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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 23, 1 DECEMBER 1986

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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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No 23, 1 DECEMBER 1986

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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THE KEY TO MAKING SOCIAL SCIENCES FLOURISH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] In order to build a prosperous and powerful socialist country, we must greatly vitalize our theory. How can we realize this purpose of vitalizing our theory? The key lies in holding to the basic principle of linking theory with practice.

The principle of linking theory with practice was thoroughly expounded by Mao Zedong in the Yanan years. That is, we should apply the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism to seriously study China's practical issues and creatively develop theories which can meet China's needs. In other words, we should use the "arrow" of Marxism-Leninism to shoot the "target" of China's practical issues. At present, some of our comrades still lack a profound understanding of this principle and cannot effectively put it into practice. There are two inadvisable one-sided approaches. In one of the incorrect tendencies, some people do not seek the stand, viewpoint, and method in the Marxist and Leninist works for solving practical issues; instead, they try to find ready-made answers for issues in the building of socialism. How could they succeed in doing this? They cannot find any ready answers for the building of a socialist commodity economy. Marxism should be a guide to our action rather than rigid dogma. We cannot think that things not mentioned in the Marxist works must not be Marxist things. The course of applying the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism to creatively solve practical issues is a course of adhering to Marxism and developing Marxism. Without the viewpoint of practice, development, and creation, we will not really be carrying out Marxism. In the other incorrect tendency, some people think that Marxism is out of date and is no longer effective, so they turn to Western theorists and thinkers to seek a prescription for China's problems. In fact, these people do not understand Marxism, nor do they know China's realities. Of course, we should make efforts to learn the advanced science and technology, the useful economic management experience which is universally practicable, and other useful cultures from all countries of the world, including the developed capitalist countries, but we must at the same time resolutely discard and resist the capitalist ideology and social system which maintain exploitation and oppression. We should study all new changes and trends in the world and study various

modern thoughts and theories developed by bourgeois scholars, but the studies must be subject to the guidance of Marxism. Through such studies we should critically absorb the useful things, and reject the things which are not suited to our needs and discard and resist all evil and decadent things. Only thus can the studies be made on the basis of linking theory with practice and be useful for enriching and developing Marxism and for making social sciences flourish.

Theoretical workers must base their work on China's actual conditions if they are to make contributions to the development of the theory. They should proceed from China's realities when writing articles and giving lectures. To do so, they should seriously study things in reality and acquire more knowledge about such things to sum up abstract theories from the data they hold fully and systematically. Unrealistic and pompous talk cannot be regarded as theory. Real theory must come from practice and must be able to stand the tests of practice. Such theoretical work is never easy, but we must not dodge practice for fear of difficulties. Theoretical workers who look down on practice, divorce themselves from practice, refuse to study China's actual conditions, or try to skirt round practical issues will never be successful. The duties of our theoretical workers are to use the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism to scientifically explain and expound the practical issues in our modernization construction so as to give play to the guiding role of theory in practice.

In order to implement the principle of linking theory with practice, we need to have a correct policy for treating different academic opinions. We advocate the serious scientific attitude of allowing full academic discussions and reasoning on the basis of equality and democracy and being willing to obey truth and correcting mistakes. Different academic opinions must not be recklessly treated as political mistakes. Even if some people hold obviously erroneous opinions, they must also be treated very prudently. We must never repeat the previous mistakes of carrying out political movements and "mass criticisms" to rudely suppress different opinions. The basic principle of linking theory with practice will help create a favorable academic atmosphere for studying practical issues and will fully arouse the initiative of theoretical workers in all fields. At the same time, the horizontal relations in research work should be strengthened, and the role of collective research should be correctly understood and be brought into play. Then, it is certain that a new situation in which our social sciences greatly flourish will appear.

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BEING LOYAL TO THE REVOLUTION ALL HIS LIFE, RENDERING IMMORTAL MAGNIFICENT CONTRIBUTIONS--COMMEMORATING THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR ESTEEMED AND BELOVED COMRADE ZHU DE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 3-5

[Article by Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]]

[Text] This year's 1 December is the centenary of the birth of Comrade Zhu De, a great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, and military strategist, an outstanding leader of the CPC, and a major founder of the Chinese PLA and the PRC. Comrade Zhu De was commander in chief of the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army during the period of the Red Army, commander in chief of the 8th Route Army during the anti-Japanese war, and commander in chief of the Chinese PLA during the war of liberation. I was under his leadership during the long years of war. In looking back on the difficult course Commander in Chief Zhu De followed during the revolutionary struggle, and in cherishing the memory of his magnificent contributions, his splendid image leaps up vividly before my eyes. During the long years in the fields of the people's war, the building of our people's army and our party, and the economic construction, he applied the general principle of Marxism to solving China's concrete problems and made brilliant contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought and particularly to the formation and development of Mao Zedong's military thinking. Zhu De's was a great life, a glorious life. He performed indelible historic feats in liberating the Chinese nation, maintaining China's independence, making China prosperous and powerful, and in establishing the socialist system in China.

Comrade Zhu De graduated from the Class in Martial Arts at the Yunnan Army Academy. During the Revolution of 1911, he was a revolutionary soldier and took part in the uprising in Yunnan. He also took part in the campaign of 1916 to thwart Yuan Shi-kai's attempt to restore the monarchy. He was brave and skillful in battle and repeatedly performed military exploits. In 1917, he was promoted to a brigade commander with a monthly salary of more than 1,000 silver dollars. One may well say that he enjoyed a "high position and handsome salary." However, under the influence of the October Revolution and the May 4th Movement of 1919, he was depressed and anxious about the old-type army's corruption, the uninterrupted tangled fightings among warlords, and the people's inability to live in peace. Where was the way out for China? After repeatedly making comparisons and thinking deeply, he recognized that

the Chinese nation's independence and the Chinese people's liberation could only be achieved by having faith in Marxism and advancing along the course charted by the Communist Party. Hence he resolutely gave up his high position and handsome salary and made unsuccessful attempts to look for the Communist Party in Shanghai and Beijing. Despite the unsuccessful attempts, he was not disheartened. He finally found the Communist Party in Berlin, Germany in 1922. After being admitted to the party, Comrade Zhu De devoted himself to the party. From the democratic revolution filled with fierce battles and untold dangers to the socialist construction period filled with complications, frustrations and numerous neglected matters to be dealt with, from the poverty-stricken war years filled with hardships of arduous journeys to the peacetime period for building enterprises through arduous efforts and attending to numerous state affairs, and whether in favorable circumstances or in adverse circumstances, Comrade Zhu De was consistently loyal and devoted to the cause of the party, was honest and upright, merged himself with the cause of the party, spared no effort in realizing his belief, and carried the revolution through to the end.

In 1925, Comrade Zhu De arrived in Moscow from Germany and attended a class in military training. After his return to China in the summer of 1926, he was sent to the place of Sichuan's Yang Sen to carry out work there. They knew each other in the first place and once went to war together when they were in the old army. At that time, Yang Sen had a foot in either camp and was trying to establish a relationship with our Communist Party. Therefore, Yang Sen asked Comrade Zhu De to stay. However, no sooner had Chiang Kai-shek started fighting against the Communist Party than Yang Sen followed suit and also fought the Communist Party. Consequently, Comrade Zhu De went to Wuhan. I was then working at the military commission in Hubei Province. Comrade Zhu De told me that as he and Chu Pei-te were classmates of the Class in Martial Arts at the Yunnan Army Academy, there were favorable conditions for him to carry out work in the place of Chu Pei-te. The military commission then decided to send him to Chu Pei-te's 3d Army. He was placed in command of the 3d Army's officers' training regiment and was later also appointed as Nanchang city public security bureau chief. Comrade Zhu De made use of these favorable conditions to actively reform the old-type troops and to lead them to follow the revolutionary road. This played an important role in the Nanchang uprising at the later stage.

After the setback in the Nanchang uprising, I was told in Hong Kong that Comrade Zhu De was with the 25th Division and that the division suffered great losses after being pursued and attacked by the enemy 18th Division during its retreat to Wuping. At that time, the 25th Division still had more than 1,500 men together with the same number of guns. After its retreat to Xinfeng, the division's troops were very tired, some cadres at the divisional and regimental levels left the division one after another, and some officers of low and middle ranks and rank-and-file soldiers also voluntarily left the division. In the face of this kind of difficult and chaotic situation, Comrade Zhu De was steadfast and was like a firm rock in mid-stream. He reorganized the troops and told them: "If you are not willing to continue fighting, you can go. Even if I only had 8 or 10 guns, I would continue making revolution!" Due to his staunchness, the great majority of

the officers and men were united and did not leave. I was gratified to learn of this situation. At the same time, I also worried about Comrade Zhu De's condition, fearing that the troops might be out of control and that they might be defeated and dispersed. I then immediately reported this situation to the Central Military Commission and proposed that the military commission should order the 25th Division to join forces with the peasant movement in Hunan for the purpose of achieving further development. Later, the division led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi arduously fought in one place after another, passed south Jiangxi, and reached Maba in north Guangdong. Comrade Zhu De then used the assumed name Wang Kai, and used his acquaintance with Fan Shih-sheng made in the Yunnan Army to get cotton-padded clothes and other supplies from Fan Shih-sheng. The division should have taken part in the Guangzhou uprising according to the original plan but it failed to be in Guangzhou in time. After the failure of the Guangzhou uprising, the division fought successively in south Hunan, launched the Hunan uprising, achieved the development of its troops, and finally joined forces with the insurrectionary army of the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong on the Jinggangshan [Mountains], thus becoming one of the main forces on Jinggangshan. The meeting of the two forces was of great historic significance in the history of the Chinese revolution. At the end of 1931, I was transferred from Shanghai to the Central Soviet Area and I was particularly happy to meet Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De there. With his unique demeanor characterized by simplicity, honesty, steadiness, amiability, and unassuming character, Comrade Zhu De told me in detail that after the aborted Nanchang uprising, he and his beaten but unyielding troops passed through many places before reaching Hunan and joined forces with Comrade Mao Zedong's army. After hearing about this, I had great respect for him.

During the Jinggangshan period, to effectively deal with the enemy's "offensive suppression" and its "encirclement and suppression," Comrade Zhu De created through practice a set of effective measures, further improved the measures in terms of theory, and then put forward the celebrated 16-character formula: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." The formula was affirmed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Later, in his book entitled "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Comrade Mao Zedong praised the 16-character formula as "the basic principles of guerrilla warfare which are simple in nature." Under the leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De and through correct strategic and tactical operations, we repeatedly won great victories in smashing the enemy's "offensive suppressions" and its "encirclements and suppressions," thus enabling the single spark of Jinggangshan to start a prairie fire.

After the Red Army's 1st and 4th Front Armies joined forces in Maogoing, Sichuan during the 25,000-li Long March, Comrade Zhu De acted in accordance with the party's instruction and directed the Left Route Army [zuo lu jun 1563 6424 6511] together with Zhang Guotao to begin a northward march. During the march, he resolutely struggled against Zhang Guotao who opposed the central authorities' policy on the northward march and carried out activities of splitting up the party and the Red Army. In the face of Zhang Guotao's intimidation and coercion, Comrade Zhu De firmly said: All members

of the Red Army throughout the country belong to one family and the Red Army is entirely under the leadership of the party Central Committee. "Zhu and Mao" have been together for many years and are well-known throughout the country and world-famous as well. You ask me to oppose Mao, I say this cannot be done! "You may cleave me in two but you can never sever my links with Mao Zedong." "I put up my hand to support the resolution on the northward march and I cannot oppose it now." In struggling against Zhang Guotao, Comrade Zhu De adhered to principle, refused to yield an inch, paid attention to form of struggle, and put stress on unity. He made important contributions to our party's victory over Zhang Guotao's splittist activities, to upholding the Red Army's unity, and to enabling the three front armies to join forces. With deep feeling, Comrade Mao Zedong later praised Comrade Zhu De for "winning honor during the test of his political integrity" and for "showing great magnanimousness and iron will." He was worthy of this appraisal. To safeguard the interests of the revolution, he was not afraid of intimidation, could not be lured by promise of gain, and gave no thought to his personal interest. This lofty moral character of Comrade Zhu De was particularly distinct and glaring at every critical moment. After half a century when I think of this today, I cannot help expressing still greater admiration and respect for Commander in Chief Zhu.

When I conducted military operations in the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei region and in the north China region during the war of resistance against Japan and during China's war of liberation, I had received Commander in Chief Zhu's kind attention and guidance from beginning to end. When we won a battle, he sent us a message of congratulation or a congratulatory letter and issued a citation to encourage us; when we were trying to figure out the best operational plan for a campaign, he always helped us remove anxieties and difficulties by offering us guidance. I still remember that after we fought a fine battle of annihilation at Qingfengdian in October 1947, Commander in Chief Zhu quickly sent us a poem entitled "My Congratulations to the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei Military Region on Annihilating the 3d Army of Chiang Kai-shek." Everybody tried to read the poem before others and we were all very much inspired by the poem. When we were studying ways to attack Shijiazhuang which had strong fortifications, Comrade Zhu De issued the "bravery plus techniques" call, asking the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei military region's units engaged in the attack to strengthen party leadership, to be meticulous in planning, to promote military democracy in a big way, to study military tactics and techniques conscientiously and assiduously, to strictly enforce discipline after entering the city [Shijiazhuang], and to successfully conduct education after entering the city. In accordance with Commander in Chief Zhu's instructions, we mobilized everybody to think of effective ways, pooled the wisdom of the masses, and repeatedly studied and carried out drills in connection with the attack, thus solving many problems, capturing Shijiazhuang at one fell swoop, and completely annihilating 24,000 enemy defending troops. After the good news got around, both the party Central Committee and Comrade Zhu De sent us congratulatory messages, praising the liberation of Shijiazhuang as "creating the mode of capturing big cities," thus greatly inspiring the broad ranks of commanders and fighters.

Following the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Zhu De did not slacken his efforts in the least and wholeheartedly threw himself into new China's construction work. From mid-December 1955 to mid-February 1956, I accompanied Comrade Zhu De on a visit to six countries in Eastern Europe in the capacity of a member of a delegation. During the visit, he always said: Although our country's socialist construction is based on self-reliance, we must also strive for foreign aid, pay attention to studying fraternal countries' advanced experiences, import foreign countries' advanced technology and equipment, and invite foreign experts to work in our country so as to quicken the pace of our construction. These words uttered by Comrade Zhu De 30 years ago are still of important significance today. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," although he was attacked and persecuted by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," he consistently remained faithful and unyielding and carried on a tenacious struggle against Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their followers.

On 6 July 1976, our esteemed and beloved Comrade Zhu De parted with us forever. Over the past 10 years, I have been frequently thinking of him and of his great life. At any difficult time ever since his joining in the revolution, Comrade Zhu De always stood by the whole party, the whole army, and Comrade Mao Zedong, constantly inspired the whole party and the whole army to establish the faith in being sure to win victories, and led us to forge ahead. "Zhu and Mao" became our army's triumphant banner for winning victories over reactionaries at home and abroad. Comrade Zhu De enjoyed high prestige and commanded universal respect. The entire party, the army, and people of all nationalities throughout the country wholeheartedly loved and supported him. However, he was also a very ordinary person. He was modest and unassuming. When he was among the ordinary people, he was an ordinary person; when he was among the fighters, he was a fighter. He fought all his life. Even at the advanced age of 90, although he had almost consumed all his energy, he still wielded his writing brush to write down the following words with vigorous strokes: "Carry the revolution through to the end." These words fully reflected his sole pursuit in his life.

After making a comprehensive survey of Comrade Zhu De's life, I think that it is fitting to praise him by citing the following two lines from his own poem written to mourn over the death of Comrade Luo Ronghuan: "Being loyal to the revolution all his life," "Rendering immortal magnificent contributions." Comrade Zhu De's magnificent contributions and his revolutionary spirit will continue encouraging us to complete his unfinished work and to struggle to the end for realizing the reunification of the motherland and the great cause, namely, the four modernizations.

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THE HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY OF THE XIAN INCIDENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 6-12

[Article by Yang Zhengmin [2799 2163 3046]]

[Text] It has been exactly half a century since the Xian Incident took place. One of the two who played the leading roles in initiating the Xian Incident was murdered, and the other has lost his freedom ever since, and many of the people chiefly involved are now dead; time and tides have made this incident farther and farther away from contemporary political connection. However, it is precisely through the historical development over the past 50 years that people are enabled to have a clearer understanding of the social causes, basic clues, and great significance of this incident, and historians are enabled to study and evaluate this incident with a cooler mind, more objectively, in an all-round way, and to make evaluation of all kinds of historical personalities involved in it.

Just as people know, the Xian Incident burst out in the form of a sudden military demonstration, so its history has been tinted with mysteries. People would often spare no efforts to find some secrets or details unknown to the public, or become entangled in the characters and motives of some individuals, while neglecting the study of the whole historical picture of the incident from a macroscopic height. I should like to deal with the historical causes and the significance of the Xian Incident, and to offer some of my immature views on it.

The outbreak of the Xian Incident was by no means an impulsive act by Generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, but an inevitable link in the development and intensification of all kinds of contradictions in the Chinese society of the 1930's.

On 18 September 1931, Japanese militarism launched its aggressive war of occupying the three provinces in northeast China, which brought China into a grave national crisis. The bitter facts of losing hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the three northeast China provinces with 30 million people enslaved was rare in history even when China had been reduced to a semicolon after 1840, with its territories and sovereignty often violated. That was a shame unbearable to a great nation that had a history of civilization over 5,000 years, and could not but be an extremely great shock to the awakening Chinese people.

At this juncture, the Nanjing government was going all out to plunge into civil war in an attempt to suppress and extinguish the Red Army shortly after the end of the protracted war in central China. From the very beginning, the Nanjing government had no intention of seriously dealing with the drastically worsening situation in northeast China, but pinned its entire hope on the sanctions of the League of Nations and the intervention and mediation of Great Britain and the United States. In fact, the European countries and the United States were busy dealing with the grave world economic crisis at that time, and they did not have the time and efforts to take care of the Far East. More important was that they neither would nor could uphold "justice" for "a poor friend" and run the risk of declaring war on Japan. Some diplomats even wished to see contention between Japan and the Soviet Union at the cost of China's interests. As a result, the KMT Northeast Army retreated from the northeast without firing a single shot under the policy of nonresistance; while the fact-finding team sent by the League of Nations just went through the motions; even so, it was turned down by Japan. If it is held that at the initial stage when Japan launched its aggressive war in China, it had some misgivings regarding the great European powers and the United States, then the weak attitude of the latter meant encouraging Japan to go on full steam with the war recklessly.

The Nanjing government did not draw a lesson from the grave consequences resulting from this compromise with, and concession to the Japanese aggressors; on the contrary, it proposed the slogan "domestic pacification comes before resistance against foreign aggression, unification is the only way to resisting foreign aggression." Although Chiang Kai-shek talked about "independence," "striving to become stronger," and "resisting foreign aggression," and keenly felt the great threats resulting from the Japanese aggression, he had greater belief that China was "not eligible to become an independent country," that "it is certainly powerless in resisting Japan, and is bound to be subject to the oppression and bullies of the enemy"; and when the Japanese "order us to perish one day, we shall have to do so at their will."

Chiang Kai-shek was pessimistic about resistance against Japan and lacked all confidence in it. And the consequences could only be the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in January 1932; its seizure of Shanhaiguan in January 1933; its occupation of Jehol Province in March 1933, and the consecutive occupation of various areas along the Great Wall; and in late 1935, the Japanese Army schemed to set up the Northern Hebei Autonomous Government and the Nei Monggol Autonomous Government in an attempt to occupy all of north China.... Within 4 years, China had lost all of the northeast and part of north China. Facing defeat during this period, the Nanjing government was consecutively compelled to sign with the Japanese authorities "the Wusong, Shanghai Armistice Agreement," "the Tanggu Agreement," "the Qin-doihara Agreement," and "the He-umetsu Agreement," and repeatedly admitted the realities of losing sovereignty and bringing shame to the country.

What made this harder to bear for the Chinese people was the fact that while making continuous concession to the foreign aggressors, the Nanjing government stepped up implementing its domestic policy of civil war and suppression.

Since the "September 18th" Incident, China continued to lose its territories, while never for a day did the gunfire of civil war cease. The Nanjing government spared no cost in launching several campaigns to encircle and suppress the Red Army, and the so-called "suppressing the bandits" was set as the "sole important mission" of the KMT Army, while suppressive measures with force were also adopted against some KMT troops who rose against its regime and policy. Not only this, but the Nanjing government even promulgated all kinds of public security regulations and a special "order to promote good-neighborly relations," in suppressing the spontaneous activities of the masses in resisting Japan; the order explicitly stipulated "those propagating resistance against Japan in the form of literature, pictures, or speeches will be convicted for hampering diplomatic relations." Many organizations and journals that aimed at saving the nation were banned upon Japanese demands; and a large number of patriots were put under arrest. Thus, we had such fantastic story as Mr Tu Chung-huan, who was sentenced to imprisonment for satirizing the Japanese emperor in his article "Random Thoughts About the Emperor." All this could not but make people associate with the practice of the late Qin government in "rather presenting a gift to some foreign country than giving it to the domestic slaves." It is not difficult to imagine the great emotional and psychological upset the Chinese people were suffering then. Therefore, it was just natural for the resentment and no-confidence sentiment of people of all circles against the Nanjing government to grow with each passing day.

The Chinese nation is one with a long-standing civilization, an important pillar of which is the tradition of patriotism. This tradition of patriotism embodies on the one hand the importance people attach to their national civilization, and the indomitable spirit of resistance displayed should this civilization be sabotaged by foreign violence; on the other, it embodies the unity and unanimity of the nation in the analogy that "brothers quarrelling at home, join forces against attacks from without"; while acts of injuring the people and betrayal were held in contempt even by the feudal rulers. Therefore, at the critical moment of facing national subjugation and genocide, people of all circles nationwide not only strongly demanded resistance against Japan, but also justly demanded the Nanjing government and its armed forces put a halt to the civil war, and to make a new start.

At that time, another major party with armed forces in China, the CPC, had all along actively advocated resistance against Japan since the "September 18th" Incident. With the movement of time, when the national contradiction between China and Japan became an overwhelming situation in society, and when the call of the people throughout the nation for putting a halt to civil wars and to unite in fighting against foreign aggressors grew ever more stronger, the Chinese communists published their "August 1st Declaration" in 1935, which explicitly proposed to halt the civil war, and to implement a national united front for nationwide resistance against Japan. The great change in the CPC policy had greatly encouraged the people throughout the nation, and turned them into the mainstay in the patriotic movement of resisting Japan.

At the forefront of the ranks and files of the patriotic movement were the young students with the patriotic tradition of the May 4th Movement, who went

on strike, held demonstrations, and organized and sent large-scale petition and demonstration teams to Nanjing to protest against the nonresistance policy of the government in making compromise with, and concession to, Japan, and to demand a declaration of war on Japan. They organized a large number of teams delivering speeches on the streets, throughout the countryside and the factories, propagating resistance against Japan to save the nation. This movement reached the climax in 1935 when the famous "December 9th" Movement broke out in Beijing. In response to the "December 9th" Movement, the students throughout the country and masses of all circles broke through government bans regardless of armed suppression, bloodshed, and sacrifices. Several millions of people participated in the movement, which embodied the surging patriotic sentiment of the people and their utter resentment against the civil war policy of the Nanjing government.

The workers and peasants who were at the lowest depth of society felt all the more directly the pain of impending national subjugation. They resolutely opposed the policy "domestic pacification comes before resistance against foreign aggressors, unification is the only way out for resisting foreign aggression." They took an active part in all kinds of activities in resistance against Japan, and played a great role in the war of resistance against Japan in Wusong, Shanghai, along the Great Wall, in northern Chahar, and in Suiyuan, as well as in various patriotic movements.

Also rising was the sentiment of resisting Japan among the industrial and commercial circles with each passing day. Personalities of the industrial and commercial circles had on several occasions unfolded shopkeepers' strikes, boycotted Japanese goods, and campaigned to sever economic relations with Japan. All this dealt a heavy blow at Japan's trade with China. The representatives of Shanghai industrial and commercial circles sent a petition to the headquarters of the KMT Central Committee, demanding a halt of the civil war, unanimous resistance against Japan, and recovery of lost territories. In publishing the article "Our Hope," GUOWEN ZHOUBAO [NEW WEEKLY] pointed out: 1) It is hoped that the same calmness will be shown in dealing with domestic affairs as external ones; and 2) it is hoped that the same "tough" attitude will be adopted in dealing with external affairs as internal ones.... DULI PINGLUN [INDEPENDENT REVIEW] under the sponsorship of Hu Shi carried an article entitled "If I Were Chiang Kai-shek," offered its suggestions to Chiang: First, "it is necessary to immediately achieve internal unity of the KMT"; second, "it is necessary to promptly seek cooperation between military leaders"; and third, "it is necessary to conduct immediate talks with the CPC on an armistice." SHEN BAO [SHANGHAI DAILY] consecutively carried a series of commentaries on the current situation, gravely condemning the "state policy" of "domestic pacification comes before resistance against foreign aggressors," and branding the KMT authorities as "brave at civil war but cowardly in resisting foreign aggressors." All this reflected the active and lively political enthusiasm of the middle-of-the-roaders that burst forth in the swift current of resistance against Japan throughout the nation.

Many social activists and celebrities consecutively published open telegrams and declarations to appeal to the Nanjing government for a prompt halt to the civil war and a unanimous resistance against foreign aggressors. In 1932,

Ma Hsiang-po, Chang Pin-ling, and Shen Chun-ju sent an open telegram to the government demanding a general mobilization. In 1934, 1,779 celebrities including Soong Ching-ling signed and published "The Basic Program for the Chinese People in the War Against Japan," and proposed "all naval, land, and air forces march to the front and fight against the Japanese, and all civil wars, and wars leading to the slaughtering of Chinese compatriots be stopped at once." This roused repercussions from all parts of the country. In less than 3 months, more than 100,000 signatures were collected. Associations of saving the nation founded by all circles of people throughout the nation mushroomed in 1935. On this basis, the All-China National Salvation Federation was founded in 1936; and its birth signaled the beginning of a new phase of the spontaneous mass patriotic movement on a nationwide scale in an organized way.

If it is said that, the Chinese people rose up to fight against the aggression of the Western powers on numerous occasions under the cruel monarchical autocracy in the 19th century, then the Chinese people affected by democratic and revolutionary ideas in the 20th century would all the more refuse to resign themselves to extinction in face of the disasters of national subjugation. The suppression of the Nanjing government of the people's patriotic movement in resisting Japan would only achieve an opposite result, while stimulating their greater patriotic sentiment and sense of responsibility in saving the nation. With the acute aggravation of the national crisis in the latter half of 1936, spontaneous and organized struggles of people of all circles gradually became an irresistible historical trend.

The patriotic tide of resistance against Japan also heavily pounded the inside of the KMT camp, and spurred a considerable number of officials and high ranking commanders to rise and fight against the nonresistance policy of the authorities. In autumn 1931, part of the Northeast Army headed by Ma Chan-shan and Li Tu, fired the first shot of resisting Japan, when no commanders were present. In 1932, the 19th Route Army fought a heroic battle against Japan at Wusong, Shanghai. In 1933, Feng Yu-hsiang, Fang Tseng-wu, and Chi Hung-chang led in founding the Chahar-Suiyuan alliance in resisting Japan, and fought bitterly against the Japanese and the collaborating troops. In winter 1933, the 19th Route Army founded the Fujian People's Government, and raised the banner of democracy, and resistance to Japan. With the outbreak of "the Guangdong-Guangxi Incident" in 1936, Chen Chi-tang and Li Tsung-jen demanded a halt to the civil war and all-round resistance against Japan. In winter the same year, Fu Tso-yi resisted the invasion of the Japanese Army and brought about the climax of resistance against Japan on the Suiyuan front. In a certain sense, the Xian uprising conducted by Generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng was precisely a continuation of a series of incidents, at a new height.

General Chang Hsueh-liang had always acquired a national consciousness. He became "a general in exile" as a result of acting on the nonresistance order in the "September 18th" Incident, and suffered the bitterness and humiliation of national and family disasters. However, he was held responsible for losing the territories of the three northeast provinces and Jehol, and was censured severely by public opinion both at home and abroad. The

tragedy of 30 million of his fellow-countrymen reduced to slaves kept gnawing his conscience. He saw that he himself was not powerful enough, and that a weak nation would not be able to resist Japan, so he pinned his hopes on the League of Nations, Great Britain, and the United States. However, the repeated losses of China's territories awakened him to the fact that this was merely an "illusion." "Our only way out is to rely on ourselves to survive from perishing; and the government should mobilize the entire nation to fight against the Japanese bandits." (Wang Tso-jan: "The True Story of Chang Hsueh-liang," Peiping, published in 1937) At the same time, he came to a thorough understanding that Japan was bent on conquering China, with no leeway for compromise. Therefore, a bitter struggle must be waged, and by no means would there be a way to gloss things over to stay on good terms with tolerance. However, Chiang Kai-shek had time and again ordered him to carry out the task of suppressing the communists against his own will, and General Chang Hsueh-liang believed it was worthier to die "resisting Japan" than "suppressing the communist bandits." Despite such understanding, he failed to stand aloof of the traditional concept of "showing loyalty to one's king and dedicating oneself to the service of one's country," and did his best to fulfill the task of marching toward the northwest to suppress the Red Army.

It was the following factors that motivated Chang Hsueh-liang to give up suppressing the communists, and to eventually adopt the road of uniting with the CPC in resisting Japan. 1) His bitter defeat in military affairs; three divisions of his army were eliminated by the Red Army within a short span of less than 3 months. This made him deeply regret the loss of his men and officers in a civil war, and he began to consider resolving the contradictions between the KMT and CPC in peace. 2) His being cold-shouldered by the Nanjing government; his losses in suppressing the communists were not compensated; on the contrary, two of his divisions were formally disbanded, with his military budget greatly reduced. This widened his contradictions with the Nanjing government, and dampened the spirit of the Northeast Army in general. 3) The CPC and the Red Army offered him the hands of friendship on their own, and released Kao Fu-yuan, commander of the No 619 Regiment, who had been captured alive, in the hope that the two armies that had been genuinely resisting Japan would stop killing each other, but unite and fight against the enemy. 4) The strong voice of the people throughout the nation to put a halt to the civil war and to unanimously resist Japan brought home Chang Hsueh-liang and the officers and men of the Northeast Army under his command the will of the people, and they began to feel sad about the wrongs of the civil war. 5) A sentiment of showing disgust for civil war among the officers and men of the Northeast Army grew with each passing day. They had left their native land, were not allowed to recover their lost land, but had to die an unworthy death far away from their native land. That was something they never wanted. The battle at Laoshan caused several hundred casualties of the Northeast Army, but thousands laid down their arms. The low morale of the army made it impossible to continue the war of suppressing the communists. Facing these cold facts, Chang Hsueh-liang and the commanders of the Northeast Army began to accept the CPC idea of fighting the Japanese shoulder to shoulder.

The 17th Route Army under the command of General Yang Hu-cheng was one of revolutionary tradition. Under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen, they

consecutively participated in the Revolution of 1911, the punitive expedition against Yuan Shih-kai, the struggle in upholding the Provisional Constitution and parliament, and the Northern Expedition. They had dedicated a glorious page to the history of the democratic revolution. During the first KMT-CPC cooperation, Yang Hu-cheng established close ties in cooperation with the communists; and later, he held a persistent sympathetic attitude toward the CPC. However, under the pressure of the Nanjing government, he had to participate in some battles of suppressing the communists, and suffered great setbacks in them. He cherished democratic ideas, and was resentful against the autocratic rule of the Nanjing government as well as its practices of excluding and annexing aliens. Characteristic of his strong patriotism, he personally appealed to Chiang Kai-shek to resist against Japan in 1933, but he was reproached for it. Therefore, with its contradictions with Chiang Kai-shek growing more and more acute, he readily agreed to the idea of uniting to fight the Japanese, when the CPC managed to relay this message to him in 1935.

On the basis of a unanimous understanding of the resistance to Japan when the two armies of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng separately established cooperative ties with the Red Army, close cooperative relations were also established between the two generals. Thus, beginning in the second half of 1936, the situation of a close tripartite cooperation in the northwest gradually took shape.

By late 1936, great changes had taken place in China's social situation. With its rapid expansion in China, Japan regarded itself the overlord in the East, and presented threats to the interests of the European countries and the United States in the Asian-Pacific region; thus to their toughening attitude toward Japan. Following the monetary reform of the Nanjing government, Great Britain and the United States gave active economic support to the Nanjing government by offering it great loans. With the toughening attitude of Great Britain and the United States toward Japan, certain changes also began to take place in the Nanjing government's policy on Japan, and it gradually changed its usual practice of making compromise and concession in its dealing with Japan. At the same time, the Nanjing government was also "exploring the possibility of Sino-Soviet cooperation," with great progress made within a rather short span; and the Soviet Union also decided to support China in its cause of resisting Japan, with Chiang Kai-shek assuming leadership.

The unexpected smooth solution to the "Guangdong-Guangxi Incident" made Chiang Kai-shek swell with complacency; thus, he deployed his troops to the north, and focused his attention on the northwest. Despite the fact that Chiang Kai-shek had sent his men to make secret contacts with the CPC since late 1935, he believed that the military strength of the Red Army at this juncture no longer posed a threat, and attempted to extinguish the Red Army so as to thoroughly solve the CPC problem.

However, Chiang Kai-shek erroneously estimated the situation, for he did not calculate that the tripartite forces with uniting to resist Japan as their common target had already taken shape in the northwest. Neither did he calculate that the tremendous effects of the CPC policy of a national united

front for resistance against Japan had already brought repercussions in many KMT factions and local forces, which openly or in secret expressed their approval in various ways. Among them, a considerable force had reached understanding with the CPC on putting a halt to civil war and unanimously resisting Japan. Nor did Chiang Kai-shek estimate that the concept of the CPC national united front for resistance to Japan had struck deep in the hearts of the people; and the waves of the strong demand of people of all social strata throughout the nation to put a halt to the civil war between the KMT and CPC and to resist against Japan in their joint efforts had formed into an irresistible historical trend. The Japanese invasion in Suiyuan had all the more stepped up the development of this situation. The war to suppress the communists was in an impasse.

These factors not only greatly reduced Chiang Kai-shek's military advantages, but sowed seeds of grave danger about him. However, Chiang Kai-shek went his own way, regardless of the war in Suiyuan, and deployed an army of 300,000 to march toward the battlefield of "suppressing the communists." He turned a deaf ear to public opinion and adopted a high-handed measure to put under arrest the leaders of the All-China National Salvation Federation, "the Seven Gentlemen" including Shen Chun-ju. In early December, Chiang Kai-shek personally led a large number of KMT officials and commanders to station in Xian, and to make planning for military actions to eliminate the communists. He turned a deaf ear to the pleading of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, and threatened them to choose either to march to the forefront to suppress the communists or to transfer their two armies out of the northwest. Thus, all kinds of social contradictions intensified in the northwest; they overlapped and inevitably formed into a focus. Xian was close to the Suiyuan forefront of resisting Japan as well as the base areas of the Red Army. Here, the KMT was facing the choice between resistance against Japan and the civil war. Concentrated here were the antagonism between national contradiction and class struggle, the contradiction between the KMT and the CPC, the contradiction between the KMT central government and local forces, the contradiction inside the KMT between those advocating domestic pacification before resistance against foreign aggression and those advocating uniting all patriotic forces to unanimously deal with foreign aggressors, the contradictions between the people demanding resistance against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, who were making compromise and concession, as well as the contradiction between the people demanding a halt to civil war and Chiang Kai-shek insisting on civil war; in short, the contradiction of whither China was concentrated in Xian.

It was precisely such a serious situation that hastened the decisionmaking of Chang and Yang at this critical juncture of a historical turning point, when the focus of all kinds of contradictions of the Chinese society was presented before the two generals. Suppressing the communists against their will could only be mutual mutilation between brothers, which would sadden their own people and gladden the enemy, and could only be a gross injustice, while the officers and men of the two armies would never be militant enough to fight a civil war. If they should compromise and be transferred on Chiang's order, the Northeast Army would be transferred to Fujian and the 17th Route Army would be transferred to Anhui. Then the tripartite forces would be

disintegrated, and the long-cherished hope to unite and resist against Japan would be betrayed. Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek would never leave things at that, and let them go easily. The more important thing was, this could not in the least ease the situation of mutual mutilation in a civil war, neither was it possible to eliminate the Red Army, but would only encourage the Japanese Army to extinguish China. To put a halt to the civil war, to mobilize the whole nation to resist Japan and to save the Chinese nation, the last resort was to cross the Rubicon by launching an armed demonstration to force the Nanjing government headed by Chiang Kai-shek to change their erroneous state policy. The two generals put the national interests above all else; disregarding their personal honor and the danger of their own groups, they made the Hobson's choice and launched the Xian Incident with resolution.

If the Xian Incident was the inevitable outcome of the development and intensification of all kinds of contradictions in the Chinese society under the historical conditions at that time, then its peaceful solution was only the logical result of the mutual reaction of these contradictions.

The aim of the Chang-Yang uprising was to put a halt to the civil war, to realize internal peace, and to mobilize national resistance against Japan. Therefore, subjectively, they would never turn this incident into a fuse for a nationwide civil war, but would try their best to seek a peaceful solution. Starting from the national interests, the CPC--one of the tripartite forces--would bury the hatchet, forget the conflicts in the history between the two parties, and resolutely push the development of the incident along the line of a peaceful solution based on the policy of a national united front for resistance against Japan.

The Xian Incident caused a mighty uproar both at home and abroad. Internationally, Great Britain, the United States and France resolutely opposed the armed demonstration of Generals Chang and Yang, however, at that time, they already vaguely regarded China as an ally that would check fascism in the East, and they would never wish to see China involved in an all-round civil war while Japan would take the advantage of the situation. Therefore, it was their wish that a peaceful solution would be attained. The socialist Soviet Union was all for a peaceful solution to the incident. Only Japanese imperialism attempted to stir up a civil war and to gain something from it. Domestically, with the blocking of dispatches and information, the true story of the incident was not made public including the 8-point political proposal of Generals Chang and Yang; therefore, the responses of all circles varied. Whether they were local power groups, or big shots in industrial and commercial circles, celebrities and scholars or ordinary workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of people were unanimous in their basic stand of resolutely opposing sending a punitive expedition against Chang and Yang as well as a civil war, despite their different, and even diametrically opposed understanding of the incident of detaining Chiang Kai-shek himself. This profoundly reflected the basic interests of the Chinese nation at this crucial moment in history. Beyond doubt, such strong public opinion at home and abroad played an important role in the course of the peaceful solution to the Xian Incident.

Even inside the KMT central authorities, not everyone agreed to the principle of sending a punitive armed expedition because of the differences in their bases of interests and angles of understanding. "A play within a play" was put on the Nanjing political arena: On the one hand, a large number of high-ranking government and military officials and senior statesmen were all for "maintaining discipline and sending a punitive expedition against the rebels," and military planning for the expedition was made. On the other, the Chiang, Soong, Kung, and Chen families which held sway in the Nanjing government were actively exploring communication between Nanjing and Shaanxi, and striving for a peaceful release of Chiang Kai-shek, against the background of a year of secret contact with the CPC. Thus, the development of the situation took on a complicated, intensified, delicate, and varied tendency; at the same time, there came the dawn of a peaceful solution to the Xian Incident.

On the second day of the outbreak of the incident, namely 13 December, Chang and Yang sent a telegram in reply to William H. Donald, welcoming him to come to Shaanxi. On 14 December, Donald arrived in Xian and met Chang, Yang, and Chiang Kai-shek, to serve as a bridge to peace between Nanjing and Xian. The CPC representatives headed by Zhou Enlai arrived in Xian on 17 December, and participated in drawing up the strategic decision of the tripartite forces on the Xian Incident. On the same day, Chiang Kai-shek issued a written order to the central army to stop its bombardment for 3 days, and temporarily checked the so-called punitive expedition of the Nanjing authorities. On the basis of reaffirming the principle of putting a halt to civil war and unanimously resisting Japan, the CPC Central Committee sent open telegrams to the KMT Central Committee successively on 18 and 19 December, and proposed: "If your party could realize the urgent demands of the people throughout the nation as stated above, our country and nation would be saved, and Chiang's personal safety and freedom would not be a problem." ("Selected Documents of CPC Central Committee on National United Front for Resistance Against Japan"--Book II--Dossier Publishing House 1985) On 20 December, T.V. Soong arrived in Xian; and upon his return to Nanjing, he accompanied Soong Mei-ling and her company to the ancient capital of the Zhou, Qin, Han, and Tang Dynasties on 22 December. On behalf of the tripartite forces, Chang, Yang, and Zhou proposed, in their negotiation with T.V. Soong on 23 December, the following 6-point demands: "A. An armistice with the central government troops retreating to a line away from Tongguan. B. The Nanjing government be reorganized, and the pro-Japanese sects must go with the replacement of elements resisting against Japan. C. Free all political prisoners, and democratic rights be protected. D. Put a halt to suppressing communists, unite the Red Army to resist Japan, and open activities of the CPC be granted (with the Red Army maintaining its independent organization and leadership, and the soviet areas maintaining their status quo by changing their names into resisting Japan or patriotic areas, before the convention of a democratic congress). E. National salvation conferences be held with the participation of all parties, all circles, and all armies. F. Cooperate with all countries sympathizing with resistance against Japan." If the above-mentioned 6-point demands were accepted and guaranteed their implementation by Chiang Kai-shek, the CPC and the Red Army would help him unify China and deal with Japan unanimously. T.V. Soong

expressed "his personal approval and promised to relay them to Chiang Kai-shek." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, pp 70-71) On the evening of 24 December, Zhou Enlai, accompanied by T.V. Soong, met Chiang Kai-shek, and the latter personally promised to stop suppression of the communists, and to resist Japan unanimously. On the afternoon of 25 December, Chiang Kai-shek, under the escort of General Chang Hsueh-liang, left Shaanxi for Nanjing, and General Yang Hu-cheng saw them off. At the Xian airport, Chiang Kai-shek reaffirmed: "Should there be another civil war, I myself will be held responsible." ("Yang Hu-cheng's Letter to All Magistrates," 29 December 1936, the original text is kept in the Chinese Revolutionary Museum. Also carried in 27 December 1936 Xian JIEFANG RIBAO) Till then, the raging waves of the Xian Incident were stemmed, but there were still repercussions. Through a series of relapses and zigzags, the Xian Incident eventually realized a peaceful solution.

We may say, with the evolution of the Xian Incident, all parties involved in the incident made major concession for the nation. General Chang and General Yang, who played the chief roles in launching the incident, sacrificed their places, interests, freedom and even their lives for the sake of national interests; while the CPC "changed the names of the Soviet and the Red Army, gave up its antagonism against the KMT, and stopped confiscating the land of the landlords." (Mao Zedong's talk with Smedley on 1 March 1937, "On Several Issues Concerning the National United Front for Resistance Against Japan," 1937 edition) And the KMT had to change its policy of eliminating the CPC, and was willing to realize the second KMT-CPC cooperation through formal talks. Beyond doubt, Chiang Kai-shek's courage of facing the reality squarely shown at this critical juncture of the historical turning point should be acknowledged, the regret was that he himself did not persist in this attitude. The outburst of the Xian Incident and its peaceful solution profoundly reflected the course of changes of different classes, social strata, and political parties of the Chinese society under the ever more pressing condition of national crisis. Doubtlessly, it was precisely because they all made concession to different degrees in the Xian Incident that a solid foundation was laid for national unity, which led to the great victory of the war of resistance against Japan.

The outburst of the Xian Incident and its peaceful solution put a halt to an inevitable large-scale civil war to suppress the communists, and brought about a silver lining to a hopeless situation in the KMT-CPC relations. Such a change signified that in the grave national crisis, all classes, social strata, and political forces eventually put the nation above all else, and strived to salvage it from a perishing state. That was where the profound social background and significance of the KMT-CPC cooperation lay; whereby, it was possible to mobilize the financial, material, and man powers of the entire nation for the all-round resistance against Japan, and for a situation of a war of resistance with the participation of the whole people to emerge just as it was declared by Mr Chiang Kai-shek in the initial stage of the war of resistance that "everybody takes part in it without the difference of age, no matter where he hails from." Mobilizing and uniting the forces of the entire nation was one of the basic conditions for an extremely backward nation to persist in a protracted war of resistance, and

for the Chinese people to win the first major victory in their long-term struggle against foreign aggression in modern history. The Xian Incident put a halt to the 10-year KMT-CPC civil war, with the emergence of a new situation in KMT-CPC cooperation, which laid down the foundation for the whole nation resisting Japan. It is not the least exaggerating to say that the Xian Incident was a great turning point in China's modern history.

In the course of realizing the historical turning point, General Chang Hsueh-liang and General Yang Hu-cheng made outstanding contributions. Out of their patriotic passion and good will, they followed the historical tide, doing their utmost to check the raging waves with breathtaking means in a self-sacrificing spirit. For reasons universally known, they failed to render services on the battlefield of resisting against Japan; one of them was assassinated by the KMT spies, and the other has been imprisoned for half a century to date. Such historical tragedies resulted sheerly from personal feelings could only make their images shine brighter as great national heroes that went down in history. Their aim was achieved, and their great sacrifices were worthwhile. Here, we should also point out that the Chinese communists made great contributions to pushing forward the historical change. The CPC's correct policy of the national united front for resistance against Japan was the basis for uniting the people of all social strata as well as the founding of the tripartite forces. Especially the correct principle of peaceful solution to the Xian Incident drawn up by the CPC leaders Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and their unremitting efforts played an irreplaceable role in the decisionmaking of General Chang and General Yang as well as the final peaceful solution to the Xian Incident. The names of these heroes will forever go down in history.

Although the Xian Incident has changed from a topic of politicians to a realm of study for historians, it has left an indelible track on the contemporary society, and given us much help and inspiration. It has once again demonstrated that the basic orientation of historical development will never be controlled or reversed by the subjective will of an individual, while the trend formed by the people's will has always guided the general trend of social progress. Just as Dr Sun Yat-sen put it: "The world current is vast and mighty, those who submit to it will prosper, those who resist it shall perish." This is a law that governs all things in the world without exception. It has also shown that the Chinese nation is a great nation that will never submit to humiliation; facing a great disaster, strong patriotism can break through any class differences or antagonism, and unite the entire nation in one to overcome all kinds of difficulties in resisting against our external enemy. The patriotic sentiment belonging to the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people is precisely the soul of the Chinese nation, and any aggressors will eventually bog down in defeat facing this nation that constantly strives to become stronger. Patriotism will always be the spiritual pillar of our Chinese nation that has a brilliant civilization of several thousands of years, as well as the cornerstone for all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation to stand amid the forest of the world nations.

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PAY ATTENTION TO GAINING COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE 'RESOLUTION' IN STUDYING IT

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[Article by Shi Ping [4258 5493]]

[Text] A marked characteristic of the programmatic document the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" is that it precisely links basic Marxist tenets with the actual conditions of the new historical period of China and fully embodies the ideological line of seeking truth from facts with the dialectical ideas of viewing things in an all-round way throughout. The "Resolution" is not only of great practical and far-reaching significance in ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization but also of profound significance in methodology in upgrading the theoretical standard of cadres throughout the party. In the course of studying the "Resolution," it is necessary for us to attach importance to an all-round understanding of its basic concepts and to accurately grasp its spiritual essence so that we may effectively push forward the building of socialist spiritual civilization based on the guiding principles stipulated in the "Resolution."

Building socialist spiritual civilization is a strategic decision that was explicitly affirmed by the CPC 12th National Congress. The "Resolution" has inherited and developed the spirit of the CPC 12th National Congress and drawn a new inference: "Taking economic development as the key link, we are to continue to reform our economic and political structures and simultaneously speed up the country's cultural and ideological progress, making sure that these aspects of our work are coordinated and promote each other. From this perspective all our party comrades should understand the strategic importance of building socialist spiritual civilization." This means that there is only one key link in our work during the new historical period, namely, economic construction; the reform of the economic structure, the reform of the political structure, as well as the building of spiritual civilization should all center around and serve this key link; and promoting economic construction inevitably involves the guarantee provided by the reforms of the economic and political structures and by the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This generalization of the "overall layout" embodies the link of China's actual conditions with basic Marxist tenets on the dialectical relationship between productive forces and production

relations, and between economic base and the superstructure; this is precisely an expression of dialectical ideas in viewing things in an all-round way. The "Resolution" studies the building of spiritual civilization in the overall layout of socialist modernization; this is the first attempt in all party documents, and a brilliant one at that. We will come to a better understanding of the strategic role and importance of the building of spiritual civilization from such a plane. This is not merely the responsibility of some departments concerned, but the common task of the whole party and the people of the whole country. When we deepen our all-round understanding on this point of the "Resolution," we will consciously come to see: Any idea and practice deviating from the central task of economic construction and any idea and practice of going in for spiritual civilization in isolation from material civilization is one-sided and wrong; while any idea and practice of attaching importance only to the building of material civilization while neglecting the building of spiritual civilization is equally one-sided and wrong. The correct attitude can only be to persevere in grasping simultaneously the two civilizations, so that material civilization may provide material conditions and practical experiences for the development of spiritual civilization, while the latter may provide spiritual motive force and intelligence support to the development of the former, and be a powerful ideological guarantee for its correct orientation of development, so as to unify the two in the entire process of the practice of socialist modernization.

Regarding the basic guiding principles on the building of spiritual civilization, the "Resolution" has also made an all-round exposition: "Because our work in promoting socialist spiritual civilization is of strategic importance, we must ensure that it is capable of pushing forward China's socialist modernization, promoting the all-round reform and the opening to the outside world, and embodying the four basic principles." Therefore, in understanding the basic guiding principles of the "Resolution," the most important thing is for us to bear in mind the following two points: One is adherence to reform and opening up, and the other is adherence to the four basic principles. By adhering to these two points, it is possible for us to push ahead socialist modernization and to grasp the correct orientation in building spiritual civilization. Inherent ties of dialectical unity exist between these two points; they should not be severed or set against each other. On the one hand, we should adhere to the four basic principles as well as to reform and opening up, which are China's long-term state policies and its decisive links in economic work. To deviate from them means to deviate from the key link of economic construction, and the four basic principles would lose their purpose and base. In the final analysis, adherence to the four basic principles is aimed at promoting the development of social productive forces. Development of productive forces and progress of modernization will be very difficult if we fail to adhere to reform and opening up, given the various defects existing in the economic and political structures. This has been proved by the negative examples of the tortuous road adopted in the more than 2 decades prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as well as the positive experiences of smooth progress since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Therefore, attaching importance only to the four basic principles but paying no, or not enough,

attention to reform and opening up would mean turning back to the guiding ideas of the 1950's or 1960's, and certainly would not work. On the other hand, if we attach importance only to reform and opening up, but pay no attention to the four basic principles, we will face the danger of losing our way; this will not work either. This is because the modernization we are going in for is socialist modernization, our reform is the self-perfection of the socialist system, and our opening up to the outside world is the necessary supplement to the development of productive forces under the condition of socialism. Any deviation from the four basic principles would mean running counter to the nature of the basic economic and political systems of China and would lead us astray. This has also been proved by practical experiences. In other words, we should not apply the four basic principles to negate reform and opening up, or vice versa, but combine these two aspects organically. At present, some comrades lack an all-round, unified understanding of the relationship between these two aspects and they have some confused understanding; for example, the view that reform and opening up are meant for the building of material civilization, while the four basic principles are meant for the building of spiritual civilization; and that reform and opening up mean "relaxation," while the four cardinal principles mean "tightening up." Such problems in ideological understanding can be resolved only by adopting the method of providing guidance and persuasive education, and the "Resolution" itself is a powerful weapon to clarify confused understanding. An overall grasp of the discussions in the "Resolution" will enable us to genuinely unify adherence to the four basic principles with adherence to reform and opening up and to keep to the correct orientation of the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

The "Resolution" fully expounds on the issue of lofty ideals. The "Resolution" divides lofty ideals into two tiers: One is the common ideal of people of all nationalities in China at the present stage, namely, building socialism with Chinese characteristics and building China into a modern socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy; and the other is the highest ideal of our party, namely, building a communist society fulfilling the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. The common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is an indispensable stage in realizing the highest ideal of realizing communism; when communists are striving for the realization of the common ideal at the present stage, they are also striving for the highest ideal of the Communist Party. This also shows that the "Resolution" has not only somewhat inherited but also developed the spirit of the CPC 12th National Congress, and further implemented the basic principle of seeking truth from facts and basing everything on realities. Such dialectical ideas shown in the "Resolution" possess a historical view of striking root in reality, with a scientific conclusion drawn from the new practical experiences since the CPC 12th National Congress. China is a socialist country with Marxism as its guide, but it is still in the primary stage of socialism at present. Because of the restrictions of all kinds of historical conditions including economic, social, and cultural, people's ideological consciousness at present must be of varying levels. If the communist ideal is set as a universal requirement on the whole of society, that will go beyond the historical conditions and the level of consciousness of the majority of people. In fact, such a

requirement will not be met. Now, the "Resolution" sets building socialism with Chinese characteristics as the common ideal of the whole of society. This is capable of uniting the entity of workers and patriots, and all forces that can be united in exerting their common efforts to build socialism. On the other hand, communists and advanced elements in society should stand at the forefront of the tide of the times, always bear in mind the great ideal of communism, and bring forward the communist spirit with their own ideas and actions to educate and affect more people in society step by step, in addition to striving for the common ideal with loyalty and passion. The "Resolution" differentiates between and simultaneously combines the practical target and the future target, and places the building of ideals on a scientific basis. This is of very important significance both in theory and practice, and worthy of our serious study and understanding.

What is mentioned above is just an illustration of the all-round concept of several major issues embodied in the "Resolution." With further careful study, dialectical, as well as historical, with the scientific spirit of starting from the actual conditions in analyzing and resolving problems running through the entire document. For example, while affirming the great progress made in the building of spiritual civilization since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the "Resolution" has pointed out the problem of building of spiritual civilization, its failure to meet the needs of socialist modernization. While pointing out that the basic requirement for the building of ethics at the present stage is to establish and to carry forward socialist ethics and social atmosphere, it pointed out that it is necessary to earnestly advocate communist morality in the whole society. While pointing out that a legal system without socialist democracy is by no means a socialist legal system, it pointed out that democracy deviating from the socialist legal system is by no means socialist democracy. While affirming that the bourgeois concepts of democracy, liberty, equality, and fraternity were a great emancipation of human spirit, it pointed out that these concepts basically serve the maintenance of the capitalist system and are different from Marxism in principle. While pointing out that it is necessary to resolutely do away with the capitalist ideological and social systems that maintain exploitation and oppression as well as all ugly and decadent things of capitalism, it pointed out that opening up is also applicable to the building of spiritual civilization and it is necessary to do our utmost to learn from all countries (including the developed capitalist countries) to acquire advanced science and technology, universally applicable expertise in economic management and administrative work, and other useful knowledge, and to verify and develop in practice what we have learned. While opposing the practice of regarding China's traditional culture as good for nothing and adopting a national nihilist attitude, it opposed overall endorsement of China's traditional culture without analysis. While pointing out that it is wrong to regard Marxism as some ossified doctrine, it pointed out that negating the basic Marxist tenets is equally wrong; and the "Resolution" advocates the unification of the adherence to and development of Marxism in the practice of revolution and construction. In short, the "Resolution" pointed out, the spiritual civilization we want to build is one "that takes Marxism as its guide, that incorporates the best from historical tradition yet fully embodies

the spirit of our times, and that bases itself on China's actual conditions yet keeps the whole world in view." All this has proved that in studying all problems concerning socialist spiritual civilization, the "Resolution" has consistently grasped the inherent law governing the movement of things in their mutual relations, made all-round dialectical analysis, and formulated correct guiding principles as a criterion for actions. Therefore, we have ample grounds to say that the "Resolution" has reflected the deepening of our party's understanding of the objective law of building socialism with Chinese characteristics as well as the party's development of the theory of scientific socialism by linking with China's actual conditions. From this Marxist programmatic document, we can obtain a profound revelation in methodology.

The "Resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee laid stress on further clarifying the guiding principles for the building of spiritual civilization in the new situation. To do a good job in implementing the "Resolution," it is necessary for us to link the central guiding principle with the actual conditions and to draw up specific plans for their implementation. In the course of studying in depth and implementing the "Resolution," all professions and trades should show particular concern for those aspects that have close connection with themselves; this is imperative. However, all professions and trades, whether practical work departments or theoretical departments, should attach importance to all-round understanding of the guiding principles of the "Resolution," unify thinking on the spirit of the "Resolution," and refrain from one-sided understanding of its basic concepts, and from a practice of each sticking to his own argument based on his own view. Only then will it be possible for us to avoid emphasizing one thing at the expense of another and avoid a tortuous path in practice; and only then will the guiding principles of the "Resolution" be correctly implemented and will we make due contributions to the revitalization of the great Chinese civilization today.

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SEVERAL ISSUES WORTHY OF ATTENTION IN BUILDING THE PARTY AT PRESENT

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[Article by Sun Weiben [1327 4850 2609], secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] In investigating and handling important and serious criminal cases recently, we have found that some people within our party were involved in some of these cases. They were supporters and shelterers of criminal offenders, or else they themselves were chief criminals or participants in some serious criminal activities. These people are very destructive and corrosive to the building up of our party and the four modernizations and severely damage the prestige and image of our party in the people. To strengthen the building up of our party ideologically and organizationally, to raise the fighting power of the party organization, and to encourage party members, and particularly leading cadres, to play an exemplary role in the struggle against unhealthy tendencies and criminal offense so as to adapt themselves to the characteristics of, and suit the needs of, the new historical period, it is absolutely necessary to penetratingly analyze these important and serious criminal cases and draw lessons from them.

I

In the past 2 years, serious criminal cases greatly increased in number, the amount of money involved in economic crime rose abruptly, and the numbers of party members and cadres turning to crime were on the rise. In analyzing these important and serious criminal cases, we have found a distinguishing feature that these cases were closely related to a variety of malpractices within the party. These malpractices within the party have left embezzlers, thieves, robbers, bribees and bribers, speculators and swindlers an opening to exploit, and shielded criminal activities; and some criminal activities were the outcome of the malignant development of unhealthy tendencies. Some party members and cadres have turned to crime just because they were indulged in malpractices. The other way around, some criminals have availed themselves of the misdeeds practiced by some cadres. Criminals in society usually commit crimes by seeking their supporters from within the party, working hand in glove with functionaries of the party and government organizations and making use of a variety of malpractices. Subsequently, this encourages evil trends. Malpractices within the party and serious criminal

activities are two problems which are different in nature, but are also related to each other under certain circumstances. In rectifying the party's work style, we must therefore take vigorous measures to counter serious criminal activities by investigating serious and important criminal cases thoroughly.

In analyzing these serious and important criminal cases, we must see another distinguishing feature that these cases occur under the new historical conditions when our party implements the policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. Under the signboard of carrying out reform, criminals usually commit evil by passing off the sham as the genuine and swindling and bluffing people. Over the past few years we have been implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. This has promoted economic development, widened people's field of vision, enhanced their abilities and injected vitality into our socialism. However, some people have become confused and lost their bearings under the situation because we closed our country to the outside world for a long time and built our country based on a "traditional" pattern and because we knew little about capitalist countries in the world and were inexperienced in developing a planned commodity economy. As a result, some party members and cadres who do not have a firm world outlook have vacillated and degenerated because of the influence of the decadent bourgeois ideas and way of life. Availing themselves of imperfect economic laws and regulations in our country, some of these people, appearing in the capacity of legal persons, established so-called briefcase companies by inventing all kinds of names such as "centers" and "commercial firms" and engaged in the illegal activities of speculation, swindle, corruption and bribery. While our party readjusted its policies and granted decisionmaking powers to the lower level, some of them took advantage of the occasion to misappropriate public funds in large amounts, obtain loans in someone else's name and seek ill-gotten gains. Others, being profit-minded, abused power for personal gain and exchanged with lawless persons in society the functions and powers entrusted to them by the party and the people. It is particularly distressing to see the fact that some party members and veteran cadres were not subjugated before the real guns and bullets of the enemy and did not yield to the savage persecution inflicted on them by the "gang of four," but they have been hit by "money bullets" when the country is carrying out reform and the policy of opening up to the outside world and reinvigorating the domestic economy. This matter really gives us much food for thought. It should be noted that our party building is now faced with a new, major problem. This means that under the new situation of opening up our country to the outside world, invigorating the domestic economy and vigorously developing a planned commodity economy, we must educate comrades of the entire party to learn how to deal with foreigners, how to conduct business, and how to lead and develop a planned commodity economy. Also, we must resolutely resist influences of bourgeois decadence and prevent the principle of exchange of equal value from being applied to the political life within our party. There is no ripe experience in this aspect that we can make use of from the history of the international communist movement. For this reason, we must conscientiously study, explore new possibilities with great efforts and unceasingly review experience so as to push the building up of our party to a new high in the new historical period.

For a period of time some of our comrades did not have a clear understanding of the central principle of both working for material civilization and building spiritual civilization, overlooked the building of spiritual civilization and political and ideological work and did not take vigorous measures to crack down on economic criminal activities. Consequently, in the past 2 years malpractices were on the rise and economic criminal activities ran wild, thus bringing about great difficulties and obstacles to the reforms and the four modernizations. This is a grave lesson. Since August 1985, we have taken effective measures to deal with serious economic crimes throughout the province, while paying great attention to the building of spiritual civilization, thus ensuring the healthy execution of the reform measures.

II

Under the same historical conditions, how can the majority of our party members resist the ideological corrosive influences of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and maintain the integrity of Communist Party members? And why cannot some party members, and even some veteran party members resist evil trends? Making in-depth studies of causes for the occurrence is of great benefit for our party members and cadres to enhance their ideological and political standards and to increase their ability to resist all kinds of evil winds and noxious influences and the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology.

The first thing accounting for the occurrence is that these Communist Party members have let their faith in communism lapse. At present our endeavor to carry out reform, open to the outside world and develop a planned commodity economy aim essentially at promoting the development of the productive forces, developing socialism and attaining the great goal of communism. However, under the new situation some people have forgotten the lofty ideal of building a communist society characterized by the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. Therefore, they have gotten lost because they thought that these new policies allowed them to run enterprises and do business as they do in capitalist countries.

Second, those Communist Party members have swerved from the purpose of serving the people heart and soul. Communist Party members should attach primary importance to the interests of the party and the people, care for the masses of the people much more than for themselves and dedicate themselves to the cause of making our country strong and the people prosperous. The problem at present is that some party members have forgotten this point. They distort the party's policy of encouraging some people to attain prosperity before others and think they themselves should become prosperous first, and whether other people can become well-off or not has nothing to do with them. As a result, they are now profit-minded and do not hesitate to seek money by hook or by crook at the expense of the interests of the state and the people.

Third, those party members take the powers granted to them by the party and the people as a means of seeking personal gain. Our party is now in power.

That is why its cadres at various levels have certain powers. However, some party members and cadres did not employ these powers to work for the interests of the people but abused these powers for personal gain and made "self-interest" the first consideration. They fought only for private interests and favored each other. In consequence, the nature of the powers in their hands has changed and the powers have become a means of seeking personal gain for a few people. It may be said that unhealthy tendencies mostly result from abuse of power for personal gain. Abuse of power for personal gain is now the very evil deed that the masses of the people complain about vehemently.

Fourth, some party members tend to use the vulgar viewpoints to handle interpersonal relationship rather than using the principle of the party. In doing things, they would rely on their relations rather than the organizations, attach importance to friendship rather than principles and place friendship and relations above the party spirit. "They often use 30 percent of their energy to do their jobs but 70 percent of their energy to develop relations." Being unable to "refuse their relatives and friends," they allow their relatives or themselves to secure advantages through their influence or shield and urge their good friends or close relatives who carry out illegal activities. Working for the personal interests or the interests of small groups, some people would abuse their powers or positions to set up "networks of friends or relations" to make use of each other. They even turn the interpersonal relationship into the patriarchal relationship of feudalism and the monetary relationship of capitalism. This kind of vulgar "network of friends and relations" are not only the hotbeds of the unhealthy tendencies but also the sanctuaries of various illegal activities.

Fifth, as these party members cannot consciously place themselves under the supervision by the organizations and masses, they have become special party members and cadres. Of the eight persons who were arrested in connection with the case of using loans to seek personal gains of the Bank of Agriculture in Ning'an County of our province, five are party members. As these five party members did not participate in the regular activities of the party but avoided the supervision of the organization and concentrated on making money, they did not even know who was the CPC secretary of their branch. Previously, Yi Jingshan, the former secretary of the CPC committee of the Housing and Land Bureau of Harbin, repeatedly used power to seek personal gains. Although the organization warned him once, he turned a deaf ear and gave no heed. Finally, he degenerated and fell into the abyss of crime. Within our party, we do not allow to have "special party members" who are above the discipline of the party. Within our organs and organizations, we cannot afford "special cadres" who are above the discipline of the government. Everyone, no matter who he is, should place himself under the party's and the masses' supervision and consciously restrict himself to party and government disciplines and the state laws. Only by constantly setting strict demands on ourselves to the capacity of ordinary party members can we check the erroneous ideas at the outset.

Analyzing these causes, we can draw an important inspiration: After our party came to power and in particular after the stress of the work of our

party was shifted to the economic construction in the practice of the planned commodity economy, the cadres and party members confronted with both the trial of correctly dealing with power and the trial of correctly dealing with money. Under this circumstance, it is of particularly important realistic significance to improve the quality of party members and set more new rigorous demands on the party members. Before the liberation, being a party member meant consciously enduring hardships for the revolution or even getting wounded or giving up one's life. Therefore, the speculators never or seldom joined the Communist Party. Even if they did join the Communist Party, they could be easily eliminated through the arduous environment of struggles. However, this situation has changed since our party has come to power. It seems to some people that becoming a party member means a lot of benefits rather than undertaking any risks. A host of facts have demonstrated that the persons who joined our party with such a purpose would tend to make use of power to seek personal gains and various opportunities and conditions to take advantage of the state and the masses once they gain a certain kind of power. Even the veteran party members who joined the party before the founding of the country would not properly handle the relationship between themselves and the masses and tend to degenerate if they relax their remodeling of world outlook after rising to power. In reality, we can often see that some people are not quite interested in the political honor and deem it worthless but rack their brains to seek the real powers to control personnel, money and material and that some people unscrupulously ask the party for official positions, regardless of personal integrity, honor, and shame. Therefore, we should educate our party members and cadres to correctly use their power, prevent them from desiring promotions and wanting to become rich and constantly eliminate those persons who just want to seek the benefits of being party members of the ruling party but do not want to render selfless service to the cause of communism. This is always an important issue for the building of a ruling party.

III

Some party members and cadres have become the principal culprits and participants of the major and important cases. Of course, primarily they should be personally responsible for their crimes. However, as far as an organization is concerned, there are still some positive and negative experiences for us to sum up. In the light of the practice of straightening out party style and rectifying the party in our province, I believe that we should mainly handle well the following issues about the building of the party.

First, to persist in letting the party exercise control over the party. If the party does not exercise control over itself, it is exactly a serious dereliction of duty as far as the work of a party committee is concerned. However, the leading comrades of some units do not have a deep understanding of the important significance of bringing about a fundamental improvement in party style. Notwithstanding the fact that they tend to justifiably appeal that "it has a bearing on the life or death of the party," they do not really pay attention to it at all. Although they indulge in the empty talk of "grasping the matter with both hands," in fact they just regard the work of

straightening out party style as a kind of "soft task" and leave it alone rather than as their most important duty. In some localities, the numbers of major and important cases are on the rise. This is because the party organizations there do not grasp well the work of straightening out party style. To effect a fundamental improvement in party style is the most important task and duty for the party and government leaders, in particular the No 1 leaders at all levels. Whether the party style of a locality or a department would improve lies in whether the No 1 party or government leader would really seriously grasp the work. Those major and important cases which seem very difficult to investigate and handle and those persons who cannot tolerate different opinions are, in fact, all very vulnerable. "If the No 1 leaders step up, even the knotty problem would not be difficult to resolve." If the No 1 party and government leaders personally and seriously grasp the task, the whole party will be mobilized and party style will greatly improve very soon.

Second, to strengthen the education in party spirit. Party style is a reflection and external expression of party spirit. The fundamental reason for some party members engaging in the unhealthy tendencies is that they have problems with their outlooks on world and life. As they only joined the party organizationally but not ideologically, they cannot resist the corrosive influence of the decadent bourgeois ideology. Therefore, to straighten out party style, we must carry out an education in party spirit in the light of the thinking of party members under the new circumstance and with the aim of improving the political quality of party members. If we just isolatedly grasp party styles in the absence of party spirit, we might tend to consider things as it stands and treat the symptoms but not the diseases. Although this method might also exercise a temporary effect, it cannot fundamentally improve party style.

Third, to strictly enforce the discipline and rigorously manage the party. At present, one of the important reasons for our failing to stop some unhealthy tendencies and illegal activities is that the disciplines and laws are not strictly and conscientiously enforced. Some units tend to only symbolically rectify the unhealthy tendencies or always make such a lenient conclusion as "just this once." Not seriously handling those cases violating laws and disciplines, some units would use fines to replace the disciplinary actions of the party and government disciplines and substitute the disciplinary actions for the party and government disciplines. As a result that those persons who should be punished and stricken are not punished and stricken, the evil practices and unhealthy trends spread unchecked. To rectify the unhealthy tendencies and effect a fundamental improvement of the party style, we must "resolutely and persistently" strengthen the party discipline and stringently manage the party. We must thoroughly investigate and strictly handle the major and important cases and make everybody equal before the party discipline and state law.

Fourth, to uphold the mass line and make full use of the weapon of supervision by the masses. In straightening out party style, we should not launch a mass movement and encourage people to accuse each other. However, we must "listen to the appeals of the vast numbers of the people and accept the

supervision by the masses and subordinates." This is because the masses bitterly hate the unhealthy tendencies and neither the unhealthy tendencies nor illegal behaviors can escape the eyes of the masses. Over the last few years, most of those cases of illegal activities and unlawful practices were exposed by the masses and were solved with the help of the masses. The unhealthy tendencies are also stopped one by one by amassing the strength of the vast numbers of the masses. These facts fully show that the masses are the powerful strength to rectify party style.

Fifth, in employing cadres we must uphold the principle of stressing both honor and competence. Over the last 2 years, the fact that the numbers of major and important cases are on the rise is also greatly related to the errors in employing people. At present, in some localities it seems that those cadres who are good at speaking eloquently, setting up relations with people and making good money are the "talented people." However, the issues of ideology and work style are regarded as trivial matters and placed in wrong positions. Due to misuse by people, some people are able to legally swindle others by false pretenses and carry out activities in violation of laws and disciplines. Therefore, it is necessary to stress that in selecting and promoting cadres, we must unswervingly uphold the principle of possessing both honor and competence and seriously examine their political quality and should not be off our guard and equivocal in the slightest degree.

Sixth, to rigorously strengthen the inner-party regular activities and perfect the system of inner-party regular activities. We should not only demand to set up varied sound rules and regulations but also ask the party organizations and members to earnestly enforce the party's rules and regulations. The party organizations should strengthen the democratic centralism within the party, further normalize the inner-party political activities, enhance the function of criticism and self-criticism, and improve resistance to the corrosive influence of various viruses. If the inner-party regular activities are not sound and if the party members have shortcomings and errors in ideology and work style but do not receive the prompt education and correction by the party organizations, some party members would lose their bearings and go astray. Therefore, we must perfect and invigorate the inner-party regular activities and strive to create a political environment which will enable the party members to consciously wash off the dirt.

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INCREASING INPUT IS THE FOUNDATION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Liu Xuhao [0491 1575 3185]]

[Text] I. Agriculture Is an Open System

Agriculture is a very complex system. It is related to yet different from the natural ecosystem. In the last few years, due to the many serious problems in our nation's ecosystem, people have talked much about the problems of the ecosystem. Some people have, due to this, overlooked the social nature of agriculture and used a solely natural ecological viewpoint to explain and look at some of the complex problems of agriculture. This is far from an all-round view.

The natural ecosystem comprises the natural environment (light, heat, water, soil, and so on) and natural living things (plants, animals, microorganisms, and so on). Its characteristics are: 1) The unitary nature of its energy transfer channel--that is, that which enters is natural energy, which is mainly solar energy, and that which goes out is natural energy, which is lost through the respiration and excretion of living things. There is no artificial energy input or outflow. 2) The closed or semiclosed nature of the material cycle and the difficulty of expanding the cycle.

The makeup of the agricultural system is much more complex than that of the natural ecosystem. It comprises the agricultural economic system, the agricultural ecosystem, and the agricultural technical system. Man is an important component and intervener. Its characteristics are:

1. Double channels of energy transfer. Apart from the input of natural energy and the consumption of energy by natural living things, there is the need to add the consumption and supply of artificial energy. On the one hand, a great amount of the energy of living things is, through the consumption of agricultural products, shifted outside the system. On the other hand, people continually supply necessary artificial energy such as fertilizer, seeds, machinery, fodder, electricity, labor and animal power, and so on to supply the shortfalls of natural energy. Thereby the energy transfer efficiency is effectively improved.

2. An open material cycle. The aim of people in carrying out agricultural production is to obtain agricultural products. If there is not appropriate material input, then the system may become imbalanced. Expanding reproduction requires further material input. The greater and more balanced the degree of opening up of the material cycle in the agricultural system, the higher the efficiency of agricultural production. Some regions proceed from the natural ecology viewpoint and solely stress increased application of organic fertilizers but do not consider the source from which the organic fertilizers will come. The result is that it is difficult to expand the cycle. Some other regions place stress on using the inorganic to promote the organic and greatly raise the amounts of chemical fertilizer applied. Not only has the agricultural and sideline product output volume increased greatly, but the fields have supplied great amounts of organic fertilizer, thereby expanding the material cycle. For example, in the Huanghuai coastal region, the amount of organic matter returned in 1952 was 763 kg per hectare. After many years of development whereby the inorganic was used to promote the organic, in 1983 the amount of organic matter returned was 2,228 kg per hectare, and the land's organic material situation had gradually changed from a negative balance to a fine cycle.

3. Resources can be improved. The inflow of external energy into the agricultural system and the opening of the material cycle has greatly increased the amount of resources consumed. If arrangements are not appropriate, output exceeds input, or if there is unscientific and blind input, it may very possibly lead to great consumption of existing resources and result in the system losing balance. For example, the clearing of forests and the opening up of wasteland can give rise to soil erosion, desertification, and secondary salinization. The water resources will dry up and the grasslands will deteriorate. On the other hand, if arrangements are properly handled and there is scientific input and management, the energy utilization rate and land productivity will both continually rise and the resource environment will continually improve. According to research carried out during the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the Huanghuai coastal plain was not in the condition some specialists had asserted when they said that the ecology was getting worse and the soil fertility was becoming increasingly poor. In fact, because of the great amount of investment and construction since the founding of the PRC, much of this plain's nonirrigated land has become irrigated land. Drought, flood, and waterlogging damage has been greatly reduced and the area of saline soil has also been greatly reduced. Soil productivity has gradually risen and soil fertility has continually improved. During the process of bringing wasteland into production, Xinjiang has increased the secondary salinization of some land, but has been able to take over 2,000 mu of wasteland and desert ecosystem and turn it into an oasis agricultural ecosystem with quite high productivity. It can be seen that the agricultural system can destroy a balance, but can also improve the environment. In brief, in the process of the continual development of human society, as many agricultural systems develop in the direction of fine cycles, of course we cannot understate the partial imbalances and damage.

4. Material production. The natural ecosystem does not include man's dynamic activities. Although many natural materials can be used by mankind, these are not included in material production in the true sense. However, the agricultural system is part of man's material production and has a social nature. It is a product of man's conscious transformation of nature. Some natural ecologists have a great love for nature and believe that the forests, plains, and even wasteland that man has not yet exploited are the preserves of ecological balance and that grain, chemical fertilizer, irrigation, reserves, and agricultural chemicals are the destroyers of ecological balance. However, in assessing whether a system is progressive or not, we cannot only take nature itself as a standard. It is more important to see whether it accords with man's social needs. Some forestry experts and ecologists believe that the productivity of a natural forest or grasslands is higher than that of an agricultural field. However, according to the writers' most recent research, the net primary productivity of our nation's agricultural fields, forests, and grasslands is in the ratio 10:3:0.7. That is, agricultural fields are 3 times more productive than forests and 14 times more productive than grasslands. If we were to consider the dried branches, leaves, roots, and so on in net primary production, the practical significance of the figures would be very small. If we adopt actual productivity as the index, the ratio between our nation's fields, forests, and grasslands is 10:2:0.5. That is, the actual productivity of 1 mu of agricultural land is the same as that of 5 mu of forests or 20 mu of grasslands.

This analysis shows us that although in a small number of agricultural systems, because of an imbalance between output and input, the productivity is lower than that of the natural ecosystem, in general, agricultural systems are superior to natural ecosystems.

II. Input Determines Output

Input refers to the putting in of energy, materials, funds, labor, and information. Of these, energy and materials are the most important and materials are the carriers of energy. Energy includes, apart from natural energy, artificial supplementary energy such as fertilizer, water resources, seed, fodder, agricultural chemicals, machinery, electricity, fuel, labor and animal power, and so on. Artificial energy is the product of man's social labor and therefore has value. Information mainly refers to scientific, technical, and cultural information, and this is an important guarantee for the agricultural economic system and agricultural ecosystem within the agricultural systems to bring their normal functions into play.

In the beginning of the 1980's, on the basis of on-the-spot investigations, we carried out research throughout the country in regions with different production levels as to energy input, output, and energy efficiency. In the last 2 years we have also done a year-by-year analysis of the energy and material developments and patterns in agricultural production in a typical county in the Huanghuai region over the period 1950-1983. From these projects, we have obtained some enlightening results.

1. If there is low input, there will be low output, and if you increase input, you will increase output. If we look at the past, we see that in 1952 the national total energy (including both organic and inorganic energy) input was 30 billion joules/hectare. Of this, inorganic energy input only constituted 0.06 billion joules/hectare. At that time, output was 1,684 kg/hectare. By 1979, total energy input had doubled to 64 billion joules/hectare, of which 14.7 billion joules/hectare were inorganic energy. This resulted in each hectare of cultivated land producing 4,275 kg per annum, an increase of 2.5 times over the 1952 figure. Seen from the international situation, in developing countries, there is only 2.2 billion joules/hectare of inorganic energy input and this produces 1,223 kg/hectare. In developed countries, inorganic energy investment of 24.8 billion joules/hectare produces 3,100 kg/hectare. The situation in various areas of our nation can clearly show the problem. In 1979, in low-level production areas, total energy input was 40.1 billion joules/hectare. Of this, inorganic energy input was only 5.4 billion joules/hectare and per unit yield of grain was 2,016 kg/hectare. In high-level production areas, total energy input and inorganic energy input were respectively 124.4 billion joules/hectare and 38.2 billion joules/hectare. In these areas, per unit yield was 10,142 kg per hectare. Both domestic and international situations show that there is a direct relationship between energy input and production output volume.

2. Within certain limits, as energy input increases, energy efficiency (that is, energy output/energy input) will not necessarily fall. For example, on the Huanghuai plain, over 34 years, energy input grew 2.4 times and energy efficiency also grew marginally. The general situation throughout the country in regions with different development levels is that following an increase in energy input, energy efficiency will clearly begin to rise. When total energy input surpasses 100 billion joules/hectare and inorganic input exceeds 40 billion joules/hectare (equivalent to 60 kg of oil per mu), energy efficiency will then gradually begin to fall. According to an analysis of the situation in Henan by Comrade Yang Huaisen [2799 2037 2773], when total energy input is within the range of 65 billion joules/hectare to 123 billion joules/hectare, an increase in each unit of energy input will produce an increase of 1.9 units of energy output. Only when energy input is too great, that is, when it exceeds 135 billion joules/hectare, will energy efficiency fall. At the beginning of the 1980's, our nation's average total energy input was 70 billion joules/hectare and the inorganic energy input level was 17 billion joules/hectare (equivalent to 25 kg of oil per mu). This is within the limits of increasing energy efficiency, and we should thus continue to scientifically invest more energy and materials.

3. In some areas and agricultural fields, as energy input has been excessive (for example, the inorganic energy input in Shanghai was 61 billion joules/hectare, equivalent to 90 kg of oil per mu, a higher figure than Japan's) there has often appeared the phenomenon of successive increases in energy efficiency. If we look at things from the relationship of investment to output value in our nation, we see that the investment in agriculture increased 5.1 times (based on 1980 constant prices) from 1952 to 1983. In the same period, the total output value of agriculture only grew 2.4 times, thus showing a progressive fall in return on investment. However, the fact that

there was a progressive decline in return on investment did not mean there were no gains. Our nation has a large population and little arable land. In order to satisfy the demands of the various sides for agricultural products, the only way is to travel the road of intensive farming and put our efforts into raising per unit yield. Thus, we need to make great investment in terms of energy and funds. This pattern whereby the speed of growth of agricultural investment greatly exceeds the speed of growth of agricultural output value is referred to as the acceleration principle in agricultural investment.

4. When crop products are transformed into animal products or other food-stuffs, energy efficiency greatly decreases. According to an investigation we conducted in Beijing suburban farms, the ratio of energy produced by a product to the energy input through fodder was 0.17 for pork, 0.21 for milk, and 0.19 for eggs. When the energy produced by the product was compared to total investment of energy, both pork and milk had figures of 0.13. According to research on agricultural energy efficiency in the two countries of China and the United States of America, the differences between the input of inorganic energy in the fields of our nation's units and those in the United States is not great. On each mu, our country put in about 1.13 billion joules (1982 figure), equivalent to 25 kg of oil per mu. In the United States, they put in about 1.2 billion joules, equivalent to 26.7 kg of oil. However, there is a great difference between the total agricultural energy input of China and the United States. In China, it is the equivalent of 40 million tons of oil, while in the United States it is the equivalent of 74 million tons of oil. If foodstuffs manufacture is included in the U.S. figure, it reaches the equivalent of 200 million tons of oil. The major factor giving rise to this difference is that in the United States there is a greater proportion of animal food products, which require great energy consumption. Four-fifths of the total inorganic energy investment is consumed in the livestock industry and in foodstuff processing, transport, and other post-production operations. In future, following the development of our nation's livestock and foodstuff processing industries, they will require increased energy.

5. The development in depth of agriculture requires increased input. Our nation's southern regions have 50 million mu of tea-oil plantations, but the average per mu output is only 2 to 3 kg. The best of the plantations can however produce 30 to 40 kg. Of the 3.3 billion mu of grasslands throughout the country, the average per mu production of hay is only 44 kg, but superior grasslands can produce upwards of 500 kg. The average timber growth volume of forests throughout the nation is only 0.14 cubic meters/mu, while in high-yield areas this can reach 1.5 cubic meters. In many reservoirs, the per mu fish production figure is only about 3 to 4 kg, while in good water bodies the figure can be over 500 kg. In large areas of nonirrigated land, the per mu production is only 50 to 100 kg, while in high-production fields the figure reaches 500 to 1,000 kg. In order to raise the productivity of these agricultural lands, we must increase the input of fertilizer, new varieties, and agricultural chemicals and manage this with care. The improvement of the ecological environment and the protection of resources also needs appropriate input.

From the above we can see that because of the double channels for energy, the open material system, and the intensiveness of funds, labor, and technology in the agricultural system, the necessary input of supplementary artificial energy is the basis of agricultural development. The main function of artificial energy is to make up deficiencies of natural energy within the system so that all the resources can be fully utilized.

Since 1978, the fast and overall development of agriculture has produced a false appearance--it seems that as long as the policies are appropriate, it is possible to develop agriculture without increasing input. The real situation is that only with the correct policies is it possible to motivate the various accumulated latent input potentials. In 1952, the amount of chemical fertilizer applied per mu was 0.2 kg (material) and the area irrigated was not even 300 million mu. In 1957, agricultural machine power totaled only 1.65 million horsepower. By 1978, chemical fertilizer application had reached 29.3 kg per mu, the area of irrigated land totaled 670 million mu, and agricultural machinery power reached 160 million horsepower. Since 1978, there has been quite great growth in agricultural input. For example, in 1983 per mu application of chemical fertilizer reached 50 kg per mu, an increase of 71 percent over 1978, and total agricultural machinery power was 250 million horsepower, an increase of 54 percent. The figure for input of inorganic energy in the Huanghuai coastal plain in 1984 was 136 percent up on 1978. All this is a material basis for overall development of agriculture.

In the last few years, because of the great demand for energy, the escalation of environmental pollution, soil erosion, and such problems, there has been an increasing number of people in Western scholarly circles who have ardently proposed "organic agriculture," "ecological agriculture" (in the West, "ecological agriculture" is a branch of "organic agriculture"), "substitution agriculture," "bio-agriculture," and "adaptation agriculture." Their major proposals are nonuse of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, herbicides, and machinery and their replacement with the planting of grass in agricultural fields, crop rotation, organic fertilizers, biological prevention of insect pests, the use of human and animal labor, and so on. The core of their proposals is the reduction of oil energy input. However, even in the West the debate is very intense. Proponents of "organic agriculture" believe that it represents an integrated system of modern science, while opponents believe it is a return to the past. A former head of the U.S. Department of Agriculture said: "Before our country returns to organic agriculture, we must resolve the problem of 50 million Americans going hungry." A professor from the FRG came to China to lecture on "adaptation agriculture," but the conclusion he reached was that it was difficult to find in the world any true "adaptation agriculture" with small input and high production output.

We believe that the proposals by the various schools all have desirable elements. For example, "organic agriculture" stresses organic fertilizers. In the small number of regions where per capita cultivated land is over 10 or 20 mu, this has a suitability. "Adaptation agriculture" stresses planting in accordance with local conditions, while "ecological agriculture" pays attention to the protection of the ecological environment and the recycling

of waste. Both have a rational nature. However, if these proposals were taken as the development models for all of agriculture or as the only basis of policy decisionmaking, it is very likely that the opposite results would be achieved. If in agriculture we exclude modern technological measures (chemical fertilizers, machinery, and so on) and we do not put artificial supplementary energy and materials into the agricultural system, then agriculture will only be able to return to its original situation of low productivity. Before liberation, agriculture in China had long been without inorganic energy input, and in 1949 grain output was only 68.5 kg per mu. Prior to 1920, in the United States there was also "organic agriculture" and at that time wheat production was only 40 kg per mu, while corn production was 100 kg per mu. During an investigation in the Yanan region, I once heard some comrades propose that this area implement "organic dry crop agriculture" mainly relying on organic fertilizer. It is fine to have subjective desires. However, in a situation where per mu grain production is only 28 kg, where will the organic fertilizer come from? Without using chemical fertilizers to improve the utilization of the precipitation in nonirrigated areas, it will be difficult to expand the cycle. In European and American scholarly circles, there are many people who advocate "organic agriculture," "ecological agriculture," and "substitution agriculture." However, in production practice, these types of organic farming households do not total even 1 percent of the total. In fact, the input by these less than 1 percent of farming households is really not small and mainly involves land input. For example, in the "organic farming households" of Europe, the fields manually planted with grass total over two-thirds of their total cultivated land. If two-thirds of the cultivated land is used to maintain the energy balance of one-third of the cultivated land, can such input be considered small?

III. Scientific Input

Some people propose that following the raising of the level of agriculture and production volumes, the absolute volume of input should be gradually reduced. This is nothing but a fond hope. Of course, whether the energy and materials put in can produce the anticipated results is determined by whether the input methods are scientific and how well the management work is carried out. If this is done well, it is possible to achieve more production output with less input. Our nation's per capita resources are few, our economic strength is poor, and there is a greater need to stress the scientific nature of input to improve results. The major principles for this are:

1. The principle of selective input. We should do our best to increase investment in selected areas where natural resources, production conditions, and socioeconomic conditions are superior. According to our investigations and research, the regional strategy in agricultural development over the coming 15 years should be to consolidate the northern and the southern areas, to protect the northwest and the southwest, and to develop the central region. The southern area refers to the plains in the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang. Here, the water and temperature resources are rich, the land is fertile, and communications are developed. It is a major commodity base for our nation in producing grain, cotton, oil, meat, tea, and silk. The northern area mainly refers to the Songnen Plain, the Sanjiang Plain, the

large and small Xinganling regions, and the Changbaishan region. These are major production areas for soybeans, maize, and timber. The northwest is very dry and has little rain and there is serious soil erosion; the level of agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry is low; and they have not achieved self-sufficiency in grain or meat. In the southwest (Yunnan and the Sichuan-Xizang plateau), the water and temperature conditions are better than in the northwest, and this is beneficial for timber growth. However, the mountains and rivers are piled one on the other and communications are not easy. Thus, in the northwest and southwest we should place stress on protecting the ecology and improving the people's lives. The central region refers to the Huanghuai coastal region as well as the Jianghuai and Fenwei Valley regions. Here, the weather has the benefits of both the north and the south, it is well situated, and communication is convenient. It has development potential and can become a base area for our nation in the production of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, beans, tobacco, livestock products, and temperate fruits.

2. The principle of comparative benefits. In comparison we must stress benefits and reduce subjective arbitrariness and blindness. At present, in our nation, the output value of 1 mu of agricultural fields is equivalent to that of 12 mu of forest area or 50 mu of grasslands. For comparison purposes, we have taken the actual productive force of 1 mu of cultivated land as 1 standard mu and have rated the productivity of all other agricultural land in accordance with this standard mu. The 9 billion mu of agricultural land throughout the nation converts to 2.6 billion standard mu, and of this, cultivated land constitutes 2 billion standard mu. The 3.3 billion mu of grasslands converts to 165 million standard mu and the 1.8 billion mu of forests converts to 300 million standard mu. The 600 million mu of sparse woods convert to 50 million standard mu and the 700 million mu of grassed hills and slopes in the southern areas converts to 55 million standard mu. The 80 million mu of usable freshwater areas converts to 29 million standard mu. This shows that existing cultivated fields are the main part of our nation's agriculture. They provide three-quarters of the actual productive forces and 90 percent of the primary product output value. In another respect, the forests, grasslands, and water areas are inseparable parts of our nation's agriculture. They provide one-quarter of the actual productive forces and 10 percent of primary product output value. At the same time, they protect the ecological environment. Seen from the national situation, existing agricultural fields should be the major point of input and of production output. However, we should also actively protect and develop forestry areas, grasslands, and freshwater bodies.

Apart from this, many important agricultural decisions require that benefit comparisons be carried out prior to input. For example, should our animal-raising industry key points be situated in the farming areas or on the grasslands? Should our timber industry key points be in the hills and mountains of the southern areas where water and temperature resources are abundant or in the three northern areas where it is dry and there is little rain? In increasing the seeded area, should the key point be in opening up the 100 million mu of wasteland which have poor results or would it be more beneficial to use existing vacant winter fields and increase the multiple crop index? There are many other such questions.

3. The principle of key point input. Our nation's strengths are limited. In the coming 15 years, the agricultural input should be channeled more into important sectors and in basic construction which will play a long-term role. This includes for example irrigation works, basic agricultural field construction, the fertilizer industry, commodity base construction, as well as energy, communications and transport, processing, and storage facilities in villages.

4. The principle of many-sided input. We must motivate the strengths of the central authorities, local authorities, and the peasants to increase their input in agriculture. The idea of relying solely on state investment is unrealistic and in fact, the potential for input by local authorities and peasants is very great. We should guide the peasants in using the funds they accumulate to expand reproduction and reduce the excessive consumption expenditure above current levels (on, for example, weddings and funerals). There must be many-sided plans to organize and guide the peasants to plant trees, plant grass, plant fields, raise animals, develop small-scale processing, and so on. Recent investigations in the hilly and mountainous regions of the southern areas have revealed that on the one hand the multiple crop index has gone down, empty winter fields have greatly increased, and the amount planted to grain, beans, and green manure during winter has sharply decreased. This has resulted in the rich water, temperature, and labor resources in the southern areas not being fully utilized during the winter. In another respect, the peasants' grain is insufficient and income is low. If we can guide this excess labor, funds, and energy into agricultural production, they will be a very noticeable force.

5. The combination of input and policies. The appropriateness or otherwise of policies can motivate or restrict the enthusiasm of the various sides for input and the effectiveness of material input. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the correct policies have motivated the enthusiasm of great numbers of people, bringing into play the input potential which has accumulated for 30 years since the founding of the PRC. Thereby, the input efficiency and economic benefits have been greatly improved. In future, correct policies will be an important guarantee for input enthusiasm and input effectiveness. In the last 2 years, some regions' enthusiasm for input in grain farming has decreased. This is related to the policies and is worthy of attention.

6. Input of intellect. In modern agriculture, the role of science, technology, information, and education in improving the functions of the agricultural system have become increasingly great. Of our nation's peasants, over one-third are still illiterate and the propagation of agricultural vocational technology is very poor. These are serious obstacles to the future intensification of agriculture and the increased production of agricultural commodities. We need to put efforts into grasping this from the base and raising the educational and scientific levels of the peasants. In the development of agriculture, technology, and science, we must take conventional science as the main part and at the same time grasp basic science well. We must continue to improve traditional areas such as breeding, crop cultivation, agricultural meteorology, land enrichment,

animal husbandry, the prevention of disease and pests, fruit orchards, and so on. At the same time, we must also actively develop comprehensive frontier sciences such as agricultural economics, regional planning, cropping systems, systematic analysis and so on.

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LU XUN AND THE TREND OF THOUGHT IN FOREIGN LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Lin Zhihao [2651 1807 3185]]

[Text]

I

Lu Xun was a great representative figure in China's seeking of truth from the West in modern times. This is markedly reflected in his study, dissemination, and appraisal of trends of thought in foreign literature and art.

Like all other writers, Lu Xun initially learned his own national literature. But it was mainly the influence of foreign literature and art that made him the kind of writer that he was. Giving up his study of medicine to do literary work was not only a rare act in his time among Chinese students in Japan, but also indicated he was a man of unique thoughts and vision. He regarded studying foreign literature and art and assimilating their advanced trends of thought as the most important requirement for seeking truth from the West, transforming our national spirit, and hence changing China's overall situation.

In China, literature was used mainly for disseminating Confucian doctrines. Since writers always followed a set routine, spiritual work became extremely "silent" and "desolate." Thus, Lu Xun was forced to "borrow new ideas from abroad." In 1908, he published "A Forceful Exposition of Foreign Poetry," initially introducing the Chinese nation to the positive romanticist trend of thought in literature and art with poets like Byron and Petofi as representative figures. He selected works for inclusion in his book according to the criterion: "They must aim at resistance and action." He fervently praised the spirit of resistance and struggle embodied in his selected works and its important role, saying: "They embody an energetic and indomitable spirit, adhere to sincerity and truthfulness. They do not comply with the convention of their times or pander to the masses, and they roar loudly to arouse new life in their compatriots and make their countries strong in the world." He praised Byron's works for "resembling howling winds and raging waves," "wiping out corrupt customs," and "persisting in fighting until the enemies are conquered." Later, in "Random Memories," he said: "Another reason why Byron was relatively well known to the Chinese at that time was that he helped Greece win its independence. At that time, the Qing Dynasty

was near its end, and the trend of revolutionary thought was influential in the hearts of some Chinese youths. Any cry for retribution or resistance would readily arouse a response." Lu Xun's praise of Petofi and Mickiewicz reflected the indignation of the oppressed Hungarian and Polish peoples under czarist rule, and also expressed the will of resistance of the Chinese people who were suffering from imperialist aggression. Thus, in propagating the positive romanticist trend of thought in literature and art, Lu Xun was also propagating the fearless spirit of struggle necessary for resisting rule by a foreign race and feudal oppression.

Literature and art that "aims at resistance and action" is also truthful. Resistance and action are compatible with truthfulness. Lu Xun said that such literature and art "embodies an energetic and indomitable spirit, and adheres to sincerity and truthfulness." He hoped that in China "there would be sincere voices that would make us good-natured, warm-hearted, and energetic." Here, he put forth the concepts of sincerity, goodness, and beauty, saying that these qualities are rooted in sincerity or truthfulness. Without sincerity and truthfulness, goodness and beauty will be out of the question. Literature and art that is not truthful, that disguises and deceives, is neither good nor beautiful, and was deeply resented by Lu Xun. However, when he advocated "adhering to sincerity and truthfulness," what he cared about and stressed was mainly truthfulness in expressing the writer's subjective feelings. This demonstrated the rudimentary nature of his thoughts in literature and art and was also compatible with the positive romanticism he advocated. Moreover, he had an unambiguous aim in mind; he called for truthful voices and opposed the traditional feudal Confucian thought on literature and art which "forced one to pretend to be innocent" and which fettered the development of one's willpower.

Naturally, in advocating the romanticist trend of thought in literature and art, Lu Xun definitely did not try to build castles in the air, but based himself on reality and worked for man's life. He thought that all great literary and artistic works since Homer "not only resembled poetry," possessing the artistic appeal of poetry, "but naturally coincided with life," clearly revealing the good side and defects of life, and further encouraging people to transform society and attain perfection. This requires the beauty of art and the truthfulness of life to form an integrated entity. Only beautiful and truthful literature and art can benefit man's life and unify truthfulness, goodness, and beauty.

At that time, Lu Xun had not mastered the materialist historical outlook. He exaggerated the masses' lack of consciousness and the role of literature and art and artists and writers in history. Sometimes he expressed the complicated relationship between truthfulness, goodness, and beauty inaccurately. This was reflected in "A Forceful Exposition of Foreign Poetry." Nevertheless, although the trend of thought in literature and art propagated in the book belonged to the Western bourgeois enlightenment, it was undoubtedly the most advanced one in the early 20th century when traditional poetry and moralist literature dominated the Chinese literary stage. It fulfilled the historical demand of that time by arousing the people's consciousness, putting an end to the dark feudal rule, and greeting

the dawn of the times. The book is truly the first major work in modern China that propagates advanced European trends of thought in literature and art.

II

Lu Xun was a great writer who was committed to realist ideals and the creation of literature and art during the May 4th new-vernacular literature movement. His realism was not only deeply rooted in life and our national literature, but was also closely connected with his embracing of realist trends of thought in foreign literature and art.

Lu Xun highly praised the achievements of "Rulin Waishi" [Unofficial History of Confucian Scholars] and "Hong Lou Meng" [The Red Chamber Dream] in practicing realism. He said: "Hong Lou Meng" "dares to describe facts without concealing or glossing over anything" (see his "Historical Changes in Chinese Fiction") and "gives truthful description of what the writer personally saw and heard, so that its novelty is attributable to its being realistic." (See his "Brief History of Chinese Fiction") In demanding truthful reflection "without concealing or glossing over anything," Lu Xun was also demanding that any subjective things that contradicted objective things should be eliminated and that people should dare to describe the contradictions and struggles of life according to the "reality" of life. This was precisely the main characteristic and demand of the realist trend of thought in European literature and art, and also a precise overall remark about the essence of our national literature and art which Lu Xun made after having been influenced by that trend. Why did he stress that people must "dare to" do so? Is it true that in the past writers dared not or could not do so? Actually, this was the case. Under the restraint of Confucian dogmas, like the one admonishing people against looking at anything violating moral etiquette, "people closed their eyes to everything, to deceive themselves and others; the method was: disguise and deception." ("On Seeing With Open Eyes") Therefore, "traditional thinking and methods" prevailed and the "happy ending" model dominated the literary arena. Thus, "daring to describe facts without concealing or glossing over anything" was not a simple matter, but was the primary prerequisite for being a realist writer and a watershed between the great realist literature and the literature of "disguise and deception." Of course, this certainly did not mean that literary creation should develop into naturalism. Lu Xun could always remain sober in perceiving the naturalist trend of thought prevailing in Europe and Japan. This was inseparably related to his consciously requiring literature and art to be an ideological weapon for enlightenment. He objected to subjective concealing and glossing over and agreed that writers should have the conception of truthfulness and correctness. Thus, the realism he advocated was an integration of objective reality and subjective truthfulness and correctness. Thus, the realism he advocated was an integration of objective reality and subjective truthfulness.

Lu Xun's love for the adherence to realism in literature and art began not during the May 4th Movement but earlier, in the years when he wrote "A Forceful Exposition of Foreign Poetry." Because he affirmed that literature and

art most "coincide with life," while holding his head high and calling on people to be "spiritual fighters," and because he propagated positive romanticism, he had to lower his head to gaze at the darkness and miseries of life. Therefore, he shifted his attention from translation to realist fiction. Moreover, to enable the Chinese to understand their own society and situation by reading realist fiction, he concentrated his attention on the realistic nature of literature and art, selecting those works whose content concerning life resembled social life in China and could easily arouse sympathy. Therefore, he "paid particularly great attention to reading things concerning Russia, Poland, and various small Balkan nations." ("How I Started Writing Fiction") "Poland and various small Balkan nations" were oppressed nations whose situations were the same as that in China; Russia was then making aggressive moves against other countries and apparently differed from China. However, as Mao Zedong said: "Many things in China were the same as, or similar to, those in Russia before the October Revolution. There was the same feudal oppression. There was similar economic and cultural backwardness... In both countries, for the sake of national regeneration, progressives braved hard and bitter struggles in their quest for revolutionary truth." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship")

Lu Xun was in many ways influenced by the realist trend of thought in foreign literature and art, but Russian literature had the greatest influence on him. Over more than 30 years, from the time before the 1911 Revolution to the time around the May 4th Movement, and in the course of the development of old Russian literature into new Russian literature, that influence grew in depth. Aside from reasons of social background, this was because Russian literature "since the time of Nicholas II has been 'for life's sake.' Whether it aims to explore or solve problems, whether it becomes mysticism or sinks into dejection, its essential aspect has remained unchanged: for life's sake." ("Harp: Preface") This trend of writing for life's sake was also closely related to the writers' concern for their motherland's troubles and destiny, and their participation to various extents in the social emancipation movement. This was the most noble characteristic of the realist trend of thought in Russian literature and art. This powerfully captivated Lu Xun, led him to steadfastly embark on the path of realism, and deeply influenced his thinking. He summarized the content of his fiction as a description of "the degeneration of so-called high society and the misfortune of the lower strata of society." He also acknowledged that this had its roots in his childhood. "My mother's maiden home is in the countryside. Thus, I sometimes had close contacts with many peasants, and I gradually came to realize that they are suffering from life-long oppression and many miseries." He eagerly wanted everyone to know their misfortune. Later, having read the literature of Russia and other countries, he "realized that there are many people in the world who have the same destiny as our working masses, while some writers are crying out in distress and fighting in this connection." This greatly enlightened him; "and the conditions of the countryside and so on which I have seen in the past now reappear before my eyes with greater clarity." He then "published a series of short stories." ("Translator's Foreword to English Rendition of 'Collection of Short Stories'") His novels surpass the level of the general

theory of reflection, surpass the general reflection of social life, and attain the high plane of consciously portraying and analyzing society and seek to better it. This is inseparably related to the profound influence on him of the realist trend of thought in literature and art. Later, he said with deep emotion: "We certainly knew that the Great Russian Empire was then launching aggression against China. But from literature we learned of the important fact that there are two kinds of people in the world: oppressors and the oppressed!" He called this "a great discovery," which was "no less important than ancient man's discovery of the use of fire for lighting up at night and cooking." ("Literary Exchange Between China and Russia") This shows that that influence was of fundamental importance. It both guided his literary creation and lit up his life.

After the May 4th Movement, Lu Xun proved to be a brilliant banner in upholding the realist principle governing new-vernacular literature and waging struggles against erroneous schools and viewpoints deviating from that principle. His theoretical ideas and creative work reflected in depth the objective demands of Chinese society. This was because since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, the incessant harassment of domestic troubles and foreign aggression had promoted the patriotic fervor of progressives in China. Their personal experiences made them feel bitterly and that instead of holding their heads up and crying out for resistance and fighting, it was better to lower their heads, look squarely at and understand China's reality, conscientiously bring to light existing real problems, and thus arouse people's consciousness and promote social reform. This was why many different schools of literature had contended for excellence in the literary arena but only realist literature finally enjoyed great development. Lu Xun was a major representative figure in bringing to light this objective requirement at the earliest time and with great sensitivity, and making great efforts and contributions to advance that cause.

III

In seeking truth from the West, Lu Xun invariably adhered to the attitude of "taking for our own use." This was his attitude toward positive romanticism, realism, and the modernist trend of thought in literature and art arising in the 1890's, though they were subjected to different treatment after being "taken for our own use."

Modernism is a generic term for impressionism, symbolism, expressionism, essence of consciousness, futurism, cubism, and so on. There are names of every description and each school has its own characteristics. There are differences between various schools, but they essentially have something in common, namely, they flaunt the banner of "consciousness of modernity" and demand "rebellion against traditions." However, they mainly oppose realism, particularly its realistic description, truthfulness, and use of representative material. Modernist writers favor innovations in form. Using various anomalous artistic methods, they create acute artistic effects, turning descriptive arts into expressions of consciousness and plastic arts into abstract forms. Modernism's main characteristic is strong subjectivity. Therefore, it is sometimes called "new romanticism" in Lu Xun's translated

works. The theoretical basis of modernism mainly comprises Bergson's philosophy of life and Freud's psychoanalysis theory, which belong to the realm of idealism. The basis of realism is the diametric opposite of materialism.

Lu Xun thus did not reject modernism. He suggested that people should possess information and translate and introduce relevant works before they could talk about analyzing, criticizing, and assimilating it. Between 1925 and 1935 Lu Xun bought more than 80 sets of foreign modernist books. He said with regret: People say that various trends of thought in European literature and art, "like romanticism, naturalism, expressionism, futurism, and so on, seem to have become passe [in China]. Actually, they have not even appeared [in China]." ("Foreword to Various Questions on Modern Literature") This was because some Chinese refused to study and analyze anything seriously. They merely relied on information through hearsay and clamored aimlessly. In order to change this situation, Lu Xun translated treatises like "On Trends in the History of Modern Art," "Signs of Depression," "Expressionism," "Reflections on Art," "Premonitions of a New Age," "Various Faces of Expressionism," and so on; he also compiled and published other works like "Selected Paintings of Bi-ya-zi-lai [3024 0068 5417 5490]." In time Lu Xun's knowledge of modernism gradually became correct and fully developed. His modernist standpoint, however, coupled with his avoidance in being blinded by "taking for our own use" trends of thought in Western literature and art, helped him stand firm in the raging torrent of modernism without being drawn and merged into the torrent.

In the first place, Lu Xun soberly knew the essential theoretical and practical distinctions between modernism and realism. He translated four novels of Andreyev, who was considered an allegorical writer, and clearly distinguished and analyzed his unique style through "serious adherence to reality," "symbolic impressionism," and "mystical profundity." Lu Xun realized that Andreyev was basically pursuing truthfulness in life and in the disposition of characters, and protesting against disguise, deception, divorce between flesh and spirit, or saying one thing but meaning another. This is best illustrated by the novel "Deception" which he translated and which describes "deception"--lies and deception are everywhere in the world, breaking the leading character's heart. He thirsts for truthfulness and unity of flesh and spirit, but "deception is in everything." He cannot find truthfulness. He even murders his girlfriend in order to annihilate "deception," but he can only kill a body, not "deception." The leading character becomes neurotic and kneels all day long, lamenting: "Tell me the truth, please!" Such is his fervent desire for truthfulness. The writer said with sorrow that the air "is full of deception," so that "when I breathe it,...it destroys my chest." In the human world where "deception" is eternal, it is extremely foolish "to go after truthfulness." The novel's mystical symbolic tone reflects the writer's deep indignation, pessimism, and world-weariness. Lu Xun approved of it from the viewpoint of enlightenment, but also criticized its negative tendency. He said that Andreyev "is a perfectly despondent and world-weary writer. His basic thinking was: first, life is horrible; second, rationality is void; and third, darkness is mighty." ("Letter of September 30, 1925 to Xu Qinwen")

Outstanding modernist writers actually produced many works reflecting discontent with reality, but they were often connected with escapism, pessimism, and world-weariness. This conflicted with the tendency of realism to look squarely at and change reality. Lu Xun had been influenced by them when he felt dejected. However, he was sober about them under most circumstances. The Japanese writer Noriru Katakami said in his "Premonitions of a New Age" that Gorki had "a spirit in common with" the allegorical writers Sologub and Ba-er-meng-te [1572 3643 5536 3767]. Lu Xun disagreed with this viewpoint; in his "translator's remark," he said that the symbolist writers were full of confusion about reality, that they "evade reality, perhaps abhor reality, and may even revolt against reality," and in this respect they "differed" essentially from Gorki. He also revealed that school had "taken deep root in Russian literary circles" and he affirmed the denunciation of it by revolutionary critics like Lunacharskiy.

Lu Xun soberly distinguished between and analyzed modernism and realism, but did not set one against the other in absolute terms. Realism is not a closed system; it should also develop. While it should continue to adhere to the portrayal of reality, truthfulness, and representativeness in literature and art, it should also continually be innovative in techniques, embedding artistic representativeness in a rich variety of forms. This includes assimilating useful things from modernist literature and art. Thus, in his novels and poetry, Lu Xun boldly made use of its strong points, particularly symbolist techniques. He openly admitted that the end of his novel "Medicine" "clearly conveys gloom and coldness in Andreyev's style." ("Major Systems in Chinese New-Vernacular Literature: 'Preface to Volume 2 of Novels'") Many works in his collection "Weeds" reflect his mental agitation and confusion and correspondingly employ allegory and other modernist techniques. However, he assimilated and used them on the basis of realism instead of taking in everything in an unprincipled way. Therefore, he was after all a sober realist.

Lu Xun's understanding of modernism's idealist basis entailed a considerable cognitive process. Freud believed that man's creative activities, including the creation of literature and art, arise solely from sexual desires. In writing "The Buzhou Mountains" in 1922, he gave an account of Nu Wa, the mystical mother of mankind, "to explain the origin of creation of man and literature." ("Preface to New Versions of Stories") This showed that he was influenced by Freud. But in the course of writing about Nu Wa, he read in the newspapers a moralist's article attacking love poems; thinking this was wrong, he caustically satirized those kinds of moralists by introducing in his story a nobody who got between Na Wa's thighs. Actually this also demonstrated that Freud's theory was very weak. Lu Xun's realism would inevitably break its fetters and "destroy" the "structure" it created. In 1925, in "Enemy of Poetry," Lu Xun named Freud as "the enemy of poetry," saying that he was "intent of carving up literature and art with a surgical knife, so coldly that he was fascinated and unaware of his own excesses in making strained interpretations and drawing farfetched analogies." This shows Lu Xun's denunciation of his psychoanalysis theory. Around 1925, of course, contradictions still existed in Lu Xun's thinking about literature and art. Agitated and hesitatingly he searched but had not yet discovered Marxism.

He only discovered Hakuson Kuriyakawa's theory, translated his treatise on literature and art entitled "Signs of Depression" and his collection of commentaries "Out of the Ivory Tower," and adopted "Signs of Depression" as his own lecturing material.

Kuriyakawa's ideas on literature and art were basically idealistic. Lu Xun was aware of this. In his "Foreword," he said that "the gist" of "Signs of Depression," "in the writer's own words, is that 'depression and vexation caused by the suppression of life-force form the basis of literature and art, and they find expression in symbolism in the broad sense.'" In short, literature and art were said to be "signs of depression." Lu Xun examined the source of this theory and said that it "follows Bergson's school of philosophy and thus considered the continually functioning life-force as the basis of man's life, and also follows Freud's school of science and has thus discovered the basis of life-force and used that basis to explain literature and art, particularly literature." Moreover, he said that these theories "differ somewhat" from old ones; "Freud considers sexual desire as the basis of life-force," while Kuriyakawa stressed the "leaps and sudden advances" of life-force.

Lu Xun pointed out this blood relationship between Kuriyakawa's theory and those of Bergson and Freud, and showed that Kuriyakawa's theory belongs to the school of idealism; however, he did not forcefully criticize it, but affirmed that "it furnishes original views of and deep insights into literature and art." He said this could be correctly explained only in relation to the writer's "many anguished denunciations of his country's errors." The writer lived in a time when mighty feudal powers in Japan were fettering both human nature and literature. He stressed that life-force was "suppressed," thus giving rise to "depression," and demand "leaps and sudden advances" in life-force. The spearhead of his struggle was precisely aimed at the feudal forces. Therefore, his theory actually served to affirm that society was in a state of conflict, to advocate opposing feudal forces, and to demand the full expression of people's hitherto suppressed thinking and feelings--that is, to demand freedom and the development of individuality. This belonged to the category of enlightenment. Proceeding from reality, Lu Xun affirmed its progressive significance. At that time, he could not yet afford to bother with the theory's weaknesses.

Overall, the basis of Lu Xun's realism belonged to materialism, but he overemphasized enlightenment and its effect on literature, art, and the human mind; this was idealism. In an early period, this contradiction in Lu Xun's conception of literature and art could hardly be avoided.

IV

There were many sources from which Lu Xun assimilated nourishment from trends of thought in foreign literature and art. While translating and introducing Kuriyakawa's theory, he also showed great concern for the trends of thought in and development of post-October Revolution Soviet literature and art. He personally built up the Wei Ming [unnamed] Society whose main job was to introduce Soviet literature, and enthusiastically helped the

publication of the book "Polemics in Literature and Art in Soviet Russia." The soul-stirring class struggle of 1927 "shattered" his long-held belief in evolution and initiated a great change in his conception of literature and art. The initiation of and debate about proletarian literature and art in 1928 further encouraged him to conscientiously translate and study Marxist literary and artistic works. He likened this work to Greek mythology in which Prometheus stole fire from heaven to give it to man. However, he said: "My intention" "is to bum my own flesh." ("'Hard Translation' and 'The Class Nature of Literature'") That is, he was applying Marxism to critically examine and review his past conception of literature and art.

Armed with Marxist thoughts on literature and art, Lu Xun could now soberly understand and criticize the idealism in his earlier outlook on literature and art. In the past, he agreed that literature and art amounted to "signs of depression" and had been influenced by Bergson's and Freud's theories. Now he asked: "Why are people suppressed?" He then answered: "It is related to the social system, customs, and so on." "Freud is probably well-off and well-fed, and has not experienced the difficulty of earning one's bread. So he only pays attention to sexual desires." Considering the viewpoint of so-called attraction of the opposite sex, he said: "Soon after a baby is born, whether it is a boy or a girl, it will curl its lips and turn its head around. Does it want to kiss someone of the opposite sex? No, everyone knows that it wants to feed!" ("Hearsay Dreams") This is a criticism of Freud and of Kuriyakawa's idealist theory. Man must first be adequately provided for in his material life; otherwise, physiological activities like sexual desires and also spiritual activities will be out of the question. The so-called suppression of life-force or sexual desires is certainly not innate, but is ultimately a product of social relations. In a class society, it arises from class oppression. Therefore, the root of literature and art cannot be found in depression but only in the material causes of depression, namely, class relations and conditions of social life.

Following this line of thought, Lu Xun forcefully criticized Kuriyakawa for divorcing himself from the material base and one-sidedly stressing writers' spiritual activities and the rule of so-called experience and observation in creation. Kuriyakawa held that a writer can write about what he has not personally experienced "because he can observe." Lu Xun said: "It was because writers were brought up in the old society and are familiar with those conditions." ("A Browse of Literature and Art in Shanghai") Lu Xun did not negate the importance of experience and observation in creation; he held that it must be based on real life experiences and that subjective initiative must not be divorced from objective reality. In "Preface to 'Bumper Harvest' by Ye Zi," he said: "In whatever way our geniuses utter fanciful talks, they after all cannot create anything out of the void. They could have written about gods and ghosts, which have no standard shapes at all, according to mythical imagination and free from any constraints. However, what they describe are merely creatures with three eyes or a long neck; that is, they merely add an eye to the usual human body or lengthen its neck by two or three feet." These remarks precisely reflect the great change in Lu Xun from enlightenment based on the idealist historical outlook to Marxism based on the materialist historical outlook.

Lu Xun advocated "taking for our own use" all his life in dealing with trends of thought in foreign literature and art, as he did in dealing with the entire realm of science and culture. This attitude was later fully expressed in his article "Doctrine of Taking for Our Own Use." He talked about "taking for our own use" in contrast to "others giving things to us." What others "give" us may not suit our needs. We should "take" according to our actual needs. Even enemies' things should be dealt with in this way. We must not only combat their decadent aspects, but also skillfully assimilate what is advanced. He said: "Although preferably everything should be original, it is natural and inevitable that China will somehow be influenced by other countries, because China is one of the countries in the world...Considering literature and art alone, we really know too little and have assimilated too little." (Second point in editor's postscript in "Racing Current") He was broad-minded and farsighted and deeply knew that "a new class with its own culture would not suddenly descend from heaven, but would probably develop by opposing the old governing strata and their culture. Therefore, new culture would still include inherited things and take something from old culture." ("Postscript to Faust and the City") He both zealously introduced new Russian literature and remembered to introduce old Russian literature. The Soviet Russian short stories he chose to translate included both proletarian literature and works of his "fellow travelers." He stressed that "advocates of the doctrine of taking for our own use" are "cool-headed, brave, analytically-minded, and unselfish." "Cool-headed and brave" refers to the open, not closed, mentality of "casting all caution to the winds in 'taking for our own use.'" This is the correct attitude that every "one of the countries in the world" must adopt. "Analytically-minded" refers to the ability to analyze scientifically. "Unselfish" refers to having the public good in mind and working for the motherland and the people. These points reflect the necessary scientific and political accomplishment required of "advocates of the doctrine of taking for our own use," and also amount to principles of paramount importance. Only by practicing them can one satisfy Lu Xun's demand for possession, selection, and bringing forth new ideas.

Although Lu Xun's theoretical ideas and practical activities related to trends of thought in foreign literature and art did undergo changes and development over many years, there was a most important characteristic which remained unchanged throughout, namely, Lu Xun always considered matters of literature and art in connection with the people's emancipation and the restrengthening of our nation. In an earlier period, he closely integrated matters of literature and art with the transformation of our national spirit; in a later period, he consciously viewed literature and art as part of the proletariat's struggle for liberation and strived for the liberation of our people and even the human race. His "doctrine of taking for our own use" also became fully developed. In contrast to his earlier emphasis on restrengthening our nation and our national spirit, he now took the proletariat's development as his standpoint and paid full attention to cultural exchange between, and the flourishing of culture in, China and foreign countries. Today, when opening China to the outside world has been decided upon as our national policy, the "doctrine of taking for our own use" has also entered a new period of tremendous development. Having reviewed Lu Xun's words and deeds, we should more highly value the arduous mission

history has assigned to us. Let us genuinely proceed from the reality of socialist modernization, take things for our own use "cool-headedly, bravely, analytically, and unselfishly" while taking care to discard the decadent capitalist things in foreign culture and art, and work hard for the flourishing and development of our new socialist literature, art, and culture.

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PROCEEDING TO DISCOURSE FROM 'KNOWLEDGE IS STRENGTH'

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[Article by Miao Zuobin [5379 0155 2430]]

[Text]

I

"Knowledge is strength" has all along been a slogan people have endorsed. In recent years, some people have said that this is already outdated, and some works of the American futurist Toffler put forward this idea. Some Chinese works have also put forward the ideas "intelligence is more powerful than knowledge," "knowledge is only strength when abilities are added" and so on. How should we view this question? What in fact is the relationship between knowledge, intelligence, and abilities? This is a question which needs to be discussed and clarified.

The discussion within the nation about promoting this slogan has to a large degree been directed at the tendency in education work whereby only the passing on of knowledge is stressed and the fostering of abilities has been neglected. Stressing the paying of attention to intelligence and paying attention to fostering abilities, so as to accord with the demands of the swift development of science and education is completely correct. However, because of this there is an increasing belief that knowledge is unimportant and only abilities are important. It has even led to the situation where people have negated the slogan "knowledge is strength," and they have gone to the other extreme. When it is said that knowledge is strength, clearly this does not refer to static book knowledge, but to knowledge which people can master and which can guide people's actions. This is because only when knowledge and theory are mastered by people and used in practice can they produce strength. Comrade Mao Zedong said it well: "Any ideology, if it is not linked up with objective, real things, if there is no need for its objective existence, and if it is not mastered by the masses, then even if it is Marxism-Leninism, it will not play a role." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1452) "Not play a role" means that the potential strength of knowledge and theory is not brought into play. But as soon as knowledge and theory is mastered by the masses, it will produce great material strength. Knowledge and intelligence are not the same thing but neither can they be separated. When it is said that knowledge is strength, it includes intelligence playing a role. Also, when intelligence is spoken of, it also involves a rich base of knowledge.

Knowledge, in terms of its content, is the revealing and explanation of the phenomena, facts and patterns of the objective world. If we look at it from the epistemological angle, knowledge is the cognitive results obtained by mankind in understanding the world and transforming the world. It is the epitome and summation of mankind's practical experience. The process by which knowledge is formed is a process of intellectual activity. Thus, it can be said that knowledge is the crystallization and a manifestation of mankind's intelligence. Divorced from intelligence, knowledge will not be formed. Copernicus' heliocentric theory, Newton's classical mechanics, Darwin's theory of biological evolution, Pavlov's theory of high-level neuro-activity, Einstein's theory of relativity, Marx and Engels' social theory-- all these are both valuable things from the treasury of mankind's knowledge and also peaks in the process of mankind's intellectual development. Not only can we through the theories which they established, more deeply understand the world and mankind but can, through these cognitive results see the intellectual level they achieved.

As soon as knowledge is formed, it can then become the best material and best factor for developing the intellect and raising people's intellectual level. Modern scientific achievements have revealed two interesting phenomena in mankind's development. One is that the development in the 10 months from embryo to birth, reflect the process of change in the bodies of the animal world over many tens of thousands of years. The other is that the development of cognitive abilities of modern man from birth to adulthood reflect the process of development of mankind from its earliest years until modern times. Thus the occurrence of the second phenomenon is not only a physiological inheritance, but a result of the role of a cognitive system determined by noninherited information which man's society has but which other animals do not have. People not only obtain knowledge through study and experience, but also discover carriers of externally stored knowledge. Following the continued development of stored knowledge and relayed knowledge, man's level of intellectual development becomes increasingly high and development progress is increasingly swift. Modern education can within a few hours teach people to understand a theorem which took people many years of hard work to discover. Also in a few years or over 10 or so years, they can understand and master knowledge in a particular field which took several hundred or several thousand years to accumulate, and thereby the experiences of the individual can, to some degree, take over the results of the experiences of their historical forebears. Engels called this phenomenon "accumulated inheritance." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 565) Whether or not a person has knowledge and whether the degree of this knowledge is high or low is an important indicator as to whether a person's intellectual level is high or low. From this it is not difficult to see that the basic reason each generation can surpass the previous generation and each generation is more clever than the previous one, regardless of whether we are speaking generally or specifically, is that those who come later are inheriting and using the cognitive results of their predecessors and use this as an important means for improving their own cognitive abilities. On this basis, they continually sum up new experiences and there is discovery, invention, creation and progress. The history of the development of man's knowledge and the history of the development of science vividly demonstrate this point.

Major developments in science have as their basis knowledge gained in previous times. The master of classical mechanics Newton said: "If in the past I looked a bit further, it was because I stood on the shoulders of a giant." These were not words of self-effacement but a true statement based on facts. He combined the law of unity and division in fluid mechanics and the function theory of mathematics to establish the study of differential calculus. On the basis of absorbing the research results of Copernicus, Ke-bu-lei and Galileo, he discovered the famous law of universal gravitation. Einstein once said: "If I had not discovered the special theory of relativity, someone else would have discovered it. The question was ripe." When he said "the question was ripe" he was saying "because the research of many people in the past had provided good preparation." A person who knew Einstein very well said: "Einstein's methods used a profound knowledge of physics as a base." After he discovered the special theory of relativity, he also requested people to supplement the mathematics. In his "Autobiography" he said: "When I went to school, mathematics did not hold much interest for me because I innocently believed that for a physicist, mastering basic mathematical concepts would be sufficient. I felt that other parts of mathematics were luxuries unimportant in understanding the natural world. Only later did I very regretfully understand this."

II

If knowledge is to change from being static to being dynamic and from a potential strength to a direct real strength, it must be mastered and utilized by people. Intelligence is a manifestation of people mastering knowledge and using knowledge to engage in all sorts of activities. Ushchinskii said: "Intellect is nothing more than a very good organized system of knowledge." Einstein also said: "Intelligence is not produced through schooling but by the lifetime search for knowledge." Seen from the psychological angle, intelligence mainly refers to people's qualities in terms of perceptual knowledge, memory, imagination and thought. These qualities have as a precondition the normal functioning of the human body and "are a result of a long period of historical development which has experience as its base." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 77) When we say that a person has high intelligence, it means that he perceives knowledge quickly and correctly, has a strong memory, studies problems deeply, has a rich and wide imagination, is agile and quick in thought, has a strong capacity to absorb knowledge, select information and carry out analysis and synthesis, is highly effective, has many methods and is rich in creativity. In other words, his thought and cognitive abilities are quite in accord with the trends and demands of the objective development of things. The formation of these qualities is in all cases related to knowledge. People's thought, regardless of whether we speak of thought in terms of images or abstract thought, all have a connection with knowledge as a condition. People always use the knowledge of experiences they have gained to carry out analysis, synthesis, abstraction, summarizing, judgment and inference. If they did not, nothing could be discussed. Einstein said that a lack of knowledge fetters the development of thought. The further people's thought extends, then the more there is a need for appropriate knowledge and material for thought. If we compare a person with a "prepared brain," that is a person

who is rich in knowledge, widely experienced, and well trained, with someone who is lacking in knowledge, has restricted vision and a blank mind, it is not difficult to state who will be stronger in creativity of thought. People hold inspiration in high esteem. Inspiration and imagination have since ancient times played a great promotional role in the great creative masterpieces of scientists. This surely is an outstanding and clear manifestation of a person's intelligence. However it is precisely as Dr Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1337] said: "These nonconcrete inspirations only spurt forth after a long period of accumulating knowledge and experience." In the same way, a person's imaginary world has as its base the person's own experiences and the amount of knowledge he has mastered. In the book "The Art of Scientific Research," the English scientist Beveridge wrote: "Under equal conditions, as our store of knowledge grows more rich, the possibility of important ideas being produced grows ever greater. In addition, if we have a wide knowledge of science or even of things distant from science, then it is more possible that original ideas will be produced."

When they speak of intelligence, people often stress creativity. As to how we are to understand and foster creativity, people have different ideas and propose different things. Some people place fostering creativity in contradiction to studying basic knowledge, believing that studying basic knowledge can fetter the development of creative thought. They hold that creativity is new creation and thus it is necessary to dispose of tradition rather than inherit it, and so on. Clearly these ideas are inappropriate. Creativity as an outstanding manifestation of man's intelligence not only cannot be divorced from knowledge, but actually has knowledge as its base. Some American scholars believe that it is a "reorganization of existing knowledge and of existing information." John Dewey said that Newton's creativity lay in using knowledge known to all to obtain knowledge not known to man. Some Japanese scholars believe creation is "using existing knowledge to resolve new questions." Webber, the chief designer of the U.S. Apollo moon-landing rockets, once said: All the technology I used already existed and was ready-made. The key lay in putting it together. All this shows that knowledge has an extremely important position and role in intelligence and creativity. It can be said that Marx' theories ushered in a new period in mankind's ideological history. Regardless of whether we compare him with his predecessors or with the many other thinkers, theorists and scientists of his times, the essence of his theoretical system was different. However, were his achievements and his creativity completely unrelated to the existing academic achievements? Of course this is not so. Lenin said: "The reason the revolutionary proletarian ideological system of Marxism had great significance in world history was that it did not discard the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois period and in fact absorbed and transformed all of the things of value from over 2,000 years of man's development." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 362) Engels also said: "If it had not been for the previous German philosophies, especially Hegelian philosophy, then German scientific socialism, that is an historically unprecedented and sole socialism, certainly could not have been established." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 300)

The reason we do not support the idea of divorcing ourselves from knowledge and one-sidedly stressing the fostering of abilities is because if we divorce ourselves from knowledge, intelligence cannot be developed and abilities will not be fostered well, like when water sources dry up, the rivers cannot generate electricity. Lenin was a person with a great spirit of development and that which he most opposed was the bookworm practice of devoting oneself only to the study of books and the scholasticism which was divorced from practice and was pedantic. However, he looked at problems from the high plane of the history of development of mankind's thought and paid particular attention to mastering and inheriting mankind's knowledge. He had deep insight into the relationship between knowledge and abilities and pointed out: "We do not need to mechanically memorize things, but we do need to use knowledge of basic facts to develop and enhance every scholar's ability to think." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348) This actually shows us an important avenue for developing intelligence and abilities. At present there are some young people who, having been influenced by various one-sided propaganda, overlook the study of knowledge and purely seek the so-called fostering of abilities. They are unwilling to diligently study their school work and even regard studying hard as pedantry and are unwilling to engage in it. If this situation is not corrected and cleared up in a timely way, it will not be beneficial to students' studies and their growth to maturity. A few years ago Comrade Hu Yaobang, when summing up the various negative results produced by our paying little attention to knowledge, required that the whole party firmly establish the concept of: "Knowledge is strength." Respecting knowledge, welcoming knowledge, thirsting for knowledge, and striving to change knowledge into a great strength in building a new world are fine qualities which should be possessed by our Communist Party members and all those engaged in construction." Recollecting these words today still has extremely great practical significance.

III

Of course, the difference between knowledge and intelligence is clear. Each has its own characteristic. At present, what quite a lot of people are discussing is the situation whereby schools only pay attention to inculcating knowledge and pay little attention to the fostering of abilities. This results in students having much knowledge but few abilities. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that promotional examinations at all levels of schooling look at people in terms of their marks and the exam content generally is knowledge which needs to be rigidly memorized. The examinations overlook the assessment of students' abilities to analyze questions and resolve problems. In such a situation in order to seek high marks among their students, many schools only stress the inculcation of knowledge and pay little attention to the fostering of students' abilities. A second reason for this is that many teachers have been influenced by traditional educational ideas, their teaching level is not high and in the process of passing on knowledge, they are not good at fostering the abilities of students in a planned way and with certain goals in mind. Some teachers simply see knowledge and intelligence as the same thing and believe that if someone has knowledge, they will certainly have intelligence and abilities. They do not understand and do not pay attention to the fact that between knowledge,

intelligence and abilities there is not always a direct relationship in all situations, or that knowledge does not necessarily mean that there will be intelligence and abilities. A famous Tang Dynasty historian, Liu Zhiji, said that a good historian must have three strengths: "They are abilities, learning, and knowledge. Having learning and no abilities is like having 100 mu of good land or an abundance of gold and giving them to a fool to use. In the end, they will not give rise to wealth. If one has abilities, but no learning, it is like having stonemasons and transport abilities but not having wood or axes within the family. In the end the house cannot be built." The Qing Dynasty poet, Yuan Mu, also said: "Learning is like a bow and abilities the arrows. Only when there is knowledge to guide them can the target be hit." Although people in ancient times had some different ideas from ourselves in terms of understanding and differentiating knowledge, intelligence, and abilities, they still recognized differences between them. This provides us with enlightenment. The knowledge a person creates and sums up in practice is, in terms of that person, a manifestation of his intelligence. However, the knowledge other people gain through practice, as far as he is concerned, is indirect knowledge. If it is not, through study, understanding, and digestion, changed into something which he has mastered and can actually use, then that indirect knowledge will not become part of his intelligence. Why is it that similar knowledge differently reflected and understood by different people can be used in very different ways and achieve very different results? Is this not just a reflection of differences in knowledge, intelligence, and abilities? Before Einstein established his theory of relativity, there were many other people who had a similar level of knowledge in physics. Why was it he who plucked this already ripe fruit and no one else? It was because his insight, his ability to think, his ability to distinguish and his foresight were greater than other people's. This insight, analytical ability and discernment are dynamic things. They can be used on existing knowledge and are not simply knowledge themselves. Having these abilities is a major difference between a bookworm and a brilliant scientist and theorist.

From this we can see that all knowledge, as the results of man's cognition, is the crystallization of intelligence and can change into intelligence. However, specifically, as far as an individual is concerned, this knowledge can only change and become intelligence when he understands and utilizes it in practice. When assessing the level of a person's intelligence and a person's abilities, it is mainly done not only by looking at how much knowledge he has learned and mastered, but also by looking at the speed at which he masters knowledge and skills, his efficiency in this and the quality of the knowledge and skills so gained, as well as how well he utilizes existing knowledge to obtain new information, resolve actual problems and explore new areas and topics. If one has knowledge but cannot use it and does not have it play a role with the objective, then we will not be able to talk about the formation and expression of intelligence. Engels once sharply pointed out: "The most essential and closest basis of man's thought are **THE CHANGES IN THE NATURAL WORLD BROUGHT ABOUT BY MAN** [capitalized passage published in boldface] and is not only the natural world itself. People's intellects develop in accordance with how they learn to change the natural world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 551) Modern

materialism sees history as the process of mankind's development. It is in this sense that we say that the intelligence of man as he develops is a product of social history. A person can only raise his ability to understand the subjective world to the high level of the development of the times under the guidance of the knowledge of his forebears and only by fully utilizing the creative results already existing in society. If a person only engages in spontaneous activities and does not pay attention to studying the experiences of people in the past, or only pays attention to studying experiences and theory and does not participate in practical activities, then the person's intelligence will not be able to achieve its true development. Here there is the question of how the development of social practice changes into the development of people's intelligence--the question of how an external thing changes into an internal thing. Education is a social activity and one of its major functions is to do this transformation work. Thus, people refer to modern education as a systematic intellectual development project.

The planned and goal-oriented education activities of schools and teachers are an intermediate link in joining together the wealth of mankind's knowledge and individual students. They are propellers and catalysts in changing external social cognitive activities into individual internal cognitive abilities. People say that teachers are the intermediaries between all the noble and great persons of history and the new generation and they are a living link between the past and the future. This is very true. Of course, not all teaching can achieve this. That mechanical teaching which stresses spoon-feeding and cramming students and by which students memorize things mechanically and accept things uncritically not only cannot play a transformational role, but the students' brains are clogged up and suffocated by disorderly and jumbled things which they have not digested, and their intellectual development can be harmed. This is like a person eating too many raw and hard-to-digest things--not only can the body not absorb the nutrients, but it can destroy the appetite. The major modern educationalist Kua-mei-niu-si called such methods "the slaughterhouse of intelligence." This metaphor is not only lively but also extremely apt. A school should be a kingdom of active thought and lively ideas. The combining of knowledge with individual students can only be achieved well through meticulous preparations, through cleverly using students' existing life experiences, by enlivening book knowledge and by changing it into things which students will accept. At the same time, it is necessary to use various methods and means to stimulate their interest in studying knowledge, so that all along they have great enthusiasm and initiative and they engage in study with the spirit of assiduous learning and deep exploration.

In the process by which teachers pass on knowledge, they do not simply talk about knowledge. At the same time, they think of methods by which the students, on the basis of being induced to clarify in their own minds the contents of knowledge, learn to observe and think. We must realize the situation whereby students have a quite high degree of sensitivity in perceiving knowledge and powers of observation in seeing deeply into things, can see differences between similar things and similarities between different things, are able to relate single instances to similar situations and draw

inferences about other cases from one instance. They should especially be able to see through the phenomenal and grasp the essence, and thereby grasp the internal relationships and patterns of things. We must pay attention to enlivening students' thought and stimulating students' enthusiasm for using their brain and thinking about questions. Not only should we get them to ask more often for explanations but at the same time we should use various methods to guide them in using their brains, at thinking well and learning their own ways to solve problems. That method which pays attention only to spoon-feeding and pays no attention to inspiration, only allows students to answer questions in one way--according to the textbook or the notes--and does not allow alternative answers or exploration, not only cannot promote the development of students' intelligence but can actually seriously clog up and obstruct the development of students' intelligence. The superior abilities of a good teacher lie in his being able to fully utilize and exploit the intellectual factors and usefulness of existing educational materials and also in being able to guide students' views and thoughts onto a wider plane. Through a concrete analysis of the development of knowledge in each subject through a thoroughgoing discussion of the relationship between the knowledge of different periods and through showing how prior generations were able to break the riddles of various phenomena one after another, the teacher can cause the students' cognition to move from the perceptual to the theoretical. We should provide a systematic elucidation of the historical experiences in creating new knowledge so as to guide and enlighten the students to gradually think on the basis of the patterns of development of things and thereby grasp the method of understanding things from the historical process of their development. Thereby they can become clear about the principles which scientific thought should abide by and thus truly raise the level of understanding and ability to think. Only in this way will the students be able to obtain the ability to "turn stone into gold" by gaining the skill to independently obtain knowledge.

IV

In using knowledge there is the problem of ideological methods and patterns of thought. When techniques of thought are correct and ideological methods are scientific, it is possible to organize existing knowledge quite well, effectively use it on problems which need resolving and thereby achieve good results. This needs both theoretical guidance and the accumulation of experience through its use, that is, through practice. The reason we take the combination of theory and practice as the most basic and most important principle of education, is not only because all knowledge comes from practice and only in practice can it bring its due role into full play, but also because it is only in practice that people can master knowledge well and turn it into intelligence. It is not possible to develop many abilities simply by basing oneself on book knowledge. These skills need to be learned through practice and through training. A person who has read all the medical classics will not necessarily be able to cure people. Only by going through clinical study and through a certain amount of diagnostic practice can his book knowledge be brought into play. Many industries put forward requirements for their employees in two aspects--"should know" and "should be capable of." What one should know is not the same as what one should be

capable of, but being capable of doing something needs the necessary knowledge as a backup. Changing "should be capable of" into "capable of" requires strict systematic technical training and practical use of skills. This process is the best route for tempering intelligence and also an important indicator and manifestation of intelligence.

Many young students in school mainly study the knowledge of people in the past. But this certainly does not mean that they can overlook the role of practice. On the contrary, in order to more deeply understand book knowledge it is important that attention be paid to linking it to practice, and using it in practice. Only thus can knowledge be complete--that is, knowledge in which theory and practice are combined. This combination is also the concrete manifestation whereby knowledge becomes intelligence and becomes abilities. The shortfall of an armchair military theorist is not in his military knowledge, but in that his knowledge is not complete as he lacks practical experience. Of course the application of knowledge in practice is divided into various levels, from the most primary interpretation, to the explanation of various phenomena met in daily life, to actually resolving various simple to complex problems in production and in life. The highest level of application is using existing knowledge to creatively seek new methods, new technologies and new principles for solving problems. As to those who will graduate from schools in the future, in their own independent practice not only will they have to use knowledge to resolve problems but they will have to examine the practical experiences of people in the past. Everything which is useful they will retain and develop and everything which has passed its time or is useless, they will have to dispose of. Also, on the basis of their own new experiences in practice, they will continually enrich and develop knowledge and promote the progress of society. Because people's study and practical experiences are different, there often occurs an imbalance between knowledge and abilities. This remains for us to pay attention to guiding young people in both aspects. On the one hand they must strive upwards and work hard in studying scientific knowledge and theory. On the other hand, they should go deep down into practice and strive to do well in linking up theory and practice. If either of these aspects is overlooked it will obstruct the healthy growth of skilled persons.

Outstanding teachers not only pass on their knowledge to students but train them to study and work independently. At the same time, they also pay great attention to fostering the fine study habits of working hard and in a steadfast way, of being rigorous and strict in one's study and of paying attention to reality. These methods and practices are an important manifestation of a student's ability to work hard and a personal talisman for when they engage in development and undertakings in the future. We certainly cannot look lightly on this question and even more cannot allow unhealthy tendencies to infect young people or affect young people's growth. This is something which every education worker with a sense of responsibility should pay immediate attention to.

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SONGS OF PRAISE TO A GREAT MAN OF HIS TIME--AFTER WATCHING SEVERAL FILMS
ABOUT DR SUN YAT-SEN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 38-40

[Film review by Situ Huimin [0674 1778 1741 2404]]

[Text] This year marks the 120th anniversary of the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen. To commemorate this great revolutionary pioneer, our film workers, after having devoted a prolonged period of studious labor, have created two feature films--"The Extraordinary President" and "Sun Yat-sen"--as well as several documentary films. During the past few days, I saw these films and was especially touched. My mind could not help floating back to over 60 years ago to the days of the dark age when disasters were heavy and frequent. At that time, it was still the time of my youth and a period when our national and democratic revolution had suffered repeated defeats and Dr Sun Yat-sen was still dauntlessly pushing forward the revolution. Past episodes were still before my eyes. I shall never forget how during the years 1923 and 1924, I had the fortune to hear several speeches made by this great man and national hero at the auditorium of Guangdong University, and in particular at about the same period I was in the company of my elders at the "Nan Ti Rest House" near the "Tian Xi" wharf in Guangzhou city and I had the privilege of personally meeting with Dr Sun and listening to his teachings. His stature, appearance, and smiling countenance will forever live in my memory. Hence, when watching these films, quite naturally I was personally touched. Regardless of whether the films were depicting some truthful historical scenes or presenting some made-up historical episodes to fit the story, they all helped me to recall past history and to think of certain realistic problems of today.

The work of the makers of the films is worthy of commendation and quite successful. The filmmakers had to sort out, from an ocean of materials of several decades ago, these precious materials and weave them into a story. Their hard work in this regard can well be imagined. It should be said that the filmmakers fulfilled their mission in an outstanding manner. They have made the revolutionary activities of this great vanguard and pioneer truthfully reappear before mankind and enabled people of this generation, with due sentiments of respect, to see, from these precious materials, the brilliant and valiant bearing of this national hero and to understand his revolutionary deeds.

In comparison with documentary films, the making of feature films is an immensely difficult job. To truthfully and artistically make this historical great man and his memorable deeds reappear on the screen, for presentation to people of the whole country including the comrades in Taiwan as well as for presentation to the entire Chinese race including Overseas Chinese and our international friends so that people will relive that memorable part of history and to hear again Dr Sun Yat-sen's call for the unification of the country and the building of a new China--all this work undoubtedly bears an important and real significance today and the fulfillment of this creative task in the realm of art must have been extremely difficult.

In my opinion, these two feature films, "The Extraordinary President" and "Sun Yat-sen," simultaneously and outstandingly manifest this brilliant and fresh theme--that is, the logic of the struggles of the Chinese people: "Struggle, failure, struggle again, failure again, again struggle until victory." Dr Sun Yat-sen's several score years of vivid experiences in his efforts in the Chinese revolution forcefully testify to the validity of this Marxist law in standing the test of actual practice. And these two films have profoundly grasped this theme and made the narration of the story develop repeated climaxes which go right to the viewer's heart.

Heroes of different ages had their own special ideas, conduct, and stature, and all passed through their own different ways of gaining maturity. It must be said that these various points were fairly well grasped by the makers of these films in forming their image of Sun Yat-sen, and they must have done a great deal of research work. Their depiction and handling of the environment and atmosphere can also be said to have been extremely well planned. For example, regarding Sun Yat-sen's spirit of offering himself, for the sake of the fatherland and the people, to the realization of the great national and democratic revolution and the ideal of establishing a democratic republic, the films make very touching reflections. Sun Yat-sen's never shirking from difficulties, his disregard for his own safety, and his tireless and unyielding character and efforts seeking freedom and equality for China are all vividly shown on the screen. This vanguard of national and democratic revolution was shown precisely as, after continuous defeats, to have learned the valuable lesson of having wrongly estimated the enemy's and our strength, gathered experiences therefrom, and ultimately become more determined and more mature.

In the presentation of this chapter of revolutionary history and the course of the maturing of heroic figures, the film "Sun Yat-sen," compared with the film "The Extraordinary President," is fuller and more to the point. The film presents the whole revolutionary career of Sun Yat-sen--from before the 1901 revolution to the end of his life. The most outstanding part is the description of his reorganization, after having secured the help and advice of the representative of the Chinese Communist Party Li Dachao, of the Kuomintang and advocacy of the three great policies of alliance with Russia, alliance with the communists and rendering aid to the peasants and workers, thus enabling the revolution to step on a new stage. Dr Sun's revolutionary spirit of ceaselessly probing and being brave in renovation and advancement gives valuable enlightenment to people struggling today in

another era, prosecuting a revolution of another character, and engaging in the stage of construction.

The film "The Extraordinary President" depicts the major events that occurred between 1921 and 1924 that all the more centrally reveal the difficult character and intensive background of the tortuous path of the revolutionary enterprise that Sun Yat-sen and his comrades were undertaking: frequent wars and confusion, ravages of successive wars, internal rebellions, sudden changes in the situation, and so forth. The film's narration of Dr Sun, after taking up the extraordinary presidency, immediately giving first priority to execution of the task of the Northern Expedition, and its description of his bitter hatred and stern denunciation of Chen Jiongming's rebellion are vivid and true to life. Following many setbacks and after summing up the experiences, Sun Yat-sen finally took the most important step: Placing the hope of the national revolution on reorganizing the Kuomintang and cooperation with the Communist Party and resolutely putting them into effect.

Some people have expressed the opinion that the films "Sun Yat-sen" and "The Extraordinary President" describe Dr Sun, after having given his place to Yuan Shikai, as taking a laissez-faire attitude toward Chen Jiongming and thus causing the revolution to fail again. This is treating a heroic figure too weakly. This shows Dr Sun as being too anxious for the success of the revolution and as hoping to achieve success in a single campaign. This rather damages the image of a great hero. I do not think so. I believe that this was precisely the way of a hero in the environment of a special era and his long process of absorbing lessons and accumulating experiences. Hence, this is precisely why the films touch people. If the script were not written this way, it would not be describing the man and deeds of Dr Sun.

Director Ding Yinnan of the film "Sun Yat-sen" and the scriptwriter, director, and chief actor Sun Daolin of the film "The Extraordinary President" were both successful in their work. I especially enjoy the bravery, resolution, and capability of the directors and other comrades of the two films in the planning and direction of many large and important scenes. The photography, recording, artistic planning, clothing, apparel, and tools all had their special features.

However, I believe that both films still have room for improvement. For example, in the presentation of the figures, the film "Sun Yat-sen" is a fairly long film, touching on many episodes and involving a large number of persons. But the film stresses only one figure--Sun Yat-sen--persons other than Dr Sun, such as Liao Zhongkai, Wang Jingwei, Hu Hanmin, and even Soong Ching Ling, appear in the scenes only briefly. Their images are unclear, even blank at times, and far in the background. Even in large scenes when big affairs are at stake, only glimpses of their figures are shown. This is certainly very unsatisfactory. Naturally, the main figure of the film is Sun Yat-sen. Yet, even red flowers must have green leaves for support. Appropriately and image-like playing up the character and role of these persons (many historical materials can be tapped in this connection) will even more outstandingly play up Sun Yat-sen's stature. I remember at one

meeting, Comrade Director Ding Yinnan of the film "Sun Yat-sen" said: If the viewers of this film are extremely conversant with this part of history, I hope they will not look at it as a historical narrative, because this is not purely historical; as for those not quite conversant with this part of history, I hope they will treat it as history, because after all it narrates history. The insufficiency of this film could have been the result of this thinking on the part of the director. Undoubtedly, an artistic historical film can have certain made-up descriptions provided they do not depart from the historical facts (generally speaking, the film "Sun Yat-sen" shows no phenomenon of departure from historical facts). But speaking from the point of artistic requirements, it is necessary to give, as far as possible, more clear-cut and fuller description to figures besides Sun Yat-sen. Seen from the conditions of the two films, in many places they seem to have been too much constrained by historical materials without daring, in creating the character of personages and the planning of the environment and atmosphere, to do some rational overstatement and coloring.

In describing the basic tone of Sun Yat-sen's thoughts at the final stage, there are also points worthy of discussion. Truth in art has its source in the truths of history. Sun Yat-sen merged into one single body all of the individual persons and the whole revolutionary movement. With his last breath, he still sounded the call of "the revolution being still not a success and urging the comrades to continue their efforts." He placed his hope on the populace and on the alliance with Russia, the alliance with the communists, and the support to the peasants and workers. His outlook of China's future was optimistic, not like the description in the picture of his increasingly depressed spirit and ambition. Up to the last minute of his life, his heroic mettle was lofty.

Furthermore, the films do not treat Sun Yat-sen's relationship with Li Dachao quite according to historical facts. The two were comrades-in-arms, on equal status. They sincerely discussed matters with each other, and we should not describe Sun Yat-sen as having listened to, and accepted, every one of Li Dachao's words, as if Li had guided Sun's thinking. It must be pointed out that at that time the Communist Party was still in its infant stage. Li Dachao, the Marxist, in front of Sun Yat-sen, the well-experienced leader of the national and democratic revolution, must maintain an attitude of modesty and respect.

Although I have nitpicked the films and pointed out certain of their weak points, I must reiterate my previous views: In general, the making of the films was a success, enough to move us and many viewers. We have full reason to thank the producers for the studious work they have done in commemorating Sun Yat-sen's untiring spirit and in the propagation of the great ideal of the national and democratic revolution. They have indeed made a generous gift to the viewing public.

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THE MASSES ARE THE MASTERS OF REFORMS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 p 40

[Article by Shi Yan [4258 6056]--excerpted from QUNZHONG [THE MASSES] No 10, 1986]

[Text] The masses are the masters of history and of the current reform. Our reform amounts to further perfecting and developing the socialist system; thus, no readily available experience can be used as an example to follow. Success in reform depends solely on the explorative and creative spirit of the broad masses. Our reform aims to develop the productive forces; this is in the basic interests of our party and the masses of people. Once realizing their historical mission, their enormous latent enthusiasm and creativity will erupt and they will achieve feats in reform.

The masses are masters of the reform, but party organizations at various levels must conscientiously exercise leadership over and organize their reform activities. Thus, in the reform, leaders are required to firmly adhere to the mass viewpoint, consciously safeguard the basic interests of the masses, lead and organize the masses, and more satisfactorily promote the continuous, in-depth development of reform. However, the leading cadres of some departments and units frequently take advantage of loopholes in the reform; in the name of reform, they undermine the state's resources and strive for private gains for themselves and small groups of people. Some people even think that this shows the leading cadres stand by the "mass viewpoint" and "care about the interests of the masses." This is nothing but misunderstanding. Frankly speaking, an extremely small number of people among the masses merely pay attention to immediate, partial, and personal interests, without understanding or paying attention to long-term, overall, and collective interests. Leaders should be responsible for guiding the masses to develop concern for the overall situation, look ahead into the future, and form a correct view of the readjustments of various parties' interests in the reform.

Acknowledging the masses to be masters of the reform, leading cadres at all levels must show respect for the creative spirit of the masses in the reform. The masses support our current reform and the four modernizations. They develop their initiative and creative spirit in reform. Only by persisting in going deep among the masses and by conscientiously reviewing the new

experience of the masses in reform can we gradually popularize new experience, open up a new situation in reform, and achieve success.

Acknowledging the masses to be masters of the reform, the leading cadres must also be willing to learn from the masses. Every leading cadre's ideas and methods related to reform must come from the masses and from practice. In particular, in the current reform, new circumstances and new problems continually arise and sustained efforts must be made to study and resolve them. Therefore, in the course of reform, we must pay attention to the feelings and responses of the masses. We must extensively heed the diverse opinions of the masses and on this basis conscientiously conduct analysis and study and pool the wisdom of the masses. Only thus can we formulate practicable reform programs, work out effective measures and methods, and make the reform develop soundly in the correct orientation.

In order to develop the role of the masses as masters of the reform and enable them to really exercise their rights as masters, it is very important that leaders must skillfully create an environment of unity and harmony, so that the masses will genuinely dare to speak what they think and do explorative and pioneering work. Only thus can the role of the masses as masters of the reform be fully and certainly developed.

The prospects of reform are bright, but the reform is very complicated and arduous work. If the masters of the reform, that is, the masses, continue to develop their spirit of masters, and work with the leaders with one heart to advance and open up new areas, the reform will in the future surely surge forward with great momentum, activity, and success.

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SERIOUSLY STUDY MARXISM IN THE COURSE OF BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 41-44

[Article by Gao Fang [7559 2397]]

[Text]

I

When it comes to the study of Marxism, some comrades may say that since we have studied the principal, original works of Marxism many times, why should we study them again? Or they may think that presently we have not yet managed to master new sciences and new knowledge so why should we bother to study Marxism again? These arguments appear right but are actually wrong. The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee points out: "Party cadres, especially those who are in leading positions or in charge of ideological work, should take the lead in studying Marxism. It is impossible to uphold and develop Marxism if we do not study it seriously." These remarks are worth careful study and earnest practice.

Why should the central resolution stress serious study of Marxism? This is because Marxism expounds the objective laws governing world development and it is the working class scientific world outlook; the great achievements of all mankind's spiritual civilization; the theoretical basis for the socialist cause and the party's leadership; and the most important part and parcel of socialist ideology. In the last 100 years or more, the great changes which have taken place, and are taking place, in the world have proved that Marxism has great vitality. The present-day world has entered the epoch of a new technological revolution with electronic information technology as the leader. Our country has entered a new epoch of achieving socialist modernization and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The new developments and new problems cropping up in the world, in China in particular, demand new explanations from the Marxists. At present, how should we uphold and develop Marxism in the final analysis? This is an important issue which involves the way to implement party and state guiding ideology. Therefore, the study of Marxism is of more fundamental importance and worth our close attention than that of new sciences and new knowledge. Socialist spiritual civilization occupies an important strategic position in the whole socialist construction and, moreover, it takes Marxism as the guide. Only when Marxism

is upheld and developed can there be a correct orientation for the building of spiritual civilization, and a powerful ideological guarantee for the building of material civilization. When either upholding or developing Marxism, we must first of all understand what Marxism is. Otherwise, we will be unable to know how to uphold and develop it. Marxism is a science and, moreover, a science with extraordinarily rich content. To really master and push it forward, we must concentrate our efforts on studying it seriously and assiduously.

II

To seriously study Marxism, it is first necessary to seriously study the original works of the founders of Marxism. As early as 21-22 September 1890, in his letter to J. Bloch, a Berlin University student, Engels pointed out: "I would further ask you to study this theory (referring to Marxist theory--the quoter's note) from original sources and not at secondhand; it is really much easier." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 479) This is because the original works deal with the essential points of Marxism very clearly and thoroughly. Even if we want to study secondhand introductions and guidance materials on the works, we should also study the originals first to grasp the viewpoints of the founders of Marxism directly. In studying the original Marxist works instead of trying to avoid trouble by seeking shortcuts and concentrating on some passages and quotations, we must read through the full texts of the works, to understand their contents and viewpoints comprehensively and accurately, and avoid quoting out of context or knowing only their conclusions but not knowing how the conclusions were reached.

Cadres who have read some original Marxist works may think that since they have read them many times in the past, it is not refreshing to read them again. In fact, every time people reread the long lasting, widely read scientific works, they will gain new insights. Mao Zedong read the works, such as "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and "Left-Wing Communism, an Infant Disorder" several dozen times. With the change and development of practice, very often we can absorb new nourishment from the original works. Especially under the longstanding influence of "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, more often than not we failed to comprehensively and accurately capture the essentials of the original works, and even misunderstood them. For example, the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" makes clear the purpose and main theme from the very beginning: The history of all hitherto existing society (that is, all written history) is the history of class struggles. In the past we regarded this remark as a red line running through the whole book, and even as the theoretical basis for the assertion to take class struggle as the key link in the entire historical stage of socialism. In reality, this remark by Marx is obviously the conclusion he derived by summing up the history of class struggles before him. How can we mechanically apply it to a socialist society where exploiting classes have been basically eliminated? The "Manifesto of the Communist Party" clearly points out: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy" and "to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) However, for a period of time in the past, we banished winning the battle of democracy and developing production forces from our minds, resulting in grave errors. It can thus be seen that only when we relate our serious study of the original works of Marxism to new experiences gained in practice, can we comprehensively understand the essence of Marxism.

III

To seriously study Marxism, what is most important is to study the important documents of the people after Marx and Engels who upheld and developed Marxism, because they are a clear proof of Marxism's great vitality, and a sharp Marxist weapon closer and more immediate to us.

By seriously studying Marxism, we mean understanding the stand, viewpoint, and method in analyzing and solving problems, rather than seeking ready solutions to the new problems cropping up in our present real life from the original works of Marxism. The Marx and Engels era was an era when socialist revolution had not yet triumphed and socialism had not materialized as yet. The Lenin era witnessed socialism just taking off in the Soviet Union. Such being the case, it was difficult for them to give ready solutions in their works to specific problems arising in socialist construction at the present time. Particularly in a large Oriental country like China whose social class structure and historical and cultural traditions are different from those of capitalist countries, any ready-made foreign patterns definitely must not be indiscriminately applied. Only when we apply the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism in analyzing our national condition and problems emerging in the process of realizing socialism in our country, can we put forward new theses and new ideas. For example, in view of the developed commodity economy in Western European capitalist countries in the 19th century and its serious drawbacks, Marx and Engels estimated that after these countries won victory in their socialist revolutions and entered the stage of socialism through a transition period, commodities, currency, and markets could be dispensed with; the capitalist market commodity economy would give way to a socialist planned product economy; and distribution according to work would be realized in the form of labor certificates. After the setback in the "war communism" experiment introduced following the October Revolution to eliminate commodities, currency, and markets as rapidly as possible, Lenin advocated practicing a new economic policy and using commodities, currency, and markets to develop socialized mass production and to serve socialist construction. In the past China was a semifeudal and semicolonial society, where the capitalist commodity economy was underdeveloped. After liberation, the natural economy still occupied a dominant position in many localities and departments. If we do not vigorously develop a commodity economy, how can we move quickly from a natural economy to a commodity one? Practice over a long period of time has proved that it is difficult for this practice to accelerate the development of either socialized mass production or even ordinary production. Having summed up practical experience, our party adopted a resolution on reform of the economic structure in 1984. The resolution says: Socialist economy is "a planned commodity economy based on public ownership" and "our planned

economy does not necessarily mean the predominance of mandatory planning, both mandatory and guidance planning being its specific forms." This is a major breakthrough in socialist theory and a great development of Marxism in the present-day China. Evidently the commodity economy is an indispensable stage of human society and before underdeveloped countries which have not experienced the great development of the capitalist commodity economy can enter the period of a product economy in the future, they should vigorously develop the socialist commodity economy which absorbs the strong points of the capitalist commodity economy and at the same time, strives to avoid its drawbacks. This is an example of boldly blazing new trails to develop Marxism in light of the realities in our country, and in the Marxist basic spirit of proceeding from actual conditions and seeking truth from facts. If we do not seriously study Marxism and thoroughly understand its essence, and if we regard specific Marxist principles as unalterable dogma throughout the ages while our understanding remains at the existing conclusions, developing Marxism will be out of the question. The theories expounded by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on the people's democratic dictatorship; expansion of the patriotic united front; socialist reform; building socialism with Chinese characteristics; one country, two systems; opening up to the outside world; and building the party in power, are important creations of upholding and developing Marxism in light of the realities in our country. Therefore, to seriously study Marxism, not only must we study classical Marxist works but, more importantly, we must also study our party's important documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and the works of older generation proletarian revolutionaries. They are the developed Marxism of the present time and Marxism in action.

IV

The rise of a new technological revolution with electronic technology as the leader has introduced many new topics. Not only is there the question of using robots to replace people's physical labor, but the continued development of artificial intelligence will replace people's mental labor to a greater extent. The development of biological engineering will raise society's productive forces to a new height. While doing their utmost to catch up with others in developing new technology and high technology, all countries in the world are devoting themselves to social reforms. In the last 2 or 3 decades, developed capitalist countries have developed and changed quite significantly, and developing countries in the Third World have also developed and changed considerably. Socialist states are now carrying out structural reforms and ushering in a new technological revolution. In this situation, numerous new problems remain to be creatively solved by all of us.

If we are satisfied with the simple repetition of existing basic Marxist tenets and ignore the new phenomena of the present time, Marxism will lose its might. If we are misled by superficial phenomena and deviate from Marxism, and if we are preoccupied with many and varied modern Western theories, we will waver and hover ideologically and even get lost in a thick fog and fall into a trap. These two tendencies are detrimental to the building of socialist spiritual and material civilizations.

In fact, any technological revolution under capitalism cannot alter the status of the proletariat as an exploited class. Marxism is a science on the liberation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind. So long as liberation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind has not yet been achieved, Marxism can never be out of fashion. Marxist tenets on the various objective laws governing world development; the law that socialism is bound to replace capitalism; the proletariat shouldering the historic mission of leading the broad masses of people in changing capitalism and building socialism and communism; and on the historical roles of a proletarian party and the people's united front and people's regime under its leadership are everlasting. Through serious study, we will become clearer about and have firmer confidence in them. The main task lying before us at present is how to combine basic Marxist tenets with the new situation and developments, to explore a specific road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and to advance Marxism. To transform the old world and build a new socialist world, which is a great epoch-making cause of remaking nature, we are bound to meet with all kinds of tribulations and obstructions. It cannot be accomplished in one move. Genuine Marxists must be more determined to rouse themselves to action amid repeated setbacks, get wiser after every setback, keep on summing up experience, be good at clearing away brambles and bushes along the road of progress, and courageously forge ahead. The new technological revolution has brought world history to a new period of development. This is truly a golden opportunity rarely seen in a century with which genuine Marxists can develop their abilities to the full and distinguish themselves. During this new period, we must work hard for the prosperity of the country, study extensively and thoroughly in light of actual conditions, and be good at blazing new trails to usher in a new and larger development of Marxism.

We must not set the study of new knowledge against that of Marxism. In those years, it was exactly by assiduously studying new sciences, critically inheriting the numerous achievements of their predecessors, and by summing up experience in the workers movement that Marx and Engels founded Marxism. At present we must make earnest efforts to master new sciences and new knowledge. Otherwise we will fall short of the demands of the times, and marching on along the forefront of the times will be out of the question. For this purpose, we must study Marxism more seriously, absorb as far as possible the new achievements of Marxism over the last 100 years or more, and strive to achieve mastery through a comprehensive study of these achievements and thoroughly understand their meanings. Only in this way can we use Marxism as a weapon in analyzing various new sciences and knowledge, master new scientific theories and methods, sum up the current new changes and new experiences, and understand how to simultaneously uphold and develop Marxism therefrom. Therefore, to uphold and develop Marxism, it is necessary above all to study Marxism seriously. This is a matter of primary importance in building socialist spiritual civilization.

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WHY MUST OPPOSING AND CORRECTING UNHEALTHY TRENDS IN VARIOUS TRADES BE REGARDED AS AN IMPORTANT CONTENT FOR BUILDING PROFESSIONAL ETHICS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 44-45

[Article by Gong Jie [1362 2638] and Wei Mingduo [7614 2494 6995]]

[Text] Unhealthy tendencies associated with various professions, or professional unhealthy tendencies, refer mainly to people taking advantage of their professional work, or the special powers of their professions, to secure private gains for themselves or small groups of people. They also refer to poor quality and service style. In the realm of social services, they include poor quality, high prices, rude and unreasonable manners, and the abusing of power by eating without payment, taking things gratuitously, imposing unreasonable bans, or soliciting advantages. In administration and management, they appear as arbitrarily imposing levies and penalties, going after private gains, and flaunting one's power. In the realm of production, they include shoddy work, using inferior materials, overstating costs, and fraudulent miscalculation. In the realm of circulation, they include hoarding, profiteering, and embezzling. In cultural and educational work, they include the arbitrary charging of fees and stressing profitability at the expense of real education. And so on and so forth. These professional unhealthy tendencies are vestiges of the old society, with its old, decayed ideologies and vulgar practices of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, treating money as of utmost importance, and "taking resources from the mountains if one lives near the mountains, and from the waters if one lives near the waters." That is, taking whatever one can lay hold of. They go against socialist moral norms, cause many inconveniences in daily life and social activities, undermine the vital interests of the masses, impede normal social contacts, disrupt harmony in interpersonal relationships, and dampen the improvement of the general mood of society. They have become "pollutants" which endanger social stability and hamper the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Moreover, professional unhealthy tendencies are often interwoven with unhealthy tendencies inside our party, so that our party's prestige among the masses is also affected. Therefore, opposing and correcting professional unhealthy tendencies constitutes a pressing demand of the broad masses of people, an important link in building new socialist interpersonal relations, and improving both our party's work style and the general mood of society.

Building professional morality is important to building socialist morality. Currently, professional unhealthy tendencies constitute a major obstacle to building professional morality. As a matter of fact, in those departments and units where such tendencies are rampant, discipline in work is necessarily lax, the minds of cadres and staff are corrupted, it is difficult to uphold healthy tendencies, genuine reform work is hampered, and criminal activities under the signboard of reform enjoy a definite degree of support. Unhealthy tendencies in the realms of production, exchange, circulation, distribution, and so on obstruct the progress of reform and affect the development of production. Although only a minority of people are engaged in professional unhealthy tendencies, the influence of those undesirable tendencies on society should not be ignored. If one is constantly surrounded by those undesirable tendencies and does not consciously resist and oppose them, they will inevitably exert an adverse effect on one's thinking, self-cultivation, moral sentiments, and psychological health, and may even lead one into the quagmire of criminal activities.

In order to create a good social environment, we should improve the ideological and moral quality of the cadres and staff in various occupations and professions, establish the ideology of serving the people, and consciously oppose and resist the corrosive influence of professional unhealthy tendencies. If we persist in doing this, we will be able to arouse the cadres' and staff's sense of responsibility toward society and other people, cultivate the spirit and moral qualities of ardently caring about public welfare, devotion to one's duties, mutual help, friendly love, honesty, trustworthiness, abiding by discipline, and harboring concern for the overall situation. Their sincerity, zeal, and high quality service will influence those whom they serve, bring about harmony among people around them, and help improve the general morality of society. Therefore, in the building of spiritual civilization, all occupations and professions should regard opposing and correcting professional unhealthy tendencies as an essential part of the building of professional morality. Every profession must, in the light of its own unhealthy tendencies, find out the key links in the building of professional morality, set specific goals, and conscientiously grasp the work well. In correcting professional unhealthy tendencies, many departments and units have launched a great variety of activities to serve the masses and customers, integrated the building of fine professional work styles with strengthening discipline, perfecting regulations and systems, and with raising management standards. They have won good reputations in society by virtue of noble professional morality, and promoted the development of their own reform and production activities. Practice has proved that under current conditions, opposing and correcting professional unhealthy tendencies constitutes an effective measure for strengthening the building of professional morality. Without this measure, the building of professional morality will tend to be empty talk and mere formality.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT A HIGH DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY IS AN IMPORTANT MANIFESTATION OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION IN STATE AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 pp 45-46

[Article by Sun Liancheng [1327 6647 2052]]

[Text] Socialist democracy is based on the socialist economic system. However, an economic system cannot spontaneously generate a correct political system. As a socialist political system, socialist democracy is consciously established by the proletariat and the working people under the leadership of the communist party, on the basis of the elimination of class oppression and exploitation, in the light of the objective requirements of the economic system, and according to the Marxist principles of democracy. A major item of experience in China's history of development of socialism is that we have not conscientiously established democracy in politics or achieved the essentially most advanced form of democracy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has stressed that without democracy, socialist modernization is impossible, that democracy must be codified in systems and laws, and that our party must act within the limits prescribed by the Constitution and laws and must conscientiously promote democracy in the party's and the state's political life, in economic management, and in our overall social life. Thus, the orientation for achieving highly developed democracy has been clearly set. Democracy in the state's political life, economic management, and our overall social life is the embodiment of highly developed democracy and a major sign of socialist spiritual civilization. Democracy in these arenas cannot be achieved without the upgrading of spiritual civilization, which embraces democratic consciousness and so on.

Highly developed democracy specifically reflects the fact that the people are masters and reflects the mental attitude, quality, and standard of the whole body of citizens. The cause of socialism belongs to the hundreds of millions of people themselves. It cannot develop vigorously if the hundreds of millions of people lack fervent enthusiasm in work or the mentality of masters, if the tens of thousands of production units lack a pioneering spirit, or if various localities and departments do not work hard. Under the condition of socialism, vigorous development in education, science, and culture, and upgraded ideological and moral standards are advantageous to developing democracy, strengthening the people's sense of responsibility in their capacity as masters, and developing the enthusiasm and creativity of

the masses of people in fully exercising their right to be masters. Only thus can their hard work, intelligence, and abilities be used to create greater material and spiritual wealth. If democracy is lacking and the people cannot fully exercise their democratic rights, their enthusiasm and creativity will be dampened, and without a solid mass base the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization will encounter setbacks. Our experience in socialist politics demonstrates that although the proletariat and the working people do become masters of the state after seizing political power, it is difficult for them to directly take part in managing state affairs owing to their inadequate scientific and cultural knowledge and relatively low ideological consciousness. Thus, in the light of Russia's cultural backwardness, Lenin said: "Because of this low educational standard, although as a guiding principle the soviet is a body exercising administration through the working people [preceding four words underscored], actually it is a body exercising administration on behalf of the working people [preceding six words underscored] through the advanced strata of the proletariat and not through the working people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 156) Only a leader who is relatively conversant with Marxism, science, and culture and who fully knows the nature of our state and the status of the working people in the state's political life, in economic life, and in social life can bring about the full development of democracy, take the mass line, genuinely develop the workers' enthusiasm and creativity in governing the country at various levels and managing various undertakings, and satisfactorily handle "servant-master" relations. Similarly, only if the masses of people are of higher quality and possess adequate knowledge and abilities can they vigorously take the initiative to participate in managing the state and enterprises and institutions, fully exercising their own power in the spirit of masters.

Highly developed democracy also crucially reflects improvement of the party's and the state's leadership systems. An indication of highly developed democracy and of people's mentality of masters is that all citizens will actively care about and participate in various undertakings of our country such as political, economic, scientific, cultural, and educational work and will pay close attention to and participate in various undertakings of their own localities and units. Currently, however, this mentality has not yet fully developed. A major reason is that the party's and the state's leadership systems have many defects. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The main shortcomings of the party's and the state's leadership systems and the cadre system are bureaucracy, overconcentration of power, patriarchal rule, cadres holding lifelong leadership posts, and many forms of privileges." If these shortcomings "are not conscientiously dealt with through reform, fulfillment of the pressing needs of modernization will be very difficult and we will be seriously divorced from the broad masses of people." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 287) Therefore, we must eliminate the remaining influence of feudalism. Of crucial importance is to conscientiously reform and perfect the party's and the state's leadership systems and institute appropriate systems to safeguard democracy in the political life of the party and the state, in economic management, and in overall social life, thus facilitating the building of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. In a sense, the extent of improvement of the party's and the state's

leadership systems reflects the extent of success in building socialist spiritual civilization and political democracy. Therefore, we can say that highly developed democracy crucially indicates whether China's political system reform is successful.

Highly developed democracy can be gradually attained when socialist spiritual civilization gradually advances. While mobilizing and uniting the people of various nationalities on the basis of common ideals and vigorously upgrading people's ideological and moral quality, we must more consciously rely on science, develop the spirit of respect for science and pursuit of knowledge, and popularize and upgrade education, science, and culture over the whole nation in a down-to-earth manner. If education, science, and culture do not develop, it will be difficult for people to study and master Marxism, the overall building of spiritual civilization cannot advance, and it will be even more difficult to achieve highly developed democracy. Highly developed socialist democracy can be attained only if people's ideological consciousness is continuously enhanced, socialist moral habits are gradually established and developed, the standard of people's scientific and cultural knowledge is continuously raised, and new socialist relations of equality, unity, friendly love, and mutual help, incorporated into all relations among the people, are established and developed between various nationalities in China, between workers, peasants, and intellectuals, between the Army and the people, between cadres and the masses, between members of the family, and between neighbors.

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GUARD AGAINST ANOTHER KIND OF SEALING OFF

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 p 47

[Article by Li Zhi [7812 0037]]

[Text] Not long ago I attended a young theorists' seminar and heard many novel speeches. The speakers were familiar with trends of theoretical development abroad and widely quoted various foreign theoretical viewpoints. Undoubtedly, this was useful in extending our horizons and assimilating useful foreign knowledge and culture.

Conversing with some young theorists, however, I found that they seemed to know little about the development of theory in China. They were almost ignorant of the situation of and issues in theoretical study since the founding of the PRC; thus, an in-depth study of opponents' viewpoints in the debates and the circumstances surrounding the representative figures involved was naturally out of the question. Some comrades' descriptions of the process of theoretical development in China were in many instances incompatible with facts. Some accounts were miles apart from the truth and consequently led to wrong conclusions. Some accounts involving specific personalities or events even contained stupid blunders. For example, in quoting information about the Yanan rectification movement, someone made the improbable remark: Kai Feng was "the same person as Zhou Yang"; in discussing the criticism of Xiao Yemu's work "Between My Spouse and Me," someone mistook Feng Xuefeng as an anonymous young writer; in discussing women writers' recent achievements, someone mistook several elderly male writers who have produced major works as young authoresses. Of course, we should not require our young theorists to know everything, but those comrades' lack of common knowledge about topics they must discuss must be said to be a shortcoming.

Recently, a "surge of popular interest in discovering roots" started in literary circles. There are many different contentions on various issues. I think this is meaningful. A towering tree must certainly have roots. The development of Chinese literature goes back to ancient times. Discovering its roots and sources will certainly greatly benefit the development of socialist literature. I said at that time that we must find both the roots and the soil. This "soil" is China's reality. Socialism with Chinese characteristics will be built on this "soil," and the hundred flowers of

socialist theory can only take root, blossom, and bear fruit in this "soil." This requires comrades who are determined to help build socialist theory to strike root in China's reality and study in depth the history and current situation of China's theoretical development, particularly the contemporary theoretical development. Some say that the "soil" of our theory (particularly in the contemporary era) is infertile and there is hardly anything worth studying. I do not agree with this view. Even if that is so, that is, this "soil" is infertile and has been lying waste owing to poor management, it is precisely necessary for us to vigorously use scientific methods to cultivate it painstakingly. We study foreign culture precisely for assimilating its useful parts and making the "soil" of our theory more fertile. Thus, while not assimilating useful foreign things is a kind of seclusion, not conscientiously studying the history and current situation of the things immediately around us is probably another kind of seclusion. We should guard against all kinds of seclusion, because they will affect the widening of our horizons, the enrichment of our knowledge, and the derivation of correct judgments.

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THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO PERFECT THE SYSTEM ON OUR OWN INITIATIVE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 p 47

[Article by Xu Jingen [6079 6930 2704]]

[Text] In the first half of this year, the Organizational Work Office of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee organized a special group to check on the responsible cadres under its administration. Consequently, good cadres were clearly distinguished from bad ones. Both outstanding personnel who could assume further duties and people who were not up to standard were discovered. Thus, information became available for determining the "promotion" or "demotion" of cadres. This incident was not something new. I cite this example here because I think we should propagate the spirit of the Organizational Work Office of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee in undertaking exploration on its own initiative to perfect the cadre system.

Everyone knows that our existing cadre system has many defects, a prominent one being that cadres can be promoted but cannot be demoted. How can the defects be overcome? Many views have been put forth, but few have been put into practice. Therefore, problems that were clearly revealed as early as several years ago may have persisted until today. It may even seem as if people have been accustomed to the fact that old practices die hard. Thus, taking the initiative to overcome defects and perfect the system requires both the use of scientific methods and the courage to undertake exploration on our own initiative. It is invariably most difficult to take the first step. In particular, taking the first step is the more praiseworthy when everyone knows that this step should be taken but no one acts owing to various reasons. The "promotion" or "demotion" of cadres is a sensitive and thorny matter. It is in this light that I think the explorative spirit of the Organizational Work Office of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee is highly praiseworthy.

In sharp contrast to this attitude is the behavior of those who also examine the defects of various systems and policies, discover the essence of the problems, and also "take the initiative," but in this case to keenly pursue private gains by taking advantage of defects of the systems. Is not the existing cadre system marked by "promotion only, and no demotion"? Good! One can take this advantage to assign trusted followers and relatives to good posts; even if those people are absolutely good for nothing, they will

never be removed from their posts, because being a government official is a secure lifelong job. This unhealthy tendency brings much more harm to our undertakings than the weaknesses of "muddleheaded government officials" who cannot clearly perceive the defects of our existing systems. The most basic method for ending this phenomenon is to take the initiative to reform and perfect the systems, so that it will be difficult to take advantage of loopholes to pursue private gains.

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MATERIAL ABUNDANCE AND SPIRITUAL SCARCITY--READING MEDIUM-LENGTH NOVEL
'ON THE RUINS OF AN OLD MANOR COURT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 p 48

[Article by Liu Runwei [0491 3387 3634]; "On the Ruins of an Old Manor Court" was carried in CHANG CHENG [GREAT WALL], No 5, 1986]

[Text] A poor peasant's son joins the ranks of "households earning over 10,000 yuan annually" by virtue of his cleverness, ability, and unhealthy tendencies. But he has an even more "ambitious desire": He wants to live like landlords of the past. However, his good fortune does not last long; he ends up in prison, his dreams shattered.

It is not surprising that Sun Xilu, who suddenly becomes rich, soon degenerates along a deviant path in life. A more profound question raised in the work is: Why does a poor peasant's son dream of becoming a landlord? If we think carefully, the reason is not strange either. Historical materialism tells us that eliminating all the influences of the decadent ideologies of feudalism and capitalism ultimately depends on those forms of society being superseded on a full scale by the productive forces and the material wealth created by the productive forces. Before this supersession, those ideologies will inevitably affect the weak-minded. In particular, the small producers' and small private owners' narrow-minded views on life and short-sighted goals pertaining to value not only fail to resist those temptations, but even tend to have an affinity for them. In the years when ultraleftist ideologies dominated but material means of livelihood were very scarce, the anomalous teachings of Sun Xilu's father, which embodied both hatred and envy of landlords, took root and grew in influence in his son's mind. Now that Sun Xilu acquires a definite amount of wealth at a turn of history, that decadent ideology finally swells and spurs him to action. His fall reveals the many impractical facets of the ideological education we provided to the peasants over many years in the past, and also reflects certain weak links in our current ideological and political work.

Educating and guiding the working people to help them overcome private owners' habits and customs constitute a long-term and basic mission of communists. This matter is particularly important and urgent today, when we are conducting economic and political reforms and pushing socialist modernization forward. A major task in building socialist spiritual

civilization in the countryside is to provide guidance to the peasants so that they can gradually free themselves from small producers' narrow-minded ideologies, to eliminate the influence of decadent feudalist and capitalist ideologies, and to eliminate the negative facets of our national cultural-psychological structure. Perhaps we can understand this point more deeply if we further analyze the images of other figures in the story, like Chun Ping.

The young peasant girl Chun Ping lacks the spiritual strength of firmness and correctness, though to some extent she has been influenced by certain modern styles of life. She neither understands that an individual should have many different needs nor has any lofty goals of her own. She regards the enjoyment of material wealth as life's only goal. Moreover, the mentality of dependence on others, which is characteristic of Chinese women, particularly rural women, and which has persisted over the past several thousand years, makes her place the hope of realizing her goal on a rich man. Therefore, beauty becomes a commodity she uses in exchange for the enjoyment of material wealth. Love should be something extremely precious in one's life, but for her it is totally devoid of romance. In the past she disliked and despised Sun Xilu, but now that he is rich she is willing to be his wife. But in the end she fails, losing everything, including her human dignity. Although the end of the story sounds a bit harsh, it after all reflects the author's thoughtful intention of trying to heighten people's vigilance.

Sun Xilu is highly capable. He could have been an outstanding entrepreneur if the party branch of the village were not so useless and incompetent, if those several evil-doer children of the cadres had not bullied and made fun of him, if his fellow villagers had not formed a united front in "living off the rich households" and draining his resources, and if society had provided opportunities for developing his ability. However, reality remains as it is. Concerted attacks of feudalist ideology from within him and unhealthy tendencies from outside push him closer and closer to the path of crime. Therefore, we must point out that apparently there are more profound causes of his perdition than the impurity of his character.

The author, Liang Xiaosheng, harbors a strong sense of historical responsibility in reflecting on the current reality of the countryside. He is intent on exposing the negative effects on man himself of the one-sided pursuit of material wealth and exposing the spiritual inertia hampering the development of society and man himself. This is one side of the reality. Some other writers, in high spirits and with a lucid and lively style, positively praise the pursuit of material wealth and the consequent uplifting of man's mentality and character; this also reflects real life. The current reform, as a full-scale social emancipation movement, definitely does not simplistically aim at a growth in material wealth alone; more important, it aims to emancipate man himself and enrich man's spiritual life. In the historical process of advancing toward this communist goal, some disequilibrium between the material and spiritual realms is inevitable. In building socialist material civilization, we have repeatedly stressed the building of socialist spiritual civilization; this is the only method for avoiding imbalance. This is the only path to success in reform and to the realization of the hopes of other Sun Xilu's.

FOUNDATIONS AND PREREQUISITES FOR TAKING OFF--REVIEWING 'CONDITIONS OF COUNTIES
IN SHAANXI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 86 inside back cover

[Book review by Zhao Hankun [6392 0698 0981]]

[Text] "Conditions of Counties in Shaanxi" was edited by the Research Office of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee, in cooperation with the Provincial Statistical Bureau of Shaanxi, and is published by the People's Publishing House of Shaanxi. It is a voluminous reference book and a relatively good one among books of its kind. This 32-mo book comprises 10 volumes, contains 768,000 characters in a main body of 1,050 pages, and carries over 120 color and over 100 black-and-white photographs.

The book contains a great deal of accurate information and data. Dealing with four areas--"general geographical conditions," "brief history," "achievements in construction," and "descriptions of special features"--it gives a true picture of the 90 counties, cities, and areas in Shaanxi as well as the 10 regions and cities directly under the provincial authorities of Shaanxi, covering socioeconomic conditions, achievements in construction over the past 30 years or more, and the Shaanxi economy's special characteristics, strong points, and enormous potentials. The book tells us that Shaanxi is now a major industrial and agricultural base in inland China, has the necessary conditions for a new take-off, and has very broad prospects of future development.

The book serves as a basis for a deeper understanding of Shaanxi. Knowledge about a locality should start with mastering a great deal of information and facts about that locality, so that one can derive theories useful for guiding the development of the locality to prosperity. In "Conditions of Counties in Shaanxi," the general descriptions of the entire province and other descriptions about individual areas, counties, and cities mainly consist of an analysis of the actual conditions, with historical information as a supplement. The book contains accurate information, meticulous and in-depth expositions, and both accounts of local conditions and analysis. It is highly enlightening. Therefore, it is not only useful for the party and government organizations of Shaanxi at various levels and for the vast numbers of cadres in Shaanxi for acquiring correct knowledge about Shaanxi and for knowing how to make the province prosperous; for all relevant

departments in China and for all those at home or abroad who have love and concern for Shaanxi and are willing to contribute efforts or methods for making Shaanxi prosperous, the book also provides reliable basic information useful for gaining knowledge and understanding.

The book describes the natural face of Shaanxi and reviews its historical and revolutionary traditions. It describes the special features of the three major natural regions: the north Shaanxi plateau, the Qinba Mountains region, and the central Shaanxi plain. It reviews Shaanxi's ancient history. Shaanxi was a birthplace of the magnificent ancient Chinese civilization; for example, as early as in the Zhou Dynasty people used writing for recording facts; the bronze age culture, with the localities Feng and Gao as the center, spread far and wide to the whole country; and the Qin Emperor I's tomb with its figures of warriors and horses is a huge underground treasury of the sculptural art of that time. Shaanxi was also one of the first localities in history through which China started contacts with other countries. Since the West Han Dynasty, Chang'an had busy contacts with many foreign countries (Chang'an being the starting point of the famous "Silk Road"), promoting economic and cultural exchange among various countries. The book also pays attention to describing the revolutionary tradition of the people of Shaanxi. In Yen'san, the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong led the whole nation to launch the great new democratic revolution. These reviews educate readers in patriotism, revolutionary traditions, and the revolutionary spirit, arousing their desire to work hard for making Shaanxi prosperous.

The book is relatively good in ideological content, organization, and linguistic expression. Being a reference book, it also has certain features of an encyclopedia. Currently, when the vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses in Shaanxi, in fulfillment of the demands set by the CPC Central Committee and General Secretary Hu Yaobang, are conscientiously implementing the series of guiding principles and policies set by the party and the state concerning opening up China to the outside world, invigorating the economy, and reforms, the publication of this book is very useful. Not only can it strengthen the confidence and efforts of the local cadres and people in making Shaanxi prosperous, but it can also arouse in nonlocals a strong interest in and love for Shaanxi.

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