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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 5, 5 March 1980

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28 April 1980

CHINA REPORT**RED FLAG**

No. 5, 5 March 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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PREMIER ZHOU AND THE DAQING PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Shen Yaoyi [3088 1031 0122]]



CSO: 4004

COMMUNIQUE OF THE 5TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
(ADOPTED ON 29 FEBRUARY 1980)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 2-5

[Text] The 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its fifth plenary session in Beijing from 23 to 29 February 1980. Two hundred and one members and 118 alternate members of the Central Committee were present. Thirty-seven leading comrades from localities and departments attended as observers. Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice Chairmen Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun of the CCP Central Committee attended and made important speeches. Comrade Hua Guofeng presided.

Most of the items on the agenda of the fifth plenary session were related to the strengthening and improvement of party leadership to keep pace with the development of socialist modernization. They included: 1) discussion and approval of a resolution on the convocation of the party's 12th national congress; 2) election of additional members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and discussion and approval of a resolution on establishment of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; 3) discussion and approval of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life; and 4) discussion of the draft of the revised constitution of the Communist Party of China.

The plenary session states that since the 11th party congress, and particularly following the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee, there have been important changes and developments in the domestic and international situation. As a result of the party's shifting the stress of its work, the socialist modernization program has started on a course of sound development. The party's political, ideological and organizational lines formulated at the third and fourth plenary sessions of the party Central Committee have become very popular among the people; the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company, the ultraleft line they pursued and their organizational and ideological remnants have been further exposed and criticized; large numbers of frame-ups and false and wrong cases left

over from history have been redressed and the party's policies have been carried out in all parts of the country. On this basis, the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have rallied closely around the party Central Committee and have been working hard for the great cause of the four modernizations and for implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. As a result, reports of victory have been streaming in from all fronts, including agriculture, industry, finance and trade, education, science, culture, politics and law, national defense and foreign affairs, and a situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness is developing. These facts show that the lines, principles and policies of the party Central Committee are correct and that our country has basically changed from a situation of chaos resulting from the 10-year rampage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to a situation of advance in a guided and orderly manner with clear orientation and objectives, with conditions for victory and with confidence. This is the tremendous victory our party has achieved after overcoming immense difficulties. The plenary session points out: The great practice of the people of all our nationalities in their advance toward the four modernizations has now put before our party a series of important issues which demand prompt and speedy solution. These include working out a long-term program for development of the national economy, as well as an economic structure and a plan and structure for education that are suited to the needs of this development. In view of the rapid changes in the domestic situation, a series of important issues in the political life of the state and in party life and a number of important ideological and theoretical problems need to be solved so as to facilitate the development and consolidation of the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness and the smooth advance of the modernization program. The solution of these urgent problems requires that the Central Committee convene the 12th national congress of the party before the due date. The plenary session unanimously adopted a decision to this effect. The specific date for the congress will be decided by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that in order to strengthen party leadership over socialist modernization, leading party bodies at all levels must exert themselves to put in leadership posts those comrades who unswervingly carry out the party's line, can find their bearings independently in work and are in the prime of life. This is in line with the arduous work required for modernization and will also insure long-term continuity of the party's line, principles and policies and long-term stability of the collective leadership of the party. After full discussion, the plenary session decided to increase the number of members on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and elected Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to the Standing Committee. After full discussion, the plenary session decided to restore the system instituted by the eighth party congress and which had been proved essential and effective in the following decade, namely, the

Secretariat of the Central Committee as the day-to-day working body under the leadership of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. It elected Comrade Hu Yaobang general secretary of the Central Committee and Comrades (names listed in the order of the number of strokes in the surnames) Wan Li, Wang Renzhong, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Song Renqiong, Yu Qiuli, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin and Peng Chong members of the Secretariat.

The plenary session states that the addition of members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the establishment of the Secretariat are an important decision by the party, showing that the great cause of socialism and communism pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation is full of vitality and has large numbers of talented successors. The strengthening of the leading bodies of the party Central Committee will play a positive role in promoting the development and consolidation of the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness throughout the country and the smooth progress of socialist modernization.

The plenary session discussed the draft of the revised constitution of the Communist Party of China. After revision in accordance with opinions raised at the session, this document is soon to be issued to the whole party for wide discussion. It will be revised further in the light of comments raised during those discussions before it is submitted to the party's 12th national congress for examination and approval. The draft of the revised party constitution sets out strict requirements for party members and at the same time contains fairly satisfactory provisions regarding democratic centralism within the party. Summing up historical experience and taking into account the needs of the period of socialist modernization, the draft includes a number of new provisions on the party's cadre system, including an end to the practice of being a lifelong cadre.

The plenary session discussed and unanimously approved the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life. This document consists of 12 points. The draft was adopted in principle by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in February 1979 and opinions on it were solicited throughout the party after March of last year. It underwent revision several times before the Political Bureau adopted it once again and submitted it to the fifth plenary session for discussion. The plenary session holds that the 12-point document—which sums up our party's experience and lessons over the past several decades in handling inner-party relations, especially the experience and lessons gained in the struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10-year Cultural Revolution—is a concrete and indispensable supplement to the party constitution and has great significance in promoting positive factors in the party, overcoming negative ones and giving full scope to the vanguard, exemplary role of party members. The plenary session decided that these guiding principles be made public after the session

and be implemented by the whole party. It urges that, in the course of implementing these guiding principles and along with the discussion on the draft of the revised party constitution, there be ideological and political education within the party on adhering to the party's political and ideological lines, strengthening party unity and reinforcing democratic centralism and the sense of organization and discipline in the party. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must conscientiously examine their work and conduct in the light of the guiding principles, adding to their achievements and overcoming their shortcomings; whatever is contrary to the guiding principles must be corrected promptly and in earnest, and there must be a radical change in the situation in which individual party organizations and some party members continue to engage in factionalist activities and do what they like in disregard of organizational principle and discipline. The plenary session reiterates that the party can unify its thinking and action and insure the smooth development of socialist modernization under the leadership of the Central Committee provided that it adheres to the principle that the individual party member is subordinate to the party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Another major item on the agenda of the fifth plenary session was the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The plenary session holds that Comrade Liu Shaoqi, former vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, chairman of the People's Republic of China, and a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, was loyal to the party and the people at all times over the past decades, devoted all his energy to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and made indelible contributions to China's new-democratic revolution and its socialist revolution and construction. Because the appraisal of the situation in the party and the country on the eve of the Cultural Revolution was contrary to fact, an entirely wrong and groundless inference was made, asserting that there was within the party a counterrevolutionary revisionist line and then that there was a so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Seizing upon this to serve their counterrevolutionary purpose of usurping supreme party and state leadership and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company concocted false evidence and deliberately subjected Comrade Liu Shaoqi to political frame-up and physical persecution, and they overthrew a large number of leading party, government and army cadres on the false charge of being Liu Shaoqi's agents. This brought extremely grave consequences. This biggest frame-up our party has ever known in its history must be completely overturned. The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline submitted a detailed and accurate report to the Central Committee on its reexamination of the case following almost a year's thorough investigation and study and repeated checking of the materials related to the accusations made against Comrade Liu Shaoqi by the 12th plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the

party held in October 1968. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee unanimously approved this report on the reexamination and, on the basis of the report, drew up a draft resolution rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This plenary session, after serious and earnest discussion, unanimously adopted the resolution and decided to remove the labels "renegade, traitor and scab" which the 12th plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party imposed on Comrade Liu Shaoqi, to cancel the erroneous resolution expelling him "from the party once and for all and dismissing him from all posts both inside and outside the party," to cancel the original report on the examination and clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the party and the state; to hold a memorial meeting at an appropriate time for Comrade Liu Shaoqi; to leave it to the departments concerned to redress the frame-ups and false and wrong cases arising from the issue of Comrade Liu Shaoqi; and, in the spirit of unity and looking ahead, to transmit the resolution of the plenary session to all party members and the people throughout the country so as to clear away the effects flowing from the past incorrect decision on Comrade Liu Shaoqi's case and encourage all party comrades and the rest of the Chinese people to work confidently, devotedly and with one mind for the realization of the splendid cause of the four modernizations.

The fifth plenary session solemnly proclaims to the whole party and to the people throughout the country: The action to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi demonstrates that the Communist Party of China is a serious, earnest, open and aboveboard Marxist revolutionary party that seeks truth from facts and corrects its mistakes whenever they are found. It demonstrates that the party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought is not an empty slogan but an unswerving principles position that pervades all the activities of the party. The counterrevolutionary conspirators Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company used this grave and grievous mistake made by the party during the Cultural Revolution, bringing disastrous consequences without precedent in the party's history. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee exposed and criticized the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," corrected the grave mistakes committed during the Cultural Revolution and, at the same time, redressed one by one a series of framed-up, false and wrong cases created by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company. The fifth plenary session rehabilitates Comrade Liu Shaoqi not only for his own sake, but in order that the party and the people will forever remember this bitter lesson and make every effort to safeguard, consolidate and perfect socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, so that frame-ups such as befell Comrade Liu Shaoqi and many other comrades inside and outside the party shall never happen again and that our party and country will never change color.

In accordance with the views of the broad masses inside and outside the party, the fifth plenary session decided to approve the requests to resign made by Comrades Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian and decided to remove and propose to remove them from their leading party and state posts.

The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and the serious but appropriate handling of the cases of comrades who made grave mistakes reflect the wishes of all party comrades and the people throughout the country. The plenary session asks party organizations at all levels to take active and conscientious measures in the same spirit to continue to settle similar issues that await solution or full solution and to educate the party members and the masses in the need to unite closely, strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and work with diligence and devotion for the great future of socialist modernization under the leadership of the party Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that it is our party's unswerving policy to carry forward socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system and to guarantee that the masses have the full right and opportunity to express their views on state affairs and raise suggestions to and criticize party and government leaders. But experience shows that the practices of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" are not a good way to achieve this. These practices, taken as a whole, never played a positive role in safeguarding the people's democratic rights but, on the contrary, hampered the people in the normal exercise of their democratic rights. To help eliminate factors causing instability, the plenary session decides to propose to the National People's Congress that the stipulation in Article 45 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters'" be deleted.

The fifth plenary session of the 11th Central Committee is an important meeting following the third and fourth plenary sessions of the 11th Central Committee. The keynote of the session is the upholding and improving of party leadership and the enhancing of the party's fighting capacity, which constitute the most important guarantees for a smooth advance in socialist modernization. The session did not take up economic work as a topic since the 1980 national economic plan had already been worked out at a national planning conference held between November and December last year under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council and, following Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and tasks on 16 January of this year, Comrade Li Xiannian made a report on current economic problems on 10 February. The central task now facing the nation's economic front is to strive to fulfill or overfulfill this year's national economic plan in line with the policies formulated by the party Central

Committee. It is clear that the party will have extremely arduous tasks on all fronts in 1980. Their completion will play an enormous role in successfully convening the 12th national party congress. The fifth plenary session of the 11th Central Committee calls on the whole party, along with the people throughout the country, to rally closely around the party Central Committee, and make great concerted efforts to greet the convening of the party's 12th national congress with outstanding achievements on every front.

CSO: 4004

UPHOLD AND IMPROVE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND RAISE THE FIGHTING POWER OF THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 6-11

[Article by RED FLAG editorial department]

[Text] The fifth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has come to a successful close. It is another meeting of great historic significance following the third and fourth plenary sessions. The whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country are greatly inspired by and happy with the convocation and complete success of the fifth plenary session.

The plenary session discussed and approved a resolution on the convocation of the party's 12th national congress. This is an important decision. Since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee there have been important changes and developments in our domestic situation. As a result of extensively unfolding the discussion on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, our party has restored the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Like a beacon, the political line of "uniting the people of various nationalities throughout the country, bringing all positive factors into play, working with one heart and one mind, going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a powerful and modern socialist country" put forward by the party has illuminated our road of advance. A political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness is steadily developing. The shift in the party's work focus has been smoothly effected, and initial successes have been won in the readjustment of the national economy. The cause of socialist modernization has already embarked on the track of sound development. All this is the result of the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country uniting as one and fighting shoulder to shoulder under the leadership of the party Central Committee. It is clear proof of the correctness of the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee. At present a huge torrent with hundreds of millions of people marching toward the four modernizations is surging forward. This has

unfolded a magnificent picture before us and put forward a series of major problems which require prompt solution. Thus, it is entirely necessary and timely to convene the 12th party congress before the due date.

The plenary session decided to increase the number of members on the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee and elected Comrades Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang to the Standing Committee. The plenary session also decided to reestablish the Secretariat of the Central Committee as the day-to-day working body under the leadership of the Politburo and its Standing Committee. It elected Comrade Hu Yaobang general secretary of the Secretariat and 11 other comrades as members. This is also an important decision. The newly elected members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and members of the Secretariat are long tested, experienced, highly competent and very energetic. They enjoy prestige both inside the party and among the people. Because they are much younger compared with revolutionaries of the older generation, they are capable of shouldering the arduous work required for modernization and can insure the long-term continuity of the party's line, principles and policies and the long-term stability of the collective leadership of the party. This is a pioneering effort to train and bring up successors collectively rather than individually under the tutelage of revolutionaries of the older generation. Thus, this is a strategic measure of great significance, a vivid sign showing that there is no lack of successors to carry on the great cause of socialism and communism pioneered by Comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, as well as an important indication that our party is flourishing and has large numbers of talented successors.

The plenary session discussed the "Constitution of the CCP" (revised draft) and decided to issue this draft to the whole party for wide discussion. This is an important step toward preparing for the convocation of the 12th party congress. Meanwhile, the plenary session also approved the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" and decided that these guiding principles should be made public and implemented after the session. This is a very important measure for strengthening party building ideologically and organizationally. The party constitution is a body of basic laws for party building, while the "guiding principles" are a concrete and indispensable supplement to the party constitution. The drawing up of these two documents is a major strategic measure to improve our party rules and regulations. Both documents bear the imprint of our great era--the period of socialist modernization. They are the crystallization of the practical experiences of inner-party political life and a generation summation of positive and negative experiences gained during the past decades, especially the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, in the correct handling of relationships inside the party. They are experiences bought in blood. An outstanding characteristic of these two documents is that politically,

ideologically and organizationally they both set much stricter demands on party members, party cadres and leading personnel of the party at all levels with a view to carrying forward party building to a level that is commensurate with the historic task of leading the cause of socialist modernization. The implementation of the "guiding principles" and the discussion on the revised draft of the constitution, in fact, amount to an education in Marxism within the party. Since this education is of great significance in improving the party's work style, strengthening and improving party leadership, insuring the implementation of the political, ideological and organizational lines of the party Central Committee and guaranteeing the smooth progress of socialist modernization, it should have the attention of the whole party.

The plenary session also approved a resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The realization of this fervent and long-cherished hope of the whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country is most gratifying. As everyone knows, Comrade Liu Shaoqi formerly was vice chairman of our party and chairman of our country. Because the appraisal on the eve of the Cultural Revolution of the situation in the party and the country was contrary to fact, an entirely wrong and groundless inference was made—asserting that there was a counterrevolutionary revisionist line within the party and then that there was a so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Seizing upon this to serve their counterrevolutionary purpose of usurping supreme party and state leadership and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company subjected Comrade Liu Shaoqi to frameups and physical persecution by illegal means and caused him to die in disgrace. This is the biggest frameup in the history of our party and is closely related to numerous other frameups in this period. Comrade Liu Shaoqi himself was labeled a "renegade, traitor and scab." Nearly all leading bodies of various party, government and army departments and of party organizations at all levels were smashed on the false charge of being Liu Shaoqi's "revisionist organizations," and nearly all leading persons of these departments and organizations were toppled on the false charge of being agents of his "revisionist line." Even the vast number of party members, including veteran workers and model workers, were involved in the false charge of being members of his "revisionist party." Thus, the history of our party during the first 17 years of the People's Republic was completely reversed. After a detailed and accurate reexamination, the Central Committee drew up a resolution rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi and decided to remove the labels "renegade, traitor and scab" and other charges which the 12th plenary session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee imposed on him. The Central Committee also decided to cancel the erroneous resolution expelling Comrade Liu Shaoqi "from the party once and for all and dismissing him from all posts both inside and outside the party" and to clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the party and the state. By setting straight the historical record

in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, we have completely restored historical truth. This shows how immense is the historical significance and immediate importance of this firm measure of rehabilitation.

Like Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, Comrade Liu Shaoqi enjoyed high prestige in the whole party and among the Chinese people and was deeply loved and respected. He made indelible contributions in the White areas and the revolutionary bases during the period of the democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction during the first 17 years of the People's Republic. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was also an outstanding Marxist theoretician of our party. His writings, such as "How To Be a Good Communist," "On Inter-Party Struggle" and "On Party," have enriched and developed the Marxist theory of party building and cultivated a whole generation of revolutionary cadres. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was loyal to the party and the people at all times over the past decades and devoted his life to the great cause of communism. Our present rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is not just a matter of appraising his merits and demerits or his rights and wrongs. It also concerns the appraisal of the merits and demerits of vast numbers of veteran cadres in different periods since the founding of our party, the major issues of right and wrong within our party in the 17 years since the nationwide seizure of power and the major issues of right and wrong in our party's political, ideological and organizational lines during this period. As proved by history, our party upheld the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the first 17 years of the People's Republic. As one of the principal leaders of our party, Liu Shaoqi took part in the work of leading the party Central Committee from beginning to end and therefore also upheld these four basic principles. Thus, the complete rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is the most important step to bring order out of chaos and is a great event in the political life of the whole party and the people of the whole country.

The series of resolutions and documents passed at the fifth plenary session are of great importance. In particular, the resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi has declared a complete end to the exceedingly abnormal state of affairs in the history of the political life of our party. This historic resolution and the serious but appropriate handling of the cases of four comrades (Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian) who made grave mistakes show that our party has the spirit and courage of a thoroughgoing materialist: Uphold the truth and correct one's mistakes. As the communique of the fifth plenary session pointed out: "The action to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi demonstrates that the CCP is a serious, earnest, open and aboveboard Marxist revolutionary party that seeks truth from facts and corrects its mistakes whenever they are found. It demonstrates that the party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought is not

an empty slogan but an unswerving, principled position that pervades all the activities of the party." The CCP, which bases all its actions on the interests of the people, never gets dizzy with success or loses heart because of setbacks and failures. It knows how to draw lessons from setbacks and failures, sum up positive and negative experiences, keep to the correct political orientation and unswervingly lead the people in the march toward the great goal. This has been proved by the entire course of struggle and great achievements of our party in the past 58 years, especially by our tremendous successes in setting things right since the third plenary session--including the exposure and criticism of the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," their counterrevolutionary ultraleftist line and the serious mistakes of the Cultural Revolution. We do not conceal the fact that we made a distressingly serious mistake during the Cultural Revolution. Lin Biao and the counterrevolutionary conspirators of the "gang of four" seized upon this mistake of our party and pushed it to the extreme, thus causing unprecedentedly serious consequences. After exerting tremendous efforts and doing a lot of work to set things right and heal past wounds in the more than 3 years since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially in the year since the third plenary session, we have grasped the destiny and future of our party and state and opened up a new historical period of marching toward the four modernizations. The whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country all proudly acclaim this achievement and rise with force and spirit. Everyone is radiating with the vigor of youth and going in for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

The whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country must always draw lessons from our party's mistakes. Lessons are bitter, but they also have their value. We must make every possible effort politically, ideologically and organizationally to insure that serious mistakes like the Cultural Revolution will never be repeated, that frameups such as those which befell Comrade Liu Shaoqi and numerous other comrades inside and outside the party will never happen again and that our party and state will never change color. Besides making continuous efforts to improve socialist democracy and the socialist legal system in the political life of our country, our most important task is to strengthen party building, uphold and improve party leadership, raise the fighting power of the party, closely rally the masses around the party and fight for a common goal--the realization of socialist modernization before the end of this century. This is the basic spirit of the fifth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

It should be noted that through the concerted efforts of the whole party since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the third plenary session, and as a result of the establishment of correct political and ideological lines in the party, we have basically restored the vitality of our party--namely, its organizational and political-ideological work, its solidarity and unity, its democratic centralism

and discipline, and its fine tradition and work style of integrating theory with practice, linking with the masses and engaging in criticism and self-criticism. We have also restored the mental outlook of the ranks of party members and cadres. It is wrong to underestimate this fact. However, we should also note that, due to the serious damage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10-year turmoil, our party still has not fully recovered from its internal injuries. Even now there exist in our party ideological and organizational remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," factionalism which recurs from time to time and nonproletarian ideas such as anarchism, extreme individualism and liberalism. These things contaminate the body of our party, impair its prestige and seriously weaken its fighting power. We must not lower our guard. We must realize that since our party is now at the helm the destiny of the entire Chinese nation and the future of our country depend on party leadership. We must not allow these things to continue to exist and endanger our party. Lenin stressed that a ruling party must guard against degeneration and be good at purifying the party ranks and improving the quality of the party. At present we are faced with the grand but arduous task of realizing the four modernizations. Since the four modernizations represent a widespread and profound revolution, we necessarily must place new and higher demands on party leadership. We must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide and build our party into a vigorous, highly disciplined and combat-worthy party with a pure work style and a strong organization to lead the millions and millions of people in the great cause of socialist modernization. Without such a party, all grand plans are idle talk. Thus, the urgent and important task of devoting major efforts to making a success of party building, strengthening and improving party leadership and effectively raising the fighting power of the party is now the profound mission of all the comrades of the whole party.

To fulfill this task, what are the things that the whole party should pay attention to?

In keeping with the spirit of the fifth plenary session, we must do a good job of reeducating party members and improve their quality. On the whole, our party members are good or relatively good and have played their proper role in various fields of work. Many of our veteran party members, in particular, have maintained the fine work style of working selflessly for the public interest, observing law and discipline, linking with the masses and adhering to plain living and hard struggle and have served as good examples. However, of the present 38 million party members, more than half joined the party only after the start of the Cultural Revolution. Although many of these have acquitted themselves well, there is also a fairly large number of people who joined the party for impure motives. Furthermore, some people were brought into the party without going through the procedures stipulated in the party constitution. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" whipped up a poisonous fog during the 10-year Cultural Revolution, some veteran party

members were also contaminated. For this reason, some of our existing party members are not qualified. Among those new party members who joined the party when the ultraleftist line held sway, some cannot set an example for the masses and are not qualified, because they have never been educated by the party. Some of our veteran party members were qualified in the past but do not measure up to the requirements now because they fail to set an example for the masses. Do I measure up to the membership requirements of a ruling party which shoulders the great cause of the four modernizations? This is a question every communist must carefully think about. Due to the serious lack of ideological and political education, the following problems are now found among our party members: Some do not understand or understand very little about the basic theory and knowledge of our party; some do not even have the far-reaching ideal of communism in mind. Some do not have a sense of responsibility to the party or any party spirit; they cling desperately to factionalism and place factionalism above party spirit. Some do not have a sense of organization and discipline, do not carry out the party's resolutions and do not accept the jobs that the party assigns to them. Some only care about their personal interests; they ignore the party's interest, openly strive for fame, gain and power and take advantage of their position and power to obtain special privileges. Some are even morally degenerate to the extent of violating law and discipline. If we allow these phenomena to grow unchecked and do not try to rectify them through education, we will impair the image of the party and destroy its fighting power. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the vanguard and exemplary role of communists precisely because this role is the essence of the consciousness and qualities of party members. This requires that every communist acquire a firm communist world outlook, have very high ideological consciousness and political qualities and have a strong party spirit. To this end, we must energetically strengthen and improve the work of conducting education among the party members by giving them an extensive and thorough ideological-political education in upholding the party's political and ideological lines, strengthening party solidarity and unity, and strengthening the party's democratic centralism and sense of organization and discipline. At present the important thing is to conscientiously study the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," Comrade Ye Jianying's important speech at the meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and task, in close connection with present realities and the discussion on the revised draft of the "Constitution of the CCP." We must improve the work style of the party and consolidate the ranks of party members through education, so that all communists, especially party members holding leading posts at various levels, will work harder to temper their party spirit and strengthen their self-cultivation in order to measure up to the requirements for party members and be worthy of the honorable title of a communist. Only in this way can we resolve the contradiction between the quality of party members and the responsibilities they now undertake.

In this connection, veteran party members must do a good job in passing on experience, giving help and setting an example in training new hands and make themselves good models for new party members. A vanguard fighter of the proletariat must resolutely carry out the party's line, principles and policies, be in accord with the party politically, ideologically and organizationally, never forget the historical mission of his own class, never forget his bounden duties, make more contributions irrespective of pay in peacetime, fight in the van and be the last to retreat in war, always become one with the masses, rally the masses around the party and make concerted efforts to bring about the four modernizations.

In keeping with the spirit of the fifth plenary session, we must do a good job of reeducating cadres and train a contingent of Red and expert cadres to meet the needs of the four modernizations. This is a strategic task which concerns everything. Cadres play a decisive role in the struggle to realize the party's general line. The ranks of our cadres are good on the whole, but they do have shortcomings and weaknesses. At present many cadres cannot keep abreast of the four modernizations in their ideology and work style, mental state, professional knowledge and abilities. Since we are trying to bring about modernization in the Chinese way under the socialist system, we naturally expect our cadres to uphold the four basic principles and have a correct and solid political orientation. However, it will not work if we just talk about upholding the four basic principles and do not have any real ability. Therefore, we want our cadres to be both Red and expert. By Red we chiefly mean that they must uphold the four basic principles and firmly follow the socialist road. By expert we mean that they must have professional knowledge and abilities. Cadres must be Red. Otherwise they will lose their bearings. Expert is not the same as being Red, but to be Red one must be an expert at the same time. One who is Red but not expert either becomes a prattler and accomplishes nothing for the four modernizations or pretends to know everything and issues confused orders which jeopardize the four modernizations. This simply cannot be called Red. At present China has 18 million cadres, and the general impression is that there are more hands than necessary. However, the problem is not so much overstaffing as it is the unreasonable structure of the cadre ranks. We have too many cadres who lack professional knowledge and ability and too few cadres with such knowledge and ability. The resolution of this contradiction lies in study. The first way to do this is to run schools and training courses; the second way is to organize the cadres to study on their own. We must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, regard the solution of problems arising from the four modernizations as our central task, master theoretical and practical knowledge and train a large number of people who are well versed in their specific lines of work. This is a key question concerning our ability to strengthen and improve party leadership. The four modernizations will inevitably impose this reasonable demand on us: Laymen must strive to become experts. A cadre who is

still muddleheaded and lacks professional knowledge must hasten to study hard if he does not want to be eliminated. Only when we have grasped the important task of training cadres will there be any true hope for the success of the four modernizations.

In keeping with the spirit of the fifth plenary session, we must strengthen the education and training of leading cadres at and above the county level and raise their level and skill in leadership. At present we have several hundred thousand leading cadres at and above the county level. In a sense they are the ones who grasp the destiny of our party and state. Most of these cadres are worthy of being trusted by the masses and have proved to be leaders in the four modernizations. However, there are also some leading cadres who do not study and make investigations. Instead of making positive efforts to keep in step with the party Central Committee politically and act in accordance with the wishes and demands of the party, they sow dissension and discord among the party members. They do not resolutely carry out the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee and even deliberately do things which go against the interests of the party and the masses. Is this to be tolerated by the party and the masses? The leading comrades of every party organization must soberly recognize their responsibility, that is, to faithfully follow the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee, resolutely obey the unified leadership and command of the party Central Committee, strictly observe party discipline, safeguard the unity and solidarity of the party and set an example in honestly performing one's official duties, maintaining close ties with the masses, diligently pursuing one's studies and actively doing one's work. Meanwhile, we must also pay special attention to training successors who are in the prime of life and are both Red and expert. Step by step and group by group, we can select from among the middle-aged and young cadres those who are younger in age but can resolutely carry out the party's line and have real ability to fill leading posts. In this way we can gradually lower the average age of leading members of party organizations at various levels and have successors to carry on the party's cause. This is a strategic task and the honorable and solemn responsibility of our veteran cadres. If our veteran cadres do not know their subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities and do not train the younger generation as their successors, they cannot account for themselves. Now that the party Central Committee has set an example for us, all departments and party organizations at all levels must put this issue on the agenda. All leading cadres must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, constantly sum up practical experiences, pay attention to acquainting themselves with the new situation and solving new problems and strive to raise their leadership level. They must understand the whole situation and be flexible in their methods of work, meticulous in studying problems, careful in handling matters and strong in times of difficulty. In short, in the struggle

to realize the four modernizations—a struggle which has a vital bearing on the destiny of our party and state—leading comrades at and above the county level should aim high, have lofty ambitions, never seek undeserved reputations, do solid work, carry forward the same death-defying spirit displayed in the revolutionary war years and strive to do a first-rate job in their respective localities or departments.

In keeping with the spirit of the fifth plenary session, we must strengthen inner-party political life and enable the masses of party members to fully display their revolutionary zeal and enthusiasm in work. In the course of protracted revolutionary struggle our party has gradually formed a complete set of guiding principles for its political life. These guiding principles are invaluable assets to our party. If we follow them, we can closely unite the whole party, work with one heart and one mind, march in step and win one victory after another. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" willfully trampled on these guiding principles and caused our party to suffer bitter losses. The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" approved by the fifth plenary session is a major development of the previous guiding principles in the new historical period. Every party member should treasure this document, study it, understand it and conscientiously implement it. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must measure their own work and work style by the standards of the "guiding principles," uphold and carry forward those practices which conform to the requirements laid down in the "guiding principles" and seriously rectify those which do not. We must make every communist understand that our party is an integrated organization bound by programs and disciplines which every member must observe; it is the vanguard organization of the proletariat established on the principle of democratic centralism. For this reason, every party organization and every party member must observe party rules and regulations and act in accordance with the guiding principles for the party's political life. In the party's political life it is particularly important that we uphold the principle of democratic centralism. All departments and the party's leading organs at all levels must exercise collective leadership, because this is the supreme principle of party leadership. Members serving on the same party committee must understand and support each other and work in full cooperation. We must not allow a few people to have the final say, nor should any individual lay down the law. Even less can we permit any individual to place himself above the organization. Meanwhile, we must give full play to inner-party democracy, earnestly safeguard all rights which the party constitution says our party members can enjoy and forbid any violations whatsoever. However, since our party's democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, we cannot depart from the principle that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the entire party to the Central Committee. We must uphold this principle. The resolutions and decisions of the party Central Committee and the party organization must be resolutely carried

out before further changes are made. Every party member must express views and act in accordance with the party's decisions. No one is allowed to willfully spread views opposing or showing distrust and discontent with the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee. Still less can anyone follow one's own bent, act freely and go one's own way. We must create in our party a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. In this way we can unify our thinking and action, fight with one heart and one mind and insure the smooth advance of the four modernizations.

The fifth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is the continuation of the third plenary session. The third plenary session readjusted and laid down the party's political line and reiterated and rectified the party's ideological line. To insure the implementation of the party's political and ideological lines, the fifth plenary session concentrated on solving the major problem of strategic importance in the party's organizational line. This is where the great historical significance of the third and fifth plenary sessions lies. We firmly believe that, as long as we resolutely carry out the principles of the third and fifth plenary sessions under the leadership of the party Central Committee, we can definitely do a good job of party building, victoriously shoulder the historical mission of leading the cause of socialist modernization and make unprecedentedly brilliant achievements in the new Long March to realize the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

REREAD PREMIER ZHOU'S SPEECH AT THE QINGDAO FORUM ON NATIONALITY WORK---
COMMEMORATING THE 82D ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF PREMIER ZHOU

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[Article by Ulanhu [3527 5695 1133]]

[Text] This January RED FLAG published a speech made by Premier Zhou at a forum on nationality work held in Qingdao in 1957. This historical document, which sparkled with Marxist-Leninist brilliance, failed to appear for more than 20 years because of the suppression of that "theoretical authority" Chen Boda as well as Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Today it has at last been presented to the nationality cadres and people throughout the country. This is an important document of our party on the nationality question in the socialist period. In his speech Premier Zhou applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the nationality question, scientifically summed up the experiences of our party in solving China's nationality question prior to 1957, analyzed the history and condition of the Chinese nationalities and nationality relations and expounded the theory, policies and principles of our country for more thoroughly solving the nationality question in the socialist period. The publication of this speech of Premier Zhou at a time when people of all nationalities throughout the country are rising up in vigor and striving to achieve the four modernizations is of particular import and immediate significance. It will give a great impetus and stimulus to our present nationality work and to the whole party and people throughout the country.

I. Cherish the Memory of Premier Zhou and Conscientiously Make a
Success of Nationality Work

In 1957 an excellent flourishing situation appeared on every front of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, and glorious achievements were made in every undertaking. Due to the correct implementation of the party's nationality policy, a fundamental change took place in our nationality relations, and solidarity among the nationalities was strengthened and developed. In most minority nationality areas, democratic and socialist reforms were carried out, and a profound

historical change took place in the features of these areas. Great developments were obtained in the political, economic and cultural sectors, and nationality regional autonomy was practiced in 90 percent of the minority nationality communities. In short, the overall situation in nationality work was excellent. However, there were also many problems.

At that time the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region and the Xinjiang Autonomous Region had already been established in areas of China inhabited by minority nationalities; moreover, they had 10 and 20 years of history, respectively, and had summed up many experiences and lessons. The Guangxi and Ningxia autonomous regions were about to be set up, and the Xizang Autonomous Region was also in the preparatory stage. Nearly 100 prefectures, banners and counties were already practicing or about to practice regional autonomy. The national regional autonomy policy was the basic policy of our party for solving the nationality question. As a result of the national estrangement caused by the long period of reactionary rule, quite a bit of resistance was naturally encountered in the process of implementing the regional autonomy policy, and various misunderstandings appeared. Some people held that since we had already been liberated the nationality question no longer existed and there was no need for regional autonomy. Some held that national autonomy could not solve our country's nationality question. These were the manifestation of Han chauvinism and local nationality chauvinism. In the light of these misunderstandings, Premier Zhou in his speech comprehensively explained the nationality standpoint of the proletariat, criticized the tendencies of the two kinds of nationalism, introduced the guiding ideology of China's socialist nationality policy, discussed the superiority of the national regional autonomy policy, pointed out the basis of unity in the socialist big family, the concrete nationalization of autonomous organs and the relationship between nationalization and respecting the rights of national autonomy, and further stressed the Marxist-Leninist stand on respecting and safeguarding the rights of national autonomy.

Practice over the past 20 years or so has attested to the complete correctness of our party's theory, policies and principles for solving the nationality question as expounded in Premier Zhou's speech. If we had always carried out our work according to the instructions of Premier Zhou's speech in the last 20 years or so, there would be a brandnew look in our nationality work today. However, because of some of our leftist mistakes and the interference and sabotage of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in particular, great harm was done to the party's nationality work. To firmly implement the nationality policy we must now go deeply among the masses of cadres and people to again teach them the nationality policy, carry out the national regional autonomy policy to the end, lead the people of various nationalities to make joint contributions to the four modernizations of the motherland, strive to develop and invigorate the economy and culture of

minority nationalities and gradually eliminate the real inequalities that exist among the nationalities.

II. Conscientiously Implement the Policy of National Regional Autonomy

Like any phenomenon of social history, the nationality question goes through the objective process of emergence, development and withering away. Lenin said: As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries, "these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale." ("Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 73) This also applies to China's nationality question. Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "First the withering away of classes, then the withering away of states and nationalities. This is the same the whole world over."

Nationalities will remain for a long time in the socialist period. So long as nationalities exist there will be nationality problems. It will take a very long time to solve the real inequalities of various nationalities in economic and cultural development. Owing to the reactionary ruling class in Chinese history, serious nationality estrangement resulted, mainly because reactionary Han rulers oppressed, exploited, bullied and discriminated against minority nationalities in the past, and it will take some time to eradicate these conditions. Class struggle within and outside the country will also be reflected in nationality relations, and this determines the protractedness of the nationality question.

Lenin said: "Whoever does not recognize and champion the equality of nations and languages and does not fight against all national oppression or inequality is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat." ("Critical Remarks on the Nationality Question," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 11) Whether to recognize the existence of the nationality question is essentially a question of whether to recognize the equality and autonomy of the minority nationalities. The Kuomintang reactionaries basically negated the existence of the minority nationalities in China and called them "clans," "tribes of various sizes" or "nationals with unique customs and habits." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" openly ignored the objective fact of China's multinationals and opposed the scientific thesis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the perennial nationality question. They nonsensically said: "We already have socialism, so how can there still be nationalities?" They put forth the "nationality question no longer exists" theory and attacked the practice of national regional autonomy as "artificial creation of splits." They ridiculously held that the written and spoken languages of the minority nationalities were backward and useless and indiscriminately condemned their customs and habits as "four bad old habits." They forbade the discussion of the nationality policy or the mention of nationality work and basically disregarded the equality and

autonomy of the minority nationalities. This all goes to show that they were jackals from the same lair as the reactionary rulers in history. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power they brought a serious calamity to people of various nationalities throughout the country.

In his speech Premier Zhou said: "We have realistically adopted national regional autonomy in keeping with the actual conditions in our country. This national regional autonomy is a correct combination of national autonomy and regional autonomy, a correct combination of economic and political factors; this not only makes it possible for a nationality living in a compact community to enjoy the right of autonomy, but also enables nationalities which live together to enjoy the right of autonomy. Thus, practically all nationalities--those with large populations as well as those with small ones, those which live in big, compact communities as well as those which live in small ones--have founded autonomous units commensurate with their size and can fully enjoy the right of national autonomy. Such a system is a creation hitherto unknown in history." National regional autonomy is a fundamental policy for solving the nationality question and the organizational form for exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in minority areas. In the course of realizing socialist modernization in China we must conscientiously implement the national regional autonomy policy. The right of national autonomy must be fully safeguarded, and under no circumstances can it be abolished.

The national regional autonomy policy which embodies national equality and national self-determination is in keeping with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle for solving the nationality question. It can guarantee equal rights for the masses of minority nationalities in national life and social life, consolidate the unity of the motherland, strengthen the solidarity of various nationalities and give full play to their enthusiasm and initiative. The national regional autonomy policy is conducive to the development and prosperity of the economy, culture, science and technology of various nationalities, the training of various national administrative cadres, and the stability and unity that encourage various nationalities in the big family of the motherland to advance together in the building of the four modernizations.

During the Great Cultural Revolution the national regional autonomy policy was seriously sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They were hostile to the party's national regional autonomy policy. They negated the equality and autonomy of the minority nationalities, revoked and rearranged the autonomous areas of the nationalities, abolished nationality work organs and manufactured large numbers of appallingly unjust, false and wrong cases of "traitorous cliques," "conspiratorial cliques in communication with a foreign country" and "counterrevolutionary cliques" in order to ruthlessly persecute thousands of revolutionary nationality cadres and people. They

seriously damaged the party's nationality policies, including the national regional autonomy policy, seriously weakened the close ties between the party and the minority nationalities and destroyed the fraternal unity among the various nationalities. They seriously dampened the socialist enthusiasm of the nationality cadres and people and caused great harm to industrial, agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry production, as well as to various economic and cultural constructions in the minority areas.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee resolutely exposed and criticized the reactionary, feudal, fascist policy of Lin B'ao and the "gang of four" of oppressing the nationalities, reiterated and implemented the nationality policy of the party, adopted a series of important measures for nationality work and led the people of various nationalities throughout the country in doing a great deal of work. This quickly reversed the situation in nationality work, gradually improved nationality relations and step by step restored and developed economic, cultural and educational undertakings in the minority areas. However, there is still much work on the question of implementing the party's nationality policy that requires our attention, and in particular the national regional autonomy policy must still be substantiated and developed. At present, for the sake of enabling various nationalities to enjoy equality and autonomy, we must establish national autonomy as quickly as possible in places where autonomy should be practiced but is still not carried out. Many minority nationalities in China have come to live in small, compact communities together with the Han and other nationalities. In the early period of the liberation, in all districts, villages and towns of the county inhabited by minority nationalities, we established autonomous districts, autonomous villages and autonomous towns or national districts, national villages and national towns. These played a very useful role in safeguarding the autonomy of the minority nationalities, arousing their enthusiasm and strengthening their unity. However, they were later abolished. For the sake of safeguarding the autonomy of the minority nationalities living only in small communities, we must consider making changes in the local political power. For the sake of adapting to the needs of the four modernizations, we must also consider the question of enlarging autonomy in the financial and economic management system in autonomous localities. The definition of autonomy for autonomous localities is still far from perfect. For example, we must conscientiously solve and stipulate in explicit terms the economic management system and the financial system of the minority areas. The key to safeguarding the exercise of autonomy by the minority nationalities lies in training and using large numbers of nationality cadres. Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou paid a great deal of attention to the training and use of nationality cadres. The Yanan College of Nationalities during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the Central College of Nationalities after the founding of the People's Republic were established on the personal instructions of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou.

Because of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," both in terms of the proportion of the cadre structure and the proportion of the population the number of minority nationality cadres has fallen in comparison with the figure for the 1960's, but this figure has been changing since the toppling of the "gang of four." For the sake of carrying the national regional autonomy policy through to the end, we must train and use large numbers of minority nationality cadres, and autonomous organs of various national autonomy localities should be composed mainly of nationality personnel. For the sake of adapting to the needs of the four modernizations and the development and prosperity of the economy and culture of the autonomous areas, we must also energetically train and use minority nationality scientists, technicians and skilled workers, so that they can fully exercise their role in the four modernizations.

III. Adhere to the Fundamental Standpoint of Prosperity for the Nationalities

Premier Zhou said: "To build our big multinational family into a powerful socialist country we must move forward on the basis of prosperity for the nationalities. Prosperity for the nationalities is possible under the socialist system; this shows that socialism is superior to capitalism." Following the unremitting intensification of socialist revolution and socialist construction and the unremitting raising of the levels of science, technology and culture, there will be more common ground among the various nationalities, and factors for the amalgamation of nationalities will gradually develop. We welcome the natural amalgamation of various nationalities, for this is the inevitable trend of history. However, the historical phase of socialism is not a period for the withering away of the nationalities but a period for the prosperity of the nationalities. We definitely cannot regard the amalgamation of nationalities as the current program. The amalgamation of nationalities is a long historical process, and we must resolutely oppose the reactionary policy of coercive assimilation and negate the fallacies existing in nationality policy. Premier Zhou said: "We see to it that various nationalities are equal and prosperous. Bringing about the prosperity of the nationalities is the fundamental standpoint of our socialist nationality policy." We must adhere to this fundamental standpoint of prosperity for various nationalities and conscientiously implement the fundamental policy of bringing about the prosperity of the nationalities.

The fundamental condition for bringing about the prosperity of the nationalities lies in developing their economy, culture, science and technology. After seizing state power, setting up the socialist system and allowing the various nationalities to be masters of their own affairs, the proletariat must firmly and resolutely shift the emphasis of its work to economic construction, energetically develop social productive forces and gradually improve the livelihood of the

nationalities. Without a modern economic base, it is impossible to completely change the poor and backward features of the minority nationalities and completely eliminate the real inequalities. Without a major development of the economy, culture and science of the minority nationalities, the major development of productive forces in minority nationality areas and the complete emancipation of the minority nationalities are also impossible.

The modernization of minority nationality areas is an important part of our country's four modernizations. For many years people in minority areas have made great efforts for the motherland's socialist revolution and construction. The minority areas are vast and rich in resources. They have supplied enormous quantities of resources and raw materials for China's socialist construction. The various minority nationalities of our country have made tremendous contributions to the cause of our economic construction. The present stepping up of economic and cultural construction in minority areas and arousing the enthusiasm of the minority nationalities will enable them to make still greater contributions to accelerating the process of China's modernization and strengthening our national defense. In bringing about socialist modernization we must actively help the minority nationalities so that they will gradually attain the goal of modernization. This is a great historical mission. Premier Zhou said: "In our socialist country all the minority areas and national autonomous areas should be mobilized. Modernization of the whole country must be carried out in an all-round way. We must have such a spirit--a spirit of genuine equality and fraternity among all nationalities. We cannot allow backward localities to always remain backward. If we do so, this will be an inequality and a mistake."

The central task in current nationality work is one of stepping up economic and cultural construction in minority areas. Practice has proved that the development of border areas and the economic construction and cultural construction of minority areas must depend on the nationalities to give play to a revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance, accumulate their own capital, make use of local resources and actively train professional and technical cadres of the nationalities to develop and bring prosperity to the economy and culture of the nationalities. At the same time, the state must also adopt a policy of actively supporting and paying special attention to them. The economic, cultural, scientific and technical construction of these areas must, as Premier Zhou pointed out, "rely on the strength of the whole country, the state and the Central Committee." The state must spend more money on the minority areas to develop local economic, cultural, scientific and educational undertakings. The state must energetically train more minority scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers, and it must also send well-qualified scientists and technicians to support the minority areas.

IV. Further Strengthen the Socialist Legal System and Safeguard the Equality and Autonomy of the Minority Nationalities by Law

Premier Zhou said: "The minority people's right of national autonomy must be respected; this is definite. The right of national autonomy as prescribed in the constitution, as well as the various rules and decrees on national autonomy formulated on the basis of the constitution, must be respected." Our party has consistently adhered to the principle that the equality and right of autonomy of the minority nationalities must be respected and safeguarded. Comrade Hua Guofeng has on numerous occasions instructed: "We must conscientiously implement the national regional autonomy policy and realistically safeguard the equality and autonomy of the minority nationalities." He has also called upon "government administration at all levels to fully pay attention to raising the position of minority nationalities in China and supporting and realizing democratic rights for the minority nationalities."

The fundamental standpoint of Marxism-Leninism on dealing with the nationality question is that of supporting the equality and autonomy of various nationalities. In our present socialist society one of the important measures for supporting the equality and autonomy of the nationalities and the various rights of the minority nationalities is the establishment of the legal system.

Lenin placed particular stress on the use of law for protecting the rights of the minority nationalities. He said: "We demand unconditional equality for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority." ("Draft Platform of the Fourth Congress of Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 100) He advocated "a constitution which contains a fundamental law that prohibits any encroachment whatsoever upon the rights of a national minority," ("Resolutions of the 1913 Conference of the Central Committee of the RSDLP and Party Officials," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 426), and he insisted on "elaborate guarantees of the rights of national minorities." ("On the Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 35) Lenin also advocated "the promulgation of a law for the whole state by virtue of which any measure (zemstvo, urban or communal, and so forth) which introduces any privilege of any kind for one of the nations and militates against the equality of nations or the rights of a national minority shall be declared illegal and ineffective, any citizen of the state shall have the right to demand that such a measure be annulled as unconstitutional, and those who attempt to put it into effect shall be punished." ("Liberals and Democrats on the Language Question," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 356) Lenin raised the use of law to protect the rights of national minorities to the plane of the program of the proletariat and regarded it as a component of the revolutionary program of the proletarian political party.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, China's legal system has not been healthy enough, and this is particularly evident in nationality work. There are great loopholes in the use of law to protect the rights of the minority nationalities. In spite of the fact that Premier Zhou had always shown great concern for the formulation of many autonomy laws and decrees concerning the finance and economy of the autonomous areas, they were never carried out because of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, autonomous areas could be arbitrarily annulled and partitioned, the autonomy of the minority nationalities could be casually stripped away, the grassland and hills the nationalities depended on for animal husbandry and forestry production could be wantonly reclaimed and cut down and the nationality cadres and people could be randomly accused of groundless crimes. Recalling the painful lessons of this disaster, we have been deeply taught that it will not do if there are no sound laws to protect the equality, autonomy and democratic rights of the minority nationalities. At present we must realistically strengthen the legal system and promptly formulate laws and decrees to protect the various rights of the minority nationalities.

More than 4 years have elapsed since Premier Zhou left us. The people of the whole country miss Premier Zhou, and this is even more so in the case of 57 million minority nationalities. Premier Zhou devoted a great deal of painstaking labor to formulating and implementing the nationality policy of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and right up to his death he repeatedly exhorted us to properly implement this policy. We must emulate the spirit of Premier Zhou, carry on his behest and work hard to realize the ambitious blueprint of the four modernizations and bring about the prosperity and development of every nationality throughout the country.

CSO: 4004

OLD BUT FULL OF BOUNDLESS REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT--COMMEMORATING THE 95TH
BIRTHDAY OF OUR VENERABLE COMRADE DONG BIWU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 17-20

[Article by Xu Dixin [6079 3321 2450]]

[Text]

I

Mr Dong Biwu, a devotee of the revolutionary struggle, left us 5 years ago. Because of the remembrance of this great proletarian revolutionary, I cannot help taking up my pen to describe how I revere him!

In the late 1920's, when the whole of China was engulfed in the White Terror of Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang reactionaries, I had already heard of Venerable Dong's name, but it was not until the end of 1937 that I met and worked under him. His brilliant image as a great proletarian revolutionary and a learned scholar in Wuhan during the first stage of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and during the days of misery in Chongqing and in the Zhou Mansion ("the CCP Delegation") in Sinan Road, Shanghai, vividly appears before my eyes. Time can erase many ordinary memories, but it can never reduce the brilliance of this great proletarian revolutionary!

II

Venerable Dong joined the "Tongmeng [0681 4145] League" founded by Sun Yat-sen in Tokyo, Japan, in an early year and later took part in the 1911 Revolution. Although the "Yellow Dragon" banner of the Qing dynasty was torn to pieces, Yuan Shikai [5913 0013 0418] and the northern warlords he sponsored were manipulated by the world powers. They perpetrated many evil deeds which were detrimental to the national sovereignty and brought humiliation as well as calamity to the country and the people. Dedicated to the salvation of China, Venerable Dong was deeply grieved by the conditions then existing. The cannonade of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 brought us Marxism-Leninism. Full of excitement, Venerable Dong viewed the national destiny from the standpoint of a proletarian world outlook and considered afresh the road to be

taken by China and himself. The lessons of failure in the old democratic revolution, the inspiration from the victory of the Russian October Revolution and the enlightenment from Marxism-Leninism brought about a change in Comrade Dong Biwu, who served the country and the working people selflessly, fearlessly and loyally, from a revolutionary democrat to a staunch communist. Among those who began to struggle in the early 1920's for the emancipation of the Chinese people, particularly those who joined Sun Yat-sen's "Tongmeng League" at that time, how many, with the exception of Venerable Dong, Wu, Lin and several others, regarded Marxism-Leninism as the goal of their lifelong struggle? Those who joined the "Tongmeng League," including Hu Hanmin [5170 3352 3046], Wang Jingwei [3076 4737 5898], Zhang Ji [1728 4949], Xie Chi [6200 2170] and Tan Zhen [6009 2182], were quite well known at that time. However, history has inexorably ripped off their masks. Only Venerable Dong, Wu, Lin and several other true revolutionaries grasped the truth of Marxism-Leninism, despised personal wealth and honor, defied dangers and resolutely converted themselves from democratic revolutionaries to proletarian revolutionaries. After the Russian October Revolution, Venerable Dong joined Yun Daiying [1926 0108 5391], Chen Tanqiu [7115 3389 4428] and several others in disseminating socialism and organizing a communist group in Wuhan. In July 1921 Venerable Dong attended the First CCP Congress held in Shanghai and became one of the founders of our party. In the stormy weathers of the Chinese revolution in the past 100 years, how many could have resolutely changed from a member of the "Tongmeng League" to a great communist fighter? To courageously lead the march of time--this was what Venerable Dong taught us, and he set us a personal example.

III

Venerable Dong's youth and middle age were beset with difficulties and grave dangers, and he had only a one-to-nine chance of survival. He was responsible for party work in Hupei Province during the 1924-1927 revolutionary period. On 15 July 1927 Wang Jingwei, following Chiang Kai-shek's example, carried out a large-scale bloody massacre of Communist Party members and revolutionary worker-peasant masses in Wuhan. During the massacre Venerable Dong sensibly went underground to continue his leadership. It was not until the White Terror had reached every nook and corner of Wuhan that he calmly left the jaws of death.

After leaving the jaws of death controlled by the Guomindang reactionaries, Venerable Dong, with the party Central Committee's approval, took a circuitous route from Shanghai to Moscow. During his several years in Moscow he avidly studied the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in addition to learning to master the Russian language. He also diligently studied the problems of the Chinese and the world revolution. After 1932 he returned to the motherland, penetrating the blockade imposed by the Guomindang reactionaries and then entering the central revolutionary base area in Jiangxi from Shantou. He successively held

the posts of dean of the Central Party School, chairman of the Central Party Affairs Committee and member of the Central Worker-Peasant Inspection Committee. In 1934, when the Red Army began its 25,000-li Long March--an unparalleled feat in history--Venerable Dong joined the ranks of the Red Army fighters. Taking up arms and wearing tattered clothes, he scaled the snowy mountains, crossed the grassland and encountered numerous dangers on the way. After arriving in northern Shaanxi he became the principal of the Central Party School and spared no efforts in training cadres for the party and in teaching them Marxism-Leninism. The difficulties and sufferings in the Long March, instead of shaking his revolutionary will, further steeled him!

During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Venerable Dong was one of the CCP representatives stationed in Wuhan and Chongqing to help Comrade Zhou Enlai in his relentless struggle against Chiang Kai-shek. Like Comrade Zhou Enlai, Venerable Dong was a longtime antagonist of Chiang Kai-shek of the Guomindang. Againslike Comrade Zhou Enlai, he knew exactly what was in the mind of that crafty Chiang Kai-shek, who was also a big dictator, a big hooligan and a big executioner. At that time, although Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang was displaying the banner of resisting Japanese aggression, it was at the same time brutally suppressing the CCP and the broad masses. Therefore, it was a big risk to carry on a prolonged negotiation with the Guomindang in Chongqing. But instead of being intimidated by that malicious antagonist, Venerable Dong entered the tiger's den with great dignity, and in a poem "In Reply to Venerable Xu's 'Farewell in Yanan'" he said:

Full of worry about the national destiny,
I think of the people's suffering day and night.
The world will soon undergo a big change,
And our China will also play an important role.

He added:

Now we are going separate ways.
In Chongqing I will temporarily stay.
If my mouth and tongue can serve any purpose,
I hope to protect the upright and virtuous.

The struggle with Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang in Chongqing was most acrimonious. In July 1943, when Comrade Zhou Enlai had returned to Yanan, the responsibility of party leadership for the Southern Bureau devolved on Venerable Dong. As a protest against the creation of the Southern Anhwei Incident by the Guomindang reactionaries, seven councilors refused to attend the "council" controlled by Chiang Kai-shek. In September 1943, to expand our party's political influence, Venerable Dong, on instruction from the party Central Committee, attended that "council" unaccompanied by anyone. The Guomindang reactionaries broke their promise not to attack communism at the meeting, and He Yingchin

[0149 2019 2953] carried out a surprise attack in his military report in which he turned facts about the 8th Route Army upside down and stopped at nothing in slandering and fabricating rumors. With a dignified air, Venerable Dong presented a host of facts to expose the Guomindang's attempt to undermine the war effort and unity, and he proved the great achievements of the CCP and its 8th Route Army and New 4th Army in firmly carrying on resistance behind the enemy lines and in opening base areas. His powerful counterblows convinced many middle-of-the-roaders of the actual situation and won their sympathy for our cause. Shamed, the Guomindang flew into a rage and unscrupulously dispatched a number of Central Committee elements to disturb the meeting. At that, Venerable Dong resolutely walked out in protest. After his departure the Guomindang took advantage of its numerical superiority to illegally adopt the so-called "Resolution on the 18th Army Group" and slandered the CCP and the 8th Route Army as "undermining the unity of the government and disobeying military orders." Venerable Dong was unyielding and continued his activities outside. He did a lot of work among the non-Guomindang councilors and people of various circles in society, and he exposed the crimes of the Guomindang in passively resisting Japan and actively opposing communism. Because of his activities, the Guomindang reactionaries were forced to play a passive role politically.

In February 1945 Tian Kai [3944 0418], a special agent of the Guomindang Military Statistics Bureau, audaciously stole a telegram and was stopped by worker Hu Shihe [5170 0013 0678]. Tian shot and killed Hu on the spot, and this incident shocked the whole city of Chongqing. On instructions from Comrade Zhou Enlai (after the incident Comrade Zhou left Chongqing for Yanan), Venerable Dong mobilized the Southern Bureau and the other local party organizations to unfold a mammoth struggle as a protest against the wanton killing, and he finally forced the Guomindang reactionaries to execute the murderer, much against their wishes. This incident gave a strong impetus to the workers movement and the democratic movement in areas under Guomindang rule.

IV

Venerable Dong carried on his struggles in the tiger's den of the Guomindang from 1937 to the spring of 1947 as a CCP representative. In 1946 the Guomindang reactionaries occupied Dandong and Zhangjiakou and openly convened the bogus National People's Congress, which wrecked the national peace. The negotiation thus came to a deadlock, and in response to a summons from the party Central Committee Comrade Zhou Enlai returned to Yanan to join in leading the war of liberation. Thus the militant burden of the CCP Delegation in Nanjing and Shanghai was shouldered by Venerable Dong. At that time, counterattacks were carried out in various liberated areas, and the special agents of the Guomindang Military Statistics Bureau and the Central Statistics Bureau in both Nanjing and Shanghai perpetrated various evil deeds, including

shadowing and kidnaping. It was like a living hell, and everywhere was pitch dark. However, Venerable Dong calmly led the CCP Delegation and the underground party members in uniting with the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces, and boldly exposing the towering crimes of the Guomintang reactionaries in tearing up the "Double Ten Agreement" and waging a full-scale civil war. Could there possibly be such dauntless and heroic mettle if one lacks a strong revolutionary will and a readiness to sacrifice everything for the revolutionary cause?

On 7 March 1947 the Guomintang reactionaries completely tore off their peace-talk mask, and the delegations stationed in Nanjing, Shanghai and Chongqing (including the workers in our party newspapers and party journals in these three places) were forced to withdraw. Venerable Dong was given a warm sendoff at the Nanjing Airport by personages of democratic groups and progressive elements of the Guomintang. In his loud and clear voice he said to his friends who were seeing him off:

"Although I am leaving Nanjing, we will certainly meet again!" Facts later turned out exactly as he had said, because 2 years and 1 1/2 months later the PLA, with its irresistible force, liberated Nanjing, where the Guomintang had been entrenched for a long time. Thirteen years later Venerable Dong said in his poems on "New Village of Plum Garden" (only two of four are quoted here):

The city where a tiger is crouching and a dragon curling
Formerly served as an outpost of the United Front.
I recall the past while rearranging my old home.
Here, Fuhou Mount of Plum Garden retains its old name.

Following the rise of the People's Liberation Army,
The Chiang dynasty fell like an avalanche.
Two years and one and a half months after my Nanjing departure,
Red flags supplanted the white under the bright sun.

V

Venerable Dong was extremely stern and cautious in the intra-party line struggles. He opposed Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism, Li Lisan and Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunism, Wang Ming's rightist capitulationism and Zhang Guotao's rightist opportunism as splitting the party. He also opposed the conspiracy of Gao Gang [7559 1511] and Rao Shushi [7437 3359 4258] to usurp party and state leadership. For the future of the Chinese people and the communist cause, he was adamant in opposing anyone who was antiparty or against the party's correct line.

During the 10 years of the rampage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," Venerable Dong knew exactly what was going on. He kept his eyes open and concealed his hatred in his mind. He never tried to curry favor from those who were in power or to create any "milestone" out of the void. After the "13 September" Incident he courageously upheld justice

by writing poems attacking the antiparty elements, including Lin Biao and Chen Boda. One of them reads:

The crawling insects try to win fame through deception,
And chameleons substitute falsehood for truth.
Under the bright sun, their features were finally exposed.
The towering Guling can never be taken by storm!

In those days of big upheavals and destruction the scoundrels trying to usurp party and state leadership and to win fame by deceiving the public were not only Lin Biao, Chen Boda and several others! Didn't Venerable Dong include among them the "gang of four" and that scheming so-called theoretical authority? The verdict of history is just and yet inexorable. In those days the people were full of indignation against those renegades, special agents, conspirators and careerists who had wormed their way into the party and won great power by deceptive means. How about now? Can any one of them who once held almost supreme power avoid being thrown into the trash heap of history by the people?

Only those fighters who have a steel will and have been tested in the revolutionary flames can stand up majestically in violent storms as well as in calm and bright days and forever enjoy the people's respect! In October 1940 Venerable Dong wrote these lines in his "In Reply to Venerable Xu's 'Farewell in Yanan'":

Pine trees have a unique posture,
With green leaves pointing at the boundless sky.
They stand firm in defiance of strong winds,
And the soil is too thin for their deep roots.
They have an unlimited capacity for absorption
And remain vigorous even in old age.

History has proved Venerable Dong to be a genuine proletarian revolutionary whose strength grew along with the advance of age. At the same time, it has also proved him to be a good student of Marxism and a scholar who learned from the practice of revolutionary struggles. The lines "They have an unlimited capacity for absorption" and "And remain vigorous even in old age" are a most fitting description of his militant life.

During the difficult days of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, I worked directly under Venerable Dong for a long time, and the benefits I gained under his leadership were beyond description. On the morning of 7 April 1975 Comrade Wang Bingnan [3769 3621 0589] told me that Venerable Dong had passed away, and the two of us hurried to comfort Comrade He Lianzhi [0149 6647 5437]. I expressed my regret that I had not been able to pay him my respects during the last 10 years of his lifetime. Comrade Lianzhi said: "Never mind. You, as his lifetime old friend, can join the others in bidding farewell to his remains."

Yet my name, which was written on the list of funeral committee members by Comrade Lianzhi, was removed by the "gang of four" and their henchmen. Since my repeated entreaties proved to be useless, I could only stand in the yard with tears in my eyes and watch the sky as my way of saying farewell to him.

Rest in peace, our immortal proletarian revolutionary Comrade Dong Biwu!
More than 900 million Chinese people will remember you forever!

9411
CSO: 4004

SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE RESTRUCTURING OF OUR ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 21-27

[Article by Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037], Gui Shiyong [2710 0013 6978] and Xu Jingan [1776 2529 1344]]

[Text] At present we face the important task of carrying out an overall restructuring of our economic management system. The fulfillment of this task has great significance in speeding up the development of our national economy and promoting the great cause of the four modernizations.

The question of an economic management system in a socialist country is, in essence, the problem of how to organize and manage production, distribution and circulation under the system of public ownership of the means of production. There is also the question of how to adapt the delineation of management authority, the establishment of management organs and the adjustment of economic interests to such a form of organization and management. Success in solving this problem will help bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play and spur the rapid development of the productive forces. Conversely, failure to solve this problem will fetter or even disrupt the development of the productive forces. For a long time we have failed to focus our work on economic construction. We did not pay sufficient attention to studying the solution of the question of an economic management system. Consequently, many defects which did not accord with the demands of the principles of socialism and socialized production were not overcome in time. Since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the departments of economic work and economic theorists have put forward various viewpoints and tentative schemes for the restructuring of the economic management system. Conscientious discussions have been underway. Here we would like to give some tentative views on several questions concerning the restructuring of the economic management system.

I

The socialist economy is founded on socialized production. Restructuring the economic management system must take the demands of socialized production into consideration. On the one hand, the whole economy must be highly centralized and planned; on the other hand, each economic unit must have the necessary independence and initiative.

Socialized production involves an extensive social division of labor and coordination. The individual economic units are interconnected and interdependent, and together they constitute an organic entity. Individual departments or units cannot function without the coordination of other departments and units. Socialized production can function properly only when the various departments and units of the national economy develop proportionately. This, in effect, demands the centralized planning and coordination of the whole process of social production. Meanwhile, socialized production also demands that the various economic units have the necessary independence and initiative. The reason for this is that each of the departments or units constitutes a single link in the social division of labor. Each of them performs a specific function and possesses the specific means to fulfill such a function. Such a division of labor requires that they fulfill their function with their own means. With the constant advance of production technology and changes in social demand, the actual content and conditions of the function each individual economic unit performs in the social division of labor are also constantly changing. A single social center of planning is inadequate to enable the various economic units to cope with such changes accurately and in time. Each unit should have the necessary power to actively respond to such changes and take the initiative to adjust its own production and management activities. Without this kind of independence and initiative, it is very difficult for the whole social production to develop proportionately and harmoniously. Therefore, socialized production, which forges the whole economy into an organic entity, does not rule out the independence and initiative of the various economic units. On the contrary, such independence and initiative are the very conditions needed for its development.

Under the capitalist system, each economic unit is established on the basis of capitalist private ownership. These economic units determine the orientation and content of their production and management activities and are fully autonomous. For the sake of seeking maximum profit, they take the initiative to explore and adjust themselves to market demands. This kind of independence and initiative has greatly promoted the development of production. However, under the conditions of capitalist private ownership, the whole of social production is in a state of anarchy. The proportional relations of the entire economy have to be arbitrarily maintained through cyclical economic crises. This seriously disrupts the social productive forces. The more advanced the development of socialized production, the more serious is its disruption. This has

inevitably forced capitalist governments to find their way out of such difficulties. Immediately before and after World War II, capitalist countries adopted various means to strengthen the state's interference in the economy and carried out various kinds of "planned regulation." These methods no doubt exerted certain regulating effects on the development of a capitalist economy. However, under the conditions of the intense antagonism and conflicts of economic interests among different capitalist groups, these methods are incapable of fundamentally resolving the anarchy of social production and putting the national economy under centralized control and planning as demanded by social production.

A socialist society has firmly established the system of public ownership of the means of production. The fundamental interests of all laborers are in harmony. This has created the conditions for a centralized and planned national economy and makes it possible to bring the independence and initiative of the various economic units into full play. Of course, possibility is not the same thing as reality. To turn such a possibility into reality and bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play, the most important thing is to have an overall and correct understanding of how to organize the economy according to socialist principles and the demands of socialized production. Correspondingly, the economy should be managed according to such an understanding. It must be admitted that our understanding of this problem has been incomplete. We have often accorded undue emphasis to the demand of socialized production for a centralized and planned national economy while neglecting the corresponding demand for the independence and initiative of the various economic units. We even thought that, once public ownership of the means of production was established, the economic activities of the whole society should be put under the centralized control and planning of the state. Our experience has proved that this is impossible. If we insist on following this path, it will only result in the issuing of misguided orders and bureaucratism which is divorced from reality. Any miscalculation in planning will undoubtedly create a serious dislocation of proportionate growth and endanger the whole national economy. It was precisely because of this that certain socialist countries carried out, successively and in varying degrees, reforms of the economic management system. While they were carrying out planned regulation, they also adopted various means to bring the regulating effects of the market into play. They also provided appropriate authority for the economic units to organize production and management activities according to market needs. This problem has become more widely understood and has received greater attention in our country. This represents great progress.

However, while we are stressing the necessity for various economic units to have a degree of independence and initiative, we should also see to it that the centralization and planning of the national economy are not neglected. The centralization and planning of the national economy are

the prerequisites for bringing the independence and initiative of the economic units into play. Under the conditions of socialized production, without the proportionate and harmonious development of the national economy, the individual departments and units will lose their necessary coordination with other departments and units. Independence and initiative which are divorced from centralized planning will result in haphazardness. This, after all, will be harmful to the normal production of the various economic units. After several decades of struggle we have established the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, built up a socialist system and secured the conditions for carrying out a planned economy. This was not easy to come by. We should treasure and at the same time make full use of these conditions. We should not weaken the planned economy either consciously or unconsciously. Of course, we still lack experience in realizing the centralization and planning of the national economy, and in fact we have had problems with these two aspects. However, we should not discard centralization and planning just because of this. On the contrary, we should constantly summarize our experience, improve our work and make a good job of carrying out the principle of centralized planning. Centralization and planning of the national economy are important expressions of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. They are also important prerequisites for a socialist economy to overtake capitalism in the speed of its development. The important task of restructuring the economic system is dependent upon discovering a focal point which not only enables us to persist in the centralization and planning of the national economy but also brings the independence and initiative of the economic units into play. Furthermore, the concrete means by which such integration can be carried out should also be established. This certainly is no easy task; however, we must and certainly can fulfill such a task.

II

The key to realizing the integration of the centralization and planning of the national economy and the independence and initiative of the economic units is the proper handling of the relationship between the state and the enterprises. This is the key issue that the restructuring of the economic management system must resolve.

Under the socialist system, one of the important functions of the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to organize and manage the economy. With the elimination of the landlords and rich peasants as a class and the demise of the capitalist class, the class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in society. Economic management has increasingly become the most important function of the socialist state. In our experience, in a socialist society the centralized planning and organization of the national economy should be carried out by the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state is the representative of the whole society and intensively reflects the interests and will

of the whole people. It has the supreme authority needed for the organization of socialized production. To abandon the state in favor of another social organization to manage the economy is unrealistic and will remain so for a long time to come.

As for safeguarding the independence and initiative of the economic units, the most important thing is to safeguard the independence and initiative of the enterprises. The enterprise is the basic unit of the social economy. Only when the enterprise functions as a dynamic cell which has vitality can the national economy develop rapidly. There has been considerable support for the viewpoint that all the production and management activities of the enterprises owned by the whole people should be directed by the state. This denies the enterprises the necessary self-management in production and their independent economic interest. This viewpoint is incorrect. The independence of socialist enterprises not only is the objective demand of socialized production but also is determined by the socialist relations of production. In an economy in which there is socialist ownership by the whole people, the means of production belong to the whole people. However, these means of production are possessed separately and utilized by various enterprises for a long period of time. The socialist principles of "each according to his ability" and "distribution according to work" demand that the performance of the enterprises using these means of production be linked with their economic interests. Socialist enterprises have their own independent economic interests. They must strictly carry out independent accounting, possess a given degree of independence, and be allowed to carry out beneficial competition among themselves so as to promote the constant development of production technology. The socialist nature of the enterprises will be damaged if we deny their autonomy for independent management, rule out legitimate competition between them, adopt the supply system, and continue the practices of eating from the same pot, centralized income and expenditure and centralized purchase and marketing. This will also prevent the enterprises and their staff from becoming concerned about the results of their own labor from the perspective of material interest, thus obstructing the development of the productive forces. The current practices of divorcing production from demand, neglecting the adoption of advanced technology and improvement of management, and disregarding economic effects are also related to this point.

The independence of socialist enterprise is very important. However, the independence of socialist enterprise is different from that of capitalist enterprise in that such independence is limited and relative. This is because the means of production of enterprises owned by the whole people belong to the whole people. All their activities must first be subjected to the interests of the whole people and be directed by the state, which represents the will of the whole society. Even collectively owned enterprises have to give due consideration to the interests of the collective as well as those of the whole people and subject themselves to the guidance of the state. No matter whether they are enterprises

owned by the whole people or collectively owned enterprises, their independence must be under the guidance of centralized state planning and within the limits of overall equilibrium of the national economy. Their independence should not avoid this kind of guidance nor exceed these limits. Such limitations on the independence of enterprises are absolutely necessary; they aim at bringing the dynamism of the enterprises into full play along the lines of a balanced development of the national economy. To deny this relative nature is just one step from denying the necessity for these enterprises to receive the guidance of national planning. This is obviously incorrect.

Not only should we let the state safeguard and fulfill the centralization and planning of the national economy, but we should also provide the enterprises with the necessary independence and initiative. This is the basic principle for handling the relationship between the state and the enterprises. It is an intricate problem to concretely delineate economic management power between the state and the enterprises according to this principle. Some comrades are of the view that macroeconomic activities which concern the national economy as a whole, such as the orientation and speed of development, principal proportions and regional distributions of the national economy, should be centrally controlled by the state, whereas microeconomic activities, such as the links between the supply, production and marketing of the enterprises and general investment matters, should be handled by the enterprises themselves. It is no doubt correct that such a proposal affirms that the state should control macroeconomic activities. The problem is that macroeconomic activities and microeconomic activities are closely related. The former was to be realized through the latter. If all the microeconomic activities are to be determined by the enterprises according to their own interests, it will be impossible, at any time or under any circumstances, to insure that these activities will accord with the overall demands of the economy. It is therefore inappropriate to delineate authority between the state and the enterprises merely by a differentiation of macroeconomic and microeconomic activities.

It is our opinion that, for the sake of insuring the proportionate and balanced development of the national economy, macroeconomic activities should be controlled by the state. The state economic management departments should study the orientation of development, the proportional relations and the speed of development of the national economy. Furthermore, they should study the rational allocation and regional distribution of the productive forces. The orientation of scientific and technological development and important policies on technology should also be studied. Finally, the orientation of and important measures for the extension of technological and economic exchanges abroad should also be closely studied. On these strategic questions we should try our best to reach correct decisions which are in accordance with the demands of objective law. It must be said that, in terms of economic work, whether the national economy can develop better and faster

depends on how these questions are resolved. Therefore, the most important task on which the national economic organizations must concentrate their energies is the proper arrangement of macroeconomic activities. However, for the sake of successfully implementing the various policies related to the whole of the national economy, the state economic departments should also control those microeconomic activities which are significant to the realization of macroeconomic activities. For instance, the state should make direct decisions on such matters as the production and distribution of the few important goods which have an important influence on the national economy and the livelihood of the people; the supply, production and marketing activities of the few backbone enterprises; and important basic construction projects. If it does not, there is a danger that the state's arrangements for the orientation of development and the principal proportions of the national economy will be frustrated. Of course, the majority of microeconomic activities should be dynamically determined by the enterprises under the guidance of national planning and within the limits of policies and decrees stipulated by the state. The enthusiastic participation of the enterprises will be damaged if there is excessive direct interference by the state and if the enterprises are subject to excessive nitpicking and rigid controls. As to which microeconomic activities should be directly managed by the state, this should be determined according to the task and concrete conditions of the different phases of economic development. We should be flexible about this.

While we are correctly handling the relations between the state and the enterprises, we should simultaneously do a good job of handling the relations between central and local authorities within the national economic management organs. Ours is a country with a vast territory. Under the precondition of safeguarding a highly centralized leadership by the central authority, the local authority should be given the necessary power to develop the local economy according to local conditions. The delineation of economic management power between the central departments and the local authority should take into consideration the special characteristics of various economic enterprises as a starting point. Such a delineation should be beneficial to economically rational organization and development of socialized production according to the principle of specialized coordination. The internal links of the economy should not be cut off by administrative systems, divisions and hierarchies. Such a delineation should also be beneficial to strengthening the centralization and planning of the national economy and should not weaken the principle of centralized planning. Furthermore, such a delineation should be beneficial to improving production and management activities so as to improve economic effects. It should not fetter the initiative and enthusiasm of the enterprises. All these should receive due attention in the restructuring of the economic management system so that we can avoid the defects often encountered in past reforms.

III

The correct handling of the relationship between the state and the enterprises not only safeguards the centralization and planning of the national economy but also brings the independence and initiative of the economic units into play. We should apply the principle of integrating planned regulation and market regulation in the organization and management of the economy. This is the orientation of the restructuring of the economic management system.

The principle of integrating planned regulation and market regulation in economic management is determined by the commodity economy of the socialist economy founded on public ownership. For a long time people have had the notion that under the conditions of socialism the spheres of commodity production and exchange were already severely limited. It was believed that goods exchanged within the system of ownership by the whole people were no longer commodities and that this was also the case with the means of production in general. It was also believed that the law of value no longer exerted any regulating effect on production. Adherence to this viewpoint led to an attempt to polarize the roles of the law of schematic and proportionate development and the law of value. It was argued that when planned regulation functioned market regulation would have no effect, and vice versa. It was generally believed that as long as the law of value is used to carry out planned regulation it would mean the weakening and disruption of the planned economy. Practice has proved that such viewpoints are unrealistic and harmful. In actual fact, under the conditions of socialism, not only are the goods exchanged among different owners commodities, but the exchange of goods within the system of ownership by the whole people also expresses the relations of economic interests among different enterprises. Such goods are also commodities. Not only are consumer materials commodities, but means of production are also commodities. The principal distinction between a socialist economy and a capitalist economy in this respect is that a capitalist commodity economy is founded on capitalist private ownership and thus is a spontaneous commodity economy, whereas a socialist commodity economy is founded on public ownership of the means of production and thus is a planned commodity economy. It is necessary and possible for socialist planned regulation to be realized through extensive utilization of commodity and currency relations. It is possible and necessary for socialist commodity production and exchange to be carried out under the guidance of planning. This is the basis for the integration of planned regulation and market regulation.

The planned regulation of the socialist economy is first expressed in the orientation of development, principal proportions and speed of development of the whole national economy. That is to say, the macro-economic activities mentioned above are to be centrally planned by the state. The problem which should be emphatically pointed out is that when the state is carrying out this kind of planning it should consider

not only the demands of the basic economic laws of socialism but also the demands of the laws of value. In the formulation of national plans we should calculate and stipulate not only the quota of materials in kind but also the quota of value. We should also see to it that the two aspects are integrated in a balanced manner. In our planning and evaluation of the various programs for national economic development we should consciously utilize the series of value categories such as the cost profit margin, the capital profit margin, the investment coefficient and each unit's figures for the accumulation and creation of national income.

There are three ways in which centralized state planning can be implemented to guide national economic development. One way is to assign the plans in the form of orders to be implemented by the enterprises. Another way is to consciously use the means of economic regulation, such as price, taxation and credit, to guide the enterprises into actively implementing national planning. Yet another way is, within the limits of policies and decrees issued by the state, to adjust the production of the enterprises to the general trend of economic development through the spontaneous regulation of the market in order to compensate for the inadequacies of national planning. The first is certainly one way of implementing planned regulation. However, this kind of planned regulation must take into consideration the demands of the law of value and, as far as possible, give due consideration to the economic interests of the enterprises. The second way is a typical example of the mutual interplay and close cooperation between planned regulation and market regulation. From the perspective of the state, this is regulation through planned utilization of economic means and is one way of implementing planned regulation. From the perspective of the enterprises, it is a kind of market regulation by which the enterprises determine their production and management activities according to market demands and their own interests. The third way is primarily market regulation, but it is subject to a loose influence and constraint by the plans, policies and stipulations of the state.

Based on the above proposal for restructuring the economic management system, the following methods can be considered with regard to enterprise management, circulation of resources and stipulation of prices. Enterprises should be divided into two categories. The first category of enterprises carry out their production in accordance with instructions on planning from the state. Under the precondition of fulfilling the state plans, these enterprises can use their excess production capacity and resources to arrange their own production on the basis of purchasing orders from consumers or their own estimates of market demands. This category of enterprises should be confined to the few backbone enterprises which are significant to the national economy and the livelihood of the people. In formulating plans for these enterprises the state should take heed of their opinions as far as possible in order to make such plans practical and feasible. The other category

of enterprises would not receive instructions on planning from above. These enterprises would decide on the choice and quantity of their own production according to market demands and contracts. Generally speaking, the state would not directly interfere in the activities of these enterprises through administrative means. Only under extraordinary circumstances would the state instruct these enterprises to produce certain goods or to supply goods for certain consumers. No matter in which category they fall, the enterprises should be allowed a given degree of authority over matters concerning human, financial and material resources, so that their management performance can be linked directly to the material interests of the enterprises and their staff. Resources can be divided into three categories. The few important means of production and consumer goods as well as certain resources in short supply should primarily be distributed centrally by the state according to planning. The supply of this category of resources should be as flexible as possible. The second category of resources should be purchased selectively by the resource and commerce departments, while the remaining portion should be marketed by the enterprises themselves. The third category of resources are to be wholly exchanged by the enterprises and the consumers themselves. The stipulation of prices of goods can also be divided into three categories: one category in which prices are stipulated by the state; one category in which the state stipulates a given range within which prices may float; and one category in which prices are fixed by the enterprises themselves in accordance with the price-fixing principles of the state.

For the majority of enterprises and the production of the majority of goods, the state will not issue any instructions on planning from above but will regulate them through economic means. This is the key to the integration of planned regulation and market regulation. Under such conditions, the state will inform the enterprises on the trends of national economic development, the demands for various proportions and the relevant control figures. The state will guide the enterprises in carrying out production according to national planning and needs by means of various economic levers. The enterprise will organize their actual production and management activities according to the economic precepts provided by the state, their own estimate of the market and their own production conditions and economic interests. In this way the state can focus its attention on the proper arrangement of macro-economic activities while delegating the management of a considerable amount of microeconomic activities to the enterprises. All these measures are beneficial to the formulation of more realistic plans. In this way, under the guidance of national planning and within the general limits of overall equilibrium of the national economy, the enterprises can bring their own initiative and enthusiasm into full play. They can improve the links among supply, production and marketing, improve management, adopt advanced technology and enhance economic results so that their activities will better suit social needs. In this way the administrative organs of national economic management can be greatly

simplified and their many functions delegated to the various economic organizations. With the reduction in the structure of production command and the simplification of various links, there is no need to report everything to a higher authority and await permission from above. The efficiency of economic work will thus be greatly enhanced. It must be said that this is an important reform of the system and method of planning. This kind of restructuring not only will not weaken the planned economy but will in fact strengthen it. On the surface, the schematic and extensive use of economic means to carry out regulation seems to relax planned management. In actual fact, it mobilizes the enthusiasm of the state and the enterprises to strengthen planning. If this is done properly, national planning can be carried out accurately. This will enable enterprises planning to implement and supplement national planning dynamically. The whole economy can truly, consciously and constantly maintain its equilibrium.

If this is the case, why is it still necessary to issue instructions on planning and the production of important goods to a few backbone enterprises? Why is it necessary to adopt administrative means to guide, control and coordinate the economic activities of ordinary enterprises under extraordinary conditions? The basic reason is that, under the conditions of socialism, the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are not in harmony at all times and in all situations. Economic interest is the motive force for the development of production. However, economic interest can be divided into the overall interest of the state, the collective interest of the enterprises and the individual interest of the workers. There is also long-term interest and immediate interest. Under the conditions of socialism, the state interest, the collective interest and the individual interest are basically in harmony. The nonantagonistic contradictions among them in most cases should be and can be resolved through proper handling. It is precisely because of this that we can make extensive use of economic means--that is, by urging enterprises to look after their own interests and to regulate and fulfill the planned tasks of the state. However, we must understand that the state interest, the collective interest and the individual interest should not be given equal consideration at all times. An inappropriate partial interest should certainly not be considered. Even in the case of an appropriate partial interest, it sometimes must be temporarily restrained for the sake of safeguarding the state interest. Under such circumstances, merely using economic means and the method of urging the enterprises to care for their own interests will not suffice to insure that their activities conform to the overall interests of the state. This determines that socialist planned regulation must adopt the necessary administrative means. This is especially true of those important backbone enterprises and the production and distribution of important goods which are significant to the national economy and the livelihood of the people. The instructive plans assigned by the state are beneficial to safeguarding the steady and harmonious development of the whole economy and the effective utilization of various economic means.

Some comrades advocate the complete abolition of directives on planning and the abolition of administrative means to interfere directly in the management activities of the enterprises. They argue that if this is not the case it will result in the issuing of misguided orders. It is our opinion that administrative decrees should not be confused with bureaucratism. Nor should we equate directives on planning with the issuing of misguided orders. It is unrealistic to focus on issuing directives on planning. This will only result in the issuing of misguided planning orders. However, with the implementation of instructive planning for certain enterprises and goods, it is perfectly possible to make such plans realistic and to carry out correct guidance which conforms to the overall needs as well as to the conditions of the enterprises. Of course, there will be mistakes, but this is not inevitable. Actually, in the management of the economy by economic means, inappropriate use of these means will also lead to the issuing of misguided orders. It is wrong to polarize administrative means and economic means and to regard all economic means as rational and all administrative means as irrational. If we say that the extensive adoption of economic means in economic management is for the sake of "control without sacrificing flexibility," then retention of the necessary administrative means is for the sake of attaining "flexibility without ending up in confusion." The task is to properly integrate the two. Furthermore, the utilization of these two means should, as far as possible, conform to the demands of objective economic laws.

To carry out the overall restructuring of the economic management system according to the principles of integrating the centralization and planning of the national economy and the independence and initiative of the economic units, integrating planned regulation and market regulation, and integrating economic and administrative means is an intricate and tremendous task. We should first clarify and ascertain the basic theoretical principles before designing the actual reform program according to these principles. If undue emphasis is placed on any one of the basic principles, this could lead to colossal mistakes out of all proportions to the scale of the original error. To do a good job of restructuring we should have the greatest determination. However, we should be cautious and make detailed plans and adequate preparation before committing ourselves to action. We should carry out conscientious investigation and study in the formulation of various economic policies and legislation, as well as in the formulation of programs for the adjustment of prices and taxation. We should substantiate and strengthen the organs of planning, statistics, banking, finance, taxation, prices and labor wages and build up a system comprising a complete set of effective economic supervisory organs. We should also make every effort to nurture and train economic management cadres and improve their abilities to manage the economy by economic means. Full-scale restructuring must be founded on good preparatory work and must be carried out step by step. It is our belief that through in-depth discussion and investigation and the concerted efforts of the popular masses of practical workers and theoretical workers we can certainly discover the economic management system best suited to our national conditions and best able to spur socialist modernized construction.

SOME UNDERSTANDING OF CHINA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION POLICIES

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[Article by Yu Guoyao [0151 0948 5069]]

[Text] Concerning our current agricultural production policies, the "Decisions of the CCP Central Committee on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development" clearly points out: We must correctly and completely implement the policy of "carrying out farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery simultaneously" and "taking grain as the key link, insuring all-round development, adapting measures to local conditions and concentrating forces in a proper way." Meanwhile, it also points out: Grain production has a bearing on the food problem of 900 million people and on preparedness against war and against famine and must be given serious attention. It was right for us to devote vigorous efforts to grain production in the past. But we neglected and impaired economic crops, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery and paid no attention to maintaining an ecological balance. We must take this as a major lesson.

At present our agriculture is marked by an internal imbalance, and the ecological balance has also been upset. The situation is quite serious. In 1978, planting (agriculture in a narrow sense) accounted for 67.8 percent of the total value of agricultural output, forestry 3 percent, animal husbandry 13.2 percent, sideline occupations 14.6 percent and fishery 1.4 percent. The combined output value of forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery represented only 32.2 percent of the total value of agricultural output.

If judged by foreign standards, the irrational economic structure of our agriculture is all the more obvious. Take forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, for example. In some agriculturally developed countries the percentage of forests ranges from 40 to 50 percent and from 60 to 70 percent. In our country it is only 12.7 percent. In certain agriculturally developed countries animal husbandry accounts for more than 50 percent of total output value; in our country it is 13.2 percent. Our fishery industry is especially backward. Japan claims a total output

of over 10 million metric tons of aquatic products a year. Our country has an annual output of only 4 million metric tons or more.

A breakdown in the value of our planting output shows that the present ratio of grain to economic crops is seven to three. This is to say that grain accounts for 66 percent while cotton, edible oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruit, drugs, miscellaneous articles, and so forth represent around 30 percent. Stress is laid on the planting of grain, while too little attention is paid to the proportion of economic crops. Some cultivable areas suited to such economic crops as cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar, and so forth have been switched to food crops due to the emphasis on grain production. This makes it impossible to take local features into account and to take the fullest advantage of natural conditions. As a result, the scope of agricultural production has become increasingly narrow. Grain output also shows no increase. This will not do, considering the availability of rich natural resources in our country and the socialist system. It shows that the economic structure of our agriculture is very irrational.

Of the many factors responsible for the above, one important one is that for a period undue emphasis has been laid on "taking grain as the key link" without paying proper attention to "all-round development."

The policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" evolved gradually toward the end of the 1950's and in the early 1960's. Our countryside established people's communes in 1958. Due to our lack of experience in socialist construction and our failure to properly channel the fervent mass enthusiasm displayed for socialist construction, there appeared in the countryside such phenomena as "the communist style," "a work style characterized by exaggeration," "equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources," "giving commands blindly," and so forth. Mass socialist enthusiasm was dampened. This, coupled with natural calamities and the Soviet Khrushchev group's demand for payment of debts, caused serious damage to our national economy, and especially to agricultural production. A 3-year period of economic difficulties ensued. In 1960 total grain output was only 287 billion jin, 400 million less than in 1951. In 1962 total grain output was 320 billion jin, 70.1 billion less than in 1957, or a drop of 18 percent. At that time the big drop in grain production caused serious difficulties throughout the country. This posed the most acute and urgent problem ever encountered in the national economy and the people's livelihood. Meanwhile, cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar crops, the hemp group, tea leaves, live pigs, aquatic products, and so forth registered big drops in output. Under these circumstances, "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" was put forward as the policy for agricultural production. This was in line with actual objective needs.

It has been 20 years since the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" was put forward. Practice during these 20 years shows that, when we carry out this policy correctly, agricultural production develops more quickly. On the contrary, when we carry out this policy in an unbalanced manner, the development of agricultural production slows down.

During the period of readjustment of the national economy in the early 1960's, this policy was carried out relatively well. In 1965 total grain output reached 389 billion jin. Compared with 1962, this meant an average annual increase of 6.7 percent. Meanwhile, cotton showed an average annual increase of 40.9 percent, three main kinds of oil-bearing crops 21.1 percent, jute 28.4 percent, sugarcane 57.3 percent, beets 80.3 percent, tea leaves 10.7 percent, live pigs 18.6 percent and aquatic products 9.3 percent. The value of our forestry output rose proportionately from 1.7 percent to 2 percent and that of animal husbandry from 10.3 percent to 14 percent. Only the output value of sideline occupations and fishery showed a slight proportionate drop. But the absolute output value of the two still registered a relatively big increase. Cotton, oil-bearing crops and other products that showed big drops in output during the 3-year period of economic difficulties also chalked up big increases in these few years. Their rate of growth in most cases exceeded that of grain. This shows that the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" not only insures the speedy growth of grain production but also stimulates the all-round development of forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations, fishery and economic crops.

Our problem arose in the 10-year period of the Great Cultural Revolution. It was a period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild. They pushed an ultraleftist line and vigorously practiced metaphysics. They one-sidedly advocated "taking grain as the key link." They greatly underrated forestry and animal husbandry and tried to do away with them. They even criticized the development of economic crops and diverse economic undertakings as the practice of "capitalism." They freely accused people of "sacrificing the key link to make money." Due to their policy of "taking grain as the key link and giving up everything else," agricultural production suffered serious consequences.

Statistics show that in the 5-year period from 1966 to 1970 the output of grain registered an average annual increase of 4.5 percent, cotton 1.7 percent, three main kinds of oil-bearing crops 0.6 percent, jute, bluish dogbane and sugarcane 0.1 percent, beets 1.2 percent, tea leaves 6.2 percent, live pigs 2.3 percent, and aquatic products 1.3 percent. Except in the case of tea leaves, the rate of growth of all other products had fallen below that of grain instead of being higher as before. This shows that the situation of "taking grain as the key link and giving up everything else" that had appeared in certain areas was a result of interference and sabotage by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

In 1970, in the light of prevailing conditions, the North China Agricultural Conference sponsored by Premier Zhou made it completely clear--in a report submitted by the State Council to the party Central Committee--that we must correctly and thoroughly carry out the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development." The report explicitly stated: "Take grain as the key link and insure all-round development." In a down-to-earth manner we must take proper care of grain, cotton, edible oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruit, drugs and miscellaneous items. Overall arrangements and plans must be made for agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery. Prominence must be given to grain, while diversified economic undertakings must be developed, so that we can avoid occupying ourselves solely with a single undertaking. Attention must be paid to forestry and animal husbandry. But the deep-seated and far-reaching influence of the ultraleftist line then practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" throughout the country seriously hampered the people's correct implementation of the party's general lines and specific policies. This made it impossible for us to attain the results we should have achieved.

Of course, many historical factors are also responsible for the present internal imbalance in our agriculture and the ecological imbalance. Due to ages of feudal rule under the dynasties in old China and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, great damage was done to forestry. Agriculture and animal husbandry also suffered. After liberation, though we made every effort to change such a situation under the leadership of the party, we could not change our traditional single-agriculture economy overnight. Because of this and shortcomings in our work, some areas have consistently failed to change the situation, and this has resulted in a serious upset of the ecological balance. When every effort was exerted to make iron and steel in the Great Leap Forward in 1958, trees were cut down at random. This further aggravated the internal agricultural imbalance and the ecological imbalance.

Another reason why we cannot immediately redress the internal agricultural imbalance in an overall and substantial way and quickly establish a rational agricultural economic structure is that our country is still plagued by a very serious food shortage. The problem of food for 900 million people has always put a heavy burden on us. We cannot immediately set aside for the cultivation of economic crops large tracts of land on which we are now growing grain, and we cannot immediately and effectively switch from cropland to forestry or animal husbandry. Still less can we obtain large supplies of grain to develop animal husbandry. All we can do is, while continuously taking proper care of grain, to accelerate the development of forestry and animal husbandry and energetically develop economic crops. Therefore, if we want to redress the internal agricultural imbalance and restore and establish an ecological balance, we must pay great attention to developing agricultural productivity and arming agriculture with advanced technology

and equipment while thoroughly carrying out relevant agricultural production policies. At the same time, we must pay serious and proper attention to family planning and control of population growth. The practice of foreign countries and the experiences of certain advanced areas and units at home show that a rational agricultural economic structure cannot be built on a backward level of agricultural productivity. Guided by a correct idea of agricultural development, the process of raising the level of agricultural productivity is also one of redressing the internal agricultural imbalance and putting the agricultural economic structure on the road to rationality. For instance, Jiangsu Province has now achieved marked results in the overall development of agricultural production. The provincial agricultural economic structure is relatively rational. One of the chief reasons for this is that it has seriously summed up both positive and negative experiences, carried out agricultural production policies in an overall and thorough manner and paid attention to the constant development of agricultural productivity. This shows that we must completely understand and thoroughly implement the policy put forward by the party Central Committee of "taking grain as the key link, insuring all-round development, adapting measures to local conditions and concentrating forces in a proper way." At the same time, we must pay attention to arming agriculture with advanced technology and equipment, increasing productivity, seriously implementing the party's various policies toward the countryside at the present stage and giving full play to the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants. As long as we do this we can develop agricultural production in an overall manner and also gradually work toward basically redressing the internal agricultural imbalance and the ecological imbalance.

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ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BASIC SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LAW

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[Economic Forum article by Sha Ying [3097 5391]]

[Text] People in economics circles and economic workers of our country recently held a discussion on the question of the basic socialist economic law. This discussion aroused great interest and attention. It had not only theoretical but also practical significance in clarifying the guiding thought about production as a means of meeting people's needs, in summing up the experiences of socialist construction in our country, in promoting the readjustment of the national economy and in accelerating the four modernizations.

People in our economics circles had previously conducted two major discussions on the basic socialist economic law. Shortly before and after 1954 a major discussion was held on the role played by the basic socialist law during the period of transition. Again, in the early 1960's another major discussion was held on the question of methods of defining the contents of the basic socialist economic law. These two major discussions certainly deepened our understanding of the basic socialist economic law in the light of real economic problems in China. On the whole, however, because of the conditions then existing, the people's understanding of this law was limited, and it was not used in in-depth analysis of our economic problems.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, no economic law whatsoever could be studied seriously, and there was even less possibility of observing the basic socialist law and summing up experiences in the light of realities.

Marx, Engels and Lenin wrote a great deal about socialist production and consumption. However, based on the experiences of socialist construction it was Stalin who first advanced the theory of the basic socialist law and gave it a fairly complete definition. In his work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" he said: "We have to insure that the ever-growing material and cultural requirements are

fully met by constantly increasing and perfecting socialist production on the basis of high technology." In a capitalist society, where the means of production are owned by the capitalists, the goal of production is to exploit and to gain maximum surplus value. Therefore, the law of surplus value is the basic economic law of capitalism. In a socialist society, where the system of public ownership has been realized and exploitation eliminated, the laborers have become the owners of the means of production, and the goal of production is to meet the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people. Therefore, Stalin's definition, which pointed out not only the goal of socialist production but also the means of attaining it, is of great theoretical and practical significance.

Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to Stalin's theory on the basic socialist economic law and considered it a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist political economy. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" before the First National People's Congress, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "The sole goal of socialist economy is to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs," and "the direct as well as indirect goals of our economic and financial work are to improve the people's material and cultural well-being." It was also clearly stipulated in the General Program of our Constitution adopted at the Eighth National CCP Congress that "the fundamental goal of all party work is to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs to the maximum extent. Therefore, it is necessary to gradually and incessantly improve the people's living conditions on the basis of developing production. This is also a necessary condition for increasing the people's initiative in production."

Our First Five-Year Plan was based mainly on the basic socialist economic law and was quite effective in handling the relationship between developing production and improving living conditions. In the ratio between accumulation and consumption, for instance, accumulation amounted to 24.2 percent and consumption to 75.8 percent of the national income. During this period the total industrial and agricultural output increased annually at an average rate of 10.9 percent; the total amount of national income increased annually at an average rate of 8.9 percent; the workers' total wages increased annually at an average progressive rate of 18.1 percent; and the average wages of workers increased annually at a progressive rate of 7.4 percent. These ratios helped to promote the development of production and to insure the improvement of people's living conditions. However, for a long time afterward our mistakes in work, and particularly the sabotage and interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," caused a serious imbalance in our national economy. The failure to gradually improve the people's living conditions on the basis of developing production brought about grave consequences.

Then how was the basic socialist economic law neglected or violated? The answer is mainly that in planning our national production we usually

proceeded from the production targets of certain heavy industry items. Instead of following the order of agriculture, light industry and then heavy industry, we one-sidedly stressed the development of heavy industry, overextended the capital construction front and neglected agriculture and light industry. In the distribution of national income, accumulation was excessive, thus upsetting the correct ratio between accumulation and consumption. In the distribution of accumulation funds we also stressed productive accumulation and slighted nonproductive accumulation. This is what people called "many bones but little meat." The result was a serious imbalance in the national economy and a slowing down of the development of production. The purpose of our readjustment at present is to solve these problems. We have had some initial success in this respect after a series of important measures were introduced last year to readjust the ratios between accumulation and consumption and between industry and agriculture; we have also had some initial success in improving the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual. Great success can be expected in the current and coming years.

It is beyond doubt that socialist construction must be carried out according to economic laws, particularly the basic socialist economic law. However, many comrades do not have an adequate knowledge of this law or fully appreciate its importance. They do not attach sufficient importance to the basic socialist economic law and pay scanty attention to its study. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the need to learn about political economy long ago. Yet for a long time we failed to study it. Now should be the time for us to catch up. We must particularly study and conduct research on the basic socialist economic law, because instead of being just an ordinary law, it plays a leading rôle. It embodies the essence and special features of the socialist mode of production and determines the general aspect and general process of socialist production, while all other socialist economic laws are regulated by it. For instance, the laws of planned development of the national economy require planned and proportionate arrangements for the various basic ratios in social reproduction in an overall balance. This overall balance can be achieved in many ways and by different policies, depending on the purposes and tasks to be served. The arrangements can be rational and the laws for planned development can play a more active role only when the basic socialist economic law is observed. Furthermore, the law of value, the law "to each according to his work," and so forth are all regulated by the basic socialist economic law. Unless we have a thorough knowledge of the basic socialist economic law and its relationship to other laws, we will not be able to find the correct policy and method in construction or to correctly sum up our experiences.

Study of the basic socialist economic law can also enable us to implement the "Eight Character" policy more effectively. In adjusting the proportionate relations of the national economy, the most important thing is to correctly handle the relationship between production and

consumption and to combine the development of production with improvement of the people's living conditions. The relationship between production and consumption is a dialectical one, because without production there will be no consumption, and without the development of production there will be no basis for improving livelihood. While noting the decisive role of production, however, we must not overlook the countereffects of consumption on production, because an increase in consumption will in turn promote the development of production. If we treat consumption as something passive and hold that, by doing more for production and construction and less for consumption, national wealth will be more rapidly increased, we of course have a good motive, although in this case more haste means less speed.

We must gradually improve people's living conditions on the basis of developing production. In the past our accumulations were excessive, and our capital construction front was overextended. Now we have decided to reduce the scope of both accumulation and capital construction. While reducing accumulation we are at the same time readjusting the distribution of accumulation funds and appropriately increasing the ratio of nonproductive accumulations. In this way there will be a more solid basis for faster development of production. On the basis of developing production the people's livelihood can be duly improved. The improvement of people's living conditions requires an increase not only in consumption funds but also in the supply of consumer goods. If people have nothing to buy with their money, their living conditions still cannot be improved. At the same time, the relationship between the individual and social public needs must be correctly handled. Individual needs include whatever is required for maintaining or improving the livelihood of the workers and their families, while social public needs include the development of educational, cultural and public health undertakings, national defense, government administration and foreign aid. These two different needs in a socialist society are basically identical, although there is also some contradiction. We must be concerned with both the people's collective and individual interests and both the long-range and immediate benefits and on such a premise rationally meet all these needs. At present we must duly increase the portion to be used for individual needs. In this direction the central authorities have adopted and are adopting some important measures.

According to the basic socialist economic law, the goal of production and the means of attaining this goal are inseparably related. A constant increase in production and perfection of the socialist system are intended to meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the masses and the entire society. To develop production, however, we certainly cannot permanently depend on prolonging the work day and increasing labor intensity; it is most important that we depend on higher standards of science, technology and management. Compared with the advanced countries of the world, the standards of our science, technology and management are quite backward, and we have to do a great deal

in this direction. In the past 30 years, because of the huge amount of capital construction work, we have already built a strong material foundation, and there are great potentials. Of course, we have to rely mainly on tapping the potentials of the present enterprises and the renovation and transformation of their present equipment in order to raise productivity. At the same time, we have to suitably build some new enterprises and selectively import some advanced foreign technology and equipment. Our present system of management is highly centralized, and control of the economy is exercised with administrative methods. There are many defects in this system because of the very rigid control, which seriously hampers initiative in various quarters and restricts the development of production. This must be systematically and fundamentally restructured. Management of many of our enterprises is quite chaotic and backward, and great efforts are being made to consolidate and improve it. After all, the problems here are numerous and complex, and they deserve our serious study and solution.

Some comrades may feel that what has been mentioned above concerns only the higher leadership departments or the planning departments, but not themselves. This is incorrect. Observance of the basic socialist economic law should be an important job for all localities, all departments and all units. For example, if some enterprises now produce regardless of market demands, with the result that the volume of products continues to increase and to add to the already overstocked goods, and if the production of unsalable goods is to continue as usual while daily necessities are in short supply, can we afford to let this situation remain unchanged? Again, while readjustment of the national economy calls for reducing the scope of accumulation and capital construction, discontinuing some and starting other projects, and restricting the production of goods which are in full or excessive supply and increasing the production of goods which are in short supply, some departments and localities act in exactly the opposite way or follow the directions only half-heartedly. Can we afford to let this situation remain unchanged? We should also note another set of conditions: Some enterprises have changed from being responsible purely to state planning to being responsible to the state as well as to the consumers and are producing to meet the needs of the masses by improving their business management and raising the quality and quantity of their products. They are now welcomed by the broad masses, and their appearance has undergone a profound change. Some departments and localities bear in mind the overall situation, use the entire national economy as their starting point, carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages, and submit to the arrangements of the party and the state in either increasing or decreasing certain products. Instead of being passive and losing heart, they are going all out and aiming high. In this way they are benefiting the state as well as themselves! Such instances show that observance of the basic social economic law is mandatory for all comrades on the economic front.

9411
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CONVINCE PEOPLE BY REASONING, GUIDE THEM WITH METHODS, ENLIGHTEN THEM WITHOUT BLOCKING THEIR THINKING--AN IMPORTANT WAY TO CORRECTLY HANDLE THE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 34-36, 30

[Article by Li Mingsan [2621 2494 0005]]

[Text] To accelerate the four modernizations we need a political situation of stability and unity. During the 10 years that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, factional strife and smashing and grabbing were all the rage, and society was thrown into chaos. Workers, peasants and cadres found it impossible to continue production and other work, and intellectuals and students found it impossible to continue scientific research, teaching and study. Our people suffered a terrible catastrophe during that period. Now that a political situation of stability and unity has become a reality, the broad masses of our cadres and people feel greatly inspired and pleased.

However, in our political life there still exist factors that are detrimental to stability and unity. Anxious to stir up trouble, a small number of people in society negate and oppose the four basic principles, and, seeking to undermine our social order in production and other work, they are directly exerting an adverse influence on the four modernizations. Among them are remnant elements of the "gang of four," counter-revolutionaries and enemy agents and all sorts of criminal offenders, grafters, embezzlers and speculators--the new exploiting elements--anarchists and out-and-out egoists who disrupt social order, as well as the so-called "democrats" and "political dissidents." These people involve issues which are different in nature. However, under certain conditions it is completely possible that they will unite to become a force capable of fomenting disturbances. We must never underestimate or neglect the potentials of these people, especially of the remnant elements of the "gang of four," as far as their ideological influence and organizational strength are concerned. Naturally, it is necessary that we deal with each case on its merits. We must spare no effort to educate and redeem those who are redeemable through education. At the same time, we must never be indulgent toward a handful of bad people

but must wage a resolute struggle against them. Those whose actions have constituted breaches of law but who show a sincere desire to turn over a new leaf can be dealt with leniently; punishment must be meted out according to the law to those who insist on their wrongdoings and will not repent. No mercy should be shown to such people. Only in this way will we be able to safeguard and strengthen the leadership of the party, implement its political line, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity and proceed with the four modernizations.

In our efforts to get rid of factors which are detrimental to stability and unity we must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two types of contradictions, which differ in nature. Judging from the problems reported by the various localities, there are, in general, several different situations which have led to certain wrong things being said or done by some people: First, some people fail to distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought from a sham version of it. During the 10 years of upheavals, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism and carried out counter-revolutionary activities while flaunting the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. As a result, some people came under the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; they got muddled and suffered, as it were, serious internal injuries. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and seeing the damages inflicted on our party and nation, these people have grown very worried and have a heavy heart. Their actions have proceeded from the good intention of finding a way to save the party and nation. However, for want of correct thinking that can guide them along a correct path, their "prescriptions" inevitably have run counter to the theory, line and policies of our party and have become harmful to stability, unity and the four modernizations. Second, some other people, especially some young people, do not know how to correctly foster democracy. They fail to understand the situation in old China and the tremendous changes that have taken place since liberation. Furthermore, since they lack any comprehensive knowledge of the capitalist world, they have been unable to see clearly the nature of bourgeois democracy and very often are misled by the superficial phenomena in the capitalist countries. This has made them conclude that socialist democracy is inferior to capitalist democracy. Third, there is still another kind of person whose personal problems have not yet been solved in an appropriate way. During the Great Cultural Revolution these people and their families were persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and now they are full of complaints because certain policies have not yet been implemented. Some of the demands advanced by these people are reasonable, but currently there are difficulties that make it impossible for the state to grant such demands; some of their demands have been excessive, and when they cannot be satisfied these people turn to certain wrong methods to vent their dissatisfaction.

The above situations show that, while the thinking and actions of these comrades have been out of keeping with the four basic principles and detrimental to the four modernizations, these comrades have problems only with their thinking and understanding and that the contradictions involved here belong to contradictions among the people. Our leading comrades have the obligation to correctly handle them and keep them from intensifying by upholding the principle of unity-criticism-unity. In this respect, many localities and units have made remarkable progress; many leading comrades have gone out of their way to personally and conscientiously work to solve related problems in a painstaking and meticulous manner, providing precious experiences for all to learn from.

In one province there were several young comrades who made mistakes during the Great Cultural Revolution because of the effects of the ultra-leftist mental trends. These comrades, however, at one time made their influence felt not only in their own locality but throughout the country by putting up big-character posters that raised certain fundamentally correct viewpoints. At that time no line was clearly drawn between the two types of contradictions that differ in nature; hence these young comrades were subjected to certain inappropriate treatment. Last spring some comrades who were implicated in the case put up big-character posters calling on others to "create disturbances." In society there also were people who wanted to exploit the situation, further foment unrest and fish in troubled waters. In the face of all this, certain leading comrades in that province personally attended to the matter, stating clearly that it was imperative to draw a distinction between the enemy and the people and that we must be resolute and do a good job of overturning all wrong charges and rehabilitate all who deserved to be rehabilitated. The principal leading comrade in the province had talks on several occasions with these young comrades, sincerely exchanged views with them and patiently offered guidance and advice to them, thus removing the kind of antagonism that had built up over a long time. The provincial party committee placed ample trust in these young comrades and did nothing to discourage them from getting in touch with those who represented negative aspects of society. When certain people in society incited these young comrades to stir up disturbances, some cadres proposed "restrictive measures" against them, but the provincial party committee did not adopt such a proposal. On the contrary, the committee asked these young comrades to work among those preparing to create disturbances and to try to bring them around. At the same time, the committee advised these young comrades to guard against being taken advantage of. The provincial party committee also supported the just demands voiced by these young comrades and helped them to solve many problems before things got out of hand. Instead of waiting for contradictions to intensify and then coming forward to "extinguish the fire," the committee succeeded in anticipating forthcoming events and doing everything within its ability to forestall any troublemakers. Its efforts were rewarded with good results, and those who previously had wanted to start trouble finally calmed down. Later, when these several

young comrades were planning to openly hold a "theoretical symposium" in a park, the provincial party committee did not take any repressive action. Instead, the first and second secretaries of the committee made special arrangements to meet with them and took pains to educate them. The secretaries said: "You young people are very active on the ideological front, and it is a good thing to ask our permission to hold discussions on important state affairs. In this respect we can offer our help." In the meantime, however, the secretaries pointed out that some activities being planned by the young comrades could produce bad effects on stability and unity. Thanks to the efforts of the provincial party committee, these young comrades were able to see their mistakes and made self-criticisms. In short, in dealing with problems like that this province sets great store in strictly distinguishing between the two types of contradictions that differ in nature and upholds the method of "convincing people by reasoning and paying attention to the methods used to provide guidance and enlighten people, instead of simply imposing restrictions." In our opinion, this is a very good experience which is worth introducing to everyone.

On the other hand, leading cadres in certain localities and units are not good at handling contradictions among the people, thus unnecessarily forcing such contradictions to change into the opposite and giving rise to antagonism. One bloody incident that occurred on a farm has taught us a bitter lesson. Certain people with deep sectarian sentiments made use of the normal relations among comrades and created an "unjust case" for no reason at all. The problems that arose from such a case could have been smoothed out if only the leading cadres had paid due attention to them, made thorough investigations, sought truth from facts and suited their work methods to the concrete conditions surrounding the case. Unfortunately, certain leading cadres in that unit, as well as certain leading cadres at the next higher level, adopted a seriously bureaucratic attitude and took a series of erroneous, high-handed and coercive measures which were diametrically opposed to the principle of seeking truth from facts. As a result, the contradictions intensified and turned into a violent and bloody incident.

Comrade Mao Zedong told us: "In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The above-mentioned examples, one positive and the other negative, unequivocally show that the correct handling of contradictions among the people can effectively overcome factors which are unfavorable to stability and unity, while the erroneous handling of such contradictions can intensify nonantagonistic contradictions, turn them into antagonistic ones and lead to serious results.

What kind of helpful enlightenment concerning the ways of handling contradictions among the people can leading cadres at all levels seek from

the positive and negative experiences gained by many localities and units throughout the country?

Discover the contradictions in time and then solve them. Although the fundamental identity of the people's interests underlies the contradictions among the people, such contradictions remain detrimental to the unity of the people; they can obstruct the efforts being made by our entire people to bring about the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to be able to discover and solve such contradictions in good time. If we consider friction among the people to be nothing to be concerned about, if we fail to see its dangerous nature, and if we adopt a careless and dilatory attitude in handling such contradictions instead of dealing with them in a timely and conscientious manner, problems will certainly keep piling up, and contradictions will deepen and even intensify. "A stitch in time saves nine"—a great deal is indeed implied in this proverb. We must offer timely advice concerning the people's mistakes and shortcomings instead of shutting our eyes to them until things get out of hand. Leading cadres who have been contaminated by the evil bureaucratic work style are always in the dark about what is going on under their noses, and they do not really understand what the masses are thinking about and working on. Therefore, they cannot discover problems in time, nor are they able to offer timely solutions to such problems. The intensification of contradictions among the people can very often be traced to the bureaucratic work style of leading cadres. Therefore, leading cadres must overcome bureaucratism, go among the people, carry out investigations, pay attention to the ideological conditions of the cadres and masses and take precautionary measures to nip trouble in the bud.

We must center our efforts on helping comrades and never try to deny any of them our help when the comrades concerned are still capable of being educated and redeemed. None of us can progress without the help of the leading cadres and the masses of people. Comrades who have made mistakes need even more help. Therefore, we must proceed from the desire for unity, approach such comrades enthusiastically and do thoroughgoing and meticulous work. That is to say, we must "pay attention to the methods being employed in providing guidance." We must not alienate any of these comrades or avoid making contact with them. Only by being friendly to them and keeping in close touch with them will we be able to further our understanding of them and effectively help them correct their mistakes or overcome shortcomings. Naturally, to help them we must not refrain from criticizing them. To effectively help them correct mistakes and overcome shortcomings, our criticisms must be serious and not perfunctory. Sometimes it may even be necessary to wage certain struggles. Being indulgent toward or tolerant of mistakes and shortcomings will only harm our comrades. However, criticism must remain well intentioned; we must always be enthusiastic toward comrades with shortcomings and those who have made mistakes. We must aim our efforts at helping those comrades who have gone astray and made serious mistakes

and never abandon such efforts as long as these comrades are still redeemable. Whether or not we offer help is an important test of our intentions, good or otherwise. We must make great efforts to help those with serious mistakes so that negative factors can be turned into positive ones.

We must adopt the method of persuasion instead of coercion. Contradictions among the people primarily reflect problems of an ideological nature. We can solve ideological problems only through discussions, persuasion and education and must not try to solve them by any coercive or repressive means. That is to say, we must "enlighten people instead of simply imposing restrictions." We must give full scope to democracy, let others say what is on their minds and discuss problems calmly, so that we can make clear what is right and what is wrong and support what is correct and criticize what is wrong. We must exercise patience in listening to the opinions of others, even when they are incorrect or erroneous. We must let others have a chance to put forward their arguments and must not try to coerce them by banging on the table or kicking over benches on hearing some words that jar our ears. Such rude behavior only reflects a low ability or an unwillingness to be amenable to reason. To do a good job in persuasion one must analyze the nature of a problem under review in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts. Facts must never be exaggerated or understated. In this respect, we must not tolerate any subjectivism, nor must we act on assumptions. We will not be able to solve problems in a scientific way unless we base ourselves on the principle of seeking truth from facts. That is to say, we must "convince others by reasoning" if we want to do a good job of education and persuasion. There is the saying "Different keys open different locks." If people refuse to follow what we say, this means that the key we are using is the wrong one. At times like this, cool-headedness should be specially stressed and strenuous efforts made to further investigate and probe the concrete causes of problems in order to get at the crux of the problems. We must be convinced that comrades who make mistakes will show good sense and listen to reason if we are able to put it across.

We must wait patiently and not be afraid of relapses. Relapses are a common occurrence even after certain improvement is achieved due to our efforts to solve problems. But even in such a situation we must have patience and wait calmly. It always takes time for anyone to gain some understanding about certain things. It may be even more difficult than anything else for one to see one's own shortcomings or mistakes. It is thus even more important to allow a period of time for meditation. We must extend our welcome to any person who is willing to correct mistakes and has taken initial steps in self-criticism. When he is making his first or second round of self-criticism we must not set too stringent requirements on him. He must be allowed time to consider his mistakes, even if his initial self-criticism leaves much to be desired in terms of depth or thoroughness. We must be confident of the solution to

problems because of the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and must never be impetuous or show any temper. As far as our subjective wishes are concerned, it is nice to get everything smoothed out with a single stroke. However, objective conditions develop independent of man's will. After making some headway in recognizing the mistakes they have made, some comrades may develop new difficulties in furthering their understanding of their mistakes when new situations or conditions arise. Such relapses are often the case, and they naturally mean trouble and something bad and unfavorable to the progress of our work. However, to look at this from another angle, it reveals that we have not yet done our job really well. It should be an impetus to our work and help us do our work in a more thoroughgoing and meticulous fashion. In this sense, such relapses are a good thing. Only by adopting such a dialectical attitude toward relapses will we be able to keep calm in the face of trouble, be patient and take active measures to insure the smooth progress of our ideological work.

Our party has accumulated rich experiences over long periods of struggle in the past on how to carry out meticulous and thoroughgoing political and ideological work and on how to handle contradictions among the people. However, many such experiences have sunk into oblivion due to the past interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In the present circumstances our leading cadres at all levels will surely be able to become good at handling contradictions among the people as long as they conscientiously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," restore and carry forward the glorious traditions of the party and constantly summarize experiences and lessons through the process of practice, knowledge, practice again and knowledge again.

CSO: 4004

ON TESTING THE TRUTH OF NATURAL SCIENCE

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[Article by Liao Zhengheng [1675 2973 5899]]

[Text] Practice is the only criterion to test the truth of natural science. In other words, in natural science all correct theories will be confirmed and all false theories overturned by practice, while those which temporarily cannot be tested will be reserved for future examination. Only a theory confirmed by practice can be called a scientific truth. The theoretical aspect of this point has been discussed fairly fully in many recent articles. Here I wish to discuss the issue of how to conduct the test in regard to such complex conditions as illusions, misconceptions, complications and repetitions in order to discern the true and false of scientific theories relatively accurately, effectively distinguish and discover scientific truths and promote research work in natural science.

Reliance on Relatively Accurate Scientific Practice

Scientific practice means transforming the infinite nature with finite experimental means, and the extent of such transformation is always a gradual intensification from the surface to the core, from the superficial to the profound. Therefore, when scientific practice is used as the criterion to test the truth of natural science, the result will be relatively more accurate and precise. First, scientific practice itself must be accurate and reliable, free from any scientific error, for otherwise it cannot be called scientific or serve as the criterion to test the truth. If such an erroneous "criterion" is used to do the testing, it will inevitably result in scientific errors. There are many such instances in the history of scientific development. In the history of chemistry, for example, the question of whether chemical compounds have any fixed composition was in dispute for 8 or 9 years, and one of the reasons was that chemist Butler, proponent of the theory that there was no fixed composition, relied on an erroneous result of practice. Though he also analyzed many substances such as iron ore, what he actually tested were not pure compounds but impure mixtures, thereby

leading to the erroneous conclusion that the ratio of the composition of the elements was not fixed. On the other hand, the experiments relied on by chemist Prost, who advocated the contrary, were accurate and reliable; he therefore won the final victory in the dispute and established a famous basic law of chemistry--the law of fixed composition.

Next, scientific practice itself must be relatively precise before it can make relatively profound and meticulous tests of theory, for otherwise errors of judgment resulting from certain illusions will often occur. The test of the phlogiston theory popular in the early 18th century is an illustration of this. The theory was erroneous to begin with, for the "phlogiston" it discussed was actually a nonexistent, imaginary "substance." According to the theory, the combustion of substances was the process of releasing the phlogiston and producing residuum; therefore, after reabsorbing phlogiston the residuum would be restored to the original substance before the combustion. In his experiments, chemist Stahl, who created the phlogiston theory, heated metallic tin in fire. Soon the tin indeed turned into residuum, thereby "proving" the release of phlogiston. He then heated the tin residuum together with charcoal "rich in phlogiston," and the residuum indeed turned into metallic tin, thereby "proving" the absorption of phlogiston. The many experiments of other chemists all seemed to "prove" the same. Thus, the phlogiston theory was erroneously recognized as a "truth" which was "compatible" with reality, and it was considered a theory which could explain most of the chemical phenomena known at that time. Thus, from the mid-17th to the mid-18th century it dominated the field of chemistry for more than 100 years. What was the reason for an erroneous theory to be taken as a scientific "truth"? One of the important reasons was the lack of precision in scientific practice. With the greater accuracy of the means of measuring, the discovery that the weight of the substance which had lost its phlogiston increased instead of decreased raised doubts. Later on, Lavoisier used a more accurate scale, combined it with the discovery of oxygen at that time and proved that combustion was not a decomposition releasing the phlogiston but a combination reaction between an ignited substance and oxygen, thereby fundamentally refuting the fabricated "theory of phlogiston," ending its domination of 100 years and realizing a profound revolution in chemistry.

The lack of precision in scientific practice will make people not only regard an erroneous theory as "correct" but also consider a correct theory as "erroneous," or not completely effective. In the 1920's, for instance, based on the difficult experimental phenomenon of beta decay in physics, some people wanted to negate the universal effectiveness of the law of the conservation of energy. However, after 4 years of accurate experimental testing by American scientist (Gowen) and others, it was proved, in 1956, that neutrino was also released in the beta decay process. Thus, the trouble spot was located, and the universal effectiveness of the law of the conservation of energy was confirmed.

Therefore, only when relying on accurate and precise scientific practice will we penetrate the phenomenon, go deep into the essence and obtain relatively reliable results. To insure the accuracy of scientific practice, scientific experiments must possess the quality of repeatability. In other words, they must be able to withstand tests by others with the same methods and still produce the same results. In addition, we must dialectically master the standard of practice and avoid metaphysics. Due to historical limitations on the degree of precision of practice, we will not, within a certain period of time, be able to prove or completely disprove all the current theories. Therefore, as regards those theories which we temporarily find difficult or impossible to test due to the lack of precision in scientific practice, we must not hastily arrive at absolutely affirmative or negative conclusions but must await the answer after more precise scientific practice in the future.

Many-Sided and Repetitious Tests

Generally speaking, scientific practice as the criterion to test a scientific truth does not indicate any particular result in scientific practice but the sum total of the results of many-sided scientific practice. Any item of concrete scientific practice is a product of certain historical conditions and can only test the truth of a scientific theory in a certain aspect; it is very difficult or impossible for it to serve as the overall test. Take the corpuscular and wave theories on the essence of light, for instance: Though each had its own basis in scientific practice, such bases were all one-sided and incomplete proofs. Therefore, in the long controversy neither was completely refuted or confirmed. In scientific practice before the 18th century the corpuscular theory seemed to receive more support; it therefore occupied the dominant position. However, by the early 19th century the experiments of English scientist Thomas Young on the interference of light effectively confirmed the wave theory, thereby placing the wave theory above the corpuscular theory. By the end of the 19th century the discovery of the photoelectric effect provided conclusive proof of the corpuscular theory, thereby reviving it. By this time both theories had found effective support in scientific practice, and the controversy could not be resolved. The reason was that, although the bases in scientific practice were not erroneous, both were incomplete and therefore could not generally reflect the essence of light. With the development of scientific practice, people began to realize gradually that only by combining the results of the scientific practice of both sides, conducting a general test and linking and uniting the corpuscular and wave essences of light would the essence of light be reflected relatively accurately. In other words, light is the contradictory unity of the wave and the particle, possessing both the corpuscular and the wave essences. Thus was created the modern theory of the wave-particle duality of light. It is thus clear that, generally speaking, it is difficult to take merely individual or isolated scientific practice, or the scientific practice of a certain aspect, as the criterion of

test. Precisely as Lenin pointed out, "if they are mastered from their entire sum total, from their links, then facts are not only 'superior to words' but conclusive. If they are not mastered from the entire sum total, from their links, but are only fragments and chosen haphazardly, then facts can only be a kind of child's play, or something even less than child's play." ("Statistics and Sociology," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 279) Therefore, only by combining the sum total of many-sided scientific practice will the result of the test be reliable.

In the process of testing we must also realize that the testing of the truth of a theory by scientific practice cannot be accomplished at one time. Due to its limitations by historical conditions, the scientific theory tested and proved by scientific practice can only approximately reflect and depict the law of nature but not exhaust all its links and aspects or be perfect and flawless. Therefore, with the improvement in the level of scientific practice, the scientific theories already tested by practice must be tested over and over again with the developed scientific practice, so that they are continuously revised, supplemented and intensified. Newton's mechanics, for instance, was a scientific theory tested by scientific practice for more than 200 years, and the world of science once considered it a theoretical system which had developed to perfection. However, the Michelson-Morley experiment in 1887 negated the existence of ether and showed up the flaw in the absolute time and space concept of Newton's theory, which had "static ether" as the material background of the universe. In 1901, by experiments on the beta ray, Germany's Kauffman discovered that the quality of the electron changed with the change in speed and that it did not possess the absolute immutability described in Newton's theory. Subsequently, it was discovered that the law of motion of the microcosmic particle in the microcosm could not be described by the mechanical track in Newton's theory. All such incompatibilities with reality effectively indicated the limitations of Newton's theory, which had to be revised, supplemented and developed from the facts supplied by new scientific practices before it could be advanced to relative mechanics and quantum mechanics. Therefore, it is highly necessary to retest by practice a theory which has already been tested.

Furthermore, even when a theory which has been tested by practice does not need revision, its range of application must be redetermined in the retest by practice, because "the boundary of truth of a scientific principle is relative, and it expands and shrinks with the increase in knowledge" and changes continuously. ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 134) Therefore, it is highly necessary to examine the range of application of scientific theories. For instance, the parity conservation law was once recognized by physicists as the "law which must be followed in all microcosmic processes," applicable to both strong and weak interactions. However, after the test of new practices it was found to be otherwise. After studying the "riddle of the gamma-theta" which emerged in experiments

in 1956, Li Zhengdao [2621 2398 6670] and Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1380] thought that there might be parity nonconservation in weak interaction. A few months later, Wu Jianxiong's [0702 0256 7160] experiments on the asymmetry above and below in the beta decay phenomenon of the cobalt 60 atomic nucleus proved that, under weak interaction, there was no parity conservation, thereby confirming Li Zhengdao's and Yang Zhenning's hypothesis. In this way the range of application of parity conservation was relatively clearly understood.

When retesting in practice a scientific theory which has already been tested, we will not only be able to reject anything which is incompatible with reality and redetermine its boundary of application, but also intensify the theory, enabling it to develop from the shallow to the deep, from the low to the high. For example, as the predicted unknown elements were discovered one after another, the Mendeleev periodic law, established in 1869, effectively proved that "the chemical elements show a periodic recurrence of properties when they are arranged in a certain order, which is approximately the order of increasing atomic weight." However, such a theory founded on the atomic weight still indicated a lack of a profound understanding of the essence of the matter. It still contained some contradictions. Several elements could not be arranged according to the order of the progressive increase in the atomic weight, for it would not conform to the reality of the essence of the elements. Subsequently, Moseley, in 1913, discovered the atomic number in his X-ray chart experiments and used it to replace the arrangement of the quantity of atoms, thereby solving the contradiction mentioned above and intensifying the reflection of the essence of nature by the cyclic law. Some 7 years later, in his alpha particle scatter experiments, (Chadwick) determined the nuclear electric charge value of elements and revealed the essence that the atomic number was the nuclear electric charge number, thereby intensifying the cyclic law of elements.

One can thus see that testing theory by scientific experiments is an endless repetitious process, not a permanent solution. "The history of man's understanding tells us that the truthfulness of many theories is imperfect, and their imperfections are rectified through testing in practice." ("On Practice") After continuous testing by scientific practice, scientific theories will become "more accurate, more vivid and richer time after time." ("On a Number of Issues in the Leadership Method")

Elimination of the Interference of Subjective Factors

As the criterion to test the truth of science, scientific practice is objective—an objective criterion which exists independent of man's subjective consciousness. However, the process of scientific practice is always the purposeful and conscious activity of man's subjective effect on objective nature and is closely connected with the subjective factor. In addition, that scientific practice can serve as the criterion to test

a scientific truth is precisely because it can link the subjective and the objective, theory and reality, connecting the two and comparing them, thereby determining whether the subjective and the theory are compatible with objective reality and the extent of such compatibility. Thus, the subjective factor in the testing process may unite theory and reality and arrive at a correct conclusion, or it may sever theory from reality and arrive at an erroneous conclusion. In 1774, what English chemist Priestley discovered was "an element which would cause a revolution in chemistry"—oxygen (Engels, "Introduction," "Das Kapital," Vol 2, p 20), but as he was long under the influence and restrictions of the phlogiston theory he failed to subordinate the subjective to the objective and thereby topple the erroneous phlogiston theory. On the contrary, he cut the feet to fit the shoes, arbitrarily packed the objective result into the framework of the old theory and subjectively considered the discovery "a gas dissociated from phlogiston." As a result, "he failed to see the truth when it hit him on the nose" and did "a stupid thing in practice and theory." (Engels, "Natural Dialectics," p 212)

Another manifestation of the interference of the subjective factor is to fail to analyze the result of practice and clarify the actual conditions, which leads to an erroneous subjective judgment. Even the outstanding physicist Fermi encountered such a lesson. In 1934 he thought that when an element was irradiated with the neutron it would produce an atomic number and add a new element. If the neutron was used to irradiate the last element, uranium, in the periodic table of elements, it would create a super-uranium element. For this reason, he experimented and obtained several radiating substances of 10 seconds, 40 seconds, etc. of the semi-decay period. However, he failed to conscientiously analyze and evaluate the results of his experiments, but assumed that what he had obtained was a "super-uranium element," and he rashly published his findings, producing a "sensation." However, it was actually not so. What he had obtained were not several kinds of "super-uranium element" but atomic fragments from the fission of the uranium nucleus after it had been smashed. One can thus see that Fermi did not actually clarify the truth of practice and rectify his own one-sided understanding according to the reality of the fission. With the interference of the subjective factor, he erroneously thought that he had "confirmed" his "theoretical" hypothesis, and he arrived at a conclusion incompatible with reality.

Moreover, in the testing process, if we only attempt to prove a theory from the practical result while ignoring the true link between the result and the theory, we will not arrive at the correct result of testing. This is also a manifestation of the interference of the subjective factor. Early in this century Germany's famous pharmacist Ehrlich wanted to create a drug which would kill the pathogen without damaging the human body. He felt that such a drug should selectively adhere to the pathogen and not be absorbed by the body. Certain dyes possessed such a property. Thus, he searched for the drug in the dyes. After his

experiments on over 500 kinds of dyes had all failed, he finally succeeded in his 606th experiment, creating the efficacious drug "606," which saved the lives of many patients. His "dye adhesion" theory greatly influenced pharmacist Domagk, who extensively studied many azo dyes and discovered prontosil, a red dye which would kill streptococcus, thus making a great contribution to medicine. However, if the "dye adhesion" theory was determined to be correct merely from such practical results, it would again be subjectivism. The reason was that subsequent practice showed that the efficacy of "606" was not in its "adhesion" to the pathogen but in changing its metabolic pattern. Therefore, in the process of testing we must not simply consider the results in isolation and arbitrarily connect the practical results and the erroneous theory on the grounds that "usefulness is truth" or that "only the result will distinguish truth and error." This is the pragmatist view and idealist standard. In fact, an erroneous theory may produce temporary practical results, but it does not prove that it is a truth. On the other hand, a correct theory may temporarily encounter failure, but this does not mean that it is erroneous for this reason alone. In short, the pragmatic "result" is in essence a sort of satisfaction of the subjective need. Only by uniting the practical results with the scientific theory will we be able to tell whether a theory is the truth. Precisely as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "the idealist stresses the motive and negates the result, and the mechanical materialist stresses the result and negates the motive. We are different from them. We advocate the materialist theory of the unity of motive and result." ("Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art")

In short, man's scientific practice in a given historical period will always have its limitations, and the evaluation and testing of scientific theories can only reach a certain depth. By improving the means of experimenting and by practicing again, man will deepen his understanding. Therefore, within a given period of time, even when confirmed by scientific practice, a scientific theory can only be a relative truth. As Lenin pointed out, although practice, the criterion of testing, is "'indeterminate,' thus preventing man's knowledge from becoming 'absolute,' it is also determinate, thus waging a relentless struggle against the idealist agnosticism and all its mutations." ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 14, pp 142-143) The criterion of practice, which is the opposite unity of the indeterminate and the determinate, the relative and the absolute, is precisely the quintessence in the process of testing truth. Once we gain a profound comprehension of this point, our understanding will not become ossified, and we will not drift to skepticism and agnosticism. Therefore, as long as we vigorously eliminate the interference of the subjective factor in the process of testing, remain unconfused by false appearances and illusions, and consistently follow the scientific principle of "practice as the only criterion for testing truth," we will finally arrive at the correct conclusions and reveal the mystery of nature.

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LETTER FROM BEIJING ON POETRY AND POLITICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 42-44

[Article by Xie Mian [6200 0380]]

[Text] When we say that poetry is a bumb and a bammer, we are emphasizing that poetry can never ignore the pain and the joy of the people nor the destiny and the future of the era. Real poetry never remains cool to such things; it always casts its glance of concern toward the realms which are full of meaning in our social life. There may be poets who take politics lightly, but there can be no poet who is completely divorced from politics.

Our consciousness is determined by our existence, and our spirit comes from a material base. The mode of production which reflects our material life controls the process of our entire social life, political life and spiritual life. And politics is the concentrated and direct reflection of this process. Generally, poetry reflects this material base which underlies man's social life in an indirect manner, and it often does so through politics. Is there any poet who does not know how to express his feelings and his ideals? Does a poet have any feelings and ideals which do not reveal his political inclination and political viewpoint as a member of society? A poet always deviously reflects his basic attitude toward the economic base of society through the tendentious expression of his feelings.

Whether taking poetry as "expressing one's thoughts without vice" or designating it as having to do with "inspiring, observing, sharing with the people and expressing people's murmurings," China's Confucian scholars, insofar as their appraisal of poetry is concerned, always connected the social effects of poetry with its political effects. The "Li Sao" ["Getting Into Trouble"] which appeared over 2,000 years ago was a mature lyrical poem as well as a profound political poem. The far and wide and endless road, the search upward and downward, thoughts on the bosom of a beauty and laments on certain fragrant grasses: all of these were of course what author Qu Yuan borrowed to express disappointment and his pursuit in politics. The stanzas "Cause our ruler to have

virtues like the legendary sovereigns Yao and Shun, and thereby make our habits and customs pure and honest again" (Du Fu's poem) speak of politics; the stanzas "When one lacks talent, a wise ruler would forsake him, and when one becomes sick too often, even old friends would stay away" (Meng Haoran's poem) also speak of politics. In a feudal society poets might speak of politics the way Du Fu did or the way Meng Haoran did; there might be differences in their levels of achievement and ways of presentation--devious or straightforward--but it was generally difficult for them to rid themselves of the influence the political life of the time had on a poet.

When Beethoven said that "even in front of the throne I will not turn my back on truth," and when Apollinaris said that "In those years I had a flute which I would not exchange even for the French commander in chief's standard of authority," they were certainly not propagating "pure" art apart from politics; they were trying to maintain the "purity" of art under the premise of paying attention to politics. They held that whether it was music or poetry it should be independent before politics; it could not depart from politics, but neither was it a parasite or servant of politics. It was responsible only to the people and to truth, not to power or position.

In whatever era and with whatever class, a responsible poet always hoped that his poetry could play a role while participating in the change in realities. This role would in fact ultimately influence politics in society through its influence on the spirit of the people. Bai Juyi said of his poetry: "I do not aspire to lofty tones or to novel semantics; I only wish to sing the sufferings of the people, and let the Son of Heaven know about them" (in "Sent to Scholar Tang"). That is to say, he hoped that poems and ballads would relay the people's sufferings to the ears of the ruler. Generally speaking, therefore, when a poet writes his poetry he wishes it to be beneficial to society. When the people are found in a situation of being oppressed, the poetry should speak in their behalf; when the people have achieved the status due them, the poetry appeals for a still better future in behalf of their struggle in that direction. What Lu Xun praised as "the power of two Indian poems" meant precisely the power of these poems "whose intention is to instigate resistance and whose goal is to arouse action." These poems "usually do not provide any music of submission or harmony; instead, once they are cried out loud by someone at the highest pitch of his voice, those who hear them will immediately tend to spring forth and thereby struggle against heaven or resist what is conventional" (in "A Discourse on the Power of Two Indian Poems"). What "heroic and magnificent" and fascinating poems these are indeed!

I am of the opinion that no poet divorced from politics can become a great poet. Whitman, whom Guo Moro compared to "something like the Pacific," was not divorced from politics; Li Bai, whom Du Fu described as "truly pitiful because he pretended to be mad," was not divorced from

politics either. Brock said that his "The Twelve" was "written in harmony with nature"; but he immediately acknowledged: The hurricane of revolution which blew at this time provoked storms over all oceans of nature, life and art; rainbow-like waves surged forth thereafter. "When writing 'The Twelve' I witnessed this rainbow; therefore, there are drops of politics left in this long poem of mine." ("Author's Remarks in Connection With 'The Twelve'") We all know that Heine, who wrote so many sweet poems about the stars, about violets and about love actually was "a sentry determined to die" who did not depart from his station even at the time of his death and who continued to shout "I am a sword, I am flame." In the person of Heine the dual status of the finest lyrical poet and the bravest soldier fighting against the forces of evil are perfectly united in one. When Heine gave expression to his fancies he saw stars harboring the pains of love for millenia which "move not a single bit"; when he sensed the mission of a poet he put his feet of a poet firmly on the solid body of Mother Earth. It was his opinion that a poet should be composed; he therefore should not attempt to fly into the sky because of the inducement of (Hegelis).

These have been not a few poets in the history of poems and ballads who cried out loud in advancing together with the people and who eventually laid down their lives on the battlefield in their struggle for truth. Shelley wrote a great many love poems; but if we appraise him only on the basis of his brilliant achievement in writing these love poems, Shelley would not project the kind of image we have of him in our minds today. He might have been Shelley the outstanding lyrical poet, but he could not have been Shelley the heroic fighter and poet at the same time. The reason his "Ode to the West Wind" has been passed down to this day is definitely not because he described any natural scenery. His line "If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?" has excited the hearts of countless people who have harbored hope for spring; he in fact participated in politics. "A whole generation of revolutionaries has gained inspiration from the works of Nekrasov"—this was how Lenin so highly appraised the close interrelationship between poetry and politics. This interrelationship between poetry and politics is thus hardly subject to doubt. But we must not understand this in a too simple or too direct way. We must not, because politics is in a position to reflect economics in a concentrated manner, consider poetry simply as a component of politics and thereby reduce poetry to a parasite of politics or political movements and deprive it of its independent character. However we appraise it, it would not be normal for us to turn poetry into the gloomy diagram of certain political concepts or into the pale bugle of certain kinds of political movements. What is unfortunate is that this happens to be a fact which was repeatedly in evidence during the past more than 10 years.

Poetry reflects reality. But the light of poetry shines upon all things in the world, including politics, and it often does so indirectly, with only a bounced-off ray, a reflection, involved. A poet follows the ways

he likes best, relies on certain forms (even exaggerated forms or symbolic forms), adopts fully imaginative methods and thereby deviously exposes the inner essence of things. Forms of poetry are even more often reflected in fables and parables. Insofar as poetry is concerned, directly describing an event is never a very good method. "The Coal in the Stove" by Guo Moro sounds like a love song which lights up because of a young girl's love, but it is really an expression of deep "longing for the motherland." "Thinking of the Chrysanthemums" by Wen Yiduo is not an ordinary singing of the beauty of flowers or willow trees, either; in the midst of the enchanting colors of "the yellow of gold, the white of jade, the green of spring wine and the purple of autumn mountains" it conveys the genuine longing of a traveler detained in a foreign country for the scenery and things of his native country. Poetry cannot be used as an explanatory document on political events or political viewpoints; it must often express its posture on life through beautiful and even fanciful forms.

Poetry is perhaps the most sensitive and easily excitable type of literature. It can swiftly reflect changes in reality. And sometimes this kind of reflection can have very good effects. But we must not understand this to be the regular form or the intrinsic character of poetry. Indeed, political movements or important political events may produce fine spur-of-the-moment poems, but they may also produce run-of-the-mill works, products of routine reaction. The writing of poetry obviously should not become a rush-work type of movement. The rise of a political movement or a tide of political thought does not necessarily mean that there must be a poetry-writing movement to accompany it. In our country there once was a "movement" involving a great leap in poetry writing, but it was proved to be definitely not a successful practice. But there is no lack of examples of poetry rising along with a certain political movement, and eventually poetry writing itself also became a movement. For instance, Britain's 19th century Chartist School of poetry was of this nature. But this school of poetry was by no means a rush-work type of movement; its formation spread through at least the 1830's and 1840's. Also, there was a long period of not only political but also cultural, preparations for this movement; the magazine NORTHERN STAR made a contribution in this very regard.

Poetry is a product of passion. A poet's passion often accords with the fate of the state and the nation as well as with the interest of the class to which the poet belongs. But it is also possible that these factors—passion, fate and interest—are insulated from, or hardly in harmony with, one another. People may well think that a poet's passion should burn for an important political theme, but this may be only generally the case and not always so. A poet's passion may be reflected in subjects as large as world storms and the rise and fall of certain countries or as small as family, friendship and tender love between young people. As has been observed above, when Heine sang his battle song he might have sounded like a heroic martyr, but he was at the same time one

of the finest love poets. "The Goddess" was the song of hurricanes during the May 4th era, yet the author of "The Goddess" also wrote "The Vase," whose theme dealt purely with individual love. This is to say that a poet who earnestly joins a struggle may not always have to be so "politicized." The thunder and lightning of people's wrath may reverberate throughout his poetry, but he may also have tender feelings for situations of love in front of flowers and in the moonlight. In any examination of poetry and poets a comprehensive approach is always better than a partial one. Guo Moro created "The Goddess" and also "The Vase," and Wen Yiduo created "Dead Water" and also "The Red Beans." We need not, in each case, depreciate the former because of the latter, nor overlook the latter because of the former. Tao Yuanming is commonly acknowledged to have been a hermit-poet. But Xiao Tong has made a profound analysis of him and considers that, in Tao's case, "when he writes about current affairs one can really pinpoint such affairs in reflection; speaking of his personal ambitions, they are also broad and genuine," which suggests that he by no means neglected or became absolutely cool toward the politics of the time. Even in the case of such a seemingly rigid poet, there is still the observation of Zhao Ming, who said of him: "The only blemish one can find on this piece of nearly perfect white jade is his 'Verses on Leisure.'" ("Introduction to the Collected Works of Tao Yuanming") The interrelationship between poetry or the poet and politics is a rather complex matter.

Facts in the history of poetry tell us that even though poetry and politics look as though they can never be divorced from each other, they are not as close to each other as "glue or paint" all the time, either. Poetry sometimes may also remove itself from politics and hide in some calm corner (each time probably for a particular reason). Like pictures of flowers and birds in the case of painting, the mood dance in the case of dancing and light music in the case of music, in the case of poetry there are also light touches of love between the sexes and of scenes of natural beauty. Even though these may never become the main current of poetry writing, they are still a kind of natural need in our life and have a reasonable right to exist and grow. The theme "eastward flows the great river" may produce good poems; so may the theme "beneath the little bridge flows a stream," so that we have no reason to exclude the latter because the former may seem to be more meaningful. Naturally, neither should the theme "beneath the little bridge flows a stream" become dominant in poetry just because its existence is reasonable.

Even though people may determine that in certain types of poetry there is no politics or not very much politics, such as in the case of poems about love and about landscapes, we still must not be arbitrary when it comes to analyzing them. Suppose, for instance, that a poet, after finishing a poem about a frosty moonlit night, starts to indulge in a fine village scene; then he "suddenly, without cause, thinks of a friend, a hard-working, diligent, modest yet stubborn painter." Harsh feeling then begins to be injected into an otherwise calm and unexciting scene;

he explodes because of politics, and he thus chooses to express a protest in behalf of that innocent painter who has been persecuted to death! Some poets also use light singing to deviously convey their wrath. Indeed, a great deal can really be said of the relationship between poetry and politics! When politics does not allow poetry to sing freely, poetry may also put up a camouflage lacking any conspicuous inclination in order to eventually demonstrate in a devious way its political inclination.

Up to this point I seem to have turned the question around once more to where we started: in a picture of scenery and static things there can also be heard the explosion of bombs and the fluttering of banners. Has this not been so?! As the Song dynasty fell, Zheng Sixiao began to paint orchids without roots or with exposed roots; as the Ming dynasty fell, Ba Da Shan Ren began to paint remote mountains and slender streams with no human habitation anywhere in sight. In such cases of handling the wind and the moon as themes of artistic expression, sometimes there can also be distinctive politics hidden somewhere.

However the discussion goes, I cannot agree with the reduction of poetry to a passive phonograph playing the tone of politics; still less can I agree with the substitution of politics for poetry. More importantly, I support Wen Yiduo's call upon the buglers of the era. Poetry should establish its own consciousness and take the initiative in serving, through its own creative form and conceptualization, a politics that strives to realize the people's interests and the progress of mankind. What we demand of poets in the present era, be it the sound of a pipe instrument or the sound of a drum, should without exception sincerely, warmly, persistently and profoundly sing the heartfelt desire of the millions of people to dedicate themselves to socialist modernization. Regrettably, in our era there are not very many players of instruments or very many drummers; the art of writing poetry remains, of course, to be uplifted. The lack of thinking in poetry—a thinking that can sing the people's heartfelt desire and that can convey the worries and hopes of the era—happens to be even more serious. I do not think that our modern poetry is facing a crisis; but if it is facing a crisis, it lies not in the former area but in the latter.

When I was composing this letter I had the sense that what I was saying might "not fit in with what is needed in our time." As I finished writing this letter I again worried that what I had done might seem to be merely "following something in vogue at the time." But what is stated here is really my consistent point of view.

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COMMENTING ON 'SELECTED NOVELS OF TAIWAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 45-48

[Article by Zhang Baoxin [1728 5508 5450]]

[Text] "Selected Novels of Taiwan" is a collection of 22 works by 16 authors of Taiwan Province. These works cover Taiwan's two periods--the period under Japanese imperialist occupation and the 30-odd years since the victory in the war of resistance. They vividly and genuinely reflect the life of our brethren in Taiwan, enable us to recognize and understand the Taiwan society of yesterday and today, and thus make us think even more about our blood brothers in Taiwan.

In 1895 the Qing government was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan. In that year there immediately occurred the "1895 Incident" of resistance against aggression. There then followed the Jiaoba Incident, the Zhongli Incident, the Wushe Incident...which lasted as long as 50 years. The Taiwan people's anti-Japanese struggle never flagged. It was precisely these praiseworthy and memorable anti-Japanese struggles which left an unforgettable impression on Taiwan's older generation of authors and determined their patriotic spirit in demonstrating their resistance to the Japanese imperialist rulers through their literary works. Old author Yang Kui, who actively participated in the anti-Japanese peasant movement and cultural movement, said: "When I was 9 the Jiaoba Incident took place. Japan's artillery pieces rumbled past our house all day long at the time. This impression always affected me, and it was then that, as a little child, I suffered a great blow." In 1932 he was arrested for the first time. After his release from prison he wrote "The Newspaper Dispatcher" and began to continue his struggle, with literature as his weapon.

"The Newspaper Dispatcher" is one of the important works of the early period in Taiwan's new literature. The work recounts how a Japanese sugar refining company in Taiwan forcibly annexed land and compelled the main character, whose family was broken up and whose relatives were lost, to drift to Tokyo, where he became a newspaper dispatcher but where he continued to suffer cruel exploitation. In such unhappy circumstances, he somehow was given sympathy and care by a class brother in

Japan named Tanaka. While in his native village he "thought every Japanese must be a bad person and hence hated everyone"; but now he "felt that not all Japanese seemed to be bad" "and that, like the people in China's Taiwan area, there are some good people and there are also some bad people among them, so the same may be the case with the Japanese." Finally, Tanaka said to him: "Fine, let us hold hands together! Those who make you suffer and those who make us suffer are the same kind of people!" They ultimately unite to carry out a struggle against the owner of the newspaper dispatching house.

After the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, in order to further clamp down on people's expression and control the nationalistic consciousness of the Taiwan people, the Japanese imperialists even forbade them to use the Chinese language and began to encourage them to wear "national dress" and speak the "national language" (the Japanese language); they even carried out a series of "royal subject assimilation" (enslavement) movements, such as changing people's names to Japanese, etc. At that time old author Wu Zholiu, who was risking his life in stealthily writing his long novel "The Orphan of Asia," became extremely saddened and angered by those measures of the "royal subject assimilation" movement; he therefore temporarily stopped working on the long novel on hand and completed, instead, "The Master's Mother" in March 1944. With his sarcastic pen he exposed the base face of Qian Xinfu, a subservient gentleman who was ardently submitting himself and his family entirely to "royal subject assimilation." But this gentleman's mother—"The Master's Mother"—never forgot she was Chinese; in her language, dress, etc. she maintained the customs and habits of Chinese tradition, and even in her will she chose to specify that upon her death no Japanese monks should be engaged. Through such a conspicuous contrast between mother and son the work demonstrated the national consciousness and national fortitude of the Chinese people.

When Bai Xianyong was studying as a sophomore in the Foreign Languages and Literature Department of Taiwan University in 1958 he had already begun to write. In 1960 he and several classmates began publishing the journal MODERN LITERATURE, which became rather influential in Taiwan's literary circles; they also successfully established a special literary school. The characters in Bai Xianyong's works are mostly "successful officials and people of high stature" who moved to Taiwan from the mainland during the latter period of the war of liberation, those operatic players, socialites and dancing girls who serve them, and their subordinates and staff. Speaking of Bai Xianyong's works, a critic in Taiwan said: "These stories, these characters...are characters who emerged at a time when a new era was replacing an old era, those whom time had left behind and yet who continue desperately to hold onto their lingering lives: they reflect the lifestyle of the myriad characters of the upper-stratum society." "The Eternal Yin Xueyan" selected for this collection is one of Bai Xianyong's representative works. The beginning of this novel carries this description:

Yin Xueyan never seems to grow old. Among the play-boys who cheered her on at the Bailomen Dance Hall in Shanghai more than 10 years ago, some now are bald-headed and some have graying sideburns. Since coming to Taiwan some have become leisurely advisers to iron-works, cement factories and fiber plants, but a few of them have been promoted to board chairmen of banks and chief executives of business institutions. However the people surrounding her may have changed, Yin Xueyan has remained Yin Xueyan. In Taipei she continues to wear her white robe of glazed gauze and smiles constantly with never a wrinkle around her eyes.

Here the way Yin Xueyan "never seems to grow old" and the way wrinkles refrain from forming around her eyes may seem to run counter to the objective laws of nature; yet this kind of description serves precisely to illustrate the psychological condition of her and her associates in that upper-stratum society in refusing to acknowledge the reality of their declining class status. But the reality for that upper-stratum society since its move to Taiwan has already undergone great changes. Not only has the passage of time brought them bald heads or graying sideburns, but there are also the vicissitudes of personnel changes in the officialdom, with some being demoted and others promoted. The reason the members of this upper-stratum society continue to refuse to acknowledge reality is that they have no way of escaping the two emotional needs of thinking about their native land and thinking of their old associates. Yin Xueyan's residence, situated on Renai Road in Taipei, "soon becomes the gathering place for all her old and new acquaintances. When old friends come they speak of the good old days; everybody indulges in nostalgia and thinks of the earlier years, and everybody vents some pent-up feelings before Yin Xueyan, as if she remains the eternal symbol of the days of the Bailomen Dance Hall in Shanghai as well as proof of the prosperity of those days in the Nanking-Shanghai region." Apparently, insofar as the members of that already withered upper-stratum society are concerned, the most precious thing today is but to recall the dreams of past prosperity. They may one-sidedly wish that past "glories and riches" could last forever, but in reality their dreams can only be empty. Their paradise has long been lost, and today they can only attempt in vain to find some "eternal symbol."

Bai Xianyong thinks that "A great characteristic of Chinese literature is the mournful feelings and sorrow it expressed over the rise and fall of historical dynasties. The forlorn feeling toward the vicissitudes of human life as expressed in works ranging from Qu Yuan's 'Li Sao' ["Getting Into Trouble"] to Du Fu's 'Eight Autumn-Inspired Poems' represent the highest level of achievement in Chinese literature. This is also equivalent to the feeling about history as expressed in 'The Romance of the Three Kingdoms' in the words 'While the green mountains remain, how many

times have they witnessed the setting sun.' It is likewise equivalent to the feeling about the lack of constancy in human affairs as expressed in the words of the 'Song of All Being Well' in 'The Dream of the Red Chamber': 'Where are the generals and prime ministers of the past and the present? All their graves are now well covered by wild grass.'" Since this is Mr Bai's literary opinion, it has also become the theme, the scenario and the tone that appear repeatedly in his novels. The feeling about history, the forlorn feeling and the feeling about the lack of constancy which he pursues serve precisely to make him consciously or unconsciously sing the helpless requiem of the old days and the old world.

If Bai Xianyong may be said to be the "brilliant mind" for singing the requiem of the upper-stratum society that moved from the mainland to Taiwan, then Chen Yingzhen should be the "talent" for singing the grief of the little people who drifted to Taiwan from the mainland. What concerns Chen Yingzhen is these little people who drifted to Taiwan from the mainland and the new relationship between them and the natives of Taiwan Province itself.

"The General's Clan" is the work that made Chen Yingzhen famous and is his representative work. The characters in the novel are all nameless. The male character, "Triangular Face," is a soldier who moved to Taiwan from the mainland when he was almost 40 years old; following his retirement from the army he is eking out a living on a health and recreation team that goes to various places to put on performances. The female character is a girl member of the team, 15 or 16 years old, whom he calls "The Little Skinny Maid." The two live together with only a thin wall between them and are therefore good friends. One day the Little Skinny Maid tells him her life story. It turns out that she was sold by her family for the price of 5,000 yuan. The man who bought her wanted to take her to Hualian to become a prostitute; so she escaped and eventually joined the health and recreation team to eke out a living. After listening to her story, Triangular Face decides to help her. The next night he slips stealthily into her room and leaves beside her pillow his 30,000-yuan bankbook--the only retirement fund he possesses--and then quietly goes away. But even after her debts are thus paid there is still no peace for her. "They want to take me to Hualian again. They took me to see a big fat man...and I said to him: 'I'll sell my smiles but not my body.'" The big fat man chuckled. Not long after that they blinded my left eye." Five years later the two meet each other again by accident, but this time they both choose death--for the love they had for each other. There is a great difference between their ages, and their paths and experiences have also been very different. Yet they are both drifters in the world and little people who have undergone all kinds of sufferings and abuse without sufficient strength to face realities. Thus, the only thing they can do is to entrust their dawn and their happiness to the mysterious and precarious future world.

Bai Xianyong "has shown expertise in satirizing the lifestyle of myriad characters, and his cold analysis outweighs his warm embrace." Chen Yingzhen, on the other hand, is an author full of feelings for those in the lower stratum of society; he constantly attempts to uncover in these low, little people what is good and noble about them, and in his writing his warm embrace outweighs his cold analysis. It is in "The General's Clan" that the author exercises the warm and sympathetic touches of his pen in revealing the profound love between the male and the female characters and the sufferings of this world; his writing is incisive and subdued and touches people's hearts. The author deliberately arranges the story to be told during the funeral ceremony and thereby points at death as the ultimate theme. At the very beginning of the novel, on the other hand, it is said that this is a very fine day, with the sun shining with such brilliance; a mysterious atmosphere of happiness is thus added. In this way a mixed atmosphere of both sadness and happiness underlies the whole novel. In the end, when the author describes how the male and female characters both step forward toward death, the tone he uses is delightful, reflecting the internal happiness of the two because they are able to accompany each other in taking their departure from this miserable world. The interposing of such comic episodes serves to deepen the tragedy of this tragic story even further; it also reinforces the work's moving quality and its accusatory power.

In Taiwan, Chen Yingzhen is called a native-land author. "Native-land literature" is also Taiwan's new literary idea, and it has become the main current in Taiwan's literature. The original meaning of "native-land literature" is rather broad; after some discussion in Taiwan's literary circles, understanding of its meaning has become fairly consistent. That is, it means literature which reflects the actual social life of Taiwan, and it is also realistic literature rooted in the native land of Taiwan. When Taiwan was under Japanese occupation, there were anti-Japanese authors such as Lai Ho, Yang Kui and Wu Choliu. Their literary works reflected Taiwan's actual society at the time, exhibited a heavy native-land characteristic and hence came to be called "native-land literature." After the war of resistance was won, however, the modernism of the West's declining culture flooded the Taiwan literary circles because of official encouragement. By the 1970's, along with the radicalization of internal social contradictions, a modernistic literature that reflected the social contradictions of the native land of Taiwan Province itself and the Taiwan people's real life began to rise and grow rapidly, and this, too, is called "native-land literature" by Taiwan's literary circles. Apart from Chen Yingzhen, representatives of this "native-land literature" idea and school include Wang Zhenho, Huang Chunming, Yang Qingzhu and Wang Tuo.

An overwhelming majority of the novels selected in this collection consists of works written after the 1950's. These works create a gallery of artistic images of the characters of various strata in Taiwan society. In "An Oxcart as Dowry," Wang Zhenho employs the method of comedy to

describe the tragic figure of a totally destitute peasant. The main character of the story is named Wan Fa; he is deaf and lives in a hut beside a grave. Because the oxcart he drove did not belong to him, he became unemployed, so that he could only help people dig graves, and for days he would have only potatoes to eat. An oxcart is what he has longed to own all his life but has so far still not obtained. Once he has an oxcart he should be able to earn his own living; and only by making a living by his own efforts will he be able to restore his self-respect. But while trying to restore his self-respect by making a living by his own efforts he loses his self-respect in another area. The price he pays is quite great--allowing his wife to commit adultery with another man, who therefore gives him an oxcart as dowry. It is precisely through his complicated psychology of wanting to restore his self-respect and yet at the same time not mindful about subjecting himself to abuse that the author seeks to mold such a touching figure. The main character of Huang Chunming's "The Gong," Qan Qin, originally made a living by playing the gong. After the appearance of the three-wheeled advertising carriage, to earn a living he is reduced to the status of a coolie standing beneath a tree across from a coffin shop--among a crowd that awaits a dead person. Oppressed by life, he also loses his self-respect. In molding this countryside vagabond's image, the author makes a great effort to describe his psychology: he always thought that he was a level higher than those who had to wait for dead people to earn their living; that he ended up at such a low level was only because of bad luck, so that he could only have some pity on himself. His goodness, his self-respect, his muddleheadedness and his superstition are all delineated vividly and shown in appropriate acts and expressions. Another novel of Wang Zhenho's, "Little Lin Comes to Taipei," reflects a side view of social life in Taiwan through what Little Lin sees and hears in the airline office and his sympathy for, and assistance to, Mr Zhang, the General Service officer. A novel by Huang Chunming, "The Story of Qing Fang Gong," recounts an old peasant's painful experience in sustaining flood damage in the village where he has lived all his life. Of the three novels of Yang Qingzhu selected for this collection, "The Low-Class People" and "Promotion" describe the miserable life of temporary workers in Taiwan's factories from different angles and through different characters; "The High-Class People," on the other hand, exposes the promiscuous, shameless, cruel and insensitive behavior of people of the bourgeois class through the ugly news about the manager of a big factory and his female secretary. The three novels of Wang Tuo selected are "Explosion," "Auntie Jinshui" and "A Reward of 2,000 Yuan." The first two are written with his own native village--Badouzi fishing village on the outskirts of Jilong Municipality--as the background, and of these two, the first describes how a fisherman had to risk his life in order to raise the tuition fee for his son, whereas the second describes how a peddler in a fishing village labored all his life to raise his sons, and yet, after the sons have grown up, they simply ignore the living conditions of their parents. These give us a picture of the customs in Taiwan society today.

The 22 good works contained in "Selected Novels of Taiwan" symbolically make the Taiwan society of the past half century, and especially the Taiwan society of today, reappear through different experiences of different characters, through their different psychological conditions and through different side views of life. Authors who have become active in Taiwan literary circles since the 1960's are mostly graduates of a university department of foreign languages and literature who have received their basic training in Western literature. So long as they refrain from indulging in certain corrupt literary thinking which happens to be in vogue in the West in modern times and thereby getting bogged down, so long as they put down their roots in Taiwan's actual life and refrain from pulling away from the Taiwan people, and so long as they inherit the fine traditions of Chinese literature they all have a good future in their artistic strivings, no matter to which school they may belong. Just as Chen Yingzhen said in his article "The Redevelopment of Modernism," "A thinker is not necessarily a litterateur. But a litterateur, especially a great litterateur, is bound to be a thinker. And, let us do take note: the thinking involved here is certainly not the kind of metaphysics which flies like a heavenly horse without a place to halt; it is, rather, a kind of thinking with the warmth of the human body and with a definite love, sorrow, anger and sympathy toward life and toward society. A litterateur is first of all a warm person and a thinker full of human taste; only thus will he become a litterateur who can embrace the good and the evil in all men in his writing." Their works, such as those included in the present selection, all bear different artistic characteristics: these works by no means linger on just telling stories; instead, they pay more attention to describing individual characters and to uncovering the spiritual worlds of these characters (generally speaking, they usually pay great attention to describing the spiritual life and psychological state of the characters; this is a point worthy of our study). In the style and language of their works the authors have also done their best to conform to the national form, and in doing so they have carried out precious and delightful explorations.

Taiwan's new literature is a component part of China's modern literature. The fine products of Taiwan literature are the common spiritual wealth of the Chinese people. In 1979 certain domestic literary journals at various times published certain works of Taiwan authors such as Nie Hualing, Bai Xianyong, Yu Lihua and Li Li. Now the People's Literature Publishing House has also compiled and published this volume of "Selected Novels of Taiwan." This is a good beginning. Nie Hualing's collection of short novels, "Anecdotes of Taiwan" (Beijing Publishing House), her medium-length novel "Green Mulberry and Red Peach" (China Youth Publishing House) and Li Li's collection of short novels, "Moon Over the Western River" (China Youth Publishing House), will all come off the press consecutively in 1980. All of these will no doubt play a catalytic role in the carrying out of cultural communication between the mainland and Taiwan.

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