whether or not this law is adequately explained is another matter).

China's socialist modernization undoubtedly reflects the objective requirements of the basic economic laws of socialism.

Since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were completely ignorant of socialist economy, they actually had to concoct what they called "basic economic laws of socialism." According to their view, antagonistic class struggle and political movements must be launched to disrupt everything, particularly the economy, so that social production will "spontaneously" increase. Their fake Marxism and perverted actions thus wreaked great havoc on the national economy. This is mentioned here to remind people of this bitter lesson, so they will soberly and properly study the characteristics and nature of the socialist mode of production and what the superstructure of socialism should do to its base, instead of confining themselves to an abstract explanation of the relationship between the superstructure and the base.

The contradiction in the socialist mode of production expresses itself in men's interrelationships, that is, nonantagonistic contradictions among the people. These predominate in socialist society and include vestiges or influences of capitalism and small-scale production. This kind of contradiction can be resolved by the self-regulation of the socialist system, particularly by socialist economic coordination and development.

Under the socialist mode of production there is no basic conflict of economic interests among the people, although there are partial contradictions in economic interests. This is because there are two different types of public ownership in society (there are also different relationships between groups and different economic units within the same public ownership), different relationships among the state, enterprises, the collective and the individual, contradictions between accumulation and consumption and between production and daily life, differences in remuneration as a result of pay according to work and problems involving economic management. These are the economic causes of contradictions among the people.

Therefore, handling contradictions among the people requires that we pay attention to political as well as economic factors. When such contradictions were mentioned in the past, the impression was that they involved political or ideological problems with little relevance to economic and material interests. This view was one-sided. We must admit that current contradictions among the people involve economic factors, since economics is the base, and the people's interests are not identical and often clash with each other. Therefore, we must adjust the relationships between two public ownership systems, among different economic groups and units within public ownership and among the state, the collective and the individual. We must also adjust the relationships between accumulation and consumption and between production and daily needs. We must correctly implement the principle of pay according to work and particularly try hard to improve economic management and appropriately solve problems with regard to management systems, principles, powers and methods. We must try to solve problems relating to the initiative and coordination of independent accounting units and problems involving the relationship between state control and democratic management (disregarding the concept that the masses have no right over management). In addition, we must advocate economic methods, promote economic democracy, strengthen economic legislation, and so forth. Only by handling the contradictions in the economic sphere well is it possible to promote economic progress and contribute to adjusting the political relationships among the people.

In modernizing our country we are bound to encounter new problems and new contradictions. This is good, because it will compel us to understand the laws inherent in the socialist economy (it is precisely the large number of serious lessons by negative example we have learned over the past years that have made us aware of the objective existence of laws and our need to recognize them). As a result, we found ways to solve economic problems and learned how to correctly handle, from the economic aspect, contradictions among the people to allow us to shoulder the heavy task of modernizing our country.

III

The general subject is the correct handling of contradictions among the people. Since contradictions still exist between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, how should we view the relations between the two?

Marx and Engels originally expected to quickly abolish classes when revolutions occurring in major developed capitalist countries were victorious, and then to eliminate the capitalist threat to socialist society, that is, the first stage of communism. But this failed to happen. Although our socialist society has abolished private ownership and exploitation (therefore, it should be called a socialist society in terms of its basic social conditions), it has not yet reached a higher society in terms of either its socialization or its level of public ownership. At the current stage of productive forces it will not be able to abolish classes for at least a certain period, although it has initially established public ownership. While this appears to contradict the socialist ideal defined in the original document, it is still real. We have to study all the aspects of our society, including its international environment, which will vitally affect the ultimate victory of socialism. Judging by existing conditions, our society has the proletariat, the peasant class after agricultural cooperation and the bourgeoisie (or bourgeois remnants), who have not been entirely wiped out despite their having been overthrown and expropriated following the basic completion of socialist transformation. The members of this class are undergoing reform, although a few of them are still trying to resist. It is quite possible for this class to find its political representatives somewhere. Moreover, new bourgeois elements may be engendered while bourgeois influences remain widespread. Therefore, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, particularly in the political and ideological spheres, will inevitably exist in this society.

What is class struggle? It has a strictly scientific connotation in Marxism. As is clearly defined in the "Communist Manifesto" (and with the concurrence of bourgeois historians and economists in the transition from feudalism to capitalism), it involves the struggle between two classes with basically conflicting interests, that is, the exploiting and the oppressed classes. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the final round of antagonistic class struggle. There are also contradictions between the workers and peasants, the two toiling classes, but "they will not become antagonistic, will not take the form of class struggle and differ from those between labor and management." ("On Contradiction") This is particularly true among the toilers. The relationships among the people and between one and the other are not always those of opposing classes.

Socialist revolution and construction aim at completely wiping out the bourgeoisie and their influences, so that socialism will ultimately triumph over capitalism, and at creating conditions in which capitalism

can neither exist nor reappear. Under these historical conditions, contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will remain and express themselves in various ways.

However, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago, our country's current form of class struggle largely involves contradictions among the people. He meant that the contradictions between the remnants of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat in China were generally contradictions among the people, and that the class struggle between them was generally a class struggle waged among the people. Since the presence of class struggle among the people is a complicated part of our country's class struggle, we must do well in learning how to conduct this particular type of struggle within the ranks of the people. Under no circumstances should we be negligent. Antisocialist hostile elements do exist among the bourgeoisie, and their contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy. However, few cases have occurred. Comrade Mao Zedong remarked 20 years ago: There are still counterrevolutionaries, but their number is small. Since rightists appeared in 1957, it was necessary to struggle against them. However, when the antirightist struggle was conducted, some people thought the number of rightist elements involved was very large. As a result, they wrongly labeled those who were not rightists, thereby going against the original basic assessment. Moreover, we must observe that the likelihood of a direct confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the people is, after all, very slight (of course, the bourgeoisie exercise greater influence than their numbers). More than 99 percent of the contradictions among the people in China are those among the toiling people.

Another development which is worth our attention is that contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the socialist period are reflected in the struggle waged by the people against bourgeois influences. Comrade Mao Zedong gave a vivid example to explain this, saying: "Subjectivism, bureaucratism and sectarianism are all bourgeois phenomena whose presence in our party should be blamed on the bourgeoisie. Will it still be possible to blame them on the bourgeoisie a century or two from now? That would be rather difficult, I am afraid. Will there still be bureaucratism and subjectivism then? Yes, but the blame will be placed on backwardness." ("Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution") Here, "blame" in the first instance refers to bourgeois influences, of course. To be sure, subjectivist errors are sometimes caused by one-sided ways of understanding or looking at problems, and the bourgeoisie should not be blamed. Although the struggle against bourgeois influences conducted within the party ranks in a way reflects contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, it belongs to the category of contradictions within the party ranks and among the people. It has nothing to do with the direct confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This gives the impression that in the socialist mode of production there is also a struggle against remnant capitalist influences. But that is housecleaning within the socialist economy and does not involve a direct

conflict between the socialist economy and capitalist economy, because capitalist economy has been wiped out. We must distinguish influence from direct confrontation, although under given conditions both may transform themselves.

A few of the overthrown and expropriated bourgeois remnants who have not been totally wiped out may resist, because they can assert their influence at any given time. Since bourgeois activities and their influence are now mainly confined to political and ideological spheres or the superstructure, we must recognize the importance of the struggle in this realm and its effect on the economy. Generally speaking, under normal conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois strength tends to weaken and decline as the struggle waxes and wanes. The class struggle sometimes can become very acute but does not continue to do so. Our experience shows that bourgeois strength will increase when the international situation is favorable to the bourgeoisie or appears favorable to them and when the dictatorship of the proletariat itself makes mistakes and shows its weaknesses. This will happen, for example, when it fails to distinguish and handle contradictions among the people and between ourselves and the enemy, particularly when contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are aggravated and contradictions among the people are mistaken for those between ourselves and the enemy. This gives the enemy a chance to take advantage of our missteps. Under such circumstances, what was not a primary contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie suddenly becomes the principal contradiction. We have experienced these circumstances, and the consequences in the case of the latter were particularly serious. We must, therefore, guard against their occurring again.

"Our party recognized that class relations and class struggle underwent a change after the transformation of ownership and that it was not surprising to make errors in work. But we must summarize experience and draw lessons from the past. Without them, there will be no Marxism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 240) If we distort class relations, we will distort Marxism.

The theory that class struggle will die out is an old concept based on the belief that once the transformation of ownership is completed the bourgeoisie as a class will be wiped out. This old notion was later abandoned (it has, in fact, not been eliminated, because it still has a theoretical or documentary basis). Subsequently, there was a tendency to extend the class struggle by overstating the enemy's situation. It was correct that the antirightist struggle was launched in 1957, but it was broadened to include certain "adventurist" tendencies in work observed by the eighth party congress held in 1956, particularly attempts to complete capital construction projects in 3 to 5 years that required 7 to 12 years. This dissent was not unusual. It was constructive but was looked upon as accommodating the rightists and slavishly toeing the same line. This caused party life to be subjected to an abnormal

atmosphere and pressure. When major decisions were made, it was customary for the party to heed differing or opposing views and then to weigh the advantages and disadvantages, so that the final decisions would be correct, or at least would not go awry. However, since then this democratic practice has diminished. It has been replaced by attempts to emphasize class struggle and its acute nature in order to suppress differing or opposing views, although such opinions were reasonable or largely logical and were in accord with the principles of the party charter. This caused the class struggle to deviate from Marxist principles. Whoever dared to raise problems that actually existed at that time was labeled a "right deviationist" and accused of "seeking to take the capitalist road" and of carrying out activities of a "bourgeois nature" and was even implicated in attempts to "launch frenzied attacks," and so forth. The struggle against rightist opportunism thus culminated in 1959, when opportunist elements took advantage of the situation to issue the slogan "To make uninterrupted revolution is to continually oppose rightists." Addressing the 7,000-man meeting held in January 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong sternly criticized acts impairing democratic practices and suggested that the opinions of others be heard. He even raised the problem of tyranny inside the party. However, careerists and conspirators like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" later exploited the "leftist" tendency that had appeared in the party by criticizing correct views as rightist opportunism on the pretext of condemning the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." They also took advantage of publicizing the "principal contradiction" and the so-called "basic line" of dubious origin to extend and aggravate class struggle. They misinterpreted problems of "laying blame" and identified them with direct class confrontation and equated inner-party struggles and dissent with line struggle, referring to line struggle as class struggle and equating line struggle with class struggle. As a result, when class struggle was conducted, victims would be charged with inciting contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. They also used these contradictions to threaten their opponents in a bid to utterly confuse the problems of counterrevolution with the line issue. By taking advantage of the plausible view that "the focus of class struggle after countering right deviationism has been shifted to the party," they dished up fallacies such as "changing class relationships in the socialist period," "the main bourgeois network has entered the party" and "the source of class struggle is in the party." After concocting within the party "class struggle," "class enemies" and a large number of cases in which people were framed, wrongly judged and falsely charged, they claimed "there is a bourgeoisie in the party" to strike at the revolutionary force, wreck democratic centralism and cause serious havoc to a lively and fine political situation and the tradition of "seeking truth from facts and taking the mass line."

As a result, this "class struggle" in the end became a reactionary class struggle undermining productive forces and hindering social development, a struggle in which the bourgeoisie opposed the proletariat.

More than 20 years have passed since Comrade Mao Zedong raised the "general subject" regarding the correct handling of contradictions among the people. Instead of writing articles on this subject or adhering to seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line and conducting criticism and self-criticism, we have done just the opposite. Consequently, what we wrote was utterly irrelevant to the subject. At the hands of counter-revolutionary careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the subject became "all-round dictatorship" and a complete reversal of the relationships between ourselves and the enemy. It ended up in naked fascist dictatorship!

The outcome of all this wrecked the stability and unity of the whole party. Throughout the country, it seriously impaired the socialist activism of the masses, severely curbed social productive forces (including cultural, scientific and technological forces) and caused a grave economic and political crisis. This is an extremely profound and thought-provoking lesson for us. We can no longer close our eyes to "class struggle" (as borne closely in mind by Lin Biao and the "gang of four") and to the fact that productive forces have suffered, particularly at the current juncture of modernizing our country, a great and formidable task. Failure to eliminate the bad influence left over by the ultra-leftist trend of thought and actions in aggravating class struggle and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy will make it impossible to remove the threat to our modernization program and to our country's stability and unity.

IV

In view of these factors, I believe we must now revive and reestablish in the whole party the view that "the general subject is the correct handling of contradictions among the people." With this general task and general subject in our grasp, we will be assured of winning victories. It will not be easy to reestablish this view, even with the positive and negative experience we have accumulated over the past 20 years. A major obstacle to establishing this view is posed by the ideas of rather "left" than right, better "left" than right, arbitrarily taking what is "left" as right, and reluctance to admit wrongdoing and the mistakes of wrongly judging people. Some people are so confused about the relationships between contradictions among the people and class struggle that they are still obsessed with the idea of aggravating class struggle and do not realize that they have been trapped in the quagmire of a reactionary type of class struggle. This is an important reason why some people are still indifferent to the large number of cases in which people have been framed, wrongly judged and falsely charged. Of course, the general subject regarding the correct handling of contradictions among the people embraces the need to correctly distinguish and handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, because the enemy is still there. However, since the theme and general subject involve the correct handling of contradictions among the people, we must firmly grasp this subject before

we are able to correctly distinguish and handle two different types of contradictions. Only by safeguarding democratic life among the people and promoting their activism is it possible to mobilize strength to overcome the enemy. Even when we are at a loss to distinguish between the two different types of contradictions, we have to handle them, temporarily at least, as contradictions among the people. This is important in protecting the people and isolating and exposing the enemy. Some people have completely forgotten the underlying causes, although they had been aware of them and acted accordingly.

When Comrade Mao Zedong raised this "general subject" 20 years ago, he said that handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people in socialist society was a branch of science worth investigating. As it is a branch of science, I might as well raise this problem: Marxism holds that contradiction provides the motivating force for developing things and that in a class society class struggle is the motivating force for promoting social progress. Setting class struggle aside, should we not regard contradictions among the people in a socialist society, which is engaged in the step-by-step abolishment of classes, as a motivating force on an increasingly broad scale for promoting progress in our country? Should we not raise and study this problem? I think we should.

A NEW VICTORY OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 8-11

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] The party Central Committee recently restored the good name of the former Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee. This momentous event naturally has repercussions on the ideological, theoretical and cultural fronts as a whole and on the political life of the people of the whole country.

The Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee had turned into a despicable "palace of the king of hell" overnight. After a few slanderous remarks, a battlefield where tens of thousands of activists persistently propagated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought suddenly became a place under "the dictatorship of the sinister line" where "monsters and demons abounded." This historically rare phenomenon of confusing right and wrong and calling a man a ghost has at last ended. After last year's mass debate on "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" and the successful convocation of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the Central Committee's work conference, which were of tremendous significance in our party history, it is by no means accidental that our party and people have won this new victory.

We often have to look back to see history more clearly. The preposterous slandering of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee as a "palace of the king of hell" was secretly plotted and carefully fabricated by Lin Biao and his cohorts. Playing the decisive role here was that bigwig who had a habit of making trouble either overtly or covertly, who had a tongue like a sword and who cherished evil designs. He designated his counterrevolutionary curs Guan Feng and Qi Benyu as "leftists" and instructed them to concoct an order calling for punitive actions against the revolutionary historian Wu Han on framed-up charges, while slanderously accusing the Central Committee's Propaganda Department of "holding up manuscripts contributed by leftists" and "shielding anti-communist intellectuals." Without any chance of raising questions or defending itself, the Central Committee's Propaganda Department was

we arelessly branded a "palace of the king of hell." Even if the two contrges against the Central Committee's Propaganda Department could be andstained, can we fundamentally negate all the work of this department ojust because of a few errors in concrete questions? Can we take this as a pretext to totally obliterate the great achievements of the propaganda front since the founding of new China? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" chose to do this. On 18 May 1966 Lin Biao in person poured out torrents of abuse, saying that "the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee is a department serving the bourgeoisie." It is hostile to and "obstructs the dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought." At a rally of literary and art workers held on 28 November that year, Jiang Qing made the slanderous remark that, "working hand in glove" with the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee and the Ministry of Culture, the Central Committee's Propaganda Department had committed "towering crimes" against the party and the people. She bellowed: "We must thoroughly and resolutely carry out the struggle to expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the former Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture." Mounting charges soon crushed the Central Committee's Propaganda Department with the force of an avalanche. The party's propaganda departments from the central level down to the grassroots and the propaganda, cultural and education fronts all came under fire. Even newspapers, journals, broadcasting stations, theatrical troupes, film studios, schools, research institutes, literary and art organizations, publishing houses, libraries and relics management units were not spared. Rights and wrongs in political matters were confused and theoretical demarcation lines obscured. The work of comprehensively and accurately publicizing and disseminating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was banned and replaced by anti-Marxist utterances and bellicose shoutings aimed at usurping party and state power. Our party's propaganda, theoretical and cultural contingents, which had grown stronger and stronger under adverse circumstances in underground struggles and revolutionary wars in past decades, received a crippling blow. A large number of long-tested and competent leading cadres were thrown into prison and persecuted. Some even laid down their useful lives.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution it was precisely by slandering the Central Committee's Propaganda Department as a "palace of the king of hell" that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" proceeded to get rid of a central department and smash one of our country's battlefronts. After that their counterrevolutionary courage grew, their counterrevolutionary experience increased and their counterrevolutionary arrogance puffed up to such an extent that they nearly forfeited the future of our party and nation. Of course, it is impossible to reverse the development of history, and at long last it is Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their bunch of careerists and conspirators who have been defeated. Nevertheless, we still feel shocked every time we review our past struggles.

Why did Lin Biao and his cohorts aim their first blow at the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the propaganda front? Why did they hate our party's propaganda departments and their leading cadres so much? This was indissolubly linked with the characteristics of the activities conducted by these counterrevolutionary chieftains to usurp party and state power. Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" necessarily had to flaunt ultraleftist banners, blow their own trumpet, put up a false show and curry favor by claptrap if they were to carry through their conspiracy to usurp party and state power. They necessarily had to do everything they could to control the mass media and the leading propaganda organs to create their so-called "public opinion." They had to advertise themselves as "the most revolutionary" and stigmatize others as "three-elements," "party tyrants" and "scholar tyrants." Thus, it is not at all surprising that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pointed their counterrevolutionary spearhead at the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the nation's propaganda front from the start. There is another important reason besides this. To achieve their ulterior motives, Lin Biao and his cohorts had wracked their brains for a long time trying to dress themselves up as "holding the highest," "loving Mao Zedong Thought most fervently" and "publicizing Mao Zedong Thought most vigorously." With the power they had usurped, they concocted fallacies on the publicizing and study of Mao Zedong Thought to confuse people. Long before the Cultural Revolution started, the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and its leading cadres had waged a heroic and principled struggle against their efforts in this regard. When the Cultural Revolution began, Lin Biao and his cohorts found that their political fraud of "using the banner as a tigerskin to cover themselves and intimidate others" would not have any audience if the Central Committee's Propaganda Department was not smashed. Too anxious to wait any longer, they picked up the axe and struck at the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the nation's propaganda front.

There are numerous facts that can illustrate the struggle waged by the Central Committee's Propaganda Department against Lin Biao and his cohorts over the correct publicizing and study of Mao Zedong Thought. The following are a few of them.

In 1960 Lin Biao loudly chanted that "Mao Zedong Thought is the zenith of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch." At a certain meeting a leading member of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department unequivocally pointed out: We should not say such things as that Mao Zedong Thought is the "highest peak" of Marxism-Leninism. In the draft of an internal document the Central Committee's Propaganda Department also described similar utterances as erroneous.

In September 1959 Lin Biao advertised that "the shortcut to learning Marxism-Leninism" was to study works by Chairman Mao and called it "a profitable thing to do." In February 1960 he vaunted at another meeting

that to study works by Comrade Mao Zedong "all we need to remember is just those few tenets." In March 1961 a certain document drafted and transmitted by the Propaganda Department with the approval of the Central Committee refuted such utterances as "opportunistic" and raised the clear-cut call that we must oppose oversimplification, vulgarization and formalism in our study and publicizing of Mao Zedong Thought.

Lin Biao and his cohorts confused people's thinking by indiscriminately tagging everything as Mao Zedong Thought. A leading person of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department promptly gave warning in October 1961 when signs of this trend began to show. He said: A new label called "Mao Zedong Thought" has now been tagged on to practically everything, so that anything bearing this label is Mao Zedong Thought. He also said: We should not make our younger generation think in an oversimplistic and absolute way and believe in everything tagged as "Mao Zedong Thought." If our younger generation always tells lies, thinks in a rigid way, bluffs and never conducts investigation and study, what good will that do us!

Lin Biao's notorious theory of "quick results" was taken from his "directive concerning the strengthening of political and ideological work in army units." The original read: "When we study Mao Zedong Thought we must strive to get quick results." The Central Committee's Propaganda Department also relentlessly criticized this. By June 1964 the leading person of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department still uncompromisingly pointed out that it took a person years of effort to be able to excel in studies. He held that there was no such thing as "quick results."

Lin Biao and his cohorts grew more and more frantic in their activities to sabotage the study and publicizing of Mao Zedong Thought as their ambition soared. In spite of this, the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and its leading persons defied brutal suppression and upheld their principles. In 1964, 1965 and the first half of 1966 they insisted all along on integrating the study of Marxism-Leninism with the study of Mao Zedong Thought and repeatedly pointed out to the whole party that the study of Chairman Mao's works and works by Marx and Lenin should not be separated. All along they insisted that we must study and publicize Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately and opposed formalism and thinking in absolute terms.

Practice during the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution and afterward and positive and negative experiences have amply borne out that on the vital issue of studying and publicizing Mao Zedong Thought the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, its leading persons and the propaganda front as a whole took a firm stand on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Truth was on their side. Our present reaffirmation of the role played by the Central Committee's Propaganda Department in this struggle is not without practical significance. After Lin Biao and the "gang of four"

smashed the Central Committee's Propaganda Department by branding it a "palace of the king of hell," what they had said and done to distort and tamper with Mao Zedong Thought were all the rage. Poisoned by banalities such as "every sentence is truth," "act in accordance with every sentence" and "the highest and liveliest," many people's thinking became petrified or semipetrified. Many comrades who had years of experience in theoretical work were unable to shake off the haunting effect of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" long after the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" was underway.

After nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong always had the entire ideological and cultural front under his control. As an ideological work department, the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee had always carried out its duties under the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai. It persistently publicized Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, implemented the party's proletarian revolutionary line in an all-round way and conscientiously carried through the policies of "fostering what is proletarian and eradicating what is bourgeois" and "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Despite certain unavoidable shortcomings and mistakes, its work was primarily an achievement. Particularly in the major ideological struggles of the past (e.g., eliminating the ideological and cultural influence of the imperial Qing court; organizing all cadres to study the history of social development and conducting education on the class viewpoint, labor viewpoint and mass viewpoint among them; criticizing the film "The Story of Wu Xun," opposing historical idealism and publicizing historical materialism; criticizing Hu Shi's [5170 6684] idealism; criticizing the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique; criticizing Soviet modern revisionism, etc.) and in giving publicity to the general line for the period of transition to socialism and the general line for building socialism, the Central Committee's Propaganda Department made great contributions which extensively mobilized comrades on the propaganda, cultural and education fronts to actively take part in these struggles. It greatly strengthened the ideological bastion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, raised the consciousness of the whole party and the people of the whole country to an unprecedented height and spurred the victorious development of socialist revolution and construction.

An important experience we have gained from the great achievements made by the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the nation's propaganda front in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution is that we must uphold the scientific approach and method of seeking truth from facts and conduct propaganda on what a person or thing truly is. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a revolutionary science summed up and epitomized from the basic experience of the protracted struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment in society. Rather than exhausting truth, it is continually opening up the road to it. For this reason, we must emphasize the need to grasp it as a comprehensive

ideological system and not dismember it into fragments and quote it out of context. We must put it back in practice, proceed from actual conditions, make concrete analysis of concrete problems and not quote and apply it mechanically. We must take its stand, viewpoint and method in perspective and not regard it as a readymade panacea. This was what the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the masses of propaganda cadres had done in publicizing and studying Mao Zedong Thought. Their work was a success and was able to stand the test of history because it corresponded with objective reality. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted the true features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They picked out a few words and passages and arbitrarily used them against people, ignoring specific historical conditions. Despite the imposing way they carried themselves, how many people truly believed in them? For all the efforts they exerted in "shaping public opinion," they left nothing behind but evidence of their crimes.

In the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution the ranks of propagandists grew stronger and stronger as propaganda work developed. After repeated tests in all those years, it has been found that the masses of cadres and people working in the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the party's propaganda departments at all levels, including those engaged in ideological and theoretical work, the press, literature and art, publication, relics management, mass propaganda and international propaganda, are good or comparatively good. They have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, gone deep into reality and actual life, forged close ties with the masses, worked hard to improve their professional skill and done everything they could to accomplish the best for the masses. It must also be emphatically pointed out that many veteran leading cadres in propaganda work, theoreticians, writers and artists had demonstrated their proletarian spirit of unyielding integrity when they were ruthlessly persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They did not bend to force and refused to barter away their principles. After the smashing of the "gang of four," many of these cadres resumed their past profession and doggedly worked to safeguard the interests of the party and the people and defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The debate on "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" is a convincing case in point. Led and assisted by them, a large number of middle-aged and young theoretical workers with firm and clear-cut stands have emerged in the van of struggle. With this ever-triumphant backbone force which has truth in its hand, our propaganda force is bound to flourish with each passing day.

With the focus of our party's work shifted to socialist modernization, our propaganda work, which is primarily ideological and theoretical, now shoulders a new and important mission. Our fundamental tasks are to closely link the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the great practice of the four modernizations, study and solve new problems, do our best to insure that ideological and theoretical work moves ahead of practical work, push Mao Zedong Thought forward and

accelerate the pace of socialist modernization. The rehabilitation of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the complete shattering of the ideological shackles imposed on the masses of propaganda cadres have made it possible for us to further emancipate our minds, break through "forbidden areas," make full use of our unparalleled initiative and creativeness and strive to successfully accomplish the basic tasks of propaganda work for the new period.

STRENGTHEN THE STATE'S LEGAL SYSTEM AND SAFEGUARD MODERN SOCIALIST
CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 12-15

[Article by Gong Zheng [1362 2973]]

[Text] The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided that beginning this year the focus of the whole party's work should be shifted to modern socialist construction. This is a strategic policy decision of great historical significance and a new and profound great revolution. To adjust to and safeguard this historical change, we must strengthen the socialist legal system. We must have laws to follow, and we must obey and strictly enforce them and punish those who violate them. This is necessary to insure the successful realization of the four modernizations.

To Strengthen the Legal System, We Must Emancipate Our Thinking

Marxism holds that the legal system is an important part of the superstructure which grows out of and serves a given economic base. Like other aspects of the superstructure, it has a great effect on the economic base. If suited to the economic base, it can effectively stimulate the development of productive forces. If unsuited to the economic base, it can hamper and even disrupt the development of productive forces. Ours is a new legal system built on the socialist economic base and serving it. Only by strengthening the state's legal system can we better stabilize social order, protect the people's interests, safeguard the socialist economic base, rapidly develop social productive forces and accelerate the pace of realizing modern socialist construction.

To strengthen the building of the state's legal system we must first emancipate our thinking. The most important current problem is to break through the various "forbidden zones" that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created in the legal system. We must overcome the idea of being better "left" than right. We must not be afraid of offending others, of getting into trouble or of coming out of our shell. We must go all the way to solve cases of people who have been framed or falsely or wrongly accused.

Comrade Mao Zedong long ago said that the Chinese Communist Party owes its existence to seeking truth from facts. "Upon discovering mistakes, we must correct them. Public safety departments, procuratorial departments, judicial departments, prisons and organs in charge of reform through labor should all adopt such an attitude." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We must act according to the principle of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth and seek truth from facts. No matter what is written, who its author is, how serious the nature of the matter and how old the case, we must rehabilitate people who have been framed and reverse verdicts on those wrongly or falsely accused. We must do so without the least hesitation and without the least fear. We must go all the way and not do things halfway.

Procuratorial and judicial organs should maintain their independence. The key to solving this problem lies in strengthening party leadership over procuratorial and judicial organs. Party leadership over procuratorial and judicial organs mainly involves political and organizational leadership and supervision. This is to insure that procuratorial and judicial organs thoroughly implement the party's line and general and specific policies and that they give full play to the enthusiasm of the working personnel of these departments and act according to law in a down-to-earth way. The party committee must not do everything on behalf of procuratorial and judicial organs but must step in when certain procuratorial organs cannot independently exercise their procuratorial powers or where judicial organs cannot independently exercise their powers of judgment. They must really try to insure that people's courts hear cases independently according to the due process of law, without interference by any organ or individual. The people's procuratorate must also be allowed to exercise its procuratorial powers independently according to the due process of law, without interference by any organ or group. The judicial and procuratorial organs' acting according to the due process of law means being loyal to the party's cause and the people's interests as well as taking true facts into account.

We must establish various legal systems as quickly as possible, speed up restoring and establishing legislative organs and perfect various systems. The immediate thing to do is to draft criminal, civil and litigation laws. Meanwhile, our state has yet to establish organs specially charged with administrative and educational responsibilities for judicial work and with the specific business of legislation. It is entirely necessary to restore and establish these departments. Practice shows that the lawyer system and the public trial system play a positive role in promoting democracy, strengthening the socialist legal system, improving the quality of handling cases and maintaining the rights and legal interests of civilians, organs, enterprises and public bodies. These systems must also be restored without delay.

With the speedy development of modern socialist construction, we must maintain the socialist economic order and safeguard normal economic

activities. To supervise the operation of enterprises and apply economic sanctions against those that violate economic rules and regulations or fail to live up to contracts, we must establish judicial organs dealing only with economic affairs as quickly as possible. To clearly put the fundamental principles of various economic activities of socialist society in the form of law and enable all trades to be protected by laws and to follow them, we must draft laws as quickly as possible for communes, factories, companies, banks, capital construction, aviation, railways, enterprises and contracts, along with laws to protect national resources and the environment and to stimulate scientific and technical development. We should also draft laws geared to the needs of international economic cooperation and trade. The aim is to set the socialist economy in good order to meet the needs of the development of modern socialist construction.

To emancipate our thinking we must also dare to study, do research and benefit from the wholesome experiences of foreign legal systems. We must eliminate all remnant pernicious influences and refrain from living in seclusion, keeping to ourselves, staying in a rut and resting on our laurels. We must send students, postgraduates and observers to learn and study law abroad. Meanwhile, we should invite certain foreign law students to lecture in our country. The aim is to "make things foreign serve China" and accelerate the pace of building our legal system.

To Strengthen the State's Legal System, We Must Promote Democracy

Marxism holds that democracy and the legal system are complementary and form a dialectical unity. Only by giving full play to democracy can we establish a sound socialist legal system. Only by seriously carrying out the socialist legal system can we safeguard the people's democratic rights.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Without a high degree of democracy, we cannot have a high degree of concentration. Without a high degree of concentration, we cannot build a socialist economy. If our country does not build a socialist economy, what will it be like? Our country will become a revisionist state, in actuality a bourgeois state." ("Speech at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") We promote democracy and strengthen the legal system to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, accelerate the pace of achieving the four modernizations and devote our economy to modern socialist mass production. To restore capitalism and ruin the fruitful results of our people's revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" suppressed democracy within the party and among the people and disrupted the socialist legal system. Assuming the mantle of feudal despotism, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" energetically spread the feudal idea of seeking special privileges and rabidly disrupted socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. They advocated "power is everything" and "power is law." They set up so-called "mass departments" and ran various "mass study classes"

everywhere to exercise feudal fascist dictatorship over the masses of revolutionary cadres and people. They denied the people the least semblance of democracy. Anyone who said anything against them was branded a counterrevolutionary and even thrown into jail. People were deprived of their personal freedom and democratic rights. Legal protection was just a farce.

Remaining under the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who trampled upon democracy, certain cadres still suppress democracy and defy the law. They use their powers and positions given them by the people to hit and curse people, persecute the masses, seek revenge, make unauthorized arrests, force confessions, extort money, practice corruption and encroach on civil rights. We must resolutely oppose people who use their authority to separate dictatorship from democracy "in the belief that dictatorship demands that all democratic freedoms and democratic safeguards be thrown out the window and that democracy means doing as one wishes and abusing one's powers to serve the private interests of whoever is exercising dictatorship." "In fact, these people cling to the vulgar bourgeois views." ("History of the Problem of Dictatorship," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 309) We must resolutely oppose any unlawful act that encroaches on people's democratic rights. To prevent and eliminate illegal arrests and detentions, we must reiterate what is specified in the new constitution and other legal codes about safeguarding people's democratic rights, so that the cadres and masses can understand that only public security, procuratorial and law enforcement organs can legally arrest, detain and convict people or make house searches or seizures. No other organ or individual has the right to exercise such powers. Any violator should be punished according to the law. We must resolutely prohibit efforts to extort confessions to be used as a basis for punishment. People who inflict torture by hanging, beating, etc. to make people confess must be severely punished according to law. Meanwhile, those people who defy law and discipline must not be let off lightly. Serious offenders must be dealt with according to law. Thus, we can appease the people's anger and make an example of the culprits. This helps to educate the masses of cadres and people.

Lenin pointed out: "The Soviet regime relies on laborers, the overwhelming majority of people throughout the country, and invests them with the power to run the country." In our socialist country, political power lies with the proletariat and the masses of people. The people are the masters of the state, and all powers belong to them. Our laws stipulate that the most important rights of the people in managing various state undertakings are those involved in electing, dismissing and supervising the state's administrative personnel. But only by framing a set of effective laws and systems can we guarantee the exercise of these rights. To insure that the people are really able to exercise their rights regarding the state's organs and working personnel, our legal system must also insure that they need not have any fear when fighting efforts to seek special privileges, bureaucratism and violations of law and

discipline on the part of state cadres. This is to prevent party and state cadres from becoming an aristocratic class divorced from the people and thus to consolidate the political power already in their grasp. The socialist legal system is closely involved with people's democracy. It is drafted for and carried out by the people and used to protect their interests. Two inseparable parts of the socialist legal system involve dealing according to law with a handful of reactionaries who disrupt the socialist system while protecting according to law the interests and democratic rights of the masses of people. Both Marxist principle and actual life show that the difference between the socialist legal system and the exploiting class' legal system is the difference between protecting or suppressing the masses of people, between practicing democracy among the people or exercising dictatorship over them. To forget this fundamental difference will mean to lose our bearings and go astray in building the proletarian legal system.

To Strengthen the State's Legal System, We Must Act According to the Law

Marxist doctrine on the state points out: Any ruling class is concerned not only with how laws are drafted but, more importantly, whether the laws they have drafted can be carried out. Laws can serve the interests of the ruling class only when they are drafted and followed. If we do not go by the drafted law, there is no point in making laws. The legal system then becomes a mere scrap of paper. In a word, if a law is made but is not followed, we have no law. To act according to the law, we must oppose acting according to "the chief's will." At present the practice of acting according to "a commanding official's will" is a serious hindrance to building our legal system. Everything from a leader--a casual remark, a nod, a written note or telephone conversation--is taken as law. Everything that "a commanding official" says goes. This is an extremely abnormal situation as far as the legal system is concerned. The Marxist theory of knowledge tells us that, due to class differences, the ceaseless development of objective events and the limitation of personal experiences and knowledge, one's remarks can be right or wrong but never 100 percent correct. Even if one's remarks are right, they may be either completely right or partially right. And they may be right in a certain time and place and to certain people but not right everywhere. To act according to "the chief's will" means making random arrests without proper procedures and without giving the defendants the right to defend themselves or make appeals. Arrests are even made to save the trouble of investigation or as punishment. Human rights are encroached upon. Sentences in certain cases are either too light or too heavy. There is no fixed standard for punishment. Certain prisons or labor reform units act against party policy and state law and against the revolutionary principle of humanism by treating prisoners cruelly. All these illegal acts must be thoroughly banned.

We must adhere to the principle that civilians are all equal before the law. This is an important indicator as to whether or not things are

being done according to law. Under the constitution and the legal system, all civilians in our country equally enjoy proper rights and assume proper obligations under the socialist system. None are allowed special privileges or are exempted from legal obligations. Otherwise, there would inevitably be a number of people who could enjoy special privileges and legal immunity by placing themselves above the law, disrupting the constitution and the legal system and making it impossible to protect the people's democratic rights. Therefore, we must act according to law and "apply the law to everyone regardless of rank or position," strictly carry out the law and let no one escape punishment by the law. This requires us to adhere to the principle that all civilians are equal before the law. No matter how high his rank or how much he has done for the state, a guilty person must be punished according to law like an ordinary person and not be given any special treatment. In no way can we allow the existence of such a phenomenon as "law does not apply to the powerful." Only in this way can the socialist legal system really be strengthened.

Acting according to the law requires that the masses of people carrying out laws constantly put all their work under the direct supervision of the masses. In handling any case and doing anything they must strictly follow all rules and regulations stipulated by law. They must seek truth from facts, adhere to principles, be open and aboveboard, play fair and square and strictly execute the law. They should even sacrifice themselves to uphold the dignity of the law. Lenin pointed out: "All laws and decrees can be circumvented, or even publicly obeyed and privately violated." ("Speech at the First Congress of the Agricultural Commune," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 173) By acting according to the law, in no way can we stress such things as "special circumstances," "an unusual period," "actual needs," and so forth as excuses to neglect and violate the law. We must fully rely on party policy and state law in doing things at all times and in all places. Of course, the state affairs we want to handle are of a concrete and varied nature, while the legal system is relatively general and stable and cannot include everything. We maintain that some problems must be carefully studied and properly handled on the basis of facts, taking law as a guide and the arbiter, starting from the actual situation and taking account of various related factors. But this should be no excuse for taking advantage of loopholes in the legal system or even defying law and discipline.

Acting according to law requires that everyone obey the law. State organ cadres must set personal examples and lead the way in carrying out state laws. Every state organ worker, especially state cadres assuming certain leadership duties, must therefore not place themselves above the masses or above the law. If state cadres themselves do not play an exemplary role in observing the legal system, how can the masses be called upon to do so? How can they lead the masses to fight defiances of law and discipline? Cadres at all levels must pay adequate attention to the importance of executing and obeying laws. If leading cadres act

against the law to serve private ends instead of observing the legal system, they will lose respect among the masses and give bad elements the green light to do as they please. This will have serious consequences and make it impossible to carry out the legal system properly.

We must energetically publicize the legal system and educate the masses in it. This will provide a necessary condition for insuring that everyone obeys the law. We must make the masses strengthen their conception of the socialist legal system and understand that one's strict observance of the legal system shows one's spirit of being the master of the land. This is every citizen's basic obligation and glorious duty. Meanwhile, we must promote the social practice of loving, obeying and maintaining the legal system and resolutely fight evil practices and evil trends to insure that the state's legal system can really be effective in insuring that a modern and powerful socialist country is built.

IT IS IMPERATIVE TO RESPECT A PRODUCTION TEAM'S DECISIONMAKING POWER

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Spring has returned. Following the shift of emphasis of the party's work to realizing the four modernizations, concentrating most of our energy on pushing agriculture forward as quickly as possible has become a matter of universal interest to the whole party and people throughout the country.

To push agriculture forward as quickly as possible, it is first necessary to resolutely implement the various economic policies of the party for the countryside. Respecting a production team's decisionmaking power is an important policy for giving full play to the superiority of the collective economy of the people's commune and further bringing the socialist enthusiasm of the 700 million peasants into play. Recently the CCP Central Committee sent the "Draft Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Problems of Speeding Up Agricultural Development" and "Trial Draft Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes" to all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion and trial application. These two documents are very important. The "Draft Decision" sums up the historical experiences of our party in leading agricultural production over the past two decades and more, analyzes the present condition of agricultural production, presents policies and measures for developing existing agricultural productivity and ways of modernizing agriculture and calls on party committees at various levels to strengthen leadership over agriculture. The important policy for speeding up agricultural development presented in the "Draft Decision" reflects the historical demands of China's agricultural development and embodies the aspiration of people in their millions. The "Trial Draft Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes" was formerly drawn up under the personal supervision of Comrade Mao Zedong but has now been further amended in accordance with the development of actual conditions. These two documents stress the question of respecting and extending the production team's decisionmaking power.

Based on the experience of the past two decades and more and to give play to the enthusiasm of the peasants for production, it is imperative, while strengthening socialist education of the peasants, to also show concern for their material interests and to protect their democratic rights. Respecting the production team's decisionmaking power is an indispensable condition for realizing these two points. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleft counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They sabotaged the various economic policies of the party for the countryside, trampled upon the decisionmaking power of the communes and production teams, practiced "egalitarianism and transfer" and issued blind orders in a big way. They also damaged the economic interests of the peasants, deprived the commune members of democratic rights and caused serious disasters to agricultural production and to the people's livelihood. Some of the basic-level cadres said: For many years our party's agricultural work and agricultural production and construction have been in a mess because of the word "left." This is to the point. To eliminate the undesirable results caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" so that the countryside will be rehabilitated, the policies of the party will find credence among the people and agriculture will be pushed forward as quickly as possible, it is imperative to put down rebellion and restore order, correct things of the past that are "left" and are not based on facts, and truly and not just verbally respect the production team's decisionmaking power.

Respecting the production team's decisionmaking power is essential to the three-level system of ownership of the people's commune, with ownership by the production team as the basic form, and a concrete expression of the mass line implemented by the party in leading agricultural production. At present the basic accounting unit of the rural people's commune is generally the production team. This conforms with the level of the existing development of agricultural productive forces in our country and is essential to the maintenance of stability. The broad masses of commune members and basic-level cadres are masters of the collective economy, and their rights must be respected. How can we truly implement the three-level system of ownership, with ownership by the production team as the basic form and the masses of commune members and basic-level cadres as masters of the collective economy? Only by providing the cadres and commune members of the production team with the power to administer such means of production as labor, land and farming implements of the production team; to arrange for production and carry out planting in a manner appropriate to the seasons and the locality; and to decide on the method of management and the distribution of income of the collective economy in accordance with concrete conditions in the production team itself--in short, only by realistically protecting the right of ownership, distribution and management of the production brigade and the democratic rights of the commune members can we truly respect the collective ownership of the peasants and fully bring into play the role of the masses of commune members as masters.

Although some comrades verbally acknowledged that the commune members are the masters of the rural collective economy and that the people's commune is a three-level system of ownership, with ownership by the production team as the basic form, they wantonly occupied the land of the production team, willfully transferred the labor of the production team and arbitrarily disbanded or combined production teams, practiced "transition to poverty," recklessly meddled with the system of planting and crop arrangements and even established rigid rules on what to plant, where to plant and when to plant, as well as the distances between the trees and the rows. Although commune members are called the masters, they are masters who cannot run their own affairs or make responsible decisions. Though some comrades acknowledged that the production team is the basic form of ownership, they still do not allow this basic form to bring its role into play. How can they bring into play the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and commune members of the production team? If the proper right of the production team to make its own decisions cannot be protected, how can these comrades talk about gaining the confidence of the masses and relying on them?

Respecting the production team's decisionmaking power is essential to making a success of agricultural production by proceeding from actual needs. Marx said: The integration of economic reproduction and natural reproduction is the basic characteristic of agricultural production. Our country is vast and has a huge population. Geological features differ, the climate is complex and the natural conditions of production teams throughout the country vary greatly. The labor productivity of China's agriculture is also very low. At present we must still rely mainly on manual labor. In addition, natural conditions to a large extent still determine the quality of the harvest. By seizing the initiative in the organization of production, the production team will be better able to fully use the land, resources, water and manpower, plow the hills, take full advantage of and give play to the superior natural conditions, gradually bring about the regionalization and specialization of agricultural production and better carry out production based on the needs of economic and natural laws. Everyone said: It is impossible to proceed from reality and carry out work according to objective laws without respecting the production team's decisionmaking power.

Respecting the production team's decisionmaking power means, primarily, respecting the right of the production team, on the premise that it maintains the socialist orientation, implements the laws of the state and accepts the guidance of state planning, to arrange its planting in a manner appropriate to the seasons and the locality and to decide on measures for increasing production and methods of management without irresponsible interference from other people. The production team has the right to refuse or oppose erroneous plans or measures of leadership departments or leading members that do not conform with reality. It also has the right to call for economic and legal sanctions against personnel who give orders blindly which result in losses to the collective or the

commune members. The socialist economy of our country is a planned one. In arranging production, the people's communes, production brigades and production teams must consciously subordinate themselves to and obey state plans. However, fulfilling state plans is again established on the basis of respecting and giving full play to the production team's decision-making power. In drawing up plans for agricultural production, all localities should proceed from the reality of local agricultural production and conform with the actual needs of the production team to develop agricultural production in a manner suited to local conditions. Only this kind of plan can bring into play the enthusiasm of the peasants and push forward the development of production. In transmitting plans for agricultural production, leading members at various levels must consult and fully discuss matters with the commune and production team cadres and commune members and must not issue fixed and inflexible orders. As early as the movement to transform agriculture, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The economy of the cooperative must be subordinated to the leadership of the state's unified economic planning. At the same time, where it does not violate the state's unified planning, policies and decrees, the cooperative should be allowed to preserve a certain flexibility and independence." How much flexibility and independence have we actually given to the production team? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tagged people with the label of "free planting" at the slightest provocation. Even now some comrades are still troubled by lingering fear. We must resolutely change this situation. Under the guidance of state planning, we must realistically protect the right of the production team to independently decide on and affirm production plans and management methods in accordance with its actual conditions.

It is imperative to realistically respect and protect the production team's decisionmaking power in the distribution of its profit. The products and funds of the production team are the fruit of all the commune members' labor. The production team has the right to distribute its own profit. No unit or individual, under any pretext, may transfer or take any of it without payment. In distributing the profits the production team must pay attention to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and rationally ascertain the amounts that should be retained and distributed. The principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" must be conscientiously implemented in the distribution of income to commune members. It is not acceptable to practice egalitarianism. The distribution of income to commune members must be as promised. In a normal year it is necessary to strive for an increase in the income of 90 percent of the commune members without reducing the income of the other 10 percent. In grain distribution it is necessary to arrange for the ration of commune members in accordance with policies while paying the state grain tax. In the future the state grain tax will continue to be stabilized on the basis of the tax stipulated for the "five-year period" from 1971 to 1975. Excessive requisitioning is absolutely now allowed. The economic contracts between the state and the production team, between the commune

and the production brigade and production team and between production teams themselves must follow the principle of exchange at equivalent value. No department or unit is allowed to demand grain, money or labor from the production team or commune members, transfer an unreasonable load to them or infringe on their immediate interests in violation of this principle. Some localities have established rules for the distribution of profits and the rationing of food that are too rigid and strict. As a result, commune members cannot increase their income by producing more or eat better by growing more. This is not favorable to bringing their enthusiasm into play and should be corrected.

Some comrades are afraid that without these strict rules the production team will only take care of one end and divide and eat everything up. Such anxieties are uncalled for. We believe that the masses of commune members will be able to arrange their own production as well as distribute their own income. We believe that they will be able to properly deal with the relationships among the state, the collective and the individual as well as between accumulation and consumption. Educated by the party, the masses of Chinese peasants have a glorious tradition of building the country through frugality, thrift and hard work. On the question of distribution, those who only take care of one end and distribute and eat everything up are in the minority. Naturally, we should not overlook this tendency. However, the main trend at present is that some comrades are not showing enough concern for the livelihood of the masses and show too little consideration for the individual interests of the commune members. What is wrong with the peasants' getting more grain and more money? Do not be afraid of the peasants' becoming rich; only be afraid that only a few will get rich. With the development of production and the increase of collective income, it is quite proper for the peasants to have more grain to eat and to be given more money. This is a good thing and a sign of the superiority of the socialist system. Our advocacy of increasing personal income on the basis of developing production and raising the consumer level of the commune members is not talk of improving the living standard divorced from production or raising consumption divorced from accumulation. Experience has proved that if the peasants can increase their income a bit each year their enthusiasm will grow. This will promote a faster increase of accumulation and a faster development of production. The development of agricultural production will in turn promote a further increase in the personal income of the peasants, and the 700 million peasants will have stability. More than 80 percent of China's population is engaged in farming. If this segment of the population has a stable livelihood, this means that that majority will have been stabilized. With 700 million of the population stabilized, the whole country will have stability.

Giving play to democracy and safeguarding the democratic rights of the masses of commune members are basic guarantees for bringing the enthusiasm of the people into play and speeding up agricultural development. The

commune members not only have the right to work, rest, vote, stand for election, and the right of personal freedom provided by the constitution, but they also have the right to participate in, discuss, raise suggestions and make decisions regarding, and supervise administrative work and such economic work as production and distribution. They have the right to criticize and report to the higher level the actions of cadres which violate laws and discipline, as provided for by the "Trial Draft Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes." Only when these basic rights of commune members are safeguarded can they truly run their own affairs. The overwhelming majority of our rural cadres are good or comparatively good. However, a small number of them have a bureaucratic work style. They are arbitrary in their work and do not consult with the masses. What they say goes, and they even suppress democracy, berate the masses and infringe on the personal rights of commune members. This is not permitted by state law and party discipline, and this phenomenon must no longer be allowed to continue.

Respecting and extending the production team's decisionmaking power and letting the commune members truly run their own affairs in production are not weakening or losing sight of party leadership. It is imperative for us to oppose the wrong kind of leadership that does not proceed from reality, make investigations and study and does not comply with economic laws, but simply relies on issuing administrative orders and blind commands. If we do not oppose such erroneous things, respecting the decision-making power will become just an empty phrase. However, this is not a contradiction to strengthening party leadership. At present party organizations and leading cadres at all levels shoulder the extremely glorious task as well as the greater responsibility of conscientiously implementing various party policies, bringing the enthusiasm of the masses of rural cadres and commune members into play and speeding up the modernization of agriculture. In the face of this glorious new task, leadership departments of the party at various levels and the masses of rural cadres must, in response to the needs of speeding up this revolution to modernize agriculture, improve leadership style and methods, overcome the undesirable style of not proceeding from reality and not discussing economic efficiency, and learn to master the strengthening of practical leadership over agriculture and carrying out work in accordance with economic and natural laws. We must continue to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, modern science and technology and advanced agricultural management. As long as we are good at study, adhere to the line that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, conscientiously sum up experience, dare to emancipate our thinking, ask questions and study and solve problems, we shall certainly be able to gradually become knowledgeable leaders and pace setters for realizing the modernization of agriculture.

Spring is the best time to do the year's work. Leading members at various levels in the countryside must realistically organize the transmission, study and implementation of these two documents of the CCP Central

Committee, mobilize the cadres and commune members of the production team, in coordination with the spirit of the documents, to conscientiously study and formulate plans for agricultural production and measures for increasing production this year and strive for an all-round bumper harvest in agricultural production this coming year.

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VIGOROUSLY DEVELOP A DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY

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[Article by Tie Ying [6993 3841], first secretary of the Zhejiang CCP Committee]

[Text] The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out that the development of agricultural production must be resolutely and fully implemented in accordance with the policy on the simultaneous development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries and with the policy of taking food grains as the key link to insure an all-round development suitable to local conditions and appropriate to the concentration of certain crops in certain areas. Basing ourselves on this policy and energetically developing food grain production and vigorously developing a diversified economy, we must simultaneously push forward the production of cotton, edible oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruits, medicinal herbs and miscellaneous grain crops and develop them in conjunction with agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries. This is extremely important in speeding up the rate of agricultural development.

Zhejiang has always been called a "land of rice and fish" and the "home of fine silk." Since the founding of the People's Republic there has been a greater development in both food grain production and a diversified economy. The counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only caused grain production in Zhejiang to stagnate for many years but also seriously disrupted the diversified economy. Some 44 of the 66 principal agricultural sideline special products showed a serious drop in production, while some even retrogressed to the level of the initial period following liberation. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," there has been a quicker recovery and development of agriculture in Zhejiang. In 1977 our province again produced 1,000 catties of grain per mou. Many other diversified economic undertakings also greatly recovered. In 1978 there was an all-round bumper harvest, with grain production rising by 16 percent to 1,200 catties per mou. Cotton production again surpassed the demand set

by the national agricultural program. Winter rapeseed, hemp and tea leaves all surpassed the highest historical levels. There has also been a great recovery and development of livestock and poultry such as pigs, sheep, rabbits, chickens and ducks. There have also been good results in fishing and afforestation. The current issue involves the continuing tendency to neglect forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries and other economic crops. There is still much to be done in simultaneously developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries. With the slow recovery and development of a diversified economy, some products have still not reached their highest historical levels. Therefore, while grasping food grain production we must simultaneously and vigorously develop a diversified economy to correspond with the needs of the rapid development of the national economy. This is the urgent task placed before us.

From this year onward the emphasis of the whole party's work will be shifted to socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the whole party and the people are united as one in a resolute struggle to speed up the four modernizations. The rapid development of the national economy has imposed a still higher demand on agriculture in many sectors. In addition to having to supply more commercial grain, more raw materials for the textile industry, more export materials and more agricultural sideline products for the people's livelihood to invigorate the economy and enliven the market, agriculture must also accumulate more capital for the state. The development of a diversified economy will give a great impetus to food grain production and to agriculture as a whole. An enormous amount of capital is required to carry out capital construction on farms and speed up the pace of agricultural mechanization. The problem cannot be solved by merely relying on grain production increases to accumulate capital. Many communes and production brigades that are more successful in carrying out capital construction on farms and agricultural mechanization have all relied on the development of a diversified economy and commune- and brigade-run enterprises to accumulate capital. From the viewpoint of improving the livelihood of commune members, it is also essential to develop a diversified economy. Take 1977, for example. The income from commercial grain sold by commune members in the entire province's countryside averaged only slightly more than 10 yuan per person. How can this be enough for daily commodities, clothing, housing and schooling? Therefore, regardless of whether it is needed to support the national construction, build up the collective economy, bring about agricultural mechanization or improve the livelihood of the people, the vigorous development of a diversified economy is needed.

Zhejiang, which is very rich in labor and natural resources, has extremely favorable conditions for developing a diversified economy. Each person in the countryside of the entire province now has only 0.75 mou of arable land and only 0.62 mou of grain-producing land. A labor surplus already exists in many localities. Following the development of agricultural

mechanization, the labor needed for food grain production will be further reduced. Only by vigorously developing a diversified economy and developing production in various ways can labor resources be fully utilized. Our province has a mild climate, abundant rainfall, rich soil and a wealth of natural resources. The Hangjiahu Plain on the southern fringe of the Changjiang Delta produces an enormous amount of food grains, silkworms and freshwater fish. In addition to being high rice-producing districts, the plains of Ningshao, Wenhuan and Pingrui along the coast also produce such economic crops as cotton, hemp and kumquats, along with traditional handicrafts. Some 70 percent of the province's land is hilly, and the potential for developing timber, bamboo, tea, fruits, wood oil and other economic crops is very high. The 2,000 and more islands along its over 2,000-kilometer coastline are rich in aquatic resources. The Zhoushan group of islands is one of the most famous fishing grounds in the whole country. We have such superior natural conditions as well as an ample supply of labor, in addition to the traditional practice and rich experience of many localities in developing a diversified economy. As long as leadership is strengthened realistically, it will be entirely possible to quickly develop a diversified economy. Actually, many examples have already appeared throughout the province, where, despite too many people and too little land, the full use of local resources and rational use of labor to develop a diversified economy has brought blooming prosperity to the collective economy. The Shangwang production brigade of Shaoxing County has only 0.44 mou of land per capita. Emulating Dachai's revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, it has planted more than 1,300 mou of the barren hills of the production brigade with tea plants, trees and bamboo and operated a tea leaf curing plant and livestock farms. All this has greatly added to the income of the commune members. The collective has built a new village for the commune members and moved all the families into new houses. At the same time, food grain production has also greatly increased, so that it is changing from a grain-deficient production brigade into one with a surplus. The Miaoerh production brigade of Huangyan County has only 0.31 mou of grain-producing land per person. By going in for scientific farming and careful, intensive cultivation in a big way, it has produced over a ton of grain per mou. By carefully growing kumquats, it has succeeded in scoring a twin harvest in grain and kumquats which greatly developed the collective. Lanxi County's Shuangpai production brigade has made full use of its shale coal resource to operate a number of commune and production team enterprises. Commune and production team enterprises now employ 42 percent of the total labor force of the commune and produce 73.5 percent of the total economic value of the entire commune at three levels. All these facts teach us that only by developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries in an all-round manner, developing a suitable industry for processing agricultural products and other rural handicraft, transportation, building and commercial and service industries, and taking the road of integrating agriculture, industry and sideline production so that the people's commune will become an industrial and agricultural joint enterprise with a

diversified economy growing more flourishing and prosperous each day can we get the most from the people, the land and the resources, make the national economy flourish more and greatly improve the people's living standards.

Does stressing the development of a diversified economy mean that we do not have to take food grain as the key link? No, food grain is the mainstay of agriculture and must always be firmly grasped. However, taking food grain as the key link does not mean simply concentrating on food grain and neglecting a diversified economy. On the contrary, making a success of developing a diversified economy will further promote the development of food grain production. Taking the province as a whole, it is imperative to take food grain as the key link, strive to raise the unit area yield, actively extend the cultivation area and keep on increasing food grain production. However, since natural and economic conditions in various parts of our province vary, standard and inflexible rules cannot be made. All localities should proceed from reality and determine production policy suited to local conditions. Mountainous regions must take forestry as the key link, semimountainous regions must carry out grain production and forestry together, fishing regions must take fisheries as the key link and economic crop-producing regions must take economic crops as the key link. If rules are applied mechanically without taking concrete conditions into consideration and the stress is placed only on food grain production, then both food grain production and the development of a diversified economy will suffer. It should be seen that there is a dialectical relationship of interdependent and mutual promotion between agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry and between food grain production and a diversified economy. Comrade Mao Zedong on many occasions taught us: "Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry are interdependent, and none can be dispensed with; they should be placed on an equal footing." He also said: "Agriculture and forestry are the ancestors of the development of animal husbandry; animal husbandry is the child of agriculture and forestry. Later, animal husbandry will serve agriculture and forestry (principally agriculture), and agriculture and forestry will come to depend on animal husbandry. This is the principle of the interdependent balance between them." Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings vividly and profoundly explained the interconnections and the law of development between agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry and between farming and livestock breeding. It is also necessary to see that the dietary habit of our people of taking grain as the staple food will gradually be changed. The trend of development for the whole of agriculture is toward a gradual increase in the proportion of animal husbandry in agriculture, along with a corresponding increase in the proportion of meat in the people's diet. This requires even more the development of a diversified economy.

Facts have proven that the correct handling of the relationships among agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, food grains and a diversified economy will bring about mutual promotion and all-round development. In

addition to supplying timber, bamboo and other forest by-products, the development of forestry can also conserve water and control erosion. Likewise, the development of animal husbandry and fisheries can increase the supply of organic fertilizer, make the soil more fertile and promote a stable and high yield of food grains, in addition to supplying various animals and aquatic products. The development of food grains can also promote a greater development in forestry and animal husbandry. We must understand and master this principle through practice. We must uphold whatever has been proven by practice to be right and correct whatever has been proven by practice to be wrong. For example, Wuxing County on the Hangjiahu Plain has a network of rivers and canals, stretches of mulberry trees and clusters of fishponds. It has always practiced a diversified economy of food grains and mulberry cultivation, pig and sheep raising and fisheries development. In their long practice the masses have accumulated rich production experiences. While firmly grasping food grain production, they have simultaneously gone in for pig and sheep raising in a big way and dumped the pig and sheep manure into fishponds to breed plankton to feed the freshwater fish. The more fish they breed, the more fertile the mud at the bottom of the ponds becomes. They then take the mud from the ponds to the rice and mulberry fields to promote the growth of food grains and mulberry trees. The increase in food grains and mulberry trees also supplies feed for the pigs and sheep. Because the leadership had not properly handled the relationship between food grains and a diversified economy, some communes and production teams over the past several years cut down the mulberry trees to plant food grains and slaughtered the pigs and sheep. This disrupted the farming and livestock breeding, which should proceed by conforming to objective laws. This resulted in a serious drop in the raising of silkworms and pigs. Food grain production also could not progress. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," the county party committee correctly implemented the policy of taking food grains as the key link to insure all-round development and organized the communes and production teams to vigorously develop a diversified economy. There was an all-round increase in agriculture in 1978. The average yield of food grains rose to more than 1,400 catties per mou, and the total production value from a diversified economy reached 145 million yuan, comprising 54.7 percent of the total income from agricultural sideline occupations. This experience has shown that the vigorous development of a diversified economy not only promotes the development of food grains and all agricultural production but also does not hinder food grain production.

Is developing a diversified economy engaging in capitalism? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" obliterated the fundamental distinction between socialist commodity production and capitalist commodity production. They vilified socialist commodity production and exchange as the soil and condition giving rise to capitalism. They vilified the development of a diversified economy as "grasping money and rejecting the principle" and taking the capitalist road. For a time some comrades were confused and did not either dare mention the word "commodity" or grasp commodity production.

They were afraid that the peasants might turn revisionist after becoming rich and thought that "grasping food grain is safe and engaging in a diversified economy is dangerous." The smashing of the "gang of four" and criticism of the revisionist line they pushed relieved many comrades of their anxiety. However, some even now still have lingering fears. We must continue to thoroughly criticize the reactionary fallacies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminate lingering fears and boldly grasp commodity production. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that China has always been a country not very advanced in commodity production. As much as possible the people's communes should promote the extensive development of commercial products required by the state and other communes. In addition to meeting the growing requirements of society, the exchange of commodities can also be used to exchange materials of equal value to meet the growing requirements in commune production and commune members' livelihood. Our development of a diversified economy and expansion of commodity production are implemented according to socialist ownership and carried out under the guidance of the state plan. This is a basic distinction from capitalist commodity production, which is aimed at making money for capitalists. The greater the development of socialist commodity production, the more favorable will be the struggle against capitalist forces. If commodity production is reduced, supply will not be able to catch up with market demands, and invariably there will be opportunities for capitalist activities to spread. When the "gang of four" ran wild, capitalist activities such as speculation and manipulation were rampant in some places. Is this not a good explanation of the problem? Facts have proven that only by actively developing socialist commodity production can we build up the strength of the socialist economy, triumph over the urban and rural capitalists, strengthen the material bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat and meet the growing requirements of the people.

In developing a diversified economy it is imperative to build a number of key commodity bases by making overall planning and rational distribution according to the principle of concentrating production where appropriate and in a manner suited to local conditions. Because of the great variety of products in a diversified economy, and since different products have different requirements for natural conditions, there also must be different demands on production techniques and management. Differences in such natural conditions as soil, climate and water conservancy and traditions of production management in our province for a long time naturally led to the formation of various economic zones with their own unique features. Some 90 percent of the province's cotton is grown primarily in 16 counties along the coast. Some 95 percent of the hemp is produced in 5 counties on both banks of the Qiantang River, and some 87 percent of the silk is produced in 12 counties in the Hanjiahu and Shaoxing districts. Timber and bamboo are grown mainly in 8 or 9 counties, including Lungquan, Suichang and Anxi. The distribution of tea is more widespread, but 70 percent of it is still grown in 20 counties. While developing a diversified economy and building production bases, various

localities have already paid attention to closely linking state requirements with local production conditions and traditional production habits. They have suited distribution to local conditions. In addition to attaching importance to raising the unit area yield of existing economic crops, they have also systematically extended the planting areas and made rational arrangements in the relationships between principal economic and other economic crops and between perennial and short-term crops. Our province has already built a number of production bases that have a more centralized leadership and a relatively stable contingent of specialists, which is advantageous to integrating farming, livestock breeding and processing along with comprehensively utilizing various resources to promote the development of commune and production team industries. This is advantageous to popularizing advanced technology and raising the level of mechanization. Therefore, they are able to increase labor productivity, output and the rate of commercial sales and make more contributions to the state. Henceforth we must proceed from the requirements of realizing agricultural modernization and specialization, keep on summing up experience and further consolidate and develop these production bases.

Efforts to conscientiously implement the party's economic policies in the countryside and bring the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants into play are of great importance to the development of a diversified economy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ignored the principle of exchange at equal values and pay to each according to his work, advocated the abolition of private plots and family sideline occupations, negated the power of the collective economy to make decisions and seriously disrupted the collective economy and the development of a diversified economy. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," we have thoroughly criticized their crimes, repeatedly put stress on implementing the party's economic policies for the countryside and called on the cadres to carry out work based on economic laws and to strengthen their policy concepts, safeguard the collective ownership of the peasants and respect the power of decision of the basic accounting unit in production, distribution and exchange. We have organized the departments concerned to carry out investigations and study problems such as commune member rations and the standard and premium prices for certain agricultural by-products in mountainous, fishing and centralized economic crop regions. In accordance with party policy, we have properly resolved the question of commune member rations in mountainous, fishing and economic crop regions. It is necessary to conscientiously implement the state's price policy in purchasing agricultural by-products. We must also actively popularize the experience of the Xincang supply and marketing cooperative of Pinghu County, which signed rural commune and production team contracts on purchasing and marketing that had been approved by Comrade Mao Zedong. The contracts stipulate how the commercial, foreign trade and supply and marketing departments will supply capital, materials and technical help to the communes and production teams that are developing a diversified economy and how the communes and production teams will deliver on schedule the correct amount and type of agricultural by-products according to state

plans. In this way the state can direct production in a planned way, and the communes and production teams can increase their incomes. This is conducive to enlarging socialist commodity production and the exchange between industrial and agricultural products, maintaining close ties between urban and rural areas and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. We have also corrected some "local" policies that contradict party policy and that infringe on the interests of the masses. We reiterate that, if they do not affect the collective economy, commune members have the right to engage in family sideline occupations. They can make their own arrangements for the crops they plant on private land and can raise livestock and poultry such as pigs, sheep, rabbits, chickens, ducks and geese. They can also keep their own sows. Mountainous regions that have traditionally kept cattle may also raise cattle. Commune members may make use of their spare time to engage in such sideline production as weaving, embroidery, herb gathering, fishing and hunting and beekeeping. Apart from state-purchased materials, products from the private land and family sideline occupations of commune members can be sold in local markets. All these measures have effectively promoted the development of a diversified economy. The key to making a success of a diversified economy and speeding up the development of agriculture lies in strengthening party committee leadership. Based on the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, we must conscientiously sum up both the positive and negative aspects of experience over the past 29 years, restore and give play to the party's fine tradition of seeking truth through facts, thoroughly criticize the ultraleft revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and raise the consciousness of cadres in implementing the policy of "taking food grains as the key link to insure an all-round development in a manner suitable to local conditions and appropriate to the concentration of certain crops in certain areas." We must regard efforts to develop a diversified economy as an important part of the agricultural production plan. When examining the production and contributions of the county, commune and production teams, we must note whether agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries have been fully developed. We must note the contributions made in the fields of forest and aquatic products and economic crops by mountainous, fishing and economic crop regions. In addition to firmly grasping food grain production, leading members at various levels must also firmly grasp diversified economy. In addition to taking agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries into consideration, they must also link the development of agriculture and industry with the transformation of the countryside and the cities and towns. The party committee must conscientiously organize the planning, industrial, commercial, supply and marketing, financial and banking departments to energetically support agriculture and a diversified economy. They must really succeed in taking food grains as the key link and in integrating agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fisheries as well as agriculture and industry for all-round development.

ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORESTS AND AGRICULTURE

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[Article by the policy research office of the State Forestry General Administration]

[Text] Forests and agriculture are closely related. The question of forestry is in fact also a question of agriculture.

China has made considerable headway in socialist forestry construction after reversing the past trend of continuous destruction of forests. Many localities have correctly handled the relationship between agriculture and forestry, grasped afforestation in a big way and achieved notable results. Many advanced typical examples in clothing barren mountains with greenery, turning deserts into oases, building groves in fields and simultaneously developing agriculture and forestry have emerged. However, the further development of forestry has been seriously hampered by the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and nothing much has been done to change the existing condition of poor forest resources and unbalanced forest distribution. In many localities the leading comrades did not understand the importance of developing forestry and hence seriously neglected work in this field. Some of them had a one-sided understanding of the policy of "taking grain as the key link." They stood forestry and agriculture in opposition to each other and stressed that "we should not undertake afforestation unless we have attained the per-mou grain yield set in the national program and solved the problem of water conservation." Unable to attend to everything at once, they were unable to bring about any upswing in forestry or agriculture. Some people only saw immediate and partial interests and went after quick gains. They destroyed forests for reclamation, indiscriminately felled trees and never bothered to plant new trees, with the result that forests and vegetation were badly devastated. This situation simply must be changed.

China's poor forest resources are obviously not in harmony with the enormous needs arising from the development of the national economy and the improvement of people's livelihood. In spite of this, the destruction of

forests and vegetation covers is still continuing in many places. If we do not make haste to solve this problem but let things take their own course, our forest areas will gradually shrink in size. We will have to face bad ecological consequences, such as poor soil, dusty surroundings, soil erosion and frequent drought and floods, and we will be punished by nature. Comrade Li Xiannian sternly pointed out last year: "If we do not come to our senses and place this task as an important item on the agenda of party committees at all levels, our mountains will soon be too barren for reclamation, and our grasslands will be unfit for use. Our existing forests will continue to be destroyed, and pastures will continue to degenerate. After a few decades the natural conditions of our country will deteriorate, and we will be doing our future generations a great disservice."

As we all know, the survival and development of crops and other plants and animals--in fact, all living things, man included--are dependent upon a given ecological balance of nature. If this balance is upset, some living things which cannot adapt themselves to worsened ecological conditions will die. This is the law of nature. Take agriculture, for example. To insure stable conditions for the large-scale development of agriculture, it is imperative to maintain the ecological balance of nature and, in particular, to keep climate, soil, vegetation and other principal ecological conditions in a state that is advantageous to agriculture. In terms of biological effects, forests can help regulate climate, conserve water, prevent soil erosion and serve as windbreaks and sandbreaks. They play a unique role in agricultural production, because they can transform nature and preserve the ecological balance. If we analyze foreign data in this regard, we will find that a country in which more than 30 percent of the land is covered with well-distributed forests can better regulate its climate, reduce natural disasters and insure steady agricultural development. In countries where more than 50 percent of the total land area is covered with trees there has not been any major flood or drought for years. By comparison, natural disasters are much more serious and frequent in countries where there are very few forests. According to historical records, the Huanghe River basin was once a forest-rich and agriculturally prosperous region. However, the ravages of feudal wars, the wanton felling of trees and the leveling of huge tracts of forests for large-scale building construction and land reclamation over the years has greatly depleted the region of its forest areas and upset the balance of ecological conditions. This has brought serious disasters to the region. In the 2,500 years before liberation, dike breaches occurred on more than 1,500 occasions, and there were 26 important changes of the river course. A total of 201 droughts occurred during the Qing dynasty. In Hebei and Shansi provinces, on the average, 2.8 floods and 6.6 droughts took place every 100 years during the Tang dynasty. By the time of the Qing dynasty, the figures had risen to 5.6 and 34.2, respectively. The occurrence of floods and droughts has become more and more frequent in recent decades. At present erosion is serious in the middle reaches of the Huanghe, because only a small

percentage of the valley is covered with trees. Carrying more than 30 kilograms of silt in every cubic meter of water and as much as 70 kilograms during the high water seasons, the Huanghe tops all rivers in the world for silt content. Every year it carries with it as many as 1,600 million tons of soil and sand down Shan County in Henan Province, and with it goes huge quantities of nitrogen, phosphorous and potassium fertilizers. Large tracts of land thus have become poorer and poorer every day, and this has done great harm to agriculture.

What unique role do forests play in agricultural production? Their role is chiefly three-fold:

1. They help regulate the macroclimate and improve the microclimate. Trees transpire rapidly. As a result, large quantities of water vapor are formed in the sky above forests. When water vapor forms into rain clouds and there is precipitation, this helps lessen the degree of aridity. Annual precipitation is usually higher in forest areas than in unforested areas with similar geographic conditions. The Leizhou Peninsula in Guangdong Province used to be quite barren and arid. As a result of postliberation efforts in afforestation, the forest cover has now been extended to 36 percent of the land area, and annual precipitation is 32 percent higher than before afforestation. Liaoning Province has an annual precipitation of 800-1,000 millimeters in the eastern part but only 500 millimeters in the west. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that there are more forests in the east than in the west. In addition, forest areas can provide good microclimatic conditions for the growth of crops, because the flow of hot and cold air, the evaporation of moisture and daily temperature and humidity ranges are smaller in covered areas than in open ones. In Xiuwu County, Henan, damage done by hot, dry winds was serious and grain output was low before large-scale afforestation and the planting of groves. According to observations made by professionals of Xiaowenan brigade in that county, inside the groves the daily average wind speed is 40 percent lower, the maximum temperature is approximately 2 degrees lower, relative humidity is 20 percent higher, evaporation is reduced by 23 percent, the number of days in which hot, dry winds occur is reduced from 10 to 6 and the frost-free period is extended from 212 to 218 days. A marked increase has been registered in grain output. In Zhoucun brigade of Xiahsien County, Shanxi Province, the output of wheat was reduced by 70 percent as a result of two hot, dry spells in 1955 and 1957. After groves were planted in the fields, the brigade did not suffer any loss in wheat output during the two hot, dry spells in 1965 and 1969, while the nearby unforested brigades all registered marked reductions in output.

2. They help conserve water and prevent soil erosion. Since tree branches can hold rain and the fallen twigs and leaves on the ground are absorbent and permeable, rain water can gradually permeate through the soil layer. This will help reduce surface flow and soil erosion. Hence, the presence of forests in the upper reaches of rivers can help

conserve water and guarantee a constant flow, while the presence of forests on hill slopes can help prevent soil erosion and protect farmland and reservoirs. The masses rightly point out: "Planting more trees in the mountains is like building reservoirs, because trees can hold excessive rain and store it for the dry season." In August 1975 an unusually great rainstorm hit central Henan Province, and a rainfall of 800-1,000 millimeters was recorded in 3 days. Affected by the rainstorm, the main dams of the Banqiao and Shimantan reservoirs gave way and caused a serious disaster, whereas the Boshan and Dongfeng reservoirs safely rode through the peak of the flood. What was the reason for this? It was found that the upper reaches and areas of the Banqiao and Shimantan reservoirs that hold the water had a forest cover of only some 20 percent, and years of soil erosion had silted the reservoirs and reduced their water-holding capacities. During the storm the main dams gave way because the torrential floodwater could not be discharged in time. However, the upper reaches of the Boshan and Dongfeng reservoirs had a forest cover of more than 90 percent. The trees slowed the downpour and reduced the speed of the floodwater, thus protecting the reservoirs and the dams.

3. They help ward off wind and hold sand in place, thus protecting farmland from the onslaught of sandstorms. Forests are natural sandbreaks. They can protect farmland from wind and sand and prevent the lodging of crops, because the thick branches of trees can ward off strong winds, and their well-developed root systems can hold sand and soil in place and check the advance of sand dunes. In the past, Yulin Prefecture in Shaanxi Province was always hit by sandstorms. Grain output in the prefecture was low. Through large-scale afforestation and farmland capital construction during the past two decades, it has built more than 6 million mou of sandbreaks, afforested one-third of those desert areas where tree-planting is possible, enlarged the forest area, checked 3.75 million mou of advancing sand dunes, changed the phenomenon of "man retreating as sand advances," relieved 1 million mou of farmland from the threat of sandstorms and wrested 400,000 million mou of farmland from the deserts. Grain output has been increasing yearly. In 1977 total grain output was registered at 1.32 billion catties, more than twice what it was before 1966. Last spring Baicheng Prefecture in Jilin Province suffered from serious wind damage. Three times, crops sown in Baicheng County were blown away. In the nearby Hongshiling brigade of Lingxia commune, Taoan County, no seedlings were blown away because a good job had been done in afforestation. Last year the brigade scored an average per-mou grain yield of 1,250 catties. The masses said: "We must plant more trees to hold sand in place." "More forests, fewer disasters; fewer forests, more disasters."

The development of forests is an important condition for insuring a high and stable yield in agriculture. Moreover, it can provide huge quantities of timber and subsidiary forest products for national construction and the people's livelihood and provide fuel, feed and fertilizers for

agriculture. It is important for improving the structure of our agricultural economy, developing commune and brigade enterprises, launching diverse economic undertakings, expanding collective accumulation, increasing the earnings of commune members, enlivening the market and promoting foreign trade. Forests can also play an important part in reducing pollution, giving out fresh oxygen, improving the living environment, developing tourism and providing shelters in time of war. Our country has a vast territory, a huge population and many barren hills and wastelands that are suitable for tree planting. We should go in for afforestation and develop forestry on a big scale. This is a major issue which bears on the overall situation of national welfare and the people's livelihood and should not be overlooked.

The history of world forestry developments shows that man's relation to forests generally goes through a protracted process from wanton destruction to conscious protection and augmentation of forest resources. Many countries have traversed this tortuous path. In the beginning they wantonly felled trees, destroyed forests and damaged vegetation for land reclamation to develop agriculture, animal husbandry, industry and sideline production. Later, after suffering the many evil consequences of forest destruction, they had no alternative but to turn back and work hard at restoring and developing the forest areas. Many of the forest-rich countries have done better in forestry because they have learned their lessons and paid attention to forest management earlier than others. However, many countries are still at the stage of wanton destruction. Due to serious interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," wanton destruction of forests is still carried out to a greater or lesser extent in many places. The bad ecological consequences produced by large-scale destruction of forests on Hainan Island in Guangdong, in the Ziwuling forest area in Gansu and in the southern part of the Daxinggan mountains in Heilongjiang have sounded the alarm for us. Hainan Island, the famous treasure island of our country, is rich in natural resources. Before liberation there were 12.95 million mou of tropical virgin forests on the island. There was abundant rainfall and sources of water. During the past two decades, three-quarters of the original forests were destroyed, and the threat of flood and drought has become more and more serious. As a result of a severe drought last year, most of the rivers, ponds and reservoirs dried up, and agricultural production was seriously jeopardized. The Ziwuling forest area, with a total forest cover of more than 10 million mou, is an important forest area in the arid and sparsely forested northwestern region of our country. As "the natural reservoir in eastern Gansu," it can serve as an important guarantee to agricultural production in the nearby counties. Due to wanton felling of trees and destruction of forests for land reclamation over the years, the total forest area was reduced by a quarter, or 2.23 million mou. With the destruction of forests, climatic conditions deteriorated. According to statistics from several local observatories, annual precipitation was down by 17-42 millimeters and relative humidity by 3-4 percent. The flood volume of

rivers was one and a half times greater, and silt content doubled. These factors seriously harmed agricultural production. The Daxinggao Mountains have one of the largest forest areas in our country. The huge tracts of forests there provide a natural shield for the Songnen Plain and a moisture-conservation base for the Hulubei grassland. They also play an important part in developing the "great northern granary"--a commodity grain base--and protecting grasslands. However, in the southern part of this region large areas of vegetation cover were destroyed due to unreasonable exploitation and forest fires during the past years. As a result, the conditions for agricultural production deteriorated, with annual precipitation dropping from 612 to 382.5 millimeters. Spring and summer drought, which were rare in the past, have been frequent in recent years. Before 1970, strong winds of 6th or 7th grades seldom caused duststorms or sandstorms. Now winds of 3d or 4th grades can send dust and sand dancing in the air. It can thus be seen that forests are "nurses to agriculture." Without the protection given by forests, there can never be stable conditions for developing agriculture. If we destroy forests and upset the ecological balance, we will destroy agriculture and bring infinite disaster to our production and livelihood. We look far ahead, aim high and recognize the importance of developing and protecting forests from the higher plane of protecting the ecological environment and agricultural production.

In the struggle to fulfill the general task for the new period we must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, effectively shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization, conscientiously study the historical experiences and lessons afforded by China and other countries in developing forestry, correctly understand and handle the relationship between agriculture and forestry, do things in accordance with objective laws, overcome blindness and heighten our consciousness. We must vigorously develop, actively protect and rationally use forests, give full play to the comprehensive benefits of forestry and make contributions to rapidly developing agriculture and bringing about the four modernizations. We must continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," boldly set things right, change those parts of the production relations and superstructure which are not in harmony with the development of the productive forces in forestry and reform the systems and methods of management. We must conscientiously strengthen the socialist legal system, energetically publicize and carry through the directive on protecting the forests recently issued by the State Council, implement relevant forestry policies, strictly handle cases of destruction of forests and resolutely check the perverse trend of destroying forests and trees. In developing mountain areas and in farmland capital construction we must map out our overall plans for agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry and tackle the mountains, rivers, farmland, forests and roads in a comprehensive way. While striving to keep existing forests in good shape, we must also plant trees on barren hills and wastelands, around every house and every village, by roadsides and watersides, and, according to local conditions,

develop farmland protective belts, windbreaks and sandbreaks, water and soil conservation forests, timber forests, economic forests, green manure forests and firewood forests in a planned way and build new forestry bases. We must strive to improve the quality of tree planting by adopting good seed and healthy saplings, strengthen the nursing of young forests to insure the survival and rapid growth of trees and achieve high timber yields. We must insist on rational felling, regenerate the logged-over land in good time and effectively rectify the erroneous practice of paying more attention to felling than to tree planting. At the same time we must vigorously develop education in forest science, arm forestry with modern science and technology and speed up forestry mechanization. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, let us actively go into action, speed up afforestation and fight for the realization of Comrade Mao Zedong's unfulfilled ambition to "cover the country with trees" and "build garden-type farms throughout the country."

SEVERAL PROBLEMS ON IMPORTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 26-30

[Article by Xu Ke [6079 2688] and Liu Furong [0491 1788 2837]]

[Text]

1

The emphasis of all party work has now been shifted to socialist modernization. In response to this change in our foreign economic relations, we must smash the destructive attitude of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" which discouraged economic and technical exchanges with capitalist nations, and we must smash their policy of complete exclusion or semi-exclusion. We must actively import advanced foreign technology and expand equal and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations in order to speed up the task of implementing the socialist four modernizations.

To learn from foreign nations and seek foreign aid on a foundation of self-reliance is an important condition for carrying out socialist economic construction and is also the party's consistent policy. In the more than 20 years since the founding of the state, in learning from foreign nations, importing advanced technology and carrying out technological and economic exchanges, we have made no little effort and have had a certain measure of success, but only now are we doing this on a major scale.

In the early years of the nation the imperialists imposed an economic blockade on China. At that time only the Soviet Union under Comrade Stalin and East European democratic nations were willing to provide us with some technology and equipment. After Khrushchev mounted the stage the Soviet revisionists proved to be perfidious, adopted an anti-China policy, tore up the agreements, withdrew the technicians and severely damaged normal economic relations between our two nations. In the post-1960's we imported some technology and equipment from Japan and Western Europe, but on a small scale. Not until 1972, with the signing of the Sino-U.S. communique and the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Japan, were there favorable conditions for expanded economic

and technical exchange with capitalist nations. But, because of the disruption and sabotage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their wild wielding of the clubs of "foreign slave philosophy" and "national betrayal," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line could not be thoroughly implemented, and the favorable international situation could not be properly utilized.

Conditions are completely different now. The antiparty clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has been smashed, the large-scale nationwide mass campaign to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has basically attained victory and is complete, and the stumbling blocks which hampered economic and technical exchange with foreign nations have been removed. At the same time, accompanying the shift in emphasis in the party's work and the flourishing of the modernization and construction of enterprises, there is a great need for capital, equipment and technology. Our original economic base is thin and our technology is backward, so in order to accelerate construction it is a matter of urgency that we enlarge the scope of our foreign economic and technical exchange.

One must note that at present the international situation is extremely favorable for importing technology and using foreign capital. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of the three worlds gave impetus to the development of the international antihegemony united front. The Soviet revisionists were expanding everywhere, implementing hegemonism, seriously threatening world peace and incurring the general ill-will of people of all nations. The broad Third World nations hope that we soon will build a powerful socialist, modernized nation. Many nations of the Second World are eager to strengthen their relations with us and to increase trade. Since the establishment of Sino-American relations there is the prospect of increased Sino-American economic and technical exchange. This is the first time since the founding of the state that conditions have been so good. We must be skillful in completely utilizing these conditions and absorb foreign technology and capital to greatly accelerate construction in anticipation of exceeding the world's advanced standard.

2

Socialist economic construction cannot be done in isolation behind closed doors. It must be carried out under a policy line of independence and initiative, self-reliance and active participation in international economic and technical exchange.

All production is social production. For the people to improve production there must be an exchange of production experience, technology and results. Worldwide economic and technical exchange results from improvements in production and ultimately is determined by the level of the productive forces.

Slave and feudal societies basically have self-sustaining natural economies and normally do not have regular economic and technical exchanges with other nations. Capitalist societies are vastly different. The massive production of capitalism requires not only enormous commodity markets but also vast areas of natural resources. This places nations with different levels of economic development into the world commodities flow, and they then form a world market. The formation of the world market not only widened the flow of commodities but also stimulated the exchange of production technology among nations. In this stage of establishing a world market the bourgeoisie played a role in historical progress. Marx said, "In history the bourgeoisie period had the mission of creating the material basis for the new world. On the one hand it wanted to form a worldwide relationship of mutual interdependence among all mankind; and in order to prepare for this kind of instrument of contact, on the other hand, it had to develop man's productive forces by using science to transform material production through the control of natural forces. Bourgeois industry and commerce created these material conditions for the new world, just as geological changes formed the surface of the earth." ("The Future Prospects for British Rule in India," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 75)

In the same manner socialist societies are built on the foundation of socialized large-scale production and are able to attain higher standards of socialization than capitalist societies. Therefore, to promote foreign economic and technical exchanges and take full advantage of the material basis that capitalism created for the new world is mandatory for the development of a socialist economy and is the historical mission of the proletariat. In the outline for "The Current Duties of the Soviet Government," Lenin used a formula which vividly expressed his thoughts on learning from other nations: "To joyfully absorb the good points of foreign nations: Take Soviet government + Prussian railroad system + American technology and trust organization + American public education, and so on and so forth, and mix well = socialism." If a socialist nation closes its doors and cuts off foreign contacts, it violates the developmental laws of the socialization of production and will obstruct the speedy development of the productive forces.

From the history of the development of science and technology we see that economic and technical exchanges among all nations and people are mandatory.

Science and technology are common riches created by mankind during a long-term process of production struggle and scientific experimentation. They have no class nature and are not limited to any nation or people. Science and technology by their very nature are inherited and are a synthesis. Inherited means that people can freely use the research results of their predecessors, and synthesis means that people can absorb the essence of the results of all scientific research. There is not one item that was not obtained by inheriting or synthesizing the basic

experiences of this or other nations. The success of the famous scientist Newton was not the success of an individual but rather that of an age. He merely ran the last leg of a relay race. Newton himself said, "If I manage to see farther than Descartes, that is because I stand on the shoulders of a giant." The steam engine, which is the symbol of the European Industrial Revolution, also was not the independent creation of a single nation or individual. From the end of the 15th century, when the Italian (Fenqi) suggested the concept of the steam engine, until 1774, when the Englishman Watt finally completed his invention, encompasses hundreds of years and incorporates the inventions of several other nations. Just as Engels said, "The steam engine is the first truly international invention." ("Natural Dialectics," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 450)

It is obvious that for all nations and peoples of the world economic and technical exchanges are necessary for the development of social production, are an internal necessity for scientific and technological production, and are an objective law that should be respected by all societies. The evil "gang of four" ran counter to the flow of history and madly advocated blind exclusionism. The former appeal to "learn from foreign nations" became taboo. Many people were completely ignorant of foreign conditions yet were swaggering and boastful and basked in self-admiration. This sort of spiritual attitude is highly unsuited to the requirements of implementing the four modernizations. We must clean out the ideological cages set up by the "gang of four" and conduct affairs according to objective laws, learn from foreign nations, bravely import advanced foreign technology, and actively join with all nations in economic and technical exchanges.

3

Foreign economic and technical exchanges, especially the importation of advanced technology, are the quickest way for economically and technologically backward nations to overtake advanced nations.

In the capitalist world, how can a nation possibly progress from unequal economic development to an eventually superior position? There are a number of ways, but an important one is that backward nations can make good use of the world's accomplishments in science and technology. The rise of America depended on borrowing Europe's technology, craftsmanship and work methods. After World War I the revival and development of Germany's economy was accomplished with American and British aid. The situation after World War II is an even more obvious example. During World War II the Japanese economy suffered a severe setback and fell 20 to 30 years behind Europe and America. Beginning in the 1950's, Japan imported large quantities of foreign technology, choosing the best from each nation. According to statistics, between 1950 and 1975 Japan imported 28,500 technological patents at an expense of 5.8 billion American dollars. This resulted in great advances in technology and the

economy. In 1960 the quantity of steel produced was only 12 million tons, but 10 years later it reached 90 million tons, an average increase of almost 7 million tons per year. In 1973 production reached 109 million tons, behind only America and Russia.

Up to now the proletarian revolution has always first been victorious in nations where capitalism was comparatively undeveloped. The socialist political systems which it established are superior to the capitalist political systems, but the level of economic and technological development is not necessarily superior. To consolidate its political control the proletariat must create a higher rate of labor productivity in order to overtake and surpass the capitalist nations. The problem of reducing the time required for this depends on the importation of advanced foreign technology and equipment and on making good use of the results of advanced foreign science and technology. Before World War II the Soviet Union and after World War II Romania and Yugoslavia all depended on the importation of foreign technology to speed up economic development. During the First Five-Year Plan our economic construction improved because of imported foreign technology.

How can the importation of advanced foreign technology accelerate the development of the national economy? It will very quickly put the national economy on a relatively advanced technological base, which will then increase the production rate twofold, tenfold or even several tenfold. To import advanced technology is to benefit from the results of others' successes and skip the process of research and experimentation--that is, to take a shortcut and save the expense of research and experimentation. The successful importation of advanced technology requires a relatively high level of scientific management and of culture and technology, and this will stimulate the nation's scientific and technological personnel to raise their professional levels. If the importation of advanced technology is not pure imitation or copying but rather is based on "creativity," this will establish an even higher starting point from which an economically and technologically backward nation can reach the world's advanced level.

It is not hard to see that for economically and technologically backward nations, whatever the social system, to speedily develop the economy it is necessary to enter the world market, benefit from advanced foreign technology, give full play to its own strong points, develop economic and technical exchanges with other nations, make mutually advantageous exchanges, and overcome shortcomings. Of course, the period of importation must be based on reality and proceed in an orderly fashion, not in a single effort. A single effort may appear to be rapid but actually does not accomplish the goals.

The "gang of four" labeled our method of importing advanced technology and overtaking the world's advanced level as "crawlsism," which is a vile calumny.

Before liberation our economy was undeveloped and our science and technology were backward. After liberation we established a socialist system, promoted the broad development of productive forces and began to reduce the gap in science and technology between ourselves and advanced nations. During the last 10-odd years the rampaging of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought our national economy to the brink of collapse. Our present level of science and technology, all things considered, is about at the level of the advanced nations in the 1940's and 1950's. The current rate of scientific and technological development in the world is, so to speak, about 1,000 miles a day. Some people believe that inventions and discoveries in science and technology during the last 10 years exceed all those made during the last 2,000-odd years. Moreover, the time between a scientific or technological invention and its practical application has been greatly shortened. According to relevant information, in the latter part of the 19th century it took an average of more than 70 years to bring an invention from conception to wide distribution, while it now takes about 10 years. Integrated circuitry was invented in 1952 and industrialized in 1959, a period of 7 years. How long would it take to accomplish the four modernizations if we were to forego taking positive action to reach a higher starting point and instead begin from our current level of the 1940's and 1950's, covering all the old roads others have traveled and slowly advancing with bowed heads along each step of the road to progress? When would we overtake the rest of the world? This sort of step-by-step traversing of others' paths is the real crawlism!

4

Importation of foreign technology not only will accelerate the development of our national economy but also will increase our basis for self-reliance.

The "gang of four" were fond of branding the party's policy of self-reliance as self-sustenance, exclusionism and total independence from others. This is a vile distortion. To be self-sustaining, cut off from the rest of the world and permanently isolated definitely is not the party's policy of self-reliance. What that produces is ignorance and stagnation. Marx said, "The steam engine permitted India to have regular and speedy relations with Europe and formed connections between India's ports and those of the southern and eastern oceans, causing India to abandon its isolationist stance, which was the major cause of its stagnation in the past." ("Future Prospects for British Rule in India," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 70-71]

Self-reliance and the importation of advanced foreign technology are complementary, and under certain conditions such imports are a method of self-reliance. The key point here is being able to "bring in" for oneself and to "utilize foreign things."

As for foreign goods, there is a great difference between those "brought in" by oneself and those "sent in" by foreigners. In "Bring In-ism" Lu Xun gave this vivid description: "The things 'sent in' are frightening. First there were English opium and scrap German cannon, then there were French perfume and American movies and all sorts of small Japanese goods stamped 'national product.' Even the enlightened youth developed a fear of foreign goods. Actually, that was because they were 'sent in' and not 'brought in.'" Lu Xun was speaking of the old China, but this point is still applicable today. If our attitude toward foreign things, such as technology and equipment, can match Lu Xun's appeal to "use one's brains, open one's eyes, and 'bring in' things for oneself," and if "foreign things can be utilized," then such borrowings are mandatory and can only help rather than harm the policy of self-reliance.

The experiences of these 29 years since the state was founded clearly explain this principle. Since the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan we have worked, under the principle of not damaging the authority of the state, to carefully select some advanced technology and equipment for importation. Although it was on a small scale, still it filled some gaps in our industry, increased the standard of our productive forces and technology, raised the degree of self-sufficiency, and increased our independence and self-reliance.

By importing advanced foreign technology in order to utilize it for China's benefit and to increase our self-reliance capability, we must proceed from reality, achieve a balanced synthesis and make planned, focused and selective imports. We should not import any equipment that we can manufacture, and even if the quality is somewhat inferior we can quickly remedy that with extra effort. If we merely lack the technology to make some equipment, then we will import only the technology and not the equipment. If we need only certain parts to produce the whole product, then only the needed parts will be imported.

As for the imported technology and equipment, we must firmly grasp the principle of "first use, then study, next modify, finally create." To implement this principle we must make orderly progress and not run around in circles. After importing the technology and equipment, the first step is to learn how to control and utilize them. Starting with the decision to import the item, it is essential to concentrate on developing the personnel to operate and manage it. They must be able to operate the equipment, repair it, keep it operational and completely develop its potential. At the same time, while it is in operation they must advance in obtaining knowledge and raising their level of technology and management to the point where they can use this foundation to reproduce the item and improve it. In order to accelerate the reproduction process, when the item is imported we must consider purchasing the patent rights to the plans, technology and equipment. Although this is somewhat more expensive, it saves time and adds to our self-reliance.

In importing technology it is important to consider its advancement and dependability and to import advanced technology that is easily industrialized. But we must watch out for technology that seems dependable and safe but when ready for production is actually not so very advanced. Therefore, after raising our own technological level we will have a strong need to import the most modern technology of experimental laboratories. This will be beneficial in accelerating our progress and raising our self-reliance capability.

After learning advanced technology and making developments and refinements, it is important to strengthen scientific research. If we only import and do no research, and only know how but not why, we will not be able to increase our self-reliance, and the significance of importing advanced technology will be lost. Japan, Germany and other industrially advanced nations emphasize importing technology and conducting scientific research. Whenever they import any new technology they concentrate their research strength on absorbing, improving and elevating it in order to "nationalize" it, sometimes reaching the goal of being able to export it. Their experience is a worthy example. We must coordinate our actual national conditions, organize our forces, energetically develop our study of the importation of science and technology, give full play to the economic impact of importing technology and increase our self-reliance capability.

Learning from foreign nations and importing technology is not a stopgap measure but is a firm policy we will implement over the years. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "It is not only during the First Five-Year Plan that we need to learn from others; even after several tens of five-year plans we still must learn from others. Learn for 10,000 years. What is wrong with that?" ("On the Ten Great Relationships") Our economy and science are backward, and to change this situation we must learn from foreign nations and import advanced technology. In the future, when our technology is advanced, to make further progress we must still learn from foreign nations and import advanced technology. This is the only road to economic and technological development.

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BRING THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUALS INTO FULL PLAY DURING THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 31-35

[Article by Chen Wuyu [7115 0710 1946]]

[Text] Our party, Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai and the senior generation of revolutionaries have always paid serious attention to and valued the intellectuals. They looked with extreme attention on the development of the role of the intellectuals in the revolution and the reconstruction efforts. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party our broad masses of intellectuals, whether in the new democratic revolutionary period or in the period of socialist revolution and reconstruction, have all played an important role. We have now entered a new period of development. The focus of all party work has begun to shift to socialist modernization. Moreover, there is a need to increase the pace of the four modernizations. This formidable and monumental historical task is confronting the worker class and all people of the entire nation. To complete this duty we must depend on the positive efforts not only of the broad masses of workers and peasants but also of the great army of mental workers in the worker class--the intellectuals. This means depending on the close, undivided cooperation of the physical and mental workers. In this relationship it is especially important to develop the role of the intellectuals.

The main task of the four modernizations is to greatly develop the social productive forces. What does this depend on? This does not depend on handicraft productive forces or on human wave tactics, but on knowledge, culture and advanced science and technology. Science and technology are productive forces, and knowledge is strength. The real proof of the rocketlike rate of development of the productive forces in the modern world is that knowledge is a potential and spiritual productive force and is increasingly being transformed into a realistic material productive force. The raising of the rate of labor productivity increasingly depends on developments in science and technology. Science and technology are the keystone of the four modernizations, and education is the basis of progress in science and technology. Our socialist nation has many superior conditions, but we are relatively backward in culture and

science and lack advanced science and technology to battle with the world of nature. Among the troops on our new Long March, the intellectuals, about 3 percent of the population, have comparatively more knowledge, culture and technology. If we are to carry out the four modernizations and advance our troops toward the world of nature, the intellectuals must become the core strength of the people and play a significant vanguard role by shouldering the militant duty of realizing the modernization of science and technology. If their present and future knowledge and abilities cannot be utilized, then there is no need to speak of the four modernizations, and the new Long March will not take even one step forward. The obligation of today's intellectuals to study is important, and they must be sincere students. However, they cannot be students alone--they must also be teachers, teachers of the workers, peasants, cadres and other laborers. They must help these laborers become intellectualized. They must shoulder the heavy historical burden of raising all the Chinese people's scientific and cultural levels. In the long period ahead we especially must introduce into our self-sustaining base advanced foreign technology and equipment and must study advanced foreign science and technology. Today's intellectuals will play a linking role in these efforts. In one sense, without the intellectuals there will be no four modernizations. Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out, "Giving full play to the role of the intellectuals is very important in accelerating the development of the scientific, cultural and educational activities and in building a modern, powerful socialist state."

The urgent and formidable nature of carrying out the four modernizations demands that the role and positiveness of the intellectuals be utilized, and this means fully and completely utilized, not in just a general fashion. It will not be easy to fully and completely utilize the intellectuals, as there are many difficulties and great obstacles to overcome.

At present there is an urgent need to eliminate the evil results and influences created for the intellectuals by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At the same time we must correct misunderstandings and errors regarding the intellectuals that occurred in our work during the past years. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turned the dictatorship against the intellectuals with vicious oppression and cruel attacks, and Chinese intellectuals suffered unprecedented depredations. At the Xi'an [6007 1344] Communications University, the professors who suffered direct abuse (including those killed) totaled one-fourth of the entire faculty. We must liberate our thinking, make historical and concrete analyses of problems, and make well-meaning corrections of the unjust, mistaken and false cases. Because of inadequate knowledge of the important role of the intellectuals, and because of the remnant poisons of the "gang of four," a portion of the masses, especially some leading cadres, looked prejudicially on the intellectuals with fear, contempt and discrimination. We must sincerely make educational efforts to eliminate chaos and return to the correct path, liquidate remnant poisons and eradicate prejudice.

There are those comrades who believe that intellectuals "can only be used and cannot be depended upon." Although they do not openly say they believe that "all intellectuals are 'bourgeois,'" nonetheless, deep inside they believe there is something fishy about intellectuals, that they are undependable. They have closed their eyes to the fundamental change that has already taken place among Chinese intellectuals. The number of intellectuals has increased from 5 million in 1957 to 25 million today. Before 1957 the majority of intellectuals came from the old society, and their views were essentially those of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. There were many areas of life and work in which they were unsuited to the new system of the new society, but now these stances have been overcome. The great majority of today's 25 million intellectuals are middle-aged and young people raised under the party in our new society. In this school, for example, 7 percent of the teachers grew up in the old society, while the great majority grew up in the new society. Sixty-five percent come from worker families, and 36 percent are Communist Party members. Under the conditions of party education and the socialist system of public ownership, our school's broad masses of intellectuals earnestly love the party, socialism and their work, strive to serve the people, nourish many able people for the state, and make contributions to the party's educational work and scientific research. The broad masses of intellectuals, whether of our school or of the entire nation, have already become the intellectuals of the worker class and cannot be separated from the ranks of the workers. During the last 10 years, no matter how the counterrevolutionaries Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cruelly humiliated and oppressed them, they consistently and wholeheartedly remained loyal to the party and to socialism in resisting the counterrevolutionary line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" by bravely struggling and earnestly performing their tasks. Conditions were extremely difficult between 1974 and 1976 when the "gang of four" ran wild, but our school's broad ranks of teachers firmly performed their educational tasks and, moreover, completed 144 important research projects. Intellectuals such as these are so very capable and valuable! This clarifies how they, with clear conscience, have become an important part of the worker class and are of value to our party and the nation.

Some of our comrades are still captives of the perverse theory of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that "intellectuals are the social foundation for the restoration of capitalism." The eradication of such prejudice is no simple task, as it links knowledge with the bourgeoisie and ignorance with the proletariat. There is an obvious error in making the possession and degree of knowledge a standard for determining social class. In truth, the intellectuals do have certain ideological weaknesses, but these can be overcome through party education, and they certainly are no foundation for restoring the old society. Some people point to the number of technicians and engineers among the Soviet revisionists' leadership and argue that intellectual leadership will lead to revisionism. Actually, they did not become revisionists because of intellectual leadership but rather because the Soviet party came under the control of a bunch

ambitious, conspiratorial, doubledealing bourgeoisie. Some comrades now worry about having close contacts and relationships with intellectuals. They are afraid that people will say they have the stench of surrender and are afraid of being converted by the intellectuals and losing their "proletarian aroma" of leadership. Actually, what is wrong with befriending intellectuals, learning something and becoming a knowledgeable person? How could Communist Party members ever fear knowledge? After smashing the "gang of four" the party Central Committee, led by Comrade Hua Guofeng, again removed the hat of "bourgeoisie" from the intellectuals in recognition that they are a part of the worker class and are a supporting strength of the party. Upon being liberated the intellectuals showed their gratitude by standing tall and going to work. At this time some people said, "The intellectuals are wagging their tails again." They seemed to be putting on the airs of a boxing master in correcting people. As they see things, intellectuals can only descend to hell and can never rise to heaven, are only foul and never fair, are always out of luck and never in tune. The intellectuals have only just now resumed expressing opinions and working bravely, and what is wrong with that? Because intellectuals have some knowledge and are somewhat more sensitive and ideologically liberated, they always have a vanguard and linking role. Is it not true that letting them express opinions and work bravely are a necessity for the prosperity of our socialist efforts? If they dare to speak and are motivated to work, what is this talk about a wagging tail? And isn't it wagging nicely? As for leading cadres, the present need is to change that harsh attitude that sees the intellectuals as having many faults and few advantages and even sees their advantages and strong points as faults and weaknesses. We should respect the intellectuals and their efforts. We have not adequately estimated or sufficiently promoted the important role of the intellectuals in the new age. We must boldly and broadly promote the role of the intellectuals. We must select, nourish and employ them, sending those who are politically strong and professionally competent to increase the ranks of leading groups in culture, science, industry and other undertakings, and give full play to the talents of the intellectuals in leadership and management. Some comrades are frightened of the "expert line" hat and create opposition to the party leadership and the mass line on dependence on expertise. These actually are mutually supplementary and complementary. These experts became so on the basis of their summing up the experiences of the masses in the three great revolutionary struggles. To depart from this base would be like a well without water or a tree without roots. Without the intellectuals the real experiences of the masses cannot be summed up and elevated into rational understanding. Marxism was created by a summation of Marx and Engels of the experiences of the worker movement and by a critical extension of the totality of mankind's knowledge. Experts are those among the masses possessing the most experience and knowledge. We now often speak of carrying out construction according to economic rules, but without reliance on the intellectuals, who are so steeped in such rules, how can these efforts succeed? Both construction and revolution need professional leadership. This so-called professional

leadership only calls for the leader to be relatively more competent and knowledgeable in his area of leadership, not to have mastery of all knowledge. Actually, many of the old cadres from the people's revolution period were not only knowledgeable about culture but also were political, military and foreign affairs experts, which is to say that they were authorities in politics, military affairs and foreign affairs. It has been publicly acknowledged that in the socialist revolution and construction periods many old revolutionaries also became experts and professionals in socialist revolution and construction. Today these older experts in revolution and construction are leading us on a new Long March with the full trust of the people. They fulfill this leadership role with a clear conscience. However, we clearly see that, because class struggle was for many years the central issue of our work, some leading cadres have not truly become professionals in leading our economic construction. Some of them consider themselves nonprofessionals, glory in their vulgarity, eat their fill every day and never use their minds. Such conditions are not suitable for the demands of speedy development of the national economy and must be quickly improved. One emergency method of remedying this situation would be to deploy the intellectuals suitable for leadership work to groups at all levels. Experts from the worker class should be chosen and deployed to the leading groups, to fulfill, under the leadership of the party committees, the roles of controlling the factories, schools and institutes. The class significance of this is fundamentally different from the theory of "experts ruling the country" that the bourgeoisie advocated in the power struggle 20 years ago. The original leading cadres must modestly ask them to be teachers; they must learn from each other and select what is right and correct what is at fault. They must permit them to have jurisdiction, authority and responsibility in the collective leadership and division of labor. Cadres who do not understand their professions must have self-awareness, awareness of others and awareness of people's capabilities. They must be determined to acquire culture, science and knowledge and strive to become professionals within 3 to 5 years. Intellectuals who join leadership groups generally should not give up their original positions and should continue to give more than half their time to them. Many of our school's department-level and office-level cadres had strong political and professional qualifications in the early days of liberation, but because they then fulfilled leadership positions and no longer worked at their professions, they made no more progress in their fields, not to mention achieving any professional accomplishments. We must absorb this lesson and must not again permit professionals to lose their capabilities and become ignorant of new developments in science.

One must take note of the special features of mental work to effectively and gradually improve the working and living conditions of the intellectuals and permit them to concentrate their energies and employ their expertise. For a long time now, under the perverse theories spread by the "gang of four," the people have held the muddled view that the working and living conditions of the intellectuals were unimportant, that

there should be equality without exception in livelihood, for otherwise the intellectuals would rise to special status, would become "intellectual aristocrats," and there would be enlarged differences between mental work and physical labor. Such muddled views must be eliminated. According to the historical explanation of social development, the distinction between physical labor and mental work is the result of the stage of development of the productive forces, and this division of labor speeds up the advancement of the productive forces. The division of labor generates the differences, and these can be eliminated only under the highly developed productive methods of the communist stage of development. In the socialist stage such distinctions cannot be avoided. Only by accepting these differences and utilizing their help in speeding up the development of the productive forces can we create the possibility of eliminating such conditions. If we let the intellectuals spend all their time performing simple physical labor, the conditions cannot be eliminated and society will certainly retrogress. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" lifted the "very, very highest revolutionary" banners in humiliating the intellectuals, to the point that they were unable to carry out mental work, which brought great losses to the nation's scientific and technological development. In restoring order and correcting this error we must rely on the intellectuals and give the fullest play to their intelligence and talents. It is a matter of course that their social standing be elevated and that they have political rights and benefits equal to those of the workers and peasants. Those that qualify should be brought into the Communist Party. Because of their special situation as mental workers, consideration should be given to their working and living conditions. This in no way means a special status, as the intellectuals themselves will not become intellectual aristocrats because of this. The intellectual aristocracy began with separation of the intellectuals from the production struggle and from scientific experimentation and was not a difference in livelihood produced by the normal division of labor into physical labor and mental work which is found in the socialist period of historical development. What are the special features of mental work? Generally speaking, it is complex, difficult, creative work and is not a simple repetitive task. Because of this, mental workers sometimes must work uninterruptedly night and day. Sometimes they must study and continually supplement and accumulate knowledge. Their work and study cannot be separated. At the same time they need the support of workers, experimenters and other administrative personnel. In view of this, we feel that the tendency to regard intellectuals in the same way as the general worker should be quickly corrected. If intellectuals must do everything from collecting evidence, fetching materials and preparing equipment to running experiments, then they will not be able to quickly produce results. We ought to care for and develop the intellectuals' professional talent, reduce their nonprofessional work and let the teachers, scientific researchers, experimental technicians and workers form a team, each developing his own talents and all cooperating together. The intellectuals generally feel that this is the most important point in improving their working conditions.

Because of the special features of mental work, we must properly organize the intellectuals to carry out self-study and solve the problem of increasing their knowledge. Our 25 million intellectuals are more than adequate to handle internal matters, but they lack adequate scientific knowledge to complete the four modernizations. If we do not quickly raise their scientific and cultural levels, they will not be able to absorb advanced foreign science and technology and speedily overtake the rest of the world in making progress. In our school, for example, the core strength of scientific research lacks sufficient understanding of new foreign developments in theory, technology, craftsmanship and methodology. The broad ranks of intellectuals must put forth strenuous efforts, undergo a period of intense work and greatly raise their professional levels before they can fulfill the requirements for making great progress. Therefore, the creation of study conditions for intellectuals and the organization of professional studies should be seen as a strategic task. At present the government's arrangement for a small number of intellectuals to study abroad is a wise measure. Another problem to be solved is that of advancing the work and study efforts of the great majority of people, clarifying their work duties, matching the task with the individual, giving necessary examinations, qualifying exams and promotions according to schedule, and solving the problems of the intellectuals in obtaining library materials and research equipment for their work and study.

We must implement the principle of "to each according to his work" in order to raise the salary level of the intellectuals. We should treat the efforts of the intellectuals in the same way we treat the efforts of other workers and sincerely implement the policy of "to each according to his work." This will overcome the phenomenon that it makes no difference whether one works or does not work, works more or works less, or works well or works poorly. This then will be a step forward in stimulating the intellectuals' enthusiasm. At present the income of a majority of the intellectuals is somewhat low and does not suit the principle of "to each according to his work." This is especially true of the middle-aged intellectuals. They are the core strength of teaching and scientific research and shoulder a heavy burden. Their livelihood burdens are also heavy, and for a long time they have been underpaid, which is quite unreasonable. These people ought to have a relatively greater increase in their salaries in order to compensate them for their exhausting labors, decrease their economic burdens and their livelihood problems and give full play to their motivation and creativity. The principle of "to each according to his work" is a prerequisite to recognition of the existence of differences, and this encompasses the differences between physical labor and mental work. We are of course opposed to excessive differences in the income of physical laborers and mental workers. However, failure to recognize the differences between simple and complex work and failure to recognize that mental workers are paid lower wages than physical laborers is contrary to the principles of socialism. In truth, under a socialist system the compensation of

mental workers is different from that under a capitalist system, because the state pays the expenses, so the results of creative work should not belong to the individual. At present the contribution of the intellectuals is relatively great. This cannot be separated from their personal efforts and hard work (including their expenditure of accumulated knowledge), so it is both right and reasonable to raise their salaries.

We must firmly carry out educational democracy and implement the policy of "letting one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend." Among the intellectuals, in addition to carrying out educational democracy, there should also be political democracy. Without the freedom to debate and discuss, creative views in education will be smothered, the creative aspect of mental work will not be carried out and science will cease to progress. This is also why intellectuals value educational democracy. Educational and political democracy are related; without the latter the former could hardly exist. Educational problems should of course be separated from political problems, but sometimes they are hard to distinguish. Intellectuals should be permitted to speak out on political problems, and if their political views are wrong, as long as they are not antiparty or conspiratorial, the "three nots" (not seizing on other's faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick) should apply. Only in this fashion will political life have a vital ideology and broad avenues of communication and elicit the constructive suggestions of the intellectuals. In teaching and in scientific research, giving full play to educational democracy and opening scholarly debate will increase the prosperity and development of educational and scientific endeavors.

The party Central Committee led by Comrade Hua Guofeng has made a series of important and correct decisions regarding intellectuals. Now it is up to the leaders at every level to eliminate obstacles, smash the forbidden areas and firmly put these decisions into practice. Then the situation will be like that described by Comrade Zhou Enlai in his "Report on the Problem of the Intellectuals." He said: "After we have made our effort, the intellectuals will advance to unify under the party, and, moreover, they will willingly contribute even more of their strength to our great socialist enterprises." "There is no doubt that in a short time we can build our country into a completely modernized and powerful socialist industrial nation. In this short time we can also realize Comrade Mao Zedong's great appeal, 'We shall bring forth a highly cultured nation on the face of the earth.'"

11582

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IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF 'LETTING A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOOM AND A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND' AND DEVELOP DEMOCRACY IN ART

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[Article by Fang Ming [2455 7686] of the Ministry of Culture]

[Text] "Letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the only correct method of enhancing the prosperity and development of socialist literature and art. Now our country is in a new historical stage which is centered around the realization of the four modernizations. Tremendous revolutionary changes will take place in the socialist economy, in politics and in ideology and culture. In such a situation it is particularly necessary to resolutely implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," develop democracy in art and enable literature and art to prosper rapidly in order to keep pace with the progress in real life and to strive for the promotion of our country's socialist modernization and for the completion of the general task of the new period.

I

Comrade Mao Zedong once directly formulated his policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" as an "opening wide" policy. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate; it means not being afraid of wrong views and anything poisonous; it means encouraging argument and criticism among people holding different views, allowing freedom both for criticism and for counter-criticism; it means not suppressing wrong views but convincing people by reasoning with them." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Thus, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is also a policy of developing democracy among the people. In the cause of literature and art, it calls for developing democracy in art among the people. Some 30 years ago, in talking about the characteristics of the new democratic art, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "This type of new democratic culture belongs to the public and is

therefore democratic." ("On New Democracy") Socialist literature and art means democratic literature and art.

In our country the division between mental labor and manual labor has not yet been eliminated. Writers and artists who are mental laborers are the people who are primarily responsible for art production. Implementing the "opening wide" policy in literature and art means giving writers and artists sufficient democratic rights, opening wide their trends of thought, opening wide their talents and opening wide their opportunities to speak, thereby enabling them to freely carry out their practice in art and to make use of literary and art forms to express their views and opinions about life. This right of theirs should be respected by the party and the people and should be protected by the state. The constitution passed at the Fifth National People's Congress included the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in its general program and acknowledged it as a component of the body of basic laws of the state. This was of great significance in developing democracy in art and in prospering the literary and art cause. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Internally, suppressing freedom, suppressing the people's criticisms of errors and shortcomings of the state and government and suppressing free discussion in academic circles are criminal acts." ("Refuting 'Unanimous Public Opinion'") Similarly, writers and artists should enjoy the democratic right of using literary and art forms to affirm and laud correct and revolutionary events in life, as well as to expose and criticize backward and reactionary events in life, including criticism of shortcomings and errors in our work. Nobody should suppress this right. The party and state will not brook any act of suppressing this right. Even when the opinions and views expressed are not all-round and correct enough or are even erroneous, we should find solution through the method of democratic debate, through criticism and self-criticism in a comradely manner, and encourage corrections and find solutions through practice in literature and art. We must not employ the method of finishing people off with a single blow. Literary and art creation is a kind of creative labor. It calls for the artistic pen to continuously explore new realms of life and continuously occupy new vistas of understanding. Thus, it is difficult and even impossible to avoid mistakes in literary and art creation. We only ask that one make as few mistakes as possible and in particular avoid making big mistakes involving principle, and that one correct mistakes and correct them as soon as possible. The "gang of four" undermined the socialist legal system, trampled on democracy in art, adopted the cudgel policy instead of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and pursued cultural dictatorship in literary and art circles. They would freely use their cudgels on anyone who failed to suit their taste, to such a serious extent as to bring about injuries and deaths, destroying their enemies' kinsmen and neighboring villages. Comrade Mao Zedong once sternly rebuked the "gang of four" for their cudgel policy: "No one is allowed to voice opinions," "any slight error will be criticized" and "letting a hundred flowers bloom has disappeared!"

The "gang of four" resisted progress and told us, by their negative example, that allowing the expression of different opinions, allowing the expression of erroneous opinions and allowing the correction of erroneous opinions through practice are important questions of implementing the "opening wide" policy and of developing democracy in art. By contrast, allowing no mistakes to be made and seizing others by their braids and finishing them off with a single blow because of some slight mistake were tantamount to restricting speech, turning the "opening wide" policy into a "restricting" policy and turning democracy in art into dictatorship in art. At the forum for literary and art workers and the conference on the creation of film stories in 1961, Comrade Zhou Enlai criticized the then current erroneous view that one must incline toward the "left" rather than toward the right. He pointed out: "The problem now is one of labeling people haphazardly. An erroneous sentence or an erroneous thought, even different kinds of assertions and thoughts which originally were permitted and which coincide with letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, are now regarded as poisonous weeds and heresies. This is wrong. One must be more discreet in using the cudgel on others. Even though a person may be wrong, we must permit him to correct his mistakes if he is willing to do so and give him time if he cannot do it immediately. We must not dismiss people from the party haphazardly; that is an indiscreet method." In this famous speech Comrade Zhou Enlai repeatedly emphasized the creation of a lively political scene in literary and art circles. At present the literary and art workers have just been emancipated from the fascist cultural dictatorship of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some still have lingering fear and are not bold enough to carry out practice in art. This is extremely unfavorable to bringing prosperity to literature and art. With lingering fear they not only are afraid of making mistakes, since mistakes are unavoidable for anyone, but are primarily afraid of being finished off with a single blow once they make a mistake. Thus, to change this state we must thoroughly readjust the party's literary and art policies which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" undermined, replace their cudgel policy, resolutely implement the "opening wide" policy and develop democracy in art.

In implementing the "opening wide" policy and developing democracy in art we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and practice the "three nots policy" of not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. The "opening wide" policy gives the right to democracy in art to the people and not to the enemies of the people. But sometimes counterrevolutionary statements do not appear in the guise of counterrevolution but in all forms of disguise. So we have to let them "open wide" so as to make it convenient for us to identify and struggle against them. Thus, what follows is the problem of how to strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the

classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all fall within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." This is the only criterion for distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions. The six political criteria of Comrade Mao Zedong are the criteria for distinguishing between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. Fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds are but symbolic representations. There are idealism and metaphysics among the people, and there are poisonous weeds, too. By nature they are all problems among the people. We should not regard all poisonous weeds as contradictions between the enemies and ourselves. We must be very discreet in distinguishing between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, strictly adhere to the six political criteria which Comrade Mao Zedong formulated and avoid confusing the problem of art with the problem of politics. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the necessity to be particularly discreet in handling problems in the mental world. Whether a work is a poisonous weed does not depend on only one man's view. A political conclusion or an administrative decree is definitely not an effective solution to an artistic problem in literary and art creation. The problem should be solved through free discussions held among the literary and art circles and should be solved through practice in art.

II

In implementing the "opening wide" policy and developing democracy in art we must emancipate the thinking of writers and artists and enable them to boldly and freely create under the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Literary and art creation is a form of mental productive activity. Whether thinking is liberated is intimately related to whether creation can prosper. The reality of literary and art creation shows that a period of prosperity in literature and art is usually a period of mental exuberance; that a successful writer must be a pathbreaker in the ideological emancipation of a given historical period. If there had not been a progressive ideological emancipation movement during the "4 May" period, a proletarian literature and art would not have arisen in our country. If during the "5 April" movement of 1976 there had been no heroes courageously challenging the "gang of four," who were still exercising their tyranny at the time, there would be no rare and touching "poems of Tiananmen." On the contrary, literature and art under the rule of the "gang of four" consisted, in addition to a bunch of conspiratorial literary and art works, of a flood of formalistic and generalized, rigid literary and art works. Such a state was the result of their fascist cultural dictatorship and prohibition policies. In contrast to the dull state when the "gang of four" dominated the cultural arena, a group of outstanding literary and art works, such as

"The Song of the Medical Workers," "Head Teacher" and "Amidst the Silence," which expressed the wish and aspiration of the masses of people and profoundly portrayed the essence of life, appeared successively during the short period after the four pests were eliminated. This was the result of the call of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng to combine theory with practice and the proposition of the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act, which greatly emancipated the thinking of literary and art workers. Although works of this kind are still few in number, they signify the dawn of the development toward the prospering of our country's socialist literature and art. We can see that promoting prosperity in literature and art through ideological emancipation is a logical manifestation of the development of literary and art creation.

In emancipating thinking we must persevere in the principle of the theory of materialist reflection, making literary and art creation proceed from real life, and must oppose all subjective forbidden zones and prohibition orders over literary and art creation. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" decided on prisons and set forbidden zones for literary and art creation and laid down both written and unwritten rules: One must not write about tragedies in life, one must not write about sacrifices of heroic figures, one must not write about disasters caused by war, one must not write about the transformation of backward and middle-of-the-road figures, one must not write about contradictions among the people, one must not write about proletarian filial feelings, love between men and women and friendship between comrades. There were countless taboos of this sort. At that time, as to what to write and what not to write, one did not proceed from the reality of life or from the needs of the masses, but only from the likes and dislikes of the "gang of four."

Literary and art creation must proceed from life. This is the concrete application of the theory of materialist reflection in artistic creation and is the demand of the orientation toward workers, peasants and soldiers. Manifested in the problem of the creation of a theme, this principle allows a variety of themes, with the writing of the theme of the current revolution in the main, particularly the reflection of the three great revolutionary movements in the socialist period, but attaches importance to historical themes and other themes. Writers and artists who want to emancipate their thinking should persevere in proceeding from life, break through all forms of forbidden zones which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" set up on the problem of theme, freely choose their own themes and freely undertake creation.

In his famous "Party Organization and Party Literature," Lenin pointed out that the proletarian cause in literature "should become a part of the entire proletarian cause." At the same time he emphatically pointed out: "Indisputably, it is impossible to conduct a mechanistic balance, unification and subordination of the minority to the majority in the cause of literature. Indisputably, in this cause, it is absolutely

necessary to guarantee individual creativity and an individually preferred wide domain, a wide prospect for thinking, imagination, form and content." These two "indisputable" instructions of Lenin were aimed at the characteristics of literature and art, but in them was included the thinking that writers and artists should have the freedom to choose their own themes as well as the freedom to create. Lenin held that the party's literature was precisely the really free literature and a literature that served thousands and tens of thousands of laboring people. The needs of thousands and tens of thousands of laboring people in cultural life definitely are not monotonous and poor, but are multifarious and rich. In particular, in our socialist country, with the development of the socialist revolution and the expansion of the scale of socialist construction, the broad masses of people have greatly raised their ideological consciousness and scientific and cultural levels. The laboring people of Russia some 70 years ago and the workers, peasants and soldiers of the base areas during our country's period of democratic revolution cannot compare with them in any way. Their demand for the epistemological, educational and esthetic functions of literature and art is higher and even broader. We can see, therefore, that the freedom of writers and artists to choose their own themes and to undertake creation is not in conflict with the orientation of literature and art toward the workers, peasants and soldiers. Rather, it is the new change in the audience whom literature and art serve today that provides the writers and artists with an immensely broad place to display their energies in their practice of art and provides them with the freedom to create, just as "the fish is allowed to swim in the broad seas and the birds are allowed to fly in the wide sky."

Comrade Mao Zedong once passionately made such a call to literary and art workers: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work." These five "alls" proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong also affirmed the sufficient freedom which writers and artists have in the choice of their theme and in creation.

Undoubtedly, our literature and art should strive to describe the militant life of workers, peasants and soldiers and intellectuals and portray heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers and intellectuals. However, the boundlessly abundant real life provides extremely broad living materials for literary and art creation.

To satisfy the needs of the many aspects of a proper spiritual life of workers, peasants and soldiers, we not only can write about progressive

figures but also write about middle-of-the-road figures, backward figures, class enemies and even the sabotage and disasters they caused in our lives. Just as Gorki said, we can even write about the "process by which heroes become slaves." This is because "this process has its 'existing position' in our unsettled times." ("On Literature," p 14) Is it possible that we do not have instances like this in our real life today? Is it possible that these instances are not educational and beneficial to the broad masses in understanding the actual class struggle? As long as we take the stand of the proletariat and the masses of people and persevere in the principle of the party nature in literature, we should not be restricted in any way in respect to the creation of a theme. Practice of the past few years shows that only by penetrating into life and producing facts in real life and facts in accordance with the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers can we ultimately smash the verbiage, nonsense, curses and forbidden zones of the "gang of four" in literary and art creation.

In emancipating thinking we must firmly ask cultural departments, literary and art units, party members and leading cadres at various levels to emancipate their thinking. We must not place guards at every level and put up barricades everywhere. We must boldly implement the "opening wide" policy and not concern ourselves solely with passive defense. This is the crux of the problem. Some comrades, having read a few literary and art works exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," held that they were "literature of exposure" and expressed all kinds of worries. We must say that the mainstream of the entire literary and art creation at present is good; the mainstream of some literary and art works exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is also good. They proceed from real life, put forward questions which the broad masses are concerned about and therefore win the warm welcome of the broad masses. This is the result of the emancipation of the mind. We can solve problems of unhealthy sentiments and dull plots of individual works through normal free discussions in literary and art circles. There is no need to make a fuss about that. We must have faith that the great majority of the broad masses of literary and art workers are good. Through repeated political movements and ideological struggles, in particular through the tempering of the struggle to smash Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they have greatly raised their ideological consciousness and their ability to comprehend life. The broad masses of literary and art workers are reliable. We should encourage them to boldly and freely undertake literary and art creation.

III

The question of implementing the "opening wide" policy and developing democracy in art is actually a question of how to do things in accordance with the laws of art.

Possessing a particular ideological form, literature and art are distinguished from other ideological forms in that their basic characteristic is to reflect life through thinking in images and not through reasoning. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "In serving politics, literature and art can express ideas only through figures of speech and through thinking in terms of images." Thinking in terms of images manifests people's "artistic grasp" of life and therefore abides by the general laws of mankind's cognition. But this method of thinking embraces the characteristics of imagination and feeling, because, in abstracting life, it does not depart from the premise of concrete and individual images. Its task is to extract from and concentrate the common essence of the concrete and individual images of life and reflect the essence of life in a typical, which is also a higher, form. The creation of artistic images is both realistic and idealistic and is based on objective life as well as on the artist's imagination. Literary and art works composed of artistic images are products of a kind of mental activity. Viewed individually, these works must have their own uniqueness, or else there is no need for their existence; and viewed together, these works must have diversity, or else their uniqueness is canceled. Literary and art works precisely reflect, through a variety of themes, genres, styles and forms, the infinitely broad and continuously changing real life, so as to suit the needs of hundreds of thousands of people for a diverse cultural life.

Thus, in the light of this characteristic, literature and art need democracy and freedom all the more and permit no mechanistic oneness and arbitrary control.

It is totally wrong to exaggerate the characteristics of literature and art, presume that this cognitive tool can be divorced from the general law of man's cognition and from the general world outlook of Marxism, and presume that it can be divorced from the party's leadership. But it is likewise wrong to ignore the characteristics of literature and art, presume that the Marxist theory of cognition not only includes but can substitute for the creative theory of literature and art, and presume that the party, in assuming leadership over literature and art creation, can disregard the characteristics and laws of development of literature and art.

It was precisely on the basis of the recognition of the basic characteristics of literature and art that Marx angrily rebuked the censorship of Prussian books and the press: "It is wrong to designate a certain temperament to the examiners as well as to designate a certain style to the writers." Using the example that one could not demand that the rose and the violet give off the same fragrance, he sternly pointed out that literature and art were the spiritual products of the richest things in the world and should not be confined to "a certain existing mode." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 8 & 7) Based on a similar understanding, just as we stated above, in putting forward the principle of the party nature in literature and art Lenin used emphatic

expressions such as "indisputably" and "absolutely necessary" to point out the necessity of guaranteeing writers and artists their individual creativity, personal preference, thinking and imagination and the freedom to choose their own forms and content. In 1942 Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Under the general principle of uniting in resisting Japan, we should permit and include literary and art works manifesting different political attitudes" and "should permit free competition among the various art works." In April 1951 Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the famous inscription: "Letting a hundred flowers bloom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new." Later, in 1957, he put forward the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." He pointed out: "Different forms and styles of art should develop freely, and different schools of science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") These instructions of Comrade Mao Zedong not only fully affirmed and evaluated the meaning of individual uniqueness and diversity in literature and art, but more importantly they further explained the characteristics of literature and art on the basis of the materialist dialectic method of unity of opposites and creatively pointed out, on the basis of the Marxist theory of literature and art, that the laws of development of literature and art embodied the course of historical development in the comparison and contention, conflict and struggle among different literary and art forms and contents themselves. Thus, the reason the "opening wide" policy is the only correct policy for prospering and developing socialist literature and art is that, fundamentally speaking, it correctly reflects art itself as well as the laws of its development. It provides the guidance for us to continually push ahead from the inevitable kingdom of literature and art to their free kingdom. Guided by this principle, developing democracy in art is precisely doing things in accordance with the laws of art.

The "gang of four" ignored the characteristics of literature and art and the laws of their development. They used administrative measures to solve the problems in art, carrying these to the extremes of a fascist cultural dictatorship. In the manner of a high and mighty judge of art, they arbitrarily pushed the theory of "basic tasks," the "three prominent" principle and a whole set of "model works." They arbitrarily pushed the policy of "homogeneity in art" and imposed restrictions on the themes, genres, styles and forms in literary and art creation. They not only used administrative measures to promote one style and one viewpoint and to forbid other styles and viewpoints, but also employed dictatorial measures to sanction and suppress those people whose ideas differed from the gang's style and viewpoint. During the period they dominated the leadership of literary and art circles, so many people were deprived of their right to carry out literary and art creation and theoretical research, were deprived of their political life, or were searched,

arrested and even put to death because they explored a problem in literary and artistic theory, explored a new form of expression and practiced a new artistic style. Indeed, the net thrown over literature was so large that no one could escape it. They created the largest "inferno of letters" in the history of our country. Because the "gang of four" trampled on the laws of literature and art, they were inevitably punished. When the four pests were running rampant, they drove literature and art to the verge of desperation and creative work into a cul-de-sac. They themselves could not avoid defeat.

The hundred flowers of socialist literature and art thrive on the soil of democracy and in the atmosphere of freedom. As long as we resolutely implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," do things in accordance with the laws of art, boldly liberate our thinking and implement democracy in art, the spring in which a more prosperous blossoming of a hundred flowers of socialist literature and art will arrive.

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CRITICIZING YAO WENYUAN'S 'COMMENTS ON THE "THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE"'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 41-48

[Article by Su Shuangbi [5685 7175 4310]]

[Text] In May 1966 the journal RED FLAG carried "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" this big poisonous weed which alien class element Yao Wenyuan dished out in Shanghai's WEN BUI BAO and LIBERATION DAILY. If we say that Yao Wenyuan's "Comments on the New Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office'" was a counterrevolutionary signal of the usurpation of party and state power, then "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village'" was a counterrevolutionary mobilization call for turning the whole nation into a mess. This group of bourgeois careerists, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," thought that the day the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began would be the ripe moment for them to usurp party and state power. On the one hand they vehemently created counter-revolutionary public opinion. On the other hand they usurped the leadership of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a planned and systematic manner. The whole set of criminal activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power thereafter could almost be heard and seen in this sinister article "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village.'"

A Big Political Conspiracy

"Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" were thoughts and realizations of writers through assiduous reading during their spare time. "Evening Chats at Yanshan" was written by Comrade Deng Tuo, and "Notes From Three-Family Village" were written jointly by Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Liao Mosha. Their aim was to let each essay stand by itself and not to discuss the essays in a collective manner. Yao Wenyuan's "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" however, claimed with certainty that "'Evening Chats at Yanshan' and 'Notes From Three-Family Village' closely followed 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office' and were an antiparty and antisocialist massive offensive which the 'three-family village' launched with a meticulous design, purpose, plan and organization." The spreading of such a lie was undoubtedly for the

purpose of weaving a net of crimes around the so-called "massive offensive." In this sinister article Yao Wenyuan employed the despicable methods of juggling black and white and creating something out of nothing, then linked these miscellaneous essays individually with concrete political struggles and attacked them accordingly. The extent of his viciousness made people's hair stand on end.

Comrade Peng Dehuai was an outstanding party member, a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation and a distinguished state and army leader. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only cruelly persecuted Comrade Peng Dehuai but also framed up charges everywhere against those who championed Comrade Peng Dehuai. Like "Comments on the New Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office,'" which was a frameup against Comrade Wu Han, "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village'" started out by linking "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" with the "case of the Lushan Meeting." Yao Wenyuan said that this "massive offensive" by the "three-family village" "aimed its spearhead at the Lushan Meeting." People know that in writing "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office" Comrade Wu Han was charged with the crime of crying out for justice on behalf of Comrade Peng Dehuai. As a result of acting in "Hai Rui Makes His Appeal," Comrade Zhou Xinfang was accused of boosting the morale of the "right opportunists." But then, how were "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village," which were not exclusively about Hai Rui, linked with the "case of the Lushan Meeting"? This is ridiculous. What happened was that, in a memorial article, Wu Han said that Yu Qian was "upright in character" and "modest in nature." These two phrases were seized upon by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who were accustomed to exercising their "linkup and frameup techniques." To them it was outrageous, because was not Peng Dehuai referred to as a person "upright in character" and "modest in nature"? So they passed their sentence, insisting that Wu Han's description of Yu Qian was an attempt to "'restore the reputation' of the right opportunists." This is downright absurdity. Does it mean that because Comrade Peng Dehuai was "upright in character" and "modest in nature" we therefore must abolish the phrases "upright in character" and "modest in nature" from the Chinese language? Otherwise, would it not mean that whoever used these two phrases would be accused of reversing the verdict for the so-called "right opportunists"?

Yao Wenyuan also seized upon another miscellaneous essay by Deng Tuo entitled "The Case of Chen Jiang and Wang Geng." In this article Deng Tuo at one point mentioned that "during the reign of the Empress Mingshu the officials of the Song government were growing daily more corrupt," which was why the case of Chen Jiang and Wang Geng was "aggravated." This alien class element Yao Wenyuan had long understood from Zhang Chunqiao the purport of "flattering Jiang Qing." So he seized upon Deng Tuo's criticism of "Empress Mingshu" and made a fuss about the issue, saying that Deng Tuo was "viciously cursing our party Central Committee" under the pretext of "attacking 'Empress Mingshu.'" This statement

betrayed the ambition of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power. How could the criticism of an "empress" of the Song dynasty be an attack on the party Central Committee? Obviously, Yao Wenyuan was identifying traitor Jiang Qing with "Empress Mingshu." Everyone knows that, prior to the appearance of this poisonous weed "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" Jiang Qing, who was adulated by Lin Biao, did not yet hold any important position in the party Central Committee. By interpreting the criticism of "Empress Mingshu" as an attack on the party Central Committee, did Yao Wenyuan not betray the barefaced attempt of the "gang of four" to bring chaos to the party Central Committee, seize power and then enthrone Jiang Qing as empress?

This executioner by the pen, Yao Wenyuan, was very vicious in weaving crimes. In "Evening Chats at Yanshan" he found an article entitled "The Prosperity and Decline of Two Temples." In this article the writer was only saying that, since the Yang family had nothing to do with the place Gubeikou, the repair of the temple of the Yang family was the outcome of a desire to carry on a family tradition, whereas the temple for Zhang in the foothills of Hunu Mountain was built for Zhang Kan of the Eastern Han dynasty, because Zhang "built some 8,000 hectares of rice-fields for Hunu." Today there are "still several villages which have grown rice since then" in the foothills of Hunu Mountain. What the writer originally intended was to affirm the contributions Zhang Kan made to this district and the need to remember him. At the same time he wanted to clarify some historical facts. He did not touch upon current politics. But this literary rascal Yao Wenyuan had the audacity to find something here in relation to the "case of the Lushan Meeting." He said that when Deng Tuo said that the temple of Zhang was in "decline" because "no one cared about it all along" "he was accusing us of ignoring the right opportunists." He insisted on saying that Deng Tuo's purpose was to "revive" the "fallen antiparty and antisocialist clay buddha." Such a strange and unjust accusation has not been heard in ages. Comments on the prosperity and decline of two ancient temples all of a sudden became attempts to reverse the "case of the Lushan Meeting." These groundless "linkup and frameup techniques" were indeed unprecedented and unsurpassable. As for Deng Tuo's article "A Defense of Li Sancai," because the article mentioned Li Sancai's appeal in opposition to the mining tax as well as his readiness to resign his official position, Yao Wenyuan changed resignation to "dismissal" and made a big fuss about it. He then linked it with "right opportunists" and said that Deng Tuo used Li Sancai as an example to "vehemently reverse verdicts for right opportunists." He weaved practically everything together. Why was writing about Li Sancai, this positive historical figure and "upright official," necessarily an attempt to reverse the "case of the Lushan Meeting"? This is preposterous.

The purpose of the "gang of four" in so despicably playing with the "linkup and frameup techniques" was certainly not only to topple Comrades Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Liao Mosha, but also to bring confusion to the

entire nation by criticizing the "three-family village." Yao Wenyuan did not hide this point. At the conclusion of this reactionary article "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" he barefacedly said: "We don't care whether they are 'great commanders' or 'authorities,' or three-family village or four-family village; we don't care what reputation and position they have, who instructed and supported them and how many people lauded them; we will expose them, criticize them and topple them." This belligerent mobilization call initiated a movement to unearth "three-family villages" and "four-family villages" throughout the country. By employing the same method of distortion, they were able to discover in various provinces the so-called "counterrevolutionary revisionist cliques" after the style of the "three-family village." The author of "Random Talks Through the Ages" in Shandong and the author of "Leisurely Talks About Yunnan" in Yunnan, as well as whoever had written miscellaneous essays, were criticized. Later on, even those in the government organs who studied painstakingly and showed concern for current affairs were dealt with on a par with the "three-family village." Thus, countless branches of the "three-family village" were found, from the party Central Committee to the localities, and, according to Yao Wenyuan, these branches of the "three-family village" attacked the party in an organized and planned manner. Through such a criminal accusation, how many thousands and tens of thousands of intellectuals throughout the country were thus implicated?

However, toppling a large group of intellectuals was not the only aim of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Behind their act of ferreting out the "three-family village" lay a specially big conspiracy. Before the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office," traitor Jiang Qing said: "Peng Zhen desperately defended Wu Han." Now, in "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" Yao Wenyuan vehemently asked: "Why was the three-family village able to carry out such frantic, vicious and impudent antiparty and antisocialist activities for several years?... Who was in command?" They claimed that they would "dig up the deepest roots." Obviously, these threatening questions were spearheads aimed directly at the leading comrades of the Peking municipal party committee and at seizing power from the Peking municipal party committee. As expected, not long after Yao Wenyuan issued his counterrevolutionary mobilization order, political swindler Chen Boda, in order to step up the pace of "bringing chaos to the whole nation," also put forward a belligerent slogan of "sweeping everything out." The leading members of the Peking municipal party committee were denounced as a "counterrevolutionary revisionist clique," and the organs of the Peking municipal party committee were denounced as the "old municipal party committee" which had to be "thoroughly smashed." Similarly, various provincial party committees and party committees of various departments were subjected to phony charges and toppled one by one. A majority of districts and units throughout the country lost the leadership of the party committee. Confusion on a nationwide scale began.

The Vicious Intention of Preventing the Leadership From Following the Mass Line and Grasping Knowledge

To usurp party and state power, an important key for the "gang of four" was to control public opinion, deprive the people of their democratic rights and forbid the masses of people to speak up. In "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village,'" Yao Wenyuan openly advocated the tyrant's way and claimed that he would exercise "blocking." In his article "The Royal Way and the Tyrant's Way," Deng Tuo wrote: "Even in ancient times the royal way was much better than the tyrant's way." What, then, was the royal way? The writer said: "It was an honest way of thinking, of proceeding from reality and of following the mass line; the so-called tyrant's way...was a loud and subjective way of insisting on one's own way." Whether this is a correct interpretation of the royal way and the tyrant's way is not our concern here, but it could be seen conspicuously and easily that the writer approved of the style of thinking that proceeded from reality and that followed the mass line, and that he opposed the loud and subjective way of thinking of insisting on one's own way. Seizing upon the words "insisting on one's own way," Yao Wenyuan made a big fuss, saying that this "was aimed precisely at our revolutionary line of the dictatorship of the proletariat." How could "insisting on one's own way" be linked with the "revolutionary line of the dictatorship of the proletariat"? Was this not the greatest slander against the dictatorship of the proletariat? Comrade Mao Zedong had all along advocated proceeding from reality and following the mass line. He said: "In all the practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.'" ("Some Questions Concerning the Methods of Leadership") Let us ask: Was what Deng Tuo approved of precisely what Comrade Mao Zedong advocated? What was wrong with it? That Deng Tuo opposed "insisting on one's own way"? Comrade Mao Zedong had all along opposed that, too. The "gang of four," however, resisted progress and trampled at will upon the party's democratic principles. They truly indulged in dictatorship and in "insisting on one's own way."

The "gang of four" openly advocated making dictatorial decisions and refused to listen to the masses' opinions. In his article "Is Wisdom Reliable?" Deng Tuo acutely criticized the kind of people who "wanted to know everything and possess infinite wisdom." He said that they were but "foolish men who indulged in daydreaming, for they could not attain it in practice." He said: "The so-called wit and wisdom could only come from practical knowledge. And the practical knowledge of any one person cannot be compared with the abundant practical knowledge of the broad masses." "The highest wisdom can only be produced from the masses." In expressing these assertions Deng Tuo cited the statements of some historical figures. Prime Minister Kang Heng of the Western Han dynasty said to Emperor Yuan of Han: "I've heard that consulting and following the multitude is often agreeable to heaven." Zheng Xing of the Eastern Han dynasty urged Liu Xiu to "seek advice from all sides and accept the suggestions of subordinates and the masses." Fan Yaofu of the Song

dynasty urged Sima Guang: "I hope my lord will with modesty consider the ideas of the masses and will not have to make your own decision. One's own decision is often welcomed by flatterers." In quoting these statements he merely wanted to say that man should not "show off his ability, fancy himself clever and look down on the masses" or "refuse to accept the good opinions of the masses from below." No matter to whom they were directed, these viewpoints were reasonable. However, with ulterior motives Yao Wenyuan gave prominence to the word "emperor" and said that Deng Tuo wanted the "emperor" to "seek advice from all sides." Of course, in a state where the dictatorship of the proletariat was practiced, there was no such thing as an "emperor." But if we substituted "state leader" for "emperor," then we should attach importance to and welcome Deng Tuo's proposal. If a state leader was ill informed, did not follow the mass line and did not listen to the real cries of the masses, then he could not fully represent the interest of the broad masses. And this style was precisely what Comrade Mao Zedong had all along opposed. He often educated the party's cadres to "take a little time to go among the masses and see what the masses are thinking about and doing, and find out advanced experiences from the masses and popularize them." ("Introductory Notes in 'The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside'") Comrade Mao Zedong also said that we should "painstakingly listen to the cries of the masses." ("On Coalition Government") Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deceived the higher levels and suppressed the lower levels and were most afraid of the real cries of the masses. They claimed that these opinions of Deng Tuo were "the worst ideas." But then, what was bad about them? Yao Wenyuan really could not say. So he held up a large cudgel and said that Deng Tuo meant by accepting the suggestions of subordinates and the masses was to "openly ask that the 'wisdom' of capitalist restoration be turned into the party's line." These were out-and-out malicious words. Why was listening to the masses' opinions equivalent to listening to the opinions on restoring capitalism? Does it mean that there were no "progressive" opinions, even though Comrade Mao Zedong said there were such among the masses? In plain language, what this gang wanted was to try by every means to separate the leadership from the masses so as to make it convenient for them to deceive the higher levels, suppress the lower levels, lord it over others and exercise fascist dictatorship. On the one hand, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" opposed listening to the masses' opinions; on the other hand, with ulterior motives they deified man and uttered such nonsense as "every sentence is the truth" and "one statement can stand up to ten thousand statements." In matters big and small they said they "discerned everything" and arbitrarily imposed some out-and-out idealist rubbish upon party and state leaders. Although these flatteries and fallacies were long rebuked by Comrade Mao Zedong, the consequences they incurred were serious. This painful lesson should not be forgotten.

The "gang of four" opposed not only the idea that leading cadres "should seek advice from all sides" but also the idea that one should grasp "a wide range of knowledge" in carrying out leadership work. To them, all a leader needed was a set of methods of criticizing people.

There was another article entitled "Welcome, 'Miscellaneous Scholars'" which Yao Wenyuan brought charges against. In this article Deng Tuo proposed that those engaged in leadership work "should acquire specific knowledge as well as a wide range of knowledge." This reasoning was not difficult to understand. The proletarian revolutionary teachers all have a wide range of knowledge. Many works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were written on the basis of their wide range of knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong himself was a well-read man and was well versed in ancient and modern Chinese and foreign history. But Yao Wenyuan flew into a rage over this proposal of Deng Tuo. He bluffed: "Please pay attention to this phrase 'leadership work'; it is the crux." Why was "leadership work" the crux? Does it mean that one did not need "a wide range of knowledge" in doing leadership work? Yao Wenyuan really could not refute this opinion. But he was good at resorting to the style of a literary rascal. He waved his pen to tamper with the title. What the writer meant by "miscellaneous scholars" were people with "a wide range of knowledge." Yet Yao Wenyuan created something out of nothing and said that miscellaneous scholars were a "handful of figures who did not have clear political features and who were reactionary figures such as the landlord and bourgeois 'scholars.'" Under the pen of this reactionary executioner by the pen, people with "a wide range of knowledge" became "reactionary figures such as the landlord and bourgeois 'scholars'" who "did not have clear political features." This equation was truly a bit strange. Yet if we associated it with the blackguard logic that "the more knowledge the more reactionary" which the "gang of four" clamored about, then it would not seem so strange. For them, a wide range of knowledge signified reaction. Since Deng Tuo advocated acquiring "a wide range of knowledge," then of course he was "supporting the exploiting class elements in usurping leadership."

Obviously, in advocating making arbitrary decisions and opposing listening to the masses' opinions, and in advocating being ill informed and opposing grasping a wide range of knowledge, Yao Wenyuan and his gang were harboring an extremely vicious motive, which was a vain attempt to destroy the solid base of the leadership, separate the leadership from the masses and make it convenient for them, a gang of conspirators and careerists, to carry out a feudal fascist dictatorial rule after their own heart.

Refuting the Fallacy That "Reading Will Lead to Peaceful Evolution"

In "Comments on the 'Three-Family Village'" Yao Wenyuan promoted yet another reactionary fallacy--that using one's spare time to study history, acquire knowledge and engage in academic work was equivalent to "using landlord and bourgeois thinking to corrupt the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people" and to peddling a "peaceful evolution." He openly referred to reading and acquiring knowledge as "peaceful evolution" and "capitalist restoration." His attacks on several articles of the "three-family village" which advocated reading fully exposed the

vicious feature of the "gang of four" in deliberately undermining the cause of culture and education.

Due to the interference of Chen Boda and a certain adviser of the "gang of four," an adverse current appeared in the education revolution movement in 1958, when reading was equated with becoming specialists without a socialist consciousness and the qualities of being Red and expert were set in opposition to each other. This tendency further developed into a so-called movement to bring down white banners and hoist red banners. Many specialists, professors and hardworking intellectuals were criticized as "white banners." This movement to bring down white banners influenced all the institutions of higher learning and academic circles throughout the country and resulted in the emergence of an atmosphere of empty talk and bragging, of not daring to read or improve one's professional skills.

Precisely because of this, the authors of "Notes From Three-Family Village" cried out aloud that one should boldly read and make full use of one's spare time to read. In the article "On Study" Wu Han proposed that one should learn to "become the master of time" and should "not easily pass up 10 minutes or half an hour." In the article "One-Third of One's Life" Deng Tuo earnestly said that all successful people in history "treated their lives seriously. As long as they lived they would try to carry out more labor, more work and more study and would be unwilling to squander away their lives and waste their time."

He believed that one should firmly grasp the time at night to read and "pay attention to treasuring this one-third of one's life." Yao Wenyuan had the impudence to juggle black and white and say that using one-third of one's life to read meant carrying out "peaceful evolution" and "subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing about a capitalist restoration." He said that if one used "one-third" of one's time to study one would become the "organizational strength and social basis for the 'three-family village' clique in enlisting followers to peddle 'peaceful evolution.'" Reading will lead to "peaceful evolution"; isn't this assertion a typical farrago? Lenin said: "Only by using all the knowledge which mankind created to enrich our heads could we become communists." How could this treasure of knowledge be obtained? The most important method was through reading. In 1957 Comrade Mao Zedong put to us the task of building a huge contingent of working class intellectuals. Obviously, to complete this task it was necessary to advocate reading, in addition to other work. It was impossible to foster communists and a huge contingent of working class intellectuals by simply "bringing down white banners" and "criticizing specialists without a socialist consciousness." One could see from this that advocating reading not only had nothing to do with "peaceful evolution" but was to a certain extent a necessary condition for pushing social development forward. Since the "gang of four" opposed reading, what did they propose that one do with one's spare time? Yao Wenyuan did not give an answer. He

did not need to. Anyway, for them, roaming the streets and engaging in beating, smashing and looting were better than reading. No doubt, later the student who turned in a blank examination was lauded as the most knowledgeable person.

Reading originally was not in conflict with showing concern for politics. However, at that time some people felt that reading more would cause one to divorce oneself from politics, and they therefore set reading and showing concern for politics in opposition to each other. This assertion greatly dampened the activism of the broad masses of cadres and students in reading. In view of this situation, Deng Tuo, in an article entitled "Show Concern for All Affairs," quoted a couplet written by Gu Xiancheng, leader of the Donglin party in the Ming dynasty: "The sound of wind, the sound of rain, the sound of reading, listen to every sound; family affairs, state affairs, affairs under the heavens, show concern for all affairs." Deng Tuo said that this couplet showed that the members of the Donglin party "would study assiduously on the one hand and show concern for politics on the other and closely integrate the two aspects." Here the writer specifically and solemnly declared that "we definitely do not need to revive the so-called Donglin style,...as long as we understand the truth about closely integrating the two aspects and strive to read as well as to show concern for politics." Obviously, Deng Tuo was refuting the erroneous assertion that reading would divorce oneself from politics and was not asking people to learn from the style of the Donglin party. But, harboring ulterior motives, Yao Wenyuan said that Deng Tuo alluded to this couplet because the Donglin party was the "opposition faction" of the Ming ruling house and that this "opposition faction" stirred an "echo" inside Deng Tuo. He said that "the sound of wind and the sound of rain" were "evil wind and sinister rain" and that "showing concern for all affairs" meant "waging an offensive against the party and against socialism." He was indeed worthy of being called a literary rascal and villain. If he did not have vicious motives and had not set his mind on framing up charges against others, how could he draw such belligerent words from a miscellaneous essay like this one which advocated reading as well as showing concern for politics?

As regards the attitude toward study, Deng Tuo once proposed "study more, criticize less" and held that this was the "correct attitude toward learning." This at the time was said with a purpose. Under the influence of the beating people with cudgels by Chen Boda, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and that adviser of the "gang of four" and of the fallacy they advocated that reading would lead to "peaceful evolution," a tendency toward "criticizing more and studying less" appeared among young intellectuals and college students. Deng Tuo's "Study More, Criticize Less" was simply an attempt to correct this improper style of study. In this article he said that "it is indeed not an easy thing to actually involve oneself in writing a book or doing something, yet no big effort is needed to stand by with hands in pocket and criticize the long and short of others." This criticism hit right on the head of the "gang of

four," who did not study and did not know anything. No wonder Yao Wenyuan flew into a rage and said that "criticizing less" meant "accepting the culture of the exploiting class without discrimination, regarding it as an imperial decree and not being allowed to touch a hair of it"; that "criticizing less" meant "attacking the proletariat and supporting the bourgeoisie." He even said that "it was the core of their reactionary academic line." These large labels were indeed frightening. But, besides overwhelming others with his power, Yao Wenyuan could not explain the hows and whys. Since you opposed "studying more and criticizing less" and made so many charges against it, then what attitude of study would you regard as correct? Did you mean that we should be like you, "criticize more and study less" or even "criticize without studying," and would this then be correct? For many years the academic circles suffered many cudgel blows. During the few academic discussion meetings in 1964 alone, didn't that adviser of the "gang of four" cudgel others and cruelly persecute one side which took part in the debates? Only by resolutely doing away with these villains in the academic circles could we unfold letting a hundred schools of thought contend and enable academic work to prosper and science to develop.

"Desperate Transition" Was a Betrayal of Marxism-Leninism

The "gang of four" and their likes were a group of out-and-out revisionists. They did not understand a thing about communist theories. Some members of the "gang of four" had long indulged in the "working style characterized by exaggeration" and the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely," which were sinister winds that aimed at undermining China's socialist revolution and construction. People have not forgotten that in 1958 special agent Zhang Chunqiao publicly proposed the need to "destroy the bourgeois legal rights" and advocated the revival of the "supply system" and other extreme calls, such as practicing a "set of military communist living styles" based on the "supply system." Chen Boda, another important ally of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," clamored that it was necessary to "effect an immediate transition" to communism and vehemently carried out experiments in communism at selected spots. In this way the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" and the "working style characterized by exaggeration" spread throughout the nation, incurring inestimable losses to our country's revolution and construction. The broad masses of people can still vividly recall this matter.

The transition from socialism to communism is governed by its own inevitable laws of development. If one departs from these laws and arbitrarily carries out "blocking" or arbitrarily brings about the transition regardless of whether the conditions are ripe or not, then one is destined to fail. In the article "Guide Rather Than Block," Deng Tuo pointed out that "toward the force of the movement of events people cherish...two opposing attitudes. One is of blocking the development of the course of events; the other is of actively facilitating the smooth development of

events. The former is wrong and is destined to fail; the latter is correct and will definitely triumph." Here the writer criticized the kind of people who did not do things in accordance with objective laws; they did not clearly distinguish the stages of social development, adopted the method of "blocking" everywhere and undermined revolution and construction. In another article entitled "The Theory of Treasuring the Labor Force," Deng Tuo pointed out that "man's labor force can create all the riches for society"; thus, "treasuring the labor force is an important measure in developing production and making the state prosperous and powerful." The writer quoted a passage from "The Book of Rites: The Chapter on the Royal System": "If we know how to employ the people's force, 3 days' effort is equal to a year's." He also said that we should "receive fresh inspirations from the experiences of people in ancient days and pay more attention to treasuring the labor force in every respect." When Chen Boda and his likes were advocating the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely," many places were vehemently engaged in egalitarianism, in the indiscriminate transfer of manpower, land, draft animals, farm tools, funds and so on, and in "organizing big corps in fighting." The people were extremely weary, and the need to treasure the labor force became at the time a prominent issue. At the same time, Chen Boda and his likes advocated not having to pay for meals and started a communist mode of living ahead of schedule. As a result, they almost exhausted the stored grain of the state. In this article Deng Tuo painfully alluded to the words in "The Chapter on the Royal System," saying: "A country without 9 years' supply of stored grain is in a state of insufficiency; a country without 6 years' supply of stored grain is in a state of emergency; and a country without 3 years' supply of stored grain cannot even be considered a country. There should be 1 year of grain for every 3 years of farming and 3 years of grain for every 9 years of farming." Deng Tuo felt that this idea of a three-to-one ratio in regard to farming should be regarded as an "economic thought and theory" and "should be given attention." Because this criticism touched the raw nerve of the extreme leftist thinking of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they raised their big cudgel and angrily dealt blows at the person who criticized them. Yao Wenyuan said that Deng Tuo had "slandered the general line and the Great Leap Forward." He even shamelessly explained: "We treasure the labor force. All work of the Chinese Communist Party proceeds from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people." This was indeed shameless. The party treasured the labor force. But could you represent the party? Didn't you people like Chen Boda and Zhang Chunqiao frenziedly advocate the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" and the "working style characterized by exaggeration"? If sending thousands and tens of thousands of people to engage in ineffectual labor was not an act of abusing the labor force, what then was it? Was it slander to criticize you a little?

It was indeed shameless slander to equate the proposal to guide work with "realizing bourgeois freedom" and with facilitating "antiparty and

antisocialist reactionary dark things." Yao Wenyuan yelled about "blocking" until his voice became hoarse and said that what you wanted to "block" was the "road to capitalist restoration" and the "reactionary adverse current." However, facts have mercilessly dealt you a slap in the face. What you blocked was precisely the socialist road. For instance, such things as private plots, rural village trade fairs and commune members' privately raised animals were all lopped off by you as capitalist tails. You undermined these policies that were permitted under the socialist system, made the peasants miserably poor and brought agricultural production to a halt. Were these not bad consequences produced directly by your policy of "blocking"?

At the same time, dominated by the thinking of "desperate transition" the "gang of four" refused to study all kinds of advanced foreign technologies and practiced a "closed door" policy. In the article "The Art of Making Friends and Treating Guests," Deng Tuo pointed out: "Some people could unite with people 'weaker than they' but could not humble themselves to unite with those who were stronger than they." Deng Tuo felt that "we must welcome friends who are stronger than we. This is good for us, because then we can learn from them." Such a proposition greatly alarmed the "gang of four," who published several articles in succession slandering this point of Deng Tuo's as "an invitation to revisionism" and as "lauding imperialism." They nonsensically said that in learning advanced foreign experiences "China would degenerate into a colony of U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism." What kind of logic was this?! How could learning advanced technologies from foreign countries lead China to degenerate into a colony? Science and technology themselves do not embrace any class nature. Importing advanced technologies can only enhance the development of the productive forces. What does this have to do with degenerating into a colony? Yao Wenyuan and his gang seized on some pretext to vehemently oppose learning advanced science and technology from abroad. They adopted a blind antiforeign attitude, slandered the import of foreign technology as foreign enslavement and treason. As a result, the development of our country's science and technology lagged further and further behind those of the world's advanced nations.

"Desperate transition" was a product of the extreme leftist trend of thought and violated the Marxist principle. Lenin pointed out: "Communism means soviet political power plus electrification throughout the nation. This is because without electrification we cannot raise industry." ("Lenin on the Development of Heavy Industry and Electrification Throughout the Nation," People's Publishing House, 1956, p 92) Stalin also clearly pointed out: Only by "surpassing the various major capitalist countries" economically could we "carry out the transition from the first stage of communism to the second stage of communism." ("The Question of Leninism," People's Publishing House, 1957, p 739) After the liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong also repeatedly emphasized that "it is necessary to transform a backward agricultural China into an advanced

industrialized China." ("Opening Speech at the Eighth National CCP Congress") All this elucidated the point that only under the condition of an extremely abundant material treasure could we talk about a transition to communism. The ideology that one-sidedly emphasizes the role of the spiritual factor and ignores the material strength, this most basic factor, and that relies simply on the spirit to effect the transition to communism is not only wrong but extremely harmful.

In "The Stake in One Egg," Deng Tuo told the story of an old greedy man. This old greedy man was very poor. He found an egg and indulged himself in wishful thinking. He held that the egg would turn into a chicken and would lay more eggs when it grew up. The eggs would turn into chickens again, and when he raised more chickens he could sell them and buy cows and raise more cows, which would give birth to many more cows. After he sold the cows he could become a moneylender, and in this way in several years he would become a rich man. But this man whose heart was eaten by riches even thought of getting a second wife. This made his wife very angry, and she broke the egg. Finally, all was but an empty dream. Deng Tuo criticized people like this man who "did not have any reliable basis at all for their plans" and "substituted illusion for reality." The thinking of "desperate transition" was the same as the thinking of this old greedy man. This article hit right on the head of the "gang of four." Thus, Yao Wenyuan and his gang hated it bitterly and attacked it as an antiparty and antisocialist "poisonous arrow"; they said that this was an attack on the "Great Leap Forward for having 'failed' and 'collapsed' and for having 'destroyed all' its stakes." In fact, this was not necessarily an attack on the Great Leap Forward. Rather, it was a criticism of your "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely," which was "an illusion rather than a reality," and of your wishful thinking about "desperate transition." Comrade Mao Zedong once said that China was a country of poverty and blankness. "Poverty" and "blankness" were used to describe the extreme backwardness of industrial and agricultural production and science, culture and education. Let us ask: If such an economically backward country did not develop production in a down-to-earth manner, but attempted to enter into communism in a morning's time, using up the little savings of several years, then was this not a wish to become rich by staking one's fortune on one egg? History has written its conclusion: "Desperate transition" will never realize communism but will only bring about extremely great destruction to the national economy. It violates the objective laws of social development and shamelessly betrays Marxism.

"Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" Are a Bunch of Fragrant Flowers

Practice is the only criterion for examining the truth. "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" have been examined by social practice for over 10 years. Also, the critics and the criticized have been examined by history. As to who is right and who is wrong, now is the time to draw a conclusion.

There are more than 150 articles in "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and 62 pieces in "Notes From Three-Family Village," of which 21 were written by Wu Han, 18 by Deng Tuo and 23 by Liao Moshu. Glancing through these 200 or so essays, we find that they fall mainly into three categories. One category, dealing with talks about the past and present, makes correct propositions, extends justice, criticizes mistakes and corrects shortcomings. These works, such as "Show Concern for All Affairs," "'Jokes' About Being Afraid of Ghosts" and "Big Empty Talks," are the soul of "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village." The second category of works introduces some useful historical knowledge and scientific and technical knowledge, as, for instance, in "The Women's Day in Ancient China," "The Earliest Demonstration of the Laboring Masses in Beijing," "Jiang Gouben" and "Iron and Steel in Plants." The third category involves clarifying some truths and falsehoods in history, as in "Did Wu Han Murder His Wife?," "The Prosperity and Decline of Two Temples," and so on and so forth. The language of most of these articles is simple and neat and the contents are fresh. Particularly in the first category, the works are pungent and clearcut and are strongly pointed and militant. Toward some erroneous tendencies which appeared in the real life of the time the writers took a correct stand and advanced serious criticisms. At the same time they always tried to state their propositions clearly. For instance, in criticizing the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" as incurring bad results, the writer at the same time proposed the ideas of treasuring the labor force and farming for 3 years with 1 year of stored grain. These were useful to cadres engaged in practical work, for they would be inspired after reading them. The second and third categories of works played an immensely beneficial role in popularizing scientific knowledge and historical knowledge. Because the articles were short and the stands were clear, people could digest the different kinds of knowledge at their leisure. That was why, after these miscellaneous essays were published, they were welcomed by the broad masses of readers. Many readers wrote to encourage the writers, and some even suggested topics and helped find materials. Many readers bought the newspapers that carried these miscellaneous essays. Even after "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" had been labeled as large poisonous weeds by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many people still kept them, read them any time they wanted and, with actual deeds, resisted the "gang of four" who resisted progress.

"Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" mainly adopted the method of talking about the past and present. Many articles used ancient historical materials as topics. This method of writing, of using the past to mirror the present, is a correct way of treating the legacy of history. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial.... We must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or

bourgeois classes." We see that we can write miscellaneous essays using history as our topic. The question is whom we serve and what class we serve. The viewpoint of regarding the writing of miscellaneous essays and the discussion of history as promoting the culture of the feudal class is extremely metaphysical. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed, and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists." ("Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art") With a clear class viewpoint and a proletarian viewpoint of love and hatred and truth and falsehood, the miscellaneous essays of "three-family village" criticized the factors in real life that were unfavorable to socialist revolution and construction and proposed and praised factors that were favorable to socialist revolution and construction. This was positive and healthy. The miscellaneous essays not only played the militant role of exposing enemies but also played the role of criticizing shortcomings and extending justice. Today, miscellaneous essays can still play the deserved positive role.

It has been 20 years since "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" appeared. During this period they suffered injustice from the cruel ravages and sabotage, and later even the frameup, of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But the examination of a tortuous historical practice has proved that the criticism leveled by "three-family village" against the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely," the "working style characterized by exaggeration" and "empty talk" was correct. And that the slanders and attacks which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" hurled at the "three-family village," as well as their peddling of their extreme leftist thinking, were real antiparty and antipeople fallacies. History has sent Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to the scaffold of justice. Similarly, history has drawn the conclusion that "Evening Chats at Yanshan" and "Notes From Three-Family Village" were a bunch of fragrant flowers.

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THE STORM OF THE TIMES SUPPLIES NEW THEMES--A TENTATIVE DISCUSSION ON A NUMBER OF RECENT SHORT STORIES

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[Text] In the 2 short years since the collapse of the "gang of four," short stories reflecting the struggle waged by the people of the entire country, led by our party, against the extremely evil Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have flourished like bamboo shoots after a rain. A large group of superior works represented by "Class Teacher," "Sacred Mission," "Scars of Wounds," "Struggle of the Soul," "Devoting Oneself" and "The 'Incompatible' Brother-in-Law" has appeared. With a brandnew attitude and style, these stories have swept aside the dense fog created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and opened a new path for literary creation in the new historical era. Their appearance in China's literature has attracted wide attention in all circles of society, provoked a strong reaction and won the enthusiastic welcome and heartfelt love of the masses. Such a far-reaching influence produced by short stories has seldom occurred in the history of China's literature. Viewed from their ideological and artistic qualities, this group of short stories is a continuation of the Tiananmen revolutionary poetic movement adapted to the demands of the era. Their appearance has a tremendous significance in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," turning heterodoxy onto the right path, rectifying the principles and clarifying the sources, purging the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence, and eliminating the obstacles to and clearing the way for the realization of the four modernizations.

I

The "gang of four's" outrageous crimes and harmful activities require not only political, ideological and theoretical criticism but also artistic criticism, i.e., criticism by means of artistic images. Literature and art are a kind of ideology, and a specific one. Their fundamental characteristic is to appeal to the people by means of vivid and flesh-and-blood

artistic images and to stir their hearts by artistic power, thereby producing the fighting effect of "uniting the people, educating the people, attacking the enemy and wiping out the enemy" in order to serve proletarian politics.

Some people interpret literature and art serving proletarian politics as only "praise" and "eulogy." Such a view is one-sided and a great misunderstanding. Naturally we must loudly sing the praises of the superiority and the bright side of the socialist system, for this is the principal task of socialist literature and art. However, we must also ruthlessly expose and attack the dark side, which exists objectively although it is only a minor aspect, and the class enemies and all old forces and old ideologies. "All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists." ("Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art") It would be incorrect to divorce the two aspects of the task, to place them in opposition, or even to replace one aspect with the other. This would only block socialist literature and art from serving proletarian politics more effectively, growing more healthily, and flourishing and developing more rapidly.

Works exposing the dark forces endangering the people are not equivalent to a "literature of exposure." These short stories under discussion are definitely not a "literature of exposure," because what they expose is not the socialist system but Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who endangered it. This is precisely their unique feature and superiority, as demanded by their subject matter and the ideology of their main themes. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ravaged our party for 10 long years. They resisted the party and disrupted the army, brought calamity to the country and misfortune to the people, acted outrageously, committed innumerable crimes, and brought great disasters and miseries to the nation of China. However, "the people's will cannot be insulted." Symbolized by the "5 April" Tiananmen Square revolutionary mass movement, the masses of people launched moving struggles in various forms against the "gang of four" and wrote a courageous, dazzling page in the history of proletarian dictatorship. Without doubt, ruthlessly exposing in artistic forms the outrageous crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," extolling the indomitable and uncompromising struggles of the masses, and summarizing the experiences and lessons of the socialist revolution under the proletarian dictatorship have a tremendous political significance. They are the concrete manifestations of socialist literature and art serving proletarian politics and the principled demand of the party spirit for proletarian literature.

Practice is the only criterion to test the success or failure of literary works. When reading about Song Baoqi and Xie Huimin, the children persecuted by the "gang of four" in "Class Teacher," is it conceivable that we, like teacher Zhang Junshi, not feel a deep hatred for the "gang of four"?

and "a fire raging in our hearts"? Can we still hesitate and vacillate over the momentous measures to turn heterodoxy onto the right path adopted by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng on the education front? When we shed tears over the tragedy of Wang Xiaohua and her mother in "Scars of Wounds," feel indignant over Li Siping's sorrows in "The 'Incompatible' Brother-in-Law," and become enraged over the misfortunes of Bai Shun and his wife in "The Sacred Mission," can we remain unmoved by the wrong, false and unjust cases concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? Can those who occupied important posts and controlled the political life of the cadres and masses while following Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and making mistakes refrain from examining themselves and learning lessons? Can they feel that covering up mistakes is not a sort of crime? One may say that these short stories exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are like sharp daggers and spears against the class enemies, warning bells to open the ears and eyes of those who once followed the line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and made mistakes, and battle drums encouraging the masses of people in their struggle against them.

These short stories manifest the courage and political responsibility of the writers. Not only did they break into the various forbidden areas of literary and artistic creation set up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but they also knocked down certain rules and taboos formed over a long period of time. They have the courage to face reality and actually existing social problems. Instead of evading contradictions, they boldly expose and portray the alarming tragedies and the dark sides of social life created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," with the goal of "revealing the ailment and calling for treatment." In their social effect, rather than rocking the socialist system and undermining the proletarian dictatorship, these short stories tend to consolidate the socialist system and reinforce the proletarian dictatorship. This is precisely the function of socialist literature. How, then, can they be called a "literature of exposure"?

Lu Xun once said: "What comes out of the fountain is all water; what comes out of the veins is all blood." Only by taking the standpoint of the proletariat and the masses of people can we correctly handle the problem of extolling brightness and exposing darkness. The class standpoint of a writer determines the political tendency of his works. Only when a writer has a correct class standpoint, a sound political tendency, and courage in artistic creation will he produce artistic works of quality. Otherwise, with just an indomitable artistic courage alone, but without the guidance of the communist world view, deviation from the correct direction is inevitable. The writers of these short stories combined a firm and correct political direction with indomitable artistic courage; therefore, they achieved tremendous success in creativity and opened a new situation in the creation of short stories.

The success or failure of a literary work and its effect on the development of history, whether it promotes or hampers, are determined primarily by "the attitude toward the people." All works sympathetic to the people's miseries and reflecting their demands and desires will always win their welcome and affirmation and possess a lasting artistic vitality. From Qu Yuan's "Sorrow Over the Many Hardships in the People's Life" to Du Fu's "Rotting Wine and Meat Behind Red Gates and Frozen Bones on the Roadside," from the peasant uprising in "Water Margin" to Cao Xueqin's "Dream of the Red Chamber," the sympathy for and eulogy of the oppressed slaves all verify this truth. Socialist literature and art differ essentially from the literature and art of any era in the past, and the concept of the people also develops historically. However, more than the literature and art of any era in the past, socialist literature and art must maintain a stronger flesh-and-blood relationship with the people, absorb nourishment from the people and flourish and grow. When the "gang of four" vigorously opposed the "affinity to the people" of literature and trumpeted that their "gang literature and art" was "most revolutionary," they were merely covering up for their antipeople and counterrevolutionary literature and art!

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" committed outrageous crimes against our state and people, bringing socialist China to the verge of economic collapse and almost destroying in a day the mountains and rivers of the proletarian dictatorship, and the oppression and bitterness suffered by the broad cadres and masses cannot be enumerated. Whether a literary and art worker dares to use literature and art as a weapon in order to shout for the people, denounce the thieves, and express the grievances of the people is a test of his courage. During the days when the dark clouds pressed down on the city and the wind and thunder raged, the spare-time poets, "angrily searching for poetry in the midst of knives" in Tiananmen Square in order to rescue the party and the state from their peril, set a bright example for us. Now the "gang of four" has been finished off. If our writers and artists still feel all sorts of misgivings and refuse to go forward, if they lack the courage to expose the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to reflect the interests and demands of the broad masses, they cannot be called "promising writers and artists."

These stories stress the attacks and persecutions suffered by the broad worker-peasant-soldier masses, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their indomitable resistance. Why does "Destiny" produce such a stirring artistic effect? Because it rather sharply exposes the behind-the-scenes university recruitment during the "gang of four's" rampage, condemns Shen Jiayou, who held the power over personnel, savagely oppressed the people, and flattered the superior and took advantage of the inferior, and shows a great sympathy for Mother Cao and the docile old woman. To send her

son to college, Mother Cao had to clench her teeth and spend over 100 yuan, painfully saved by the family, for a Shanghai wristwatch as a gift to Shen Jiayou. Yet this rascal deleted Cao Zhiqiang's name from the list, though the latter was first in the county examinations and superior both ethically and academically, and replaced him with Shi Ping, the daughter of "a responsible comrade of the county committee," changing "zero to a hundred percent" because of her "superior standing." Because of this, Shen Jiayou became even more prosperous while Mother Cao died in sorrow and anger. The "destiny" of Mother Cao's entire family during the "gang of four's" rampage enables us to recognize just what kind of merchandise was the "education revolution" promoted by the "gang of four"! How many crimes to restore the old system did they commit under the sign of newborn things! Had the ambitions and conspiracies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" been realized, one can imagine how the great land of China would have changed color and how tragic would be the situation of the laboring people! As the main theme of the story reflects precisely the actual misfortunes of the ordinary and docile laboring masses at that time and expressed what was in their minds, it makes the readers feel a familiarity, intimacy, truthfulness and credibility and attracts widespread attention.

That "Scars of Wounds" produces such a powerful reaction, in the final analysis, is because it takes as its subject matter something closely linked with the hundreds of millions of people, accuses, with blood and tears, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for their outrageous crimes of persecuting the older generation and injuring the younger one, and asks for justice for the innumerable innocent victims. Wang Xiaohua's mother was falsely accused by Zhang Chunqiao of being a "renegade" and died an early death after suffering indescribable spiritual and physical torment. Though young and innocent, Wang Xiaohua, this orphaned girl, broke with her mother, contrary to normal behavior, but was still involved. Under the dignified terminology of "going to the mountains and villages," she was exiled to a remote, backward place before graduating from middle school and continued to encounter unfair coolness and discrimination. As we all know, "false implication" and "involvement" were precisely the measures used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" against the broad cadres and masses. With poignant and tragic force, "Scars of Wounds" exposes the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," denounces them in the name of the hapless people, makes the readers remember forever those who inflicted the wounds, and warns against a repetition of the tragedy.

As the readers pointed out, while "Destiny" and "Scars of Wounds" have their inadequacies, the readers enthusiastically affirm and cherish them. Thus, this tells us that, even if a literary work has its ideological and artistic defects, as long as it truly takes the proletarian standpoint and is created for and utilized by the people it will win the welcome of the broad masses. Meanwhile, the inadequacies and defects in the literary work itself will be easily corrected and improved under the concern and help of the masses, gradually attaining unity of revolutionary and political content and artistic form.

These short stories propose some urgent social issues requiring answers and over which the people are extremely concerned, e.g., how to rectify the wrong, false and unjust cases created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," how to rescue the younger generation they ravaged, how to correctly handle the problems of family, marriage and love and the problems of advanced education and employment of young students, how to give serious attention to the education of youths and adults, especially the problem of hooligans committing crimes, and how to rectify the undesirable trend of "entering through the back door" followed by some individuals. These issues are closely connected with the interests of the masses, and bringing out the social problems of a universal nature in literary form in order to attract the attention of the leading units and the broad masses will doubtless have an important impact on purging the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence, stimulating the people's revolutionary enthusiasm, promoting the formation and consolidation of order and unity, and making the people struggle with one mind for the realization of the great goal of the four modernizations.

III

Starting from life and vigorously attaining the unity of truthfulness and political essence constitute another characteristic of this group of short stories. The writers have made bold searches and valuable efforts in this regard.

Truthfulness is an important question in Marxist literary theory. Tolstoy once said: "It is shameful to write untruths." The "concealing" and "deceiving" "conspiratorial literature" promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was a living example of such shameful and decadent literature, and it was only natural for it to encounter the ridicule and disdain of the masses of people.

Wiping out the "gang of four's" literary lies and hypocrisies, the short stories under discussion are filled with a strong living breath and make the readers feel their truthfulness and credibility. Song Baoqi, Xie Huimin, Shi Ping and Cao Zhiqiang, the young students suffering injury or persecution from the "gang of four"; Xiaohua's mother and Mother Cao of the older generation persecuted to death by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; "When the Loofah Gourds Grow" and the "daddy" in "The 'Incompatible' Brother-in-Law," the old cadres who suffered persecution and refused to capitulate but felt depressed and entertained negative thoughts; Wang Gongbo, Yang Jianfu, Mei Xueyu and Ding Yifei, the revolutionary cadres possessing the courage to wage a firm struggle against the "gang of four" and their followers; Bai Shun, Li Jian, He Chenzi and Li Siping, the selfless and fearless new generation who kept on the right course despite the ill wind; Yang Darong, Xu Runcheng, Pei Fanian, Huang Weimin and Shen Jiayou, henchmen and conspirators who climbed up by trampling on others, disregarding law and order and filled with ambition; He Bili, the rascal who sold himself for patronage, betrayed his comrades-in-arms and dreamed

of position and wealth; and Chen Jing and Little Yun in "Sportswoman," "wind faction" figures and opportunists in politics or family life-- these personalities are all taken from practical social life and each has his or her individual personality and spiritual features. Have we not encountered many of them in real life? On the foundation of real life and after the process of concentrating, generalizing and typifying, the writers have portrayed the images of different types and clear personalities. In the face of such truthful and vivid characterization, do not the so-called tall, great and perfect "heroes" created in the "gang literature and art" appear even more false and abominable?

The life of art lies in truthfulness. The truthfulness of socialist literature and art and its political essence form a unity. The truthfulness of details is for the purpose of portraying typical characters in a typical environment. What is encouraging is that some of these short stories have attained Engels' demand for realism. By redressing an unjust case, "Sacred Mission" unfolds the desperate and alarming struggles between the two classes and two paths in the Great Cultural Revolution. The description of details conforms to the special historical conditions and political background of that time, being truthful and moving and possessing a typical significance. It relatively accurately portrays the characters, incidents and environment, depicting not only the recklessness of the enemies but even more the anger and resistance of the people and their awakening and struggle, reflecting the great truth that only the masses of people are the masters of world history and placing the bright side of the revolutionary force in the leading position of the story.

It must be specially pointed out that, compared with works on the same subject matter, the portrayal of Wang Gongbo, the old public security cadre in "Sacred Mission," is comparatively successful. In his heroic personality he represents the noble qualities of the Communist Party members of the older generation, serving the people, hating evil, courageous and able and unyielding. The story stresses his firm party essence, his superior style of seeking truth from facts, and his proletarian sentiment of distinguishing love and hate. The portrayal of him includes many moving details. His image is both kind and noble. One may say that the character of Wang Gongbo typifies the superior qualities of many unyielding revolutionary old cadres who adhered to justice during the time of the "gang of four's" rampage, being a typical personality in a typical environment.

The environment of the Guangming Middle School portrayed in "Class Teacher" actually is a miniature of the entire education front in turning heterodoxy onto the right path after smashing the "gang of four," and it reflects the tense fighting atmosphere on the education front in treating the serious injuries inflicted by the "gang of four." Each of the major characters in the story has a fresh and clear personality and typical significance. Although both were similarly harmed by the "gang

of four," Song Baoqi and Xie Huimin possess very different personalities and qualities. The undesirable influence of such ultraright merchandise as the "theory of hooligans creating an enterprise" advocated by the "gang of four" is clearly revealed in Song Baoqi, while the "gang of four's" black brand of their ultraleft line and their policy of fooling the people is manifested in Xie Huimin. Zhang Junshi is the image of an ordinary yet lofty people's teacher skilled in cogitation, courageous in struggle, and advancing in spite of difficulties in the swift current of life. Though Teacher Yin lacked an understanding of the far-reaching significance of reforming Song Baoqi, the young hooligan, and did not possess Zhang Junshi's political foresight, his noble qualities are most impressive. As far as he was concerned, "complaints are complaints, and work is work. Regardless of the time, and regardless of the attacks, obstacles, difficulties and setbacks, he never slackened his diligent teaching." During the period of the "gang of four's" rampage, this typical figure was universal in all occupations and professions as well as in the field of education.

The depiction of the environment and portrayal of characters in veteran writer Wu Qiang's "Struggle of the Soul" are also relatively typical. The story both depicts the grim, poisonous atmosphere of all Shanghai at that time, when "a cold wave was billowing up to high heaven," and makes the readers feel the revolutionary upsurge "faintly blowing warm air over the earth," indicating that the people's struggle had never ceased. On the surface, the "gang of four" and their followers seemed to be all-powerful in Shanghai, but actually only a very few individuals supported them, such as He Bili, who sold his soul. The broad masses, and even He Bili's daughter He Chenzi, a woman worker lacking political experience, were against them. The story reveals the "gang of four's" extremely weak, reactionary essence and shows them losing all support, becoming extremely isolated and creating antagonism.

Naturally, among the short stories under discussion, not many of them are as successful as "Sacred Mission," "Class Teacher," and "Struggle of the Soul" in portraying typical characters in typical environments. However, as long as the direction is clear and the path correct, large groups of excellent literary works like them will continue to appear.

IV

The appearance of these short stories has broken through the paucity of literary works caused by the "gang of four's" cultural dictatorship and sounded the opening bell for short story creation in the new era. However, we must clearly realize that they still have some inevitable defects and shortcomings. Pointing out their problems is not nitpicking but is for the purpose of cultivation, growth and greater prosperity and development.

Socialist literature and art requires our writers to follow the creative method of integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, accurately reflect the essence and mainstream of the life struggles of the times, and portray powerful proletarian heroic figures. Stories having exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as their subject matter must express the noble fighting determination and stubborn spirit of the broad masses of people against the "gang of four" and reveal the historical inevitability of the "gang of four's" downfall. Some of the short stories have not completely satisfied this requirement. As regards the depiction of characters in "Scars of Wounds," the images of Wang Xiaohua, Su Xiaolin and "Mama" are relatively truthful, but in Wang Xiaohua's living environment over a long period one does not see the masses of people's dissatisfaction with and their resistance to the "gang of four." Wang Xiaohua's thinking and personality do not develop and change with the changing times. This is not sufficiently typical. After the "gang of four's" collapse, Wang Xiaohua, from her mama's letter written in her own hand, learned that her "renegade" problem had been cleared up, but she remained doubtful. Only after receiving the official letter of her mama's unit did she decide to return home. This makes the readers feel a lack of credibility. "Destiny" is truthful in expressing the oppression suffered by the masses owing to the reckless conduct of the "gang of four's" followers under the excuse of "reforming" the student recruitment system, but it does not fully reveal the people's anger and struggle against the "gang of four" and their followers. This also weakens the typicality of the story.

While one must carefully select the subject matter and organize the details when writing short stories, the key is still in character portrayal, especially of the positive characters. Many of the portrayals of positive characters in this group of short stories are relatively weak. Even the successful ones, such as Zhang Junshi, Yang Jianfu, Ding Yifei and Li Siping, are not sufficiently profound and broad. In the struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a large group of heroic characters among the worker-peasant-soldier masses, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals emerged, and some of them even paid with their blood and lives, made tremendous achievements, and became models for the people and the pride of the nation. To reproduce their struggle achievements in literary and art form and portray these heroes constitute the glorious mission assigned the writers by the era. We do not disparage the significance and value of portraying general positive, intermediate or even backward characters, but we do say that it is proper and rational to ask the writers to learn from the creative experience of the short story "Sacred Mission" and the play "In a Silent Place" and to portray more heroic characters like Wang Gongbo, Ouyang Ping and Mei Lin.

These writings have made an encouraging step in looking squarely at reality, touching on many social problems of urgent concern to the people, starting from life, revealing the multifaceted relationships among individuals, exposing and criticizing the crimes of Lin Biao and the

"gang of four" in the political, ideological and ethical realms and the serious injuries they inflicted, initially changing the monotony in themes of short story creation, and giving variety to subject matter. However, some important themes are seldom touched upon even now. For instance, the great "5 April" revolutionary mass movement in Tiananmen Square in 1976 and its widespread and far-reaching political influence have not been fully expressed in short stories. In this respect, the play "In a Silent Place" leads the way. Our party and the masses of people waged a violent struggle against the "gang of four" over the issue of the four modernizations. This struggle demonstrated the noble revolutionary ideal and solid spirit of struggle of the broad cadres and masses while also exposing the "gang of four's" antiparty, antipeople and antisocialist vicious essence. Except for "The 'Incompatible' Brother-in-Law," which reflects it somewhat, the short stories under discussion do not profoundly reveal the majestic panorama of the struggle and its great significance. Stories with a certain historical depth, seizing upon the crucial problems, directly dealing with the criminal activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" of usurping the party and seizing power, and demonstrating the desperate struggle against them by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, have not appeared. In sum, there are relatively many themes which should have been touched upon but were not. We must not be satisfied with our achievements, but must dig more deeply into life and depict the great struggles of our era more extensively and profoundly.

Joining the third campaign in vivid artistic forms, the recently published short stories have had an indelible and significant effect in purging the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence and curing the severe internal injuries of the people. However, "seizing the key point" is for the purpose of "running the country." Our literary creations must integrate more closely and organically the people's struggle against the antiparty clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the excellent situation of the four modernizations on all fronts in the new era. We firmly believe that, with the shift in emphasis of the work of the entire party and the flourishing development of socialist construction, and with the penetration of literary workers into life, more and more people will plunge into the torrent of realistic struggle and, with their ever-richer life experience, a prosperous and brandnew situation will appear on our literature and art front. We can expect the creation of more works integrating revolutionary and political content with perfect artistic forms, profoundly reflecting the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and to realize the four modernizations, and portraying typical proletarian heroes born and maturing in the new Long March. We can even expect the emergence of lasting epics in the new era. The party and the people eagerly hope for the early appearance of more and better works worthy of our great era and great people.

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A TALK ABOUT THE GENERAL METHODS OF STUDYING NATURAL SCIENCES

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[Article by Wang Zikun [3769 2737 0981] of Nankai University]

[Text] 1. The Great Significance of the Scientific Study Method

At this time when we are marching forward on our new Long March toward the four modernizations, the study of the basic theories in the natural sciences is an important undertaking of strategic significance. There is not one advanced science or technology that was not built on the foundation of a deep knowledge of the natural laws. To discover these laws and utilize them to serve practice is the task of the natural sciences. The scope of the natural sciences is extremely broad; the natural sciences comprise mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geography, biology and many more fields. Each field has a different target of study and therefore a different method, each having its own characteristics. Though this is true, the world of nature still is one entity, and the various objects of scientific study are therefore related and mutually restrictive, having their own individual as well as common characteristics. An inquiry into the general methods of studying the natural sciences will be of certain value in promoting the further development of science and technology.

How was universal gravitation discovered? How was the electron discovered? And again, how were bacteria discovered? How did our forefathers find the orbit of celestial bodies in a sky full of stars and beyond human reach? How was the structure of the atom discovered in a microcosm of instantly flashing changes and deep hidden darkness? How could the law of evolution be evolved from the kaleidoscopic and confusing, constantly regenerating world of plants and animals? All these questions stir us to exert every effort to find new truths. The fighting spirit of our forefathers and their achievements strengthen our confidence in searching for new truths. What is remembered from the past will be teaching us in the future. Could we possibly draw a lesson from all this?

In attempting any task one must give careful attention and study to the method to be followed. Once a good method has been adopted, half the effort will do double the work. In scientific research the question of method is also of considerable importance. To arm the brain with dialectical materialism is absolutely necessary for every worker in the field of science. Many outstanding scientists, such as Einstein, Laplace and others, have regarded method as highly important. Laplace said: "For the progress of science, knowledge of a method of study is no less useful than finding the object of research itself. Normally, finding the method of scientific research is the most interesting part." ("On the System of the World," p 445)

The process of scientific discovery is a process of knowing the laws of nature. It is an important component of man's process of knowing the entire objective world. It will therefore have to adopt the universal principles of dialectical materialism, especially the materialistic epistemology, as its guiding ideology. Historical facts prove that before Marxism came into the world many important scientific discoveries were the result of an unconscious application of materialism and dialectics.

Our nation's scientists of antiquity made important contributions to science and technology. The "Bencao Gangmu" [General Outline of Materia Medica], the famous work of Li Shizhen of the Ming dynasty, is an important medical work, respected and used within and outside China. In view of the time in which he lived, Li Shizhen of course could not have studied dialectical materialism. However, over a long period he gained a very deep understanding that, in addition to practice, to accomplish his work he had to study from the masses, "collect data from innumerable people," absorb as far as possible the achievements of his forefathers and "visit and gather data in every corner of the country." He did not shun hardship and traveled for many years in Honan, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Anhwei and other places, collecting specimens and medicines, which he then grouped and classified and finally submitted to a systematic theoretical study. The way he firmly insisted on practice and elevated his procedure to a method of studying scientific theories is unwittingly in conformity with materialistic epistemology.

Shen Gua of the Northern Song dynasty also started out from an investigation of the realities and made many new discoveries. In his "Mengxi Bitan" [Notes of Shen Gua] he wrote: "On my mission to Hopei I went north of the Taihang mountain range. In the steep cliffs there was often a thin streak of shells and pebbles. In ancient times this was the seashore, which is now almost 1,000 miles to the east. What we call the continent was once submerged." ("Mengxi Bitan Xuandu" [Selected Readings From the Notes of Shen Gua], p 46) He started out from the two facts, that he found shells and eggs of sea fowl in the Taihang Mountains, used the dialectic viewpoint that natural phenomena are related and constantly changing, and through analysis and comparison ascertained that

the 1,000-mile plain of today once had been ocean. Furthermore, through a study of Yandang Mountain he was able to set forth the principle of erosion of the soil by running water. In Europe, discoveries like his were made only as late as the end of the 18th century by the Englishman Hutton, that is, about 700 years after Shen Gua's.

The above are examples of successful achievements. Of course, it has also happened that in the absence of the correct guiding ideology an important discovery was made but turned into a case of not seeing the wood for the trees. In the 18th century an erroneous theory--the theory of phlogiston--became prevalent in chemical circles. This theory asserted that things would burn because they contained a special matter called phlogiston, but nobody knew what this phlogiston looked like. In 1774 the Englishman Priestley obtained a new gas by heating mercuric oxide; the gas made a candle burn much brighter. Today we know that burning is the process of the oxygen in the air combining with the burning object. What Priestley had found was precisely this oxygen. However, unfortunately he was an adherent of the phlogiston theory. Starting out from the phlogiston theory, he gave an incorrect explanation of his own invention. He explained that the new gas had no phlogiston, but coming into contact with the candle it was anxious to burn and absorbed phlogiston. Since it was then releasing great amounts of phlogiston, the fire burned much brighter. Although he had actually analyzed oxygen, he did not know what he had analyzed. Just as Engels once said: "Starting out from a crooked, one-sided or erroneous assumption and proceeding in an erroneous, roundabout, unreliable way, truth may evade you even if you can already touch it with your nose." ("Dialectics of Nature," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 555)

The story of Newton gives us even more material to ponder. Newton was an outstanding scientist. He made great contributions with his three laws of mechanics, his discovery of the laws of universal gravitation, his corpuscular theory of light and his discovery in the field of calculus. However, what is regrettable is that so unique a scientist was at the same time a most fervent believer in God. In his later life he devoted 25 years to the study of theology in an attempt to prove the existence of God, thus wasting valuable years of his life. Such deep thoughts and yet also such absurd thoughts--why? Engels expressed it well when he said: "A great many natural scientists have given us evidence that they are firm materialists in their particular field of science, but outside that field they can be not only idealists but even fervent believers in orthodox religions." ("Natural Dialectics," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 528) Newton came from a very religious family and from his childhood received a religious education. When he studied natural phenomena he could not help acknowledging the objective reality of the natural laws; he therefore inclined spontaneously toward a materialistic ideology and recognized that it was the effect of universal gravitation which made planets circle the sun, comets roam the universe and things fall to the ground. However, whenever he

came under the magic spell of God, he immediately fell into the quagmire of idealism, becoming a fervent believer in religion.

From the above we can see the great significance of method in undertaking scientific research, namely, to help scientists to consciously grasp the correct ideological method and work method and to raise their scientific learning habits and attitudes, which includes scientific understanding, capabilities and knowledge. The significance of method also lies in its enabling us, from out of the long flow of scientific development, to criticize and inherit the viewpoints and methods of our forefathers, to benefit from their experiences and thus to realize the main flow, trend, past history and future prospects of scientific development, so as to allow us to properly arrange our own work. Finally, it lies in the fact that it helps all scientific research personnel, through their own practice, to improve their study of materialism and dialectics, thus enabling them to become experts in their field.

The scientific research method not only is a matter of method but is closely related to the world view. A fervent love for the people, for truth, for work is an important precondition for mastery of the scientific method. Marx said that science is definitely not an egoistic self-serving enjoyment. Whoever is fortunate enough to be able to engage in scientific research must first of all serve the people with his knowledge. (Cf. Paul Lafargue, "Memories of Marx and Engels," p 2) In whatever tasks, our revolutionary teachers have all made the greatest demands on themselves, and their attitude has been most strict and conscientious. They would not publish their own conclusions until they had achieved a satisfactory solution to a problem and until, in their own opinion, they had studied all related data. Marx always tried his utmost to make his works perfect and substantial, not to mention his care for facts, contents, viewpoint and conclusions. Even to style he paid great great attention. In order to make his writing simple and accurate, intelligible to the general public, he often rewrote his drafts many times, turning them into perfect pieces of art.

The loftier a man's ideals, the firmer and stronger will be the fortitude he brings to his work. Fortitude is born from ideals, heroic courage is born from struggle. Without lofty ideals, an attitude of sincerity and a surging work enthusiasm, it would be extremely difficult to master the scientific method.

2. Scientific Experiment and Dialectical Thinking

The two great weapons of scientific research are experiment and dialectical thinking. Anyone who wants to start work with his hands must also use his brain. By observation and experiment man obtains his firsthand data. Through brain work he relates these limited, dispersed and sometimes even one-sided data and transforms them into comparatively complete new rational knowledge. The only criterion to test the correctness of

this knowledge is practice. When it can fully explain the existing phenomena (confirmation) and many times correctly anticipate and guide the future (inference), the theory is correct.

Experiment and thinking--neither of the two must be neglected. The followers of mechanistic materialism neglected thinking, and adherents of idealism downgraded practice; both are one-sided attitudes. Practice provides the source for scientific discovery and its line of thought and at the same time is the touchstone to test knowledge. Generally, a scientific theory must first of all submit to the test of experiment, and only thereafter will it have to submit to the broader, more diverse and extended test of social practice. The test in experiment is therefore most frequently the first checkpoint. This makes it obvious that experiment occupies a rather important place in scientific research. However, this must not be the reason for neglecting dialectical thinking, because without it it would be difficult to bring out the inherent connecting links hidden within the experimental data and latent between the various fields of knowledge, and it is these connecting links which are indispensable for the construction of the laws of nature. In this respect, thinking assumes a function which the laboratory cannot assume.

Our forefathers expressed it well in this saying: "The learning of an art means perfecting knowledge and execution." Knowledge means thinking and execution can be understood as practice. Some people are good at practice, some at thinking, but it is important to have both these abilities; this, however, is not easy and requires efforts over a long period of time. Many historical achievements of scientific research are the product of the cooperation of men of these two types. The discovery of the three laws of the orbit of planets is an exemplary instance in this respect. The Danish astronomer Tycho spent 30 years observing the movement of the planets and accumulated abundant data. He was an outstanding genius as far as the observation of stars were concerned, but unfortunately he lacked the ability for theoretical analysis. Fortunately, one year before his death he engaged as an assistant a German youth named Kepler, who was of exactly the opposite nature. His ability in observation was not too good, but he was a genius when it came to theoretical studies. He was an excellent thinker and extremely fond of mathematics. Through an analysis of Tycho's data he finally discovered the three laws on the movement of planets. The discovery of these laws required courageous new thoughts. For instance, the first law says that the planets revolve in elliptical movements with the sun in one of the foci of the ellipse. Ordinarily, only a circular movement could be imagined, because since interference with the movement of the planets is small, their distance from the sun should basically be unchangeable. How could one imagine that they are at times nearer and at times farther away from the sun? The discovery of the elliptical orbit was therefore a discovery that far exceeded the imagination of ordinary men. It is therefore no wonder that Einstein said: "Kepler's startling achievement is an especially excellent example which confirms the following truth,

namely: knowledge cannot be obtained merely from experience, but can only be obtained from a comparison of the invention of the intellect and the observation of facts." ("The Works of Einstein," Vol 1, p 278)

To be adept at both, practice and thinking, is of course difficult but certainly also not impossible. The common saying expresses it well: "Practice can give birth to skill," and extended practice is the mother of skillful performance. Many people combine both these abilities, for instance, Li Shizhen, Shen Gua, Newton, Darwin and others. They are adept at collecting firsthand data from the world of nature, "their mind turns as fast as around an axle, and they hear every sound perceivable," and they find general rules from available data.

Experiment and thinking mutually promote each other. Man's discovery of new things proceeds from observation and experiment. The new things often are at variance with established theory and finally urge man on to further thinking to develop new theories. These new theories in turn can often anticipate yet undiscovered things that await observation and experiment, and thus it goes on and on eternally. This process of starting with the discovery of an important new thing might well be called "the discovery process" and can be recorded as follows:

"Experiment--New Thing--New Theory--New Thing--Experiment--"
(Discovery) (Anticipation)

A large number of this kind of "discovery processes" makes up the great process of all scientific discoveries.

3. General Method of Scientific Research

Every process of cognition develops in the sequence "practice--theory--practice." Scientific research is no exception. In general it must pass through the following stages:

(1) Topic selection and data collection. To select a special topic and determine the direction of the main thrust is an important matter and of great tactical significance. This is where leaders and research personnel first demonstrate their foresight and judgment. To set forth a general, worthwhile and achievable topic requires insight and understanding, and to point out a pioneering new direction requires a great amount of imagination. In past history, Galileo's attempt to determine the speed of light and Kant's and Laplace's study of the origin of celestial bodies impelled the development of science. To properly select the main target for attack one must first consider the realistic needs and must have a very good understanding of the developments in one's field. In the long road of its development, every field of science has its ups and downs, vacillating at times between progress and retardation, its periods of great destruction and great construction and the sudden emergence of new ideas, new achievements and new directions. Only when we know where we stand at present can we set forth an appropriate research topic.

After the topic has been decided upon, the next step is to collect a wide range of data about this topic. "Research must base itself on an abundance of material, analyze all its developmental forms and explore the internal relations of these forms. Only after this work has been completed can an appropriate statement be made on the movement that has become apparent." (Marx, "Capital," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 217) There are many ways to collect material. One may survey the literature, especially recent periodicals, or one may carry out investigations and study, learn from the masses, or, as Li Shizhen did, enter deeply into practice, observe and investigate, and extract original material directly from nature.

A valuable factor in science is the accumulation of experiences. Many great achievements are the product of a coordination of long-term accumulation of experiences (gradual change) with major breakthroughs (change in substance). "If small streamlets flow ceaselessly, they will become big streams." Be diligent in taking notes and at all times immediately note down the views of predecessors and your own understanding or discovery. Zhang Xuecheng of the Qing dynasty said: "Notetaking is something that one must do plentifully. If notes are not taken, innumerable items of rare traditions will be lost like raindrops falling into the ocean." ("Wenshi Tongyi" [An Interpretation of Literature and History], p 333)

(2) Observation and experiments. When we have fully accumulated all relevant material and have a firm understanding of the achievements left by our predecessors, it is as if we are standing on the shoulders of a giant. To expand our view even further, we must tackle the new perplexing questions by carrying out new observations and experiments.

Research begins with observation. This applies not only to scientific research but also to literary creation, a military move, etc. Montesquieu put it into the mouth of an actor: "A man ardently in search of knowledge will never be idle.... My life consists of observations. Everything I see, hear or notice in the daytime I record in the evening. Every single item is being recorded. Everything arouses my interest and my curiosity." ("Persian Letters," pp 75-76) The ability to observe is a gift of nature; it manifests itself in the ability to immediately grasp the main characteristics of an object. The writer Flaubert said: "Say only one word, and with that word indicate to me how a certain horse is different from the other 50 or so horses at the horse-carriage stand." (Quoted from SHIJIE WENXUE [LITERATURE OF THE WORLD], 1961, No 4, p 111)

Some discoveries can be made directly from observations. One example is the discovery in March 1977 of rings around the planet Uranus, a discovery which international astronomy circles termed the most important discovery in the solar system since the discovery in 1930, i.e., 50 years ago, of the planet Pluto. This came about as follows: In 1973 the Greenwich Observatory in England predicted an occultation by Uranus of the star

SAO 158687 in the constellation Libra, to occur on 10 March 1977. Astronomers in our country and all over the world carried out observations in accordance with this prediction. Unexpectedly, 35 minutes before the occultation by Uranus, the star disappeared five times, the first time for 7 seconds and then each succeeding time for 5 seconds, and only then did the occultation of Uranus occur. Subsequently, the star again disappeared five times. This indicated that Uranus has at least five rings.

Observations can only be carried out under natural conditions, but in the case of experiments man can control all conditions in advance, eliminate interferences and give prominence to the main factors and thus better mobilize initiative and reach the anticipated goal.

There are all kinds of experiments. According to their purpose, we may list the following:

Experiments to determine the nature of things: These are used to determine whether certain elements are present, what relationship exists between certain elements, etc. Among experiments of this kind are the Michelson-Morley experiment on the presence of ether and Lebedev's experiment on pressure exercised by light. Another famous experiment to negate a quality was accomplished by Wu Jianxiung and others, confirming the hypothesis put forth by Li Zhengdao and Yang Zhenning in 1956 on the nonconservation of parity under weak interaction.

Quantitative experiments: The purpose here is to assess the numerical value of the object or to seek the formula for numerical experiences between the object and other factors, etc. Famous examples are Fizeau's measurement of the velocity of light and Anderson's experiments to find the ratio of charges in electrons and protons, etc.

Model experiments: If the general outline of the object can be assumed from partial observations, a model is set up to reflect the characteristics of the object. However, it will require further tests to show that the model is indeed close to reality. These experiments are called model experiments. In 1910 Rutherford and others discovered that when alpha particle bundles are fired against a metallic surface, some particles rebounded at wide angles. This led to the discovery of the atom nucleus, and they finally made a starlike model of the structure of atoms.

Cause-analysis experiments: These are to seek the main causes or contributing elements. For instance, in 1864 the Frenchman Pasteur found that the main reason for the spoilage of food was the activity of bacteria. This experiment also solved a problem that had been vexing mankind for many centuries: life cannot suddenly be generated by lifeless matter within a short time.

Simulating experiments: In these experiments conditions are created which simulate the natural surroundings or the natural processes. For instance, in 1952 Miller mixed methyl, ammonia, hydrogen and steam to resemble the original atmosphere of our globe, placed it in a vacuum glass chamber and continuously bombarded it with sparks of electricity to simulate lightning in the atmosphere. In one week he obtained from the gaseous mixture five types of amino acids, which are important ingredients of protein. In the world of nature this transformation would have taken several million years. The experiment opened up new roads for the study of the origin of life.

Experiments require theoretical guidance. The function of this guidance is demonstrated in the arrangement and planning of the experiment, in the analysis and handling of the data obtained in the experiment, and in the evaluation of the results obtained in the experiment. If there is no correct theoretical guidance, even important results of the experiment may be interpreted wrongly, as, for example, in the case of Priestley, who failed to find oxygen in the above-mentioned experiment. Other important conditions that must be present in a successful experiment are modern instruments and equipment and experienced skill in conducting the experiment. In 1974 it would have been impossible for Ding Zhaozhong and his fellow-workers to discover the J or psi particle had they not spent much energy in advance to raise the sensitivity of their equipment. As early as 1970 the Brookhaven Laboratory had already discovered some peculiar behavior in this respect but were unable with the equipment at their disposal to determine whether it was caused by a new particle.

(3) Stating a hypothesis. After an analysis of the data obtained, certain conjectures and conceptions are formed for solving problems with the help of new discoveries. However, a conjecture may be wrong and should therefore be treated only as a hypothesis. The hypothesis advanced on the basis of conjecture may allow an amount of data to continue to apply and expand their application. A hypothesis requires the test of practice; it is the building stone for theory and the necessary way to develop scientific theory. Engels said: "Let the natural sciences continue thinking; they develop on the basis of hypotheses." ("The Dialectics of Nature," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 561) Liu Xie has two similar sentences in his "Wenxin Diaolong" [The Carving of Dragons and the Literary Mind]: "The spirit wanders about among the material things, it follows them hither and thither." Liu Xie was writing about the composition of literature, but is it not the same in scientific research? Thinking has to follow material things, generate ideas and set forth hypotheses. At the same time it has to continuously revise the hypotheses according to the changes in the material world so as to have them reflect with greater accuracy the realities of the world.

These are the following ways in which hypotheses are advanced:

From the special to the general: If a law that has been proven correct for a special condition is raised to a hypothesis for general application,

it still requires testing as to whether it is indeed applicable to the general condition. This is a comparatively important method, because in general the special is more concrete and easier to study than the general. For instance, in 1856 Pasteur discovered that lactic acid-producing bacteria were the main factor that turned beer sour. Later he also discovered that bacteria were the main factor that caused disease in silkworms. By these two experiences he realized the general principle of bacteria causing diseases, an important contribution to medical science.

Comparison, collation and contrast: If under condition A the conclusion X is correct, and if it is known that B and Y correspond to A and X, we can naturally hypothesize that under condition B the conclusion Y must be correct. As a rule, the more unknown the object of study is, the more man is inclined to compare it with something he is familiar with. For instance, Maxwell compared noncompressible liquids with electromagnetism, because these two phenomena are similar in quantitative characteristics. Generalizing this observation, it can be said that many phenomena can be studied by comparison, even though they are different in substance but have certain common characteristics. For instance, the principles of oscillation can be applied to mechanics, magnetism, sound, heat, optics, geology, astronomical physics, biology, etc. Even the Schroedinger formula in quantum mechanics shows similarity with the classic formula for wave motion.

Everybody knows that there are many symmetrical phenomena in nature: positive and negative electricity, frontside and backside, left and right sides of the body of living creatures, etc. If a conclusion is correct for one side, one can possibly assume that it will be correct for the other side. In 1924 the Frenchman de Broglie discovered the wave motion of matter based on a comparative way of thinking. His idea was that there are many instances of symmetry in nature and that the universe as we can observe it is composed of light and matter, and since light is characterized by particles and wave motion, then matter, which is symmetrical to light, must also have these two characteristics.

Transplantation: Certain conclusions or methods of one field of science can be transplanted to another field of science. For instance, Pasteur's findings of sickness-causing bacteria can be used in the field of antibiotics and sterilization, and seismology on earth can be borrowed for the study of moon tremors, etc.

Empirical formulas: This involves using mathematical methods to deal with the data of the experiment and find empirical formulas. However, frequently an experiment is only of a partial nature and is carried out a limited number of times. Whether an empirical formula is correct can therefore be established only through further tests in practice, and before it is proven true it can only be set forth as a hypothesis. For instance, on the basis of data observed by Tycho, Kepler advanced a third law on the movement of planets: $T^2 = D^3$. That is, the square of the

times required for the orbital revolution of the planets (on a yearly basis) (T) is proportional to the cube of the distance from the sun (D) (taking the distance between the earth and the sun as the unit). In those days this was nothing but an empirical formula and was only later, after rigorous tests, elevated to law.

Classification: This involves analyzing and sorting certain objects, dividing them into categories according to important characteristics, and then deducing laws and conjectures. This was considered highly important by our country's pharmacologist Li Shizhen. His classification is very much in conformity with modern scientific principles. In biology, classification led gradually to the "origin of species," "the evolution of living creatures" and similar important viewpoints. Mendeleev arranged the chemical elements in a periodic table. He was led by certain gaps in his table to predict the existence of some elements that had not yet been discovered, which was very welcome news. On the other hand, if deeper analysis is still lacking with respect to already discovered items, you still don't know them even if new discoveries are made.

Another extremely important and vexing problem is that of finding a correct hypothesis. As to this procedure, which is not at all generally applicable, we can guarantee to discover it. The only way is the method of successive approximation. If the first hypothesis ends in failure, we must sum up the experiences and lessons, seek the reasons for the failure and remedy them in our second hypothesis. We will have advanced one step, and if we continue to advance and gradually approach the goal, we shall in the end arrive at a correct hypothesis. This may take a long time. For instance, the drug 606 was successfully produced after 605 test productions. To reduce the time of intermediary hypotheses we rely on the imagination and perception of the scientific research personnel; we rely on their moral character, knowledge, ability and learning. Many important problems today are being studied by the method of successive approximation, such as the reasons for earthquakes, the reasons for cancer, the origin of the solar system, etc.

(4) Abstraction, logical thinking and scientific fantasy. If cognition is to take a great leap from the emotional to the rational, we must firmly grasp the essence of things, their internal relations and the factors of their usual actions. This essence, the internal relations and the important factors are often abstracted and refined into concepts. Concepts are often the cornerstones of hypotheses. Correct concepts lead us forward, wrong concepts lead us astray. For instance, concepts like "velocity," "distance" and "weight" promoted mechanics, but wrong concepts, such as "phlogiston" and "vital power," had an adverse influence on the development of science.

Hypotheses that are confirmed as true in practice are raised to law, theory or axiom. Starting out from an axiom and using logical deductions

(including mathematical calculations), we may arrive at the first line of new conclusions. On the basis of these conclusions and the original or new axioms, we can push on to the second line of conclusions and thus successively move on to further reasoned deductions. This is the process of logical thinking, also called the deductive method. There are differences between logical thinking and the imaginal thinking of literature. The latter relies on exemplary artistic images, but the former relies mainly on axiomatic truths, established theories and concepts. A brilliant example of logical thinking is Euclidian geometry. Einstein said: "The first instance of a unique logical system with precise step-by-step deductions and propositions that leave no room for doubt—what I am talking about here is Euclidian geometry. This praiseworthy victory of human reasoning has brought man's mind the necessary confidence for future achievements." ("The Works of Einstein," Vol 1, p 313)

Einstein himself valued highly the deductive method. He often talked of the need to start out from the empirical data as a guide to establish new systems of thought. As to how to establish new systems of ideas, he believed there are two steps: the first step is to discover axiomatic truths, and the second step is to deduce conclusions from these truths. Which step is the more difficult? He said: If the scientific research personnel during their student years have acquired a good training in basic theories, deductive thinking and mathematics, for the second step they need only "a certain amount of diligent application and intelligence, and then they will most certainly succeed." As to the first step, namely, to find the axiomatic truths from which to begin deductions, that is of a completely different nature. There is no general method; "the scientist must seek out from the vast accumulation of empirical data the universal character which can be expressed in exact formulas and from there investigate to find the universal principles of the world of nature." ("The Works of Einstein," Vol 1, p 76) If the axiomatic truths have been selected approximately, the deductions may follow one after the other, but none of this can be foreseen in advance.

Apart from inference, abstraction, hypothesis, judgment and logical deductions, the content of dialectical thinking has yet another facet which at times is an even more important one, namely, scientific fantasy. Although scientific fantasy jumps far ahead of its time, transcends the conditions of reality and skips many of the intermediary steps of deductive logic, it states the final targets of the endeavors and thereby frequently spurs many leaps forward in science. What was scientific fantasy in antiquity--the eye that can see several hundred miles, the ear that hears miles away, the ability to soar into the clouds--has already become reality. Lobachevskiy's geometry was initially called a fantasy of geometry, but later it was confirmed as an important branch of geometry. Lenin therefore said: "Fantasy is a substance of the highest value." ("The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party," "The Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 282)

In scientific research one must learn to be accurate but must also be good at not being accurate. Accuracy will lead to systematic advance, but being inaccurate in the right way may bring victory by unusual tactics. Many new theories, such as calculus, have emerged from inadequate and inaccurate forms and only later have been perfected and made exact and accurate. We see from this that we should not view lightly the contradiction of properly dealing with scientific fantasy and logical substantiation.

Scientific fantasy has often been labeled idealistic or strangled by the so-called "theory of limits," but history proves that what was wrong was the "theory of limits" itself. In 1856 the founder of positivism, Comte, asserted that it would never be possible to determine the chemical composition of celestial bodies. Later, spectroscopic analysis immediately overthrew his theory. There are no limits to the expansion of human knowledge and to human creativity.

(5) Persistence and intellectual leap forward. In the process of scientific research, especially when pondering how to grasp a concept, to set forth a hypothesis or to substantiate a hypothesis, great difficulties frequently arise, and we find it is not easy to proceed further. At such moments we must persist, persist, and again persist! Remember Marx' famous saying: "There is no level road in science. Only those not afraid of the hardship of climbing precipitous mountain roads may hope to reach the glorious top." ("Capital," Vol 1, p 26)

Wang Anshi of the Song dynasty wrote an essay on his trip to Huashan Mountain in which he tells of a cave, very deep, very dark, very cold, "the further one penetrates, the more difficult the progress and the stranger the sights." Finally his courage gives out, and he does not go to the end of the cave. Wang Anshi regretted it, saying: "The most wonderful, imposing, extraordinary sights in the world are frequently at dangerous and distant places seldom reached by man. It is therefore only a man of strong determination who will be able to visit them." ("Guwen Guanzhi," Part 2, p 530) Isn't this graphic story also very inspiring in the field of scientific research?

Without hard and persistent struggle it will be difficult to achieve substantial results. On the other hand, if we are fearless of hardship and difficulties and prepared for an extended struggle, it is quite possible to achieve an intellectual leap forward and a breakthrough. This would be in accord with the dialectical rule that quantitative change brings qualitative change. The mathematician Gauss said that the solution of a certain theorem troubled him for 2 years, but suddenly, in a flash, he thought of the solution. How did this come about? At times a man studies a problem day and night, wastes time on it, pursues it without letup; then, knitting his brows and belaboring his mind, his brain heats up and he gets all worked up. Suddenly, in a flash, due to the right switch in the line of thinking or some stimulation from

outside, his intellect leaps from normal to highest capacity. At that time he is no longer his ordinary self, he transcends himself, he transcends the level of his ordinary intelligence and accomplishes an intellectual leap forward. In the field of his research his ideas come up like a gushing fountain or a downpour of rain. His mind will be extremely sharp, his imaginative power fully alert, and as a result he will solve his problem with the greatest ease. We see from the above that this intellectual leap forward is not a mystical or spiritual inspiration but the result of extended persistence and enthusiastic work.

(6) The test of practice. Practice is the only criterion for the testing of truth. This is a fundamental tenet of Marxism. If a theory has been substantiated through the test of practice, the most obstinate agnostic will be speechless in the face of the facts. What these people make so much noise about are usually questions which cannot, in a short time, be tested in practice, as, for instance: Has time a beginning? How did the universe start? How can we decipher the long-obsolete Mayan writing? The reason these questions cannot be tested is that they relate to the limitless or that they cannot possibly be revived. In these respects, workers in the field of science are particularly in need of guidance by dialectical materialism to maintain a clear head and avoid losing direction.

The deeper science develops, the greater the difficulties. However, this is only one side of the question. The other side of it is that the more advanced science becomes, the more human knowledge and experience are augmented and the more efficient are the instruments and techniques--all contributing to conditions conducive to new leaps forward. We are now living in an era of rapid development of production, science and technology. There is hope that in the not too distant future there will be a new scientific and technological revolution which will bring important and immense advances in macrocosm and microcosm, improve and create new species of living creatures, use new capacities and new resources to raise the quality and quantity of products, automate production and attack and overcome puzzling diseases and prevent natural catastrophies.

Scientific research is an incessant and relentless struggle against nature, and it needs not only excellent soldiers who courageously charge into the enemy lines but also outstanding officers. Furthermore, it needs an organic coordination of the various kinds of fighters and the various abilities. In the wake of a successive deepening of research, the degree of socialization of scientific research will increase day by day. Today the work of a single man like Newton or Edison or of small groups is of course very important, but the bulk of scientific research must unavoidably be left to large national or even international armies of fighters. It is for this reason that research methods have obviously become more important. To be able to direct this struggle requires the study of science itself, comprising the study of the main thrusts at the present stage, organic coordination between the various fields of science,

organization of the armies, instruments and equipment and the construction of bases, the rapid circulation of research results and reports, etc., etc. The newly emerging study of science is a new field of study which was born to satisfy a need. It deserves our best attention.

Our people are extremely diligent, clever and courageous. In antiquity our nation contributed greatly to science and technology. Today we are living in the happy socialist era with comparatively excellent conditions, and it stands to reason that we shall make even greater contributions to mankind. Our country not only will have top-rank technology but also will produce first-rank theoretical scientists and engineers. Let us unite under the leadership of the party, exert all efforts and struggle valiantly for a prosperous and flourishing science and for the early realization of the four modernizations in our country!

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SOVIET AND VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS WILL DEFINITELY BE PUNISHED BY HISTORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 pp 63-65

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Instigated and supported by Soviet social imperialism, the Vietnamese reactionary authorities wantonly trampled on the standard of international relations and waged a war of naked aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. This was a serious incident menacing peace and security in Southeast Asia, Asia and even the world. It was also a wild provocation against the people of the world. The Soviet and Vietnamese aggressors face strong condemnation and are extremely isolated.

Lenin pointed out: "War is the continuation of policy. We should study policy before war and policies which are causing or have caused war." ("On Sarcasm of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism,'" "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 23) Now we must also analyze the root causes of the war of aggression waged by the Soviet Union and Vietnam against Kampuchea.

The war of aggression against Kampuchea was an inevitable outcome of the policy of national chauvinism and regional hegemonism pushed by the Vietnamese authorities. For a long time Vietnamese authorities have cherished the fond dream of building a colonial empire of an "Indochina federation." When the Kampuchean and Vietnamese people fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism, and when Kampuchea provided bases, transport routes, grain and other materials to aid Vietnam while Kampuchea also suffered huge national sacrifices, Vietnamese authorities were all along nurturing schemes to annex Kampuchea. As soon as Vietnam achieved unification, it put Laos under tight control politically and militarily. Meanwhile, Vietnamese authorities encroached upon Kampuchean territory, continued to conduct armed invasions and subversive activities and even waged a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. Today, with Soviet backing, the Vietnamese authorities nurture far more covetous desires. They want to occupy Kampuchea and make it a springboard for their expansion in Southeast Asia and subsequently to dominate all of Southeast Asia.

Vietnamese authorities resort to militarism, seek expansion abroad and oppress and exploit the people at home. They admit, however, that the Vietnamese people "do not have enough to eat and wear" and "live in poverty." Popular discontent and resistance are growing. The Vietnamese authorities urgently need to find a way out through adventure and plundering abroad.

The war of aggression against Kampuchea is an important step of Soviet social imperialism in quickening its global strategic deployment. To prepare for a new world war and carry out world hegemony, the Soviet Union has recently paid particular attention to seizing strategic positions in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia. It commands Cuban mercenary troops to fight in Africa, plots coups d'etat and upheavals in western and southern Asia and uses Vietnam as the "Cuba of Asia" to invade and annex Kampuchea, build an "Indochina federation" and peddle the "Asian collective security system." Those are links in the chain of expansion. Should its expansionist plan be realized in Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union can integrate its strategic deployments in the Indian Ocean with those in the Pacific, thereby not only posing serious threats to the Asia and Pacific region but also greatly increasing its expansion in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region.

In defiance of universal condemnation, the Soviet Union recklessly made a move in Kampuchea because it was in an awkward predicament. It went everywhere to encircle others and subsequently was being encircled by more and more people of the world with each passing day. After suffering a series of serious defeats, it hastily intensified its expansionist offensive, concluded treaties of alliance one after another and even put its stakes on war. The war of aggression against Kampuchea reveals both the madness and the feebleness of the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

The Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists collaborated with each other in waging a war of aggression against Kampuchea. It was the most shameless war of aggression. They unscrupulously preyed on the weak and openly invaded a sovereign country by force and attempted to overthrow a lawful government. They did the same thing as the Hitler fascists. Just after a Soviet-Vietnamese treaty was concluded in Moscow and the smoke-screen of a puppet "front" was put up in Hanoi, more than 100,000 Vietnamese regular troops, supported by large numbers of Soviet aircraft, tanks and guns, brazenly invaded Kampuchea. The Soviet and Vietnamese authorities tried to camouflage their true goals, saying that this was "an internal affair" of Kampuchea. Does it not sound like a fairytale that within a very short period of time the puppet "front" could amass such a large number of regular troops and possess so many planes, tanks and guns? No matter how they tried to camouflage their goals, it can be seen very clearly that "Vietnam, a wolf wearing the cloak of the united front, invaded Kampuchea." Those occupying Kampuchea now are none other than the Vietnamese aggressor troops, and that "government" established at the point of the bayonet of the Soviet Union and Vietnam is simply a

puppet. They said brazenly that Democratic Kampuchea "invaded" Vietnam and that Vietnam exercised its "right of self-defense." The Vietnamese authorities formerly encroached upon Kampuchea. Now they have become more frenzied and occupied Phnom Penh, the capital, and large tracts of Kampuchean territory. Their "rights of self-defense" have swelled to such an extent! They flatly denied that the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty was "a military alliance" "against a third country." Practice shows that this is a war treaty aimed at invading other countries and is a sanguinary alliance specifying that Moscow gives rubles, weapons and advisers while Hanoi offers manpower. Yet they publicize that they are "actively contributing to peace and stability" in Southeast Asia. On the contrary, the people of the world see that the Soviet and Vietnamese authorities have spread the fire of war not only to Kampuchea but also to the borders of their neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. Under Soviet control, Vietnam has become a root cause of upheavals and a dangerous source of war in Southeast Asia and all of Asia. As a result of their atrocities, the Soviet and Vietnamese authorities have torn off their masks.

Though Soviet and Vietnamese authorities have succeeded temporarily in Kampuchea, they have exposed their features as big and small hegemonists and have suffered serious defeats politically and morally. Outcries of vigilance are heard in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world: If they are allowed to annex Kampuchea, who will they annex next? If they are allowed to openly invade other sovereign states, can a country have independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity? Can there be peace and security? Can there be justice? Opposing the Soviet and Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is not just a local problem concerning Kampuchea, but is a major problem concerning the peace and security of Southeast Asia, the Pacific region and even the world. Precisely for that reason, waves of angry protest have surged in various continents, sending the Soviet Union and Vietnam to the pillory of history. The sympathy and support of all peace-loving and just countries and people go to the Kampuchean people.

Looking into the development of the Soviet and Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea, we must analyze the characteristics of both belligerent parties. Compared with Kampuchea, Vietnam, as an aggressor, is bigger and stronger, has a big army, gets support from the Soviet Union, a superpower, and is superior in military equipment and strength. It has been able to quickly encroach upon large tracts of Kampuchean territory for the time being. However, it has been engaged in an unjust war of aggression. At home it is beset with financial difficulties and is very isolated and feeble politically. The Soviet Union, by maintaining ever-longer battlefronts in the world, is also facing a pile of problems. It is engaged in an unjust cause and therefore has meager support. The longer the aggressors stay in Kampuchea, the tighter will be the noose around their necks and the heavier the burden on their backs. Eventually they will be pulled down and defeated. Kampuchea is

a relatively small and weak country and is inferior in military equipment and strength, so it met with serious difficulties in war. However, it is engaged in a just war against aggression. The Kampuchean people are at the crucial moment of national survival or subjugation, so that the national contradiction between them and the aggressors is sharpening. They definitely do not want to be slaves of a foreign nation but will offer ever-stronger resistance and become more and more powerful in war. They are engaged in a just cause and enjoy abundant support in the international arena. The aggressors' superior military strength is a temporary phenomenon and plays a role for the time being. The nature of war determines the people's attitude and is the factor which always plays a role. The superiority, in this respect, belongs to the Kampuchean people. These characteristics of contradictions between the two belligerent parties determine that the war of the Kampuchean people against aggression will be protracted and arduous and that the Kampuchean people will surely win in the end.

Because of the big difference in military strength, the Kampuchean people promptly changed their strategy, withdrew from some cities and carried out a people's guerrilla war in various parts of their country. When they lost a city, they tried to create conditions for recapturing it. Such examples are numerous in the history of war waged by oppressed and invaded people. In the campaign to defend the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia borders during the period of the liberation war in China, because we were weak while the enemy forces were strong, we had to temporarily give up Yanan, the site of the headquarters of the party Central Committee. However, we lured the enemy troops in deep and yielded one city and area after another, thereby consuming the enemy's effective strength bit by bit. Eventually the war situation was turned around, and we recaptured Yanan and hastened the victory of the war for nationwide liberation. During the period of World War II the Hitlerian fascists occupied some Yugoslav cities, but the Yugoslav people persistently fought in resistance and eventually liberated the whole country.

In 1970, when Kampuchea was invaded by imperialism, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his renowned "20 May" statement: "Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support, while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong; a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise to struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is the law of history." That point was demonstrated by the fact that the Kampuchean people in the past defeated imperialism and its lackeys, who were many times stronger. The point will be demonstrated again in the future by the war waged by the Kampuchean people against Vietnam and to defend their country. Big and small, strong and weak are relative and will change in the opposite direction under given conditions. Though strong for the time being, a decayed reactionary strength will eventually be replaced by a newborn revolutionary force which is weak for the time

being. In the course of the struggle waged by the Kampuchean people, the aggressors' strength will diminish and weaken, while the people's revolutionary force will grow in size and strength. That is the dialectic of historical development. The Soviet and Vietnamese aggressors will definitely be punished by history.

The Chinese people and the Kampuchean people are close comrades-in-arms in their struggle against hegemonism. We supported in the past, we now support and will in the future support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against aggression. We have learned deeply from our experience that a revolutionary struggle takes a tortuous path and will meet hardships and setbacks of various descriptions and that, under the conditions of a correct line and policy, the hardships and setbacks will surely become the precursor of smooth progress and success.

The Kampuchean people are a heroic people having the tradition of long-term revolution. In the last war against imperialism and its lackeys the Kampuchean Communist Party, headed by Comrade Pol Pot, led the Kampuchean people, united with all strata in the country, perseveringly waged a people's war and won victory through self-reliance and hard work. At present the Kampuchean people's struggle against Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonism has entered a new stage. We firmly believe that the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party and the government of Democratic Kampuchea, will form the broadest national, democratic and patriotic united front, persist in fighting a protracted people's war and can surely reverse the war situation, defeat the aggressors and win the final victory in their national war of self-defense.

A CLUMSY PERFORMANCE OF USING HISTORY TO OPPOSE CHINA--COMMENTING ON
'COMMEMORATION OF THE 900TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RHU NGUYET GIANG VICTORY'
DIRECTED BY THE VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES

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[Article by Zou Qiyu [6760 0796 1342] of the Yunnan Provincial Institute
of Historical Research]

[Text] In recent years the Vietnamese authorities have "commemorated"
the wars which took place between China and Vietnam during the feudal
age.

Wars did take place between China and Vietnam, which had a long history
of relations: there were many wars of aggression launched by feudal
Chinese dynasties against Vietnam, as well as wars of aggression launched
by feudal Vietnamese dynasties against China. But were these wars in the
mainstream of the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations? Of course not.
History is created by the masses of people. In their protracted strug-
gles against class and national oppression the Chinese and Vietnamese
people also sympathized with and supported each other. They learned from
and communicated with each other in the economic and cultural fields.
The traditional friendship cultivated between the Chinese and Vietnamese
people was the mainstream of history of Sino-Vietnamese relations. The
Chinese people have always treasured their traditional friendship with
the people of other countries. Reviewing the history of relations
between China and Vietnam, one should emphasize this mainstream. All
the wars between the two countries were provoked by the feudal ruling
classes, brought a great deal of hardship to the people of these two
countries and, therefore, were opposed by the people. These wars were
only a tiny whirlpool in the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations and
could never change the course of the mighty current of the traditional
friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people.

However, these "commemorations" directed by the Vietnamese authorities
absolutely did not intend to review history but aimed at creating
national hatred. The so-called "commemoration of the 900th anniversary
of the Rhu Nguyet Giang victory" was an obvious example.

The "Rhu Nguyet Giang victory" referred to a war between the Song dynasty of China and the Ly dynasty of Vietnam during the 11th century. This was the only war which took place between China and Vietnam during the Ly dynasty, which lasted for over two centuries. Applying the historical materialist viewpoint and method in making a scientific analysis and summary of this war launched by the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty of Vietnam will surely help to reveal the course of objective development of the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations and to cement the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people. However, out of their political needs at home and abroad the Vietnamese authorities tried, in some official publications, to reverse the history of this war, prettify the Vietnamese feudal lords and obliquely attack the socialist new China of today. Around 1977 they again conducted some so-called "commemorative" activities on a large scale, assigning some generals to "guide" study and research and "scholars" to write articles, thereby making a mess of everything.¹ What, in fact, were they up to? They willfully reversed the historical facts of the aggressors and the aggressed and "commemorated" the invasion of China by the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty. They eulogized the "outstanding military feats" of the aggressors and advocated the "strategy of dominating the enemy by striking first." Their main purpose, as in other similar "commemorative" activities in recent years, was to change the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations into a history of aggression by ancient China against Vietnam in order to create national hatred, impair the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people, cooperate with Soviet revisionism in opposing China and ostracizing the Chinese and push its regional hegemonism. Therefore, it is necessary for us to comment on these "commemorations" and restore the true features of history.

Lenin said: "Facts are extremely important in really clarifying the complicated and difficult problems which are often deliberately confused by some people."² Let us cite the historical facts provided by history books, especially those published by Vietnam, to clear up this historical problem which was intentionally confused by the Vietnamese authorities.

Who Provoked This War?

The battle of Rhu Nguyet Giang took place in the spring of 1077, that is to say, during the final stage of the war between the Song dynasty of China and the Ly dynasty of Vietnam. To correctly see the nature of this war we must first make this point clear: Why did this war break out 900 years ago?

The Ly dynasty in Vietnam was founded in 1009 in succession to the Le dynasty. It ruled over the area of the Red River Delta. To the north was China. To the south was the state of Chiem Thanh (also known as Chiem Ba), which is now the middle part of Vietnam. South of Chiem Thanh was the state of Zhen La [4176 5248], which is now Kampuchea. China's

Song dynasty was in close communication with Chiem Thanh and Zhen La and never had an armed clash with them. It also maintained very close relations with the Ly dynasty of Vietnam and had always been on good terms with it. However, with the gradual consolidation of their political power the feudal lords of Vietnam's Ly dynasty embarked on an expansionist policy and often attacked and disturbed the Chinese borders.

According to the Vietnamese history books "Yue Shi Lue" [6390 0670 3970], "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu" [1129 6390 0670 6068 0356 2579] and "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu" [6390 0670 6639 7003 4854 4158] and the Chinese "History of the Song Dynasty," the feudal lords of Vietnam's Ly dynasty intruded into Chinese border areas on at least six occasions during the period from 1014 to 1060.

At first--that is, in 1014--Truong Ba Khan and some people of minority nationalities under the rule of the Ly dynasty "escaped punishment" and crossed over to Guangxi, China. Under this pretext the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty attacked Ruhongzhai in Qinzhou Prefecture, Guangxi, and "captured many people and took away a large number of domestic animals."³ In 1022 the Ly dynasty sent its troops to suppress the people of minority nationalities on the borders and took this opportunity to invade Chinese territory. These troops "went into Ruhongzhai village in China, burned the granaries there and returned."⁴ In 1028 the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty sent his envoy to China's Song dynasty and "ordered his sons and his son-in-law, Than Thua Guy, to lead some troops" to attack the Chinese border and "ransack the people there."⁵ Soon after that, Emperor Ly Cong Uan of the Ly dynasty died of illness, and the situation did not grow worse. In the winter of 1036, rebellions broke out in Lam Tay Dao and in Do Kim, Thuong Tan and Binh Nguyen prefectures. The rebel army invaded Siling Prefecture in Guangxi, China, and "took away the cattle and horses and burned the houses there."⁶ These incidents were border disputes and did not involve a great area, so that the consequences were not serious. The Song dynasty restrained itself, thus maintaining peace with the Ly dynasty.

However, in 1044 the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty attacked the state of Chiem Thanh, occupied its capital city, captured the harem of its king, took away a great deal of loot and killed so many people that "the corpses covered the wilderness." After that, the feudal lord became more reckless and unbridled in invading China.

According to "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," in 1059 Yu Chuong Thanh, the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty, "went on a punitive expedition in the spring to Qinzhou Prefecture during the Song dynasty and returned after displaying his military strength." This was an overt military provocation. The following spring, "Than Thieu Thai, governor of Lan Chau during the Ly dynasty, chased after some deserters, intruded into the territory of the Song dynasty and took commander Yang Baocai and some soldiers captive and some cattle and horses as loot."⁷ He also killed

five local security officials in Yongzhou Prefecture.⁸ He was the son-in-law of the emperor of Vietnam's Ly dynasty. Yang Baocai was a middle-ranking official of China's Song dynasty. Even if Than Thieu Thai was chasing deserters, how could he go beyond the border, kill local residents and take an army officers and soldiers of the Song dynasty captive? What wrong had the cattle and horses done that they should also be taken away? The local officials of the Song dynasty organized forces to resist the intruders. Yu Jing, commander of the Guangxi army, was prepared to fight his way back to the area under the rule of the Ly dynasty. The Song emperor "forbade military operations" and ordered Yu Jing to hold talks in Yongzhou Prefecture with Phi Gia Huu, envoy of the Ly dynasty. In the talks, Yu Jing asked for the release of Yang Baocai, but the answer from the Ly emperor was "no."⁹ After that the local officials in Guangxi adopted measures to strengthen border defenses against the daily increasing disturbances by the Ly dynasty.

In 1069 the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty again attacked the state of Chiem Thanh, capturing 50,000 people and occupying three prefectures. He had greater military strength and was obsessed by the idea of making a profit. Taking advantage of the dispute between the government of the Song dynasty and the governments of Liao and Xixia in China and the contradiction between the political group headed by Wang Anshi and another group headed by Sima Guang within the government of the Song dynasty, the Vietnamese feudal lord cooked up the excuse that Guangxi officials Shen Qi and Liu Yi "secretly raised an army of local inhabitants of national minorities to build ships and train for naval battles and forbade the border prefectures and counties to trade with our country." In November 1075 he "ordered Ly Thuong Kiet and Ton Dan to lead some 100,000 men" to launch a surprise attack against China.¹⁰

Ly Thuong Kiet and Ton Dan divided their army into two groups, one advancing by land and the other by sea. On 30 December 1075 they captured Qinzhou. Three days later they took Lianzhou (now Hepu, Guangxi). On 1 March the following year they captured the city of Yongzhou (now Nanning, Guangxi). According to Vietnamese history, after occupying Yongzhou the army of the Ly dynasty "killed all of the some 58,000 residents of the city. People of Zinzhou and Lianzhou were also killed. The total death toll exceeded 100,000 persons." They also put up propaganda posters in areas they occupied saying that "the agricultural aid program and enforced conscription of auxiliary labor introduced by the Song dynasty were a disaster to the people. We are now sending an army to deliver the Chinese people from disaster."¹¹ The Song dynasty enforced the law regarding agricultural aid and auxiliary labor and revised its fiscal and revenue system. This was entirely an internal affair of China. This was indeed a lame excuse for the Ly dynasty to "dispatch an army." At that time the Ly army had been attacking China for more than 3 months, marching hundreds of li into Chinese territory and killing more than 100,000 people. This was a war of aggression against China.

Facing an attack by the Ly army, the Song dynasty assigned Guo Kui and Zhao Xie as commander and deputy commander, respectively, of a punitive army of 100,000 men. They set out from Hunan in June 1076 and launched a counterattack. It was a hot summer. The Song army was greatly reduced in size because of epidemics or other diseases attributed to miasma. Yet it reached south Guangxi in October of the same year, crossed the border in December and entered the area under the rule of the Ly dynasty. After that the Song and Ly armies were in a stalemate on both banks of the Cau Giang and the Rhu Nguyet Giang rivers, where battles went on for more than a month. Each of the two armies won some battles. The so-called "Rhu Nguyet Giang victory" which some Vietnamese publications are bragging about today was a battle fought in the course of this stalemate. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu" and "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu" carried this record of the war situation: "Ly Thuong Kiet led an army to counterattack the Song army and defeated it at Rhu Nguyet Giang. More than 1,000 men of the Song army were killed." During the stalemate, Princes Hoang Chan and Chieu Van died in battle, and the Ly army suffered heavy casualties. "As a result, they sent an envoy to the Song army, paying bounties and asking it to retreat."¹² The Song army "had to endure hot weather and miasmas. It lost more than half of its men, and the survivors were ill." In addition, army rations were inadequate because they had to be transported long distances. "The Song army had consumed its rations"¹³ and could not defeat the Ly army completely. For this reason, the two armies negotiated peace, and the Song army withdrew to Chinese territory. This war ended after lasting about 1 1/2 years.

Clearly, this war broke out, not because China's Song dynasty had invaded Vietnam, but because the feudal lord of Vietnam's Ly dynasty had invaded China. The Vietnamese authorities are aware of the truth. Why do they turn history upside down to deceive the people?

Refuting the Statement That the Song Dynasty "Stepped Up Preparations for Attacking Vietnam"

Ironclad facts show that the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty invaded China. Today, in order to eulogize and "commemorate" this invasion, the Vietnamese authorities have to cook up some reasons. They have succeeded, and the principal reason they have cooked up is this: Before the army of the Ly dynasty invaded China, the Song dynasty "had stepped up preparations for attacking Vietnam after Wang Anshi came into power."¹⁴ So, the Song dynasty's "preparations" meant invasion, while the military invasion of the Ly dynasty meant "self-defense." We cannot begin to say how ridiculous this logic is in defending the invasion and expansion plotted by the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty. It is entirely against historical facts to say that the Song dynasty "stepped up its preparations for attacking Vietnam."

How did the Song dynasty "step up preparations for attacking Vietnam" after Wang Anshi came into power in 1069? Those who concocted this

statement put forward two points as evidence: First, Wang Anshi said that "we must win the war in the south." Second, Guangxi officials Shen Qi and Liu Yi adopted measures to strengthen border defense.

With regard to the first point, the "History of Vietnam" compiled by the Vietnamese Social Science Committee gives a detailed account. It quotes a passage from Li Tao's "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian" [4958 6327 3112 6639 7003 7022 4882] which carries statements by Wang Anshi: "Our prestige will surge if we defeat Vietnam by a single blow. If we station our victorious army in Shaanxi, then all soldiers in Shaanxi will be high spirited. If we annex the state of Xia, then no one will venture to invade China!" So, the Vietnamese come to this conclusion: "The emperor and ministers of the Song dynasty advocated the policy of invading our country."¹⁵

However, one will see the truth as soon as one refers to "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian." Wang Anshi's statement is carried in volume 276 of this book. He said this, not before the war, but 7 months after the Ly army had invaded China and killed more than 100,000 people. This was in July 1076, and Wang Anshi was discussing with Emperor Shenzong how to deal with the invading Ly army. In order to put a cloak of "self-defense" on the expansionist policy adopted by the Ly dynasty, the director of the "commemoration" has the effrontery to put the historical incidents in the wrong order and to reverse cause and effect. This is really ridiculous and pitiable.

Regarding the second point, Shen Qi and Liu Yi, who were Guangxi officials of the Song dynasty, reportedly had built "a base of invasion." What was the evidence? Relevant Vietnamese articles today quote the same materials from Vietnamese historical records: "Shen Qi and Liu Yi amassed an army of local residents, built ships, trained sailors for sea battles and forbade the border prefectures and counties to trade with our country" (see "Yue Shi Lue"), or "the Song dynasty assigned Shen Qi and Liu Yi to take charge of Guizhou. Shen Qi and Liu Yi secretly raised an army of local residents of national minorities to build ships, trained them for naval battles and forbade the border prefectures and counties to trade with our country" (see "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu"), or "(Liu Yi) organized the local residents, trained them for naval battles for the purpose of invasion, and strictly forbade border prefectures and counties to trade with other countries" (see "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu"). Why do the authors of these articles not think about this question: Can these historical materials serve to show that Shen Qi and Liu Yi built a "base of invasion" and that the Song dynasty "stepped up preparations for invading Vietnam"?

Shen Qi and Liu Yi "took charge of Guizhou" in 1073. In China at that time, Wang Anshi was in power and enforced a tithing system to maintain internal security and strengthen national defense. Should Shen Qi and Liu Yi carry out this system in Guangxi as well? They carried out this

system not only in south Guangxi but also in Rongzhou (now Rongan) in north Guangxi.¹⁶ In China a Chinese official took a census, conscripted young people for training and built citadels in accordance with the national policy. This was purely an internal affair. How could it be described as "stepping up preparations for attacking Vietnam"? The Guangxi officials advocated shipbuilding and naval training and forbade trading with the Ly dynasty. Obviously these were defensive measures against the continuous invasion of Chinese borders by the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty. As was previously mentioned, according to many passages recorded in Vietnamese history books, long before Shen Qi and Liu Yi took charge of Guangxi the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty frequently invaded the Guangxi border areas, burned granaries, took domestic animals, plundered the local inhabitants and even arrested Song officials and refused to release them. May we ask: When the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty was so overbearing, should the Guangxi officials not make any preparations for defense? When you invade other people, they guard against you and do not want to do business with you. Can this be a good reason for you to beat them?

Actually, because of its acute contradiction with the governments of Liao and Xixia in China, the Song dynasty was then adopting a tolerant policy toward the Ly dynasty of Vietnam. Those who said it was right for the Ly dynasty to commit aggression were quite clear on this point after having read "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian." Shen Qi was dismissed a year after he took charge of Guangxi. Why? Because the Song dynasty dismissed his defensive measures as "reckless acts," fearing that they would provoke the Ly dynasty.¹⁷ The Ly dynasty accused Liu Yi of "forbidding communications and trade." The Song dynasty immediately ordered Liu Yi "not to cut off" trade and communications across the borders of the two countries.¹⁸ Moreover, in 1074, after receiving reports from Guangxi officials about "Vietnam amassing troops to invade Guangxi," the Song dynasty stuck to a defensive policy and ordered the Guangxi commander to "keep quiet, become entrenched in positions, and not covet meritorious service and underestimate the enemy."¹⁹ In the 6 months before the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty launched a large-scale attack on China, the Song dynasty still regarded the peace between the Song and Ly dynasties as a good thing. When Wang Anshi, prime minister of the Song dynasty who was wrongly charged for "stepping up preparations for attacking Vietnam," learned that Liu Ji, leader of a tribe in the border region, had risen in armed insurrection, he feared that if Liu Ji should gain power he would "intrude into Vietnam and make trouble for China." He suggested obstructing Liu Ji, "so that he would not intrude into Vietnam, and this would be in the interests of China."²⁰ Therefore, the Song dynasty adopted the necessary measures to obstruct Liu Ji. Six months later, Ly Thuong Kiet led an army, which advanced by two routes, to invade China. "Because the Guangxi garrison was too weak and decentralized to guard various areas," the Song dynasty ordered "the local army to hold its ground firmly and not fight."²¹ This fact further showed that the Song dynasty not only did not have any "base of invasion" but also had not prepared for war with the Ly dynasty.

The ancient Vietnamese feudal historians could find no way to cover up the crimes of aggression of the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty. After much strenuous work they discovered that Shen Qi and Liu Yi had enforced the tithing system, built warships and forbidden the border inhabitants to trade with Vietnam, so they accused them of aggression. They never imagined that, instructed by the Vietnamese authorities, historians of today would play the trick of turning history upside down to show that it was right for the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty to invade China and to portray China as the aggressor.

Refuting the Statement That the Song Dynasty "Instigated Chiem Thanh To Provoke Our Country From the South"

The expansionist activities in the state of Chiem Thanh conducted by the feudal lords of Vietnam's Ly dynasty were praised in the historical records written by the ancient Vietnamese feudal historians. Today the "commemorative" works written at the instruction of the Vietnamese authorities not only praise these expansionist activities but also portray them as taken in "self-defense" and "concentrating strength to cope with the aggression by feudal forces from the north."²² Why? Because the Song dynasty "instigated Chiem Thanh to provoke our country from the south."²³ So, did the feudal lord of the Ly dynasty attack Chiem Thanh, or did China's Song dynasty instigate Chiem Thanh to invade Vietnam under the rule of the Ly dynasty? This is another historical problem which needs to be clarified.

The war between the Ly dynasty and the Song dynasty occurred during the reign of Ly Kien Duc, the fourth emperor of the Ly dynasty. However, soon after it was founded the Ly dynasty began plundering and annexing Chiem Thanh. According to a record in "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," in the winter of 1019 Ly Cong Uan, founder of the Ly dynasty, "ordered Khai Thien Vuong and Dao Thac Phu to lead an army to attack the Chiem Thanh people at Bo Chinh Trai. The army came to Long Ty Son and killed a Chiem Thanh general named Bo Linh in battle. More than half the Chiem Thanh people were wiped out."²⁴ Did Chiem Thanh invade the Ly dynasty before that? According to historical records it did not. So, is it reasonable to say that the first emperor of the Ly dynasty invaded Chiem Thanh for "self-defense" and because the Song dynasty "instigated Chiem Thanh to provoke our country from the south"?

In August 1043 Ly Phat Ma, the second emperor of the Ly dynasty, said that Chiem Thanh had "not offered tribute" in 16 years. As a result, he ordered the building of several hundred warships and "was determined to make a punitive expedition to Chiem Thanh."²⁵ In October the same year he played a superstitious trick, saying that "the imperial shield in the eternal palace moved by itself," and fostered the belief that "when a weapon moves by itself it symbolizes God's consent for man to use the same kind of weapons." He "amassed an army to punish Chiem Thanh in February of the next year."²⁶ Having made all the necessary preparations,

he launched all his ships and "led the punitive expedition to Chiem Thanh." The Chiem Thanh people hastily put up a fight at Ngu Bo Giang, south of Tu Hien Ha Khau, and were routed before the battle started. Thirty thousand people were killed by the Ly army, and 5,000 others were taken captives. Their king, Sa Dau, died in battle. "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu" embellished Ly Phat Ma's act, saying: "The Chiem Thanh people were killed by our army. Their corpses covered the wilderness. The emperor was sorry about this and issued an order forbidding indiscriminate killing." In July 1044 Ly Phat Ma occupied Phat The, the capital city of Chiem Thanh, took the Chiem Thanh king's wives, concubines and maids as captives, seized a great deal of gold, silver and other precious objects and returned to Vietnam. He renamed his reign "Tien Cam Thanh Vo" to mark this victory.²⁷ Ly Phat Ma led the conquest of Chiem Thanh and committed murder and robbery. Did he do this for "self-defense" and because the Song dynasty "instigated Chiem Thanh to provoke our country from the south"?

Ly Nhat Ton, the third emperor of the Ly dynasty, followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps and went even further to ransack and annex Chiem Thanh. In the spring of 1069 he led an army to conquer Chiem Thanh, killed its General Bo That Da La and took its King Che Cu as captive. "Countless people in Chiem Thanh were killed."²⁸ After occupying the city of Phat The, he feted his generals and ministers and gave a demonstration of swordplay in the Chiem Thanh king's palace. He was highly elated. Yet he felt that he had not completely ravaged Chiem Thanh. So he "ordered that the houses inside and outside the city of Phat The be divided into 2,560 groups and burned."²⁹ The capital city of Chiem Thanh was thus reduced to ashes. According to an inscription on a monument at My Son in Chiem Thanh, "the Vietnamese troops invaded Chiem Thanh and robbed its king and monasteries of their money and property. They ransacked the monasteries and palaces in all areas in Chiem Thanh and took away the horses, elephants, cattle and grain."³⁰ After this war, Vietnam greatly expanded its territory, and Che Cu, king of Chiem Thanh, was forced to cede three regions, that is, Bo Chinh, Dia Ly and Ma Linh. The boundary between Vietnam and Chiem Thanh was moved southward to the site of the present-day Quang Tri Province. To commemorate this major feat of ransacking and seizing Chiem Thanh, Ly Nhat Ton renamed his reign "Than Vo" in July of the same year. May we ask: Ly Nhat Ton bragged about this "sacred and heroic" war. Did he wage this war for "self-defense" and because the Song dynasty "instigated Chiem Thanh to provoke our country from the south"?

Countless historical facts recorded in Vietnamese history books show that Vietnam under the rule of the Ly dynasty was an oppressor and plunderer and that Chiem Thanh was oppressed and plundered. The Ly dynasty succeeded time and again in its southward expansion. It seized more and more land and wealth, and its greed for expansion grew bigger and bigger. Eventually it pointed its spearhead of war northward. Six years after the "sacred and heroic" war it brazenly invaded China and stirred up the war between the Song and Ly dynasties.

Did Chiem Thanh ever invade the territory under the rule of the Ly dynasty? It was recorded in Vietnamese history books that "Chiem Thanh disturbed the borders." But first, "Chiem Thanh disturbed the borders" only after it had been invaded by the Ly dynasty. Second, the Vietnamese historical records did not give a clear account of how Chiem Thanh disturbed Vietnamese borders during the Ly dynasty. Therefore, until this day it is not clear whether this actually happened or whether it was an excuse like "the imperial shield that moved by itself." Presumably, even if Chiem Thanh did "disturb Vietnamese borders," it was only a kind of resistance against the bullying and humiliation carried out by the Ly dynasty. Today the articles written at the instructions of the Vietnamese authorities interpret this as "provocation" and "aggression." This shows clearly that the Vietnamese authorities are imbued with hegemonist ideas and act like the magistrate in the Chinese saying who sets houses on fire while forbidding ordinary people to light lamps.

Did the Song dynasty join Chiem Thanh in resisting the Ly dynasty? It did. In the winter of 1075 the Ly army invaded China and occupied Qinzhou, Lianzhou and Yongzhou. The Song dynasty took a measure of counterattack by sending its envoy on 8 March 1076 to unite with Chiem Thanh and Zhen La in resisting Vietnam.³¹ The Vietnamese history books also carried this record: "In March 1076 the Song dynasty assigned Guo Kui as chief and Zhao Xie as deputy chief of the expeditionary army, assisted by nine generals, to unite with Chiem Thanh and Zhen La in invading Vietnam."³² This showed that the Song dynasty formed an alliance with Chiem Thanh and Zhen La when it assigned Guo Kui to be army commander and prepare for a counterattack. Both Chinese and Vietnamese historical records gave a clear account of the cause and the effect. However, 900 years after that the Vietnamese authorities try in every possible way to reverse this part of history. This is a very despicable and abominable way of "proving" that China always invaded Vietnam during past dynasties.

The Purpose of Advocating "Striking First To Dominate the Enemy"

Facts speak louder than words. The above quotation and analysis of historical materials show that the war launched against China in 1075 by the feudal lord of Vietnam's Ly dynasty was an unjust war of aggression. In exposing and criticizing an unjust war launched by any country, the proletariat always seeks truth from facts and strictly separates the ruling class of the country which launches the war from the broad masses of people exploited and oppressed by it. For this reason, we always hold that the Vietnamese people are not responsible for the foreign aggression and expansion of the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty. However, the Vietnamese authorities today direct this act of "commemoration" not only to vigorously eulogize the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty but also to overtly and unscrupulously turn history upside down and portray China, which was then being invaded, as the invader. This shows that the

purpose of this "commemoration" is to fabricate the lie that the main danger to Vietnam is "the threat from the north," to create a "historical basis" for opposing China and to release the anti-China miasmal mist. The Vietnamese paper NHAN DAN clamors that today's socialist new China "inherits the fond dream of the ancient Chinese emperors of dominating the world," "the big-nation chauvinism of the former heavenly kingdom is being revived and is running wild,"³³ and so forth. This is a portrayal of the Vietnamese authorities' sinister purpose.

What deserves particular attention is that while holding this "commemoration" the Vietnamese authorities wantonly propagate their "idea of attack" "for the purpose of self-defense and striking first to dominate the enemy," an idea they developed by summing up the experiences of foreign expansion acquired by the feudal lords of the Ly dynasty.³⁴ What do they mean by "for the purpose of self-defense and striking first to dominate the enemy"? They say: Ly Thuong Kiet led a big army to launch a surprise attack on China, thus "embodying the active strategic idea of taking the initiative in assuming the offensive in a basically defensive operation." "He realized that the enemy would surely intrude and that the best defense was to take the initiative in attacking the enemy's base."³⁵ That is to say, as long as one "realizes" that others will "surely intrude," and no matter whether others have intruded or not, one should "take the initiative in attacking them." This is the "best defense," an experience the Vietnamese authorities have summed up from history! This is the true meaning of the "self-defense" which the Vietnamese authorities have kept on prating about! This theory of "self-defense" may provide a good excuse for any act of aggression. How can there be peace and security in the world if this "active strategic idea" is applied? How can the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a country be guaranteed? The theory of "defending oneself by striking first to dominate the enemy" that the Vietnamese authorities advocate is aimed at embellishing their hegemonism.

Public opinion is the precursor of action. Today people have seen very clearly how the Vietnamese authorities have applied the "active strategic idea" of "defending oneself by striking first to dominate the enemy." Are they not crying loudly that they "have been forced to rise in self-defense" while openly launching a war of aggression against Kampuchea? Are they not shouting the slogan "We firmly defend our sovereignty and territory" while steering Soviet tanks and flying Soviet planes to wildly ravage and wantonly encroach upon vast areas in Kampuchea? These sanguinary facts cannot but make the people of all countries think seriously about this question: If the Vietnamese authorities can completely realize their "active strategic idea," who will then be the next target of "striking first to dominate the enemy"?

Engels pointed out: "To make all phony goods is the nature of the bourgeoisie and the condition of its existence. The bourgeoisie also wants to fabricate history."³⁶ In order to push regional hegemonism, the

Vietnamese authorities fabricate history by all possible means to stir up national hatred. This shows that they are very feeble. The misdeeds of the Vietnamese authorities have seriously impaired relations between China and Vietnam. However, this is only an adverse current in the long river of the friendly relations between the Chinese and Vietnamese people. History is a just judge. The currents which flow against history and those who trample on the wishes of the people can never evade punishment by history.

FOOTNOTES

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2. "Statistics and Sociology," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 279.
3. "History of the Song Dynasty," Vol 488, "Vietnam."
4. Ngo Si Lien (Vietnamese), "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 2; Phan Thanh Gian and others (Vietnamese), "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 2.
5. Le Tac (Vietnamese), "An Nam Chi Luoc" [1344 0589 1807 3970], Vol 12; "History of the Song Dynasty," Vol 488, "Vietnam."
6. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 2; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 2.
7. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3; also "Yue Shi Luo," Vol 2, and "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
8. "History of the Song Dynasty," Vol 320, biography of Yu Jing.
9. "History of the Song Dynasty," Vol 488, "Vietnam," and Vol 320, "Biography of Yu Jing"; "Yue Shi Lue," Vol 2; "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.

10. "Yue Shi Lue," Vol 2; "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
11. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
12. "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
13. Li Tao (the Song dynasty), "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vol 279.
14. Van Tan, "In Commemoration of the 900th Anniversary of the Rhu Nguyet Giang Victory--Ly Thuong Kiet and the Cause of Defending and Building the Motherland in the 11th Century."
15. Vietnamese Social Science Committee, "History of Vietnam," (Vol 1) p 171.
16. "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vols 244, 247.
17. "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vol 251.
18. "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vol 270.
19. "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vol 251.
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23. Ibid.
24. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 2.
25. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 2; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
26. Ibid.
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28. "Yue Shi Lue," Vol 2; "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3.
29. Ibid.

30. G. Ma Si Bo Luo, "History of Chiem Ba," translated by Feng Chengjun, Commercial Press edition, pp 67-68.
31. "Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian," Vol 273.
32. "Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu," biographies, Vol 3; "Yue Shi Tong Jian Gang Mu," first edition, Vol 3.
33. NHAN DAN, 20 September 1978, commentator's article and 3 October editorial.
34. Phan Huy Le and others, "Some Decisive Strategic Battles in Vietnamese National History," p 30; Van Tan, "In Commemoration of the 900th Anniversary of the Rhu Nguyet Giang Victory--Ly Thuong Kiet and the Cause of Defending and Building the Motherland in the 11th Century"; Phan Huy Thiep and Trinh Vuong Hong, "Another Talk About Several Problems Concerning the Rhu Nguyet Campaign in the Spring of 1077."
35. Ibid.
36. "Fragments of 'Irish History,'" "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 573.

IS 'SELF-CULTIVATION' A CRIME?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 79 p 73

[Article by Jia Yunfeng [6328 0061 1496], RED FLAG reader]

[Text] The use of the word "self-cultivation" has been banned for more than a decade, and even now it still cannot appear in publications. Why is it so neglected by people? According to hearsay it was because the book "How To Be a Good Communist," written by Liu Shaoqi, used the word "self-cultivation." Therefore, this word has become "poisonous."

On checking the dictionary one finds that the actual meaning of the word "self-cultivation" is: to foster the growth of knowledge, to discipline the character through study and research and to cultivate a correct attitude for dealing with people and things, and not "the more cultivated the more revisionist." This is actually a perfectly praiseworthy word; nevertheless, people are afraid to touch it. For example, if it must be used in such word groups as "literary cultivation" or "artistic cultivation," only some other term which is not very appropriate may be used in its place. This is quite ridiculous. Of what crime is this word guilty? Such treatment is most unfair!

This caused me to think about another incident. A certain hospital had purchased a new type of injection which proved very effective in clinical use. The patient said: "This medicine is not bad; it really produced immediate results." The patient in the bed next to him chided: "My goodness, 'immediate results' was a term used by Lin Biao and has already been criticized, yet you are still using it!"

It appears that "self-cultivation" is not the only word that has been found "guilty" and banned. There are still many others in a similar predicament.

Whether a word is used or not is not an important matter, but this explains a problem that cannot be ignored. The Chinese language originally was rich and colorful. However, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the loose, it was neither full, rich nor varied, but became lackluster

and stereotyped. It was an insult to human civilization. Not only was the word "self-cultivation" banned, but also such words as "gardener" and "peace" were consigned to "limbo." Only the word "struggle" was constantly shocking our eardrums and daily filling "our vision." The idealism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" spread unchecked, and metaphysics became rampant and petrified the people's minds. Now we must quickly open the window of our minds and really further emancipate our minds. Otherwise, not only will we be unable to advance in our work and the four modernizations be difficult to realize, but also we fear that misfortunes will continue to beset the Chinese language. People who have suffered grievances can make complaints, but words suffer a disadvantage because they have no voice. For the sake of speaking out on behalf of words that have suffered wrongs which have not been righted, let us state that the word "self-cultivation" is innocent and should be set free. The words themselves are innocent; how can they become involved?!

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