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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CHINA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MINORITY DETERMINES FOREIGN POLICY IN PRC

OW121315 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] At the group discussions of delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, rather few delegates spoke freely on foreign affairs issues. This is because for many years foreign affairs have been a forbidden zone for many people. Major foreign policy decisions have always been made by the leader himself and a few of his close followers. Even central leading comrades do not dare to talk frankly about foreign affairs issues, much less to criticize mistakes in foreign policy. Today many delegates avoid talking about foreign affairs issues apparently because of their lingering fears.

In fact, there is nothing strange about this. In the five national party congresses since the founding of the people's republic, only at the Eighth Congress did the delegates openly and frankly put forward their views and opinions on foreign affairs and on our party's relations with other parties. Since then only the leader of the party had the power to decide on such issues.

For example, all decisions on relations between the Chinese and Soviet parties and between the two countries were made by Chairman Mao himself with the participation of Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the gang of four, especially during the cultural revolution. On U.S. President Nixon's visit to China and the restoration of Sino-U.S. relations under conditions disadvantageous to our country, the decisions were also made by Chairman Mao himself with the gang of four's advice. Likewise, the invitation for Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka to visit China and the hasty establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan were also planned by the gang of four and approved by Chairman Mao himself. At the time he also solemnly promised the Japanese not to mention again Japan's aggression against China and the sacrifices the Chinese people had suffered.

After Mao Zedong's death and the gang of four's downfall, little has changed in the decision-making process in foreign affairs. At present, important foreign policy decisions of our country are all made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself with the participation of a few of his trusted followers. For example, the decision to establish formal diplomatic relations with the United States was made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Moreover, despite repeated warnings by other central leading comrades, he promised President Carter that China would henceforth not object to U.S. sales of limited defensive weapons to Taiwan. In the

signing of the treaty of peace and friendship with Japan, the decision was also made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself. At the time, acting as he saw fit, he went so far as to promise the Japanese side that henceforth the Diaoyu Island issue would not be mentioned again, and that the issue would be left for future generations to solve. In reality, it was to permit Japan to permanently occupy our country's territory.

It is clear that the continued practice of making foreign policy decisions the special function of a few individuals can only lead to serious mistakes in foreign policy and endanger our national interests. To draw lessons from mistakes and prevent mistakes from repeating themselves, it is henceforth imperative to have more people openly and frankly discuss international issues, particularly issues concerning Sino-Japanese, Sino-U.S. and Sino-Soviet relations. Setting the difficult issues and dispute with these countries as soon as possible is the most urgent task our country faces today in its relations with foreign countries.

CSO: 4005/1314

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON JAPANESE TEXTBOOK ISSUE

Governmental Order

OW090946 Beijing XINHUA in English 0928 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 9 (XINHUA)--By order of the Japanese Government, Japanese Ambassador to China Yasue Katori has informed Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Wu Xuegian that after reconsideration the Japanese Government has decided to take further measures to settle the textbook question on Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's instructions for an early settlement of the textbook issue.

In an appointment with the Chinese vice-foreign minister on September 6, the Japanese ambassador said the Japanese Government will be responsible for rectifying the questionable points in the textbooks. Those expressions on certain questions raised by the Chinese side are expected to be corrected this year by revising the authorization criteria for the textbooks.

As to the textbooks already authorized, the minister of education will issue views to be printed in the bulletin of the Ministry of Education so that the demands of the Chinese side will be met in the course of teaching, he said.

The Textbook Authorization and Research Council will hold a meeting in September this year. The authorization criteria for revision of textbooks will be decided by the end of November and the views of the minister of education will be made public around the end of November, so they can be carried out before the textbooks begin to be used in April next year.

The Japanese ambassador also made some supplementary explanations of the measures to be adopted by the Japanese side.

Religious Leaders' Comments

OW080806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 7 (XINHUA)--Japan "should confess the sins it committed in the past and correct the wrong narrations in textbooks," Nikkyo Niwano, president of Rissho Koseikai of Japan, told a visiting Chinese religious delegation here today. The delegation is led by Gong-mine Zhan Suyong,

vice-president of the Chinese Buddhist Association, and Shen Chengen, vice-secretary general of the Three-Self Patriotic Committee of the Protestant Churches of China.

The Japanese religious leader said that Japan should express gratitude for the comments made by China and Japan's other neighbours on the textbook issue, for they showed concern over Japan's future. He said it was wrong to distort the historical facts and not to tell the truth to the younger generation, hence his telephone protest to Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki.

Niwano highly valued the contacts between the religious circles of the two countries and hoped for closer friendly ties between the two countries.

The Chinese delegation leader Gong-mine paid high tribute to Niwano's contributions to Japan-China friendship and also to world peace. He said that the aggressive war of the Japanese militarists had brought enormous suffering both to the Chinese and to the Japanese people. The two peoples should learn from this historical lesson and cement their friendship from generation to generation.

The Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday as guest of the Niwano Peace Financial Group. A cocktail party was held in its honor this evening by the forum of Japanese religious believers friendly to China. It will meet Japanese Buddhists and protestants and visit religious establishments in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Nara.

Congress Criticizes Distortion

OW061521 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 6 (XINHUA)--Some delegates attending the current party congress today severely criticized the Japanese Education Ministry for distorting the history of Japanese aggression. They gave their views while discussing Hu Yaobang's report, particularly his statement about China's relations with Japan.

The delegates urged the Japanese Government to take steps promptly to correct the mistakes in Japanese textbooks.

The noted publisher Chen Hanbo said the history of Japanese militarists aggression against China is a history written in blood, which no one can blot out. By altering school textbooks, some people in the Japanese Ministry of Education tried to misinform the Japanese children. "This is a vain attempt," he stated.

Chen Henbo said that after the war many upright Japanese historians and publishers produced a good number of books correctly recording Japan's aggression abroad from the late 19th century to the 1940's. These books are welcomed by the Japanese people. Some have been translated into Chinese.

He pointed out it is only natural that the Japanese Education Ministry's attempt to tamper with the history of that period has roused the indignation of the people of both China and Japan.

Chen Hanbo urged the Chinese and Japanese people, who have both suffered from the Japanese war of aggression, to join hands in opposing militarist ideas and actions intended to revive militarism. He expressed the hope that Japanese publishers will continue to put out books faithful to history and contribute to Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Japanese Government should quickly correct the mistake of its Education Ministry in distorting the history of Japanese aggression against China, Chen Hanbo said.

Professor Zhu Tianshun of the Taiwan Research Institute, Amoy University, said that the textbook distortion shows there are indeed forces in Japan who want to revive militarism.

He said the issue may help the Chinese and Japanese youth get to know the truth of history. "Thus a bad thing may become a good thing," he said. "I believe that the two peoples would be even more alerted to prevent the revival of militarism. Taiwan fell under Japanese occupation after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War," he recalled. "During the half a century of Japanese occupation, the people of Taiwan suffered greatly. As a Chinese growing up Taiwan Province, I understand only too well what is meant by Japanese aggression."

Zhu Tianshun joined the communist-led New Fourth Army in 1942, in Hubei, to fight the Japanese aggressors. He was then in charge of educating captured Japanese soldiers. "Many of them finally came to see the true nature of the war and began to expose the atrocities committed by the Japanese occupationist army in China. A number of these soldiers later resisted the aggressive war," Zhu Tianshun said.

Zhang Hui, deputy director of the Culture Bureau of Jiangsu Province who has worked in Nanjing for three decades, said the people there are indignant at the Japanese Education Ministry's attempt to cover up the facts about the 1937 "Nanjing massacre," in which more than 300,000 people were killed by the Japanese aggressors.

Zhang Hui, who had just returned from a visit to Japan, said that in Tokyo, he found both people prominent in Japanese cultural circles and men in the street believed that it is stupid to distort history. They pointed out that the masses of the Japanese people will never forget how Japan's war of aggression brought untold sufferings to the Chinese people and misery to its own people. They told Zhang Hui that the people of the two countries should join hands in urging the Japanese Government to take clear-cut measures promptly to correct the mistake.

Politician Wants Texts Amended

OW050826 Beijing XINHUA in English 1737 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 4 (XINHUA)--Shosaku Itai, advisor to the Workers Party of Japan, today demanded the Japanese Education Ministry make up its mind to amend the history textbooks that whitewash Japan's aggression against China during the last war.

Itai told XINHUA that Sino-Japanese friendship is based on Japan's repentance of its past war of aggression, which is also the spirit of the Japan-China joint statement on the normalization of relations between the two countries. To distort history in the revised textbooks is a violation of this spirit, Itai said.

He said the Japanese Education Ministry should correct its mistakes on the textbook issue. However, no clear-cut statement on how to correct the mistakes has been made this is simply irresponsible, he added. [sentence as received]

He said the Japanese people should never relax vigilance on the possible revival of militarism in Japan, which is deep-rooted.

Philippine Foreign Minister Comments

OW050912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Manila, September 5 (XINHUA)--Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo called Japan's move to distort history in school textbooks a "dangerous tendency" and urged the Japanese Government to amend the revised textbooks, according to BULLETIN TODAY.

In an interview with visiting NHK Hong Kong bureau chief Mikio Arai, Romulo said that the issue of the revision of Japanese history textbooks reflects an apparent effort to "change the thinking of young Japanese so that they may accept certain policies of the past heretofore condemned."

He also said the attempt of the Japanese Government "may be an omen, a dangerous tendency, to alter the status of Japanese military invasion in occupied countries during the last world war."

Refuting the claim that the issue is an internal affair of Japan, Romulo said the issue affects the relations between Japan and other Asian countries.

"We have a right to express our opinion on this matter. Asian peoples, particularly those who suffered during World War II, have a profound interest in the faithful recording of the facts of history," Romulo emphasized. The Philippines was one of the victims of the Japanese aggression during World War II.

Romulo said the Japanese Government has announced that it would effect temporary corrections of the revisions in the classroom. "We hope the permanent modifications will be fully implemented," Romulo observed, "for if carried out, it would be a manifestation of Japanese sensitivity to the sentiments expressed by many Asian peoples."

Publisher Urges Correction

OW041800 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 4 (XINHUA)--A Tokyo publishing house, with the help of writers and managing compilers of textbooks, today drafted a plan to make corrigenda on mistakes in high school history textbooks, and demanded restoration of the original narrative on aggression.

The plan, KYODO reported, mostly dealt with restoration of the original text on the Nanjing massacre, and Japanese "aggression" and "imperialism," during World War II, items which were deleted in a screening process.

University Professors Keizi Nagahara and Shunichi Uno, both of whom write and compile textbooks, drafted the plan. They want to present their applications for the corrigenda as soon as possible to enable use of the corrected textbooks by the spring. Nagahara and Uno called on all publishers to draft corrigenda programs.

Another KYODO report said that the Federation of Publishing Workers Union asked all publishers to respect the writers' intentions and work together on presenting their corrigenda applications to the publishing houses.

Noted Sociologist Comments

OW041324 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 4 (XINHUA)--"The Japanese Government should prove to the world people as well as the Japanese people its sincerity with action," said noted sociologist Fei Xiaotong in an interview with XINHUA. This would be the concrete way to correct the Japanese Education Ministry's mistake of distorting facts of Japanese aggression in the textbooks, he said.

Fei Xiaotong said that the dragging out of the issue was caused by maneuvers taken by certain people in the Japanese Government who, on the one hand said they would modestly listen to the views of foreign countries and on the other hand said "foreign protests are interference in Japan's internal affairs."

"They are actually stubbornly clinging to their mistake. It is incomprehensible that they should say they want to make corrections while not taking any action and wanting to use the distorted textbooks which, they saw, can only be corrected two years later. They did not clarify how they are going to make the corrections and what they are going to correct. So, one cannot understand the meaning of the assertion the government will be responsible to correct errors," he said. "We are certainly not satisfied with such ambiguity," Fei Xiaotong said.

"If the Japanese Government truly wants to show its sincerity, it should first explicitly admit that the Japanese militarists invaded China, adopt concrete actions to correct mistakes and guarantee that there would be no recurrences," he said.

'RENMIN RIBAO' Condemns Militarism

OW031600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 3 (XINHUA)--The PEOPLE'S DAILY published an article today stongly condemning the Japanese militarists for their vicious attempts to revive militarism and undermine Sino-Japanese friendship.

The article, under the headline "Militaristic Forces Should Not Be Allowed To Undermine the Foundation of the Sino-Japanese Friendship," says that the distortion by Japan's Education Ministry of Japan's imperialist aggression has enraged and alerted the Chinese and Asian peoples. Many signs indicate that in Japan, some people who harbor evil intentions want to reverse the historical facts of Japanese imperialist aggression. These people, says the article, clinging desperately to militarism, are attempting to stage a comeback.

The article points out that the attempt to veil the aggressive history is not a new act of the Education Ministry, but an act it embarked upon a long time ago.

Since last fall a number of influential liberal democrats have been appealing to the Education Ministry for changes in the history textbooks, which they condemn. They have been demanding that the texts tell of "the indomitable spirit shown by the Japanese in defense of their country" and reintroduce the concept of "loving the emperor." Some Japanese tycoons have openly demanded military training in schools and they want the textbooks to "raise the people's awareness of the royal family as the core of the country." Some even suggest that emperor worship and the Rhinto religion be restored in schools. The committee for formulating a charter for education in April brazenly advocate the restoration of this imperial nationalism by defending "the history-created noble tradition centering around the royal family."

The article points out that the reason some Japanese served with such brutal enthusiasm during the aggressive wars waged by Japan was mainly because they were brought up under the militaristic educational system that deeply poisoned them.

Obviously, the article says, the changing of the word "aggression" into "advance" is not merely a matter of misuse of words but a matter with an unwholesome historic background. Because of this, the distortion of history textbooks manifests itself as a serious political issue concerning not only important historic facts that involve the national feelings of the peoples of Asia, but also Japan's future and the relations between Japan and other Asian countries. The actions of the Education Ministry and a number of Japanese groups go against the spirit and principles as set forth by the joint statement on the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. They deny the deep self-reproach expressed by the Japanese Government toward the Chinese people because of its aggressive wars against China. The issue also concerns the prospects of friendly cooperation between China and Japan, the education of future generations, the thorough annihilation of militarism, or the restoration of it, and a future of peace or war in Asia as well. Therefore, the strong reactions from the Chinese people and people of other Asian countries demonstrate their grave concern.

The article also points out that in connection with the Education Ministry's distortion of Japan's aggressive history there exists a lot of extremely serious trends. For example, in the past few years, rightist organizations have been on the rise.

[OW031605] Religious Activities--Paying respect to Yasukuni Shrine has become an open function. The Japanese Constitution clearly stipulates the rule "separating government from religion," banning Japanese Government officials from taking part in religious activities and government institutions from supporting such activities. Since 1969, however, a few liberal democrats have been proposing what has been called the "Yasukuni Shrine Bill" to render nil the nonsupport-of-religion rule in the Constitution and make it legal for government officials to take part in or provide funds for such activities.

During the early 1970's, films began to whitewash Japanese militarism; the trend has been gaining in momentum since then in films such as "Height 203" in 1980, "Joint Fleet" in 1981 and "Dai Nippon Teikoku" (The Imperial Japanese Empire) shown recently.

This is not the end. Recently, there are even those rightist elements in Japan who had proposed the setting up of a "monument to the founding of the Manchurian state." They claim that by so doing they want to demonstrate that Japan "had not invaded" China. They even claim that they want to hand down "the ideal and exploits" of Japan's aggression against China's northeast to future generations.

The article says that all facts indicate that in Japan, people with militarist ideology are still poisoning the young and a handful of militarists are still trying to revive the old dream of "greater east Asia coprosperity sphere."

These attempts to reverse history are not isolated and are linked to the economic or political situation in Japan.

During the post-war years, the Japanese economy has seen such a rapid development that it has become the focus of world attention. Japan has become the second most powerful economic power in the capitalist world. The credit goes to the Japanese people and their government.

However, Japan is poor in resources and its growth is dependent on cheap raw materials from other Asian countries, which not only provide the major portion of necessary materials for Japan, but also serve as important markets for Japanese goods and capital. It is no exaggeration to say that, without the cooperation of the Asian countries, Japan could not be where it is. And it is only natural that the Asian people should concern themselves with the course of the Japanese economy which has a close bearing on their own. The notion that Japan's economic cooperation with developing nations is a "favor," that Japan's assistance is indispensable to China's four modernizations, is outrageously wrong, the article says. Capitalizing on one's economic strength to trample on the basic principles of Sino-Japanese relations, is a practice bound to be rebuffed.

Recently, some Japanese politicians held that Japan should become a "political power." Historical experiences warn the Asian people and the international community to heed the question of what kind of political power Japan will become in the future. Already the revision of textbooks by Japan's Education Ministry on the history of Japanese invasion of Asian-Pacific countries has aroused universal suspicion about that future. "Whither goes Japan?" has become an issue of increasing interest.

CSO: 4000/186

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JAPANESE MINISTER FETED--Beijing, September 3 (XINHUA)--Kichiro Tazawa, Japanese minister of agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and his party were guests of honor at a dinner given by Lin Hujia, Chinese minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery here this evening. The guests arrived yesterday and met with Lin Hujia this morning. The two sides discussed agriculture and cooperation and exchanges in the field. The guests also met with Yang Zhong, China's minister of forestry this morning. Also present at the dinner this evening were He Kang, vice-minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery and Yasue Katori, Japanese ambassador to China. The guests will leave September 5 for China's northeast. [Text] [OW032023 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 3 Sep 82]

EGYPTIAN, YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS MEET--Belgrade, September 6 (XINHUA)--Visiting Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and his Yugoslav counterpart Petar Stambolic today expressed their hope that the proposed 7th Nonaligned Summit would help checking the continuing deterioration in the international situation, TANJUG reported today. The two sides expressed anxiety over the worsening world situation, which they believed, was the result of growing distrust and intensified contention and arms race between blocs. Mubarak arrived here today to begin his three-day official, friendly visit to this country. He and Stambolic discussed the most pressing international problems. They expressed their satisfaction over the settlement of a venue for the nonaligned summit. They believed that the Palestinian problem was the key problem in the Middle East crisis, to compel PLO fighters by force to withdraw from Lebanon will only make the problem more complicated instead of solving it. Referring to the Iraq-Iran war, the two leaders expressed the hope that ways and means to bring the war to an end would soon be found between the two warring states. The two sides stressed the significance of further development of the traditional, friendly relations between the two countries. Stambolic gladly accepted the invitation of Musarak to visit Egypt. [Text] [OW070812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 7 Sep 82]

JAPANESE, DANISH MINISTERS TALK--Copenhagen, September 7 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi left here for home today after a three-day official visit to Denmark. Yoshio Sakurauchi had discussions with Danish Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen on Japanese-Danish relations and the Japanese-EEC (European Economic Community) relations. They also discussed the recent strained relations between the United States and European countries. In an

interview with Danish television yesterday, the Japanese foreign minister expressed his misgivings at the measures the United States had taken to uphold its embargo on natural gas pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union. He said it will also affect Japan. [Text] [OW080802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 8 Sep 82]

PRESS STRIKES IN INDIA--New Delhi, September 3 (XINHUA)--Journalists and others in the news business in India held a one-day nation-wide strike today against the press curb bill introduced in Bihar State. The bill, referred to by press circles as anti-press and a threat to democracy, seeks to permit the government to arrest and imprison reporters for writing "objectionable stories." The strikers demand the withdrawal of the bill and express the fear that the central and other state governments will propose similar legislation or other measures infringing on press freedom. Most newspaper, news agency and magazine offices in the capital were closed as the city press corps and newspaper workers joined the strike. In Delhi, apart from those organizations concerned with the newspaper employees, several political and social organizations came out in support of the strike. Mrs Indira Gandhi, the prime minister, in defending the Bihar Bill, said on September 1 that the bill contained nothing to gag the press and that she would not advise the president to withhold his assent to the bill. [Text] [OW070826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 7 Sep 82]

INSAT-1A SATELLITE ABANDONED--New Delhi, September 7 (XINHUA)--India's first multi-purpose satellite Insat-1A was abandoned after running out of fuel, the Indian Space Research Organization centre in Bangalore announced Monday. Indian space scientists discovered that all the fuel on board the spacecraft had been depleted, making control of the satellite impossible. "We have stopped giving commands to the satellite as all the systems on board are down. The satellite cannot be used anymore," the space department said late last night. The satellite, weighing 114 kg, was launched on April 10 from Cape Canaveral, USA. It was manufactured by the Ford Aerospace Company according to requirements laid down by the Indian Department of Space. The failure of the satellite completely upset India's telecommunication, the radio and TV network and meteorological programmes. "Investigations are continuing to determine the precise cause of these events and to determine the corrective sections to be implemented on Insat-1B," a press release of the space department said. Insat-1B is the second satellite scheduled for launching next year. [Text] [OW070826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 7 Sep 82]

CSO: 4000/185

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI PARTY SECRETARY URGES STUDY OF CONSTITUTION REVISION

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhu Chunnian [4376 2797 3112] and Jian Shengyuan [4675 5116 2266]:
"'The Draft of the Revised Constitution' Should Be More Thoroughly Studied"]

[Text] The 15th session of the Standing Committee of the Shanxi Provincial People's Congress heard a report by Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932], secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, on matters concerning the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution."

In his report, Comrade Ruan Bosheng said: Nearly 2 months have passed since the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" was made available for nationwide discussion. Since then, under the leadership of the provincial party committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress has actively assumed responsibility for organizing the discussion in accordance with the requirements contained in the notice issued by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee. Personnel have been sent to help and advise various counties and districts on this matter. A general survey of the current development of the provincewide discussion on the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" shows that the party committees, the standing committees of the people's congresses, the people's government, and committees of the people's political consultative conference at provincial, county, municipal, and district levels have attached great importance to the study campaign. Specific arrangements have been made for leading comrades of various units to hold discussion meetings in light of the development of the local situation so that they can take the first step to gain experience in this field. Related material has been compiled, cadres forming the backbone of the study campaign have been trained, and leading comrades have been sent to give personal direction to the study at the basic levels. Enthusiasm has widely been aroused by party and government organs at all levels for carrying out study and discussion activities. Meetings have been held and propaganda media have been mobilized throughout the countryside to convey the draft constitution to the public. The masses have been mobilized by many communes and brigades to begin study and discussion of this matter.

In his report, Chairman Ruan Bosheng discussed some problems resulting from the current provincewide study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised

Constitution." In this connection, he said: A few units have failed to give adequate attention to the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution." After studying it once or twice, some units have failed to devote enough time to organizing the masses to study or guide them to suggest any changes in the "Draft of the Revised Constitution." Insisting that the revision of the constitution is a matter of concern to the upper level authorities rather than to themselves, some units have failed to schedule any study and discussion of this matter for fear of adversely affecting production and other work. They have also failed to give those muddle-headed comrades correct guidance and assistance in this direction.

In his report, Chairman Ruan Bosheng repeatedly emphasized that party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership and must regard the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" as a matter of prime importance rather than "a matter of formality"; in addition to comprehending the basic spirit of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," they must study and discuss it chapter by chapter, section by section and article by article so that they can suggest changes in the draft; specific time must be scheduled for concentrated study by every unit.

Members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and comrades attending the 15th session as observers have continued to propose changes in the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" along with opinions on improving and perfecting our legal system.

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CSO: 4005/1080

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN URGED TO STUDY DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[News Report: "Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress Concludes the 20th Session: Study of the Draft Constitution Urged"]

[Text] The 20th Plenary Session of the Ninth Municipal People's Congress at Tianjin concluded the day before yesterday. This was the second study session held by the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress. Yan Dakai [7051 6671 7020], chairman of the Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. Vice Chairmen Liu Gang [0491 0474], Wang Enhui [3769 1869 1920], Zhou Shutao [0719 0647 1718], Lu Da [6424 6671], Yang Jianbai [2799 1017 4101], Xu Ming [6079 2494] also attended the meeting.

In the session they listened and discussed the summarizing report on "The Situation of Our Municipality in Unfolding All-people Discussion of the Draft Constitution" prepared by the deputy secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, chief of the Propaganda Department, and vice chairman of the Municipal Leading Group for the study and discussion of the draft constitution, Chen Bing [7115 0393]. The session urges that every system, every department and every unit should treat the all-people study of the draft constitution as a serious event in the national political life, and an important task in the present political ideological work; leadership must be strengthened and unrelentingly improved; specially appointed people are put in charge and specialist leadership installed; the connection between the study of the draft constitution and other tasks is well defined; the review of the study and discussion at basic level is strengthened; the situation is under timely control; guidance is provided in proper categories. The demand of "three onces" (study once, explain once, and discuss once) made upon various departments and different units must be based on the reality of the situation for concrete measures without simplification. The standing committee of people's congress at every district and county and municipal offices must continue collecting suggestions made in the mass discussion and submit them together with items on the units of all-people discussion, number of people and opinions to the municipal people's congress before the end of July. They must succeed in study and guidance, help cadres and the mass to study and understand the basic spirit of the draft constitution, clarify certain hazy concepts of the constitution and further strengthen the propaganda of all-people discussion. The press, radio stations and TV stations should make additional effort to succeed in the propaganda of all-people study of the draft constitution. Propaganda bases such as every cultural house (station), clubs, broadcasting station and rural cable broadcast, etc. must be fully utilized in response to the study and discussion of the draft constitution.

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEES IMPLEMENT SHANXI SPIRIT OF 'RESOLUTION'

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[News Report by Zhu Erchu [2512 3643 2806]: "Party Committees at County-Level and Above Concentrate on Implementing the Spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session: Improve Organization Life, Engage in Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] For the past year, the party committees at the county level and above have had good results through overall review and implementation of the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session making it the main substance for organizational life, closely connecting thought and work reality and seriously engaging in criticism and self-criticism.

According to statistics, among the 119 counties (municipalities and districts) 85 percent have held at least one life meeting of the party standing committee. Following the guidance and encouragement of provincial party organs, 92 percent of the 102 division committees, departments (bureaus) have held meetings according to the regulation.

In sum, major achievements of life meetings held in the party committees at the county-level and above are as follow:

1. Use the "resolution" as a mirror, continue clearing "leftist" lingering effect and influence, thereby raise the level of awareness in implementing the party line, principle and policy since the Third Plenary Session. Since last winter and this spring, many county-level party committees have engaged in perfecting the responsibility system of agricultural production, raising and consolidating work, joining and developing various management work, engaging in ideological review in the life meetings, unifying understanding and contributing to the prosperous development of the villages. On the industrial front, party committees at every level joined in reorganizing enterprises, raising economic benefit. Since the beginning of this year, the implementation of the party principle and policy was reviewed in the life meeting, bringing industrial production to a new phase. Party committees of every front also bring personnel policy, especially intellectual policy, to the life meeting and review whether it has closely conformed to the party Central Committee's decision on political affairs and seeks positive improvement.

2. Resolutely correct the evil trend of constructing private houses and rectify party discipline. Since last September, local party committees and county party committees jointly reviewed the "Regulation Concerning Party Internal Political Life" and held life meetings according to the spirit of provincial party committee engaging in serious criticism and self-criticism of some party members and leading cadres who abuse their authority in enclosing plots and constructing houses, engage in extortion and misappropriate state and collective resources. Those comrades who had committed mistakes underwent profound education. At present, the evil trend of comrades abusing their authority to build illegal private houses has basically been halted.

3. Speak out and resolve the conflict, strengthen the unity of "group." Party committees of many localities treat this problem as an important item in the life meeting, putting the problems between members which cause disunity on the table, engaging in criticism and self-criticism, and thus eliminating misunderstanding and confusion and making visible improvement in leadership unity.

4. Strengthen political ideological work, make preliminary improvement of the looseness of organization. Every locality proceeds from improving and strengthening the degree of party leadership and treat the issue of how to improve ideological work, overcome lethargy as an item on the agenda for serious discussion. In the past, many comrades reviewed work superficially; investigation was not carried out in sufficient depth; tasks were pushed around.

On the basis of review and recognition, they were able to adopt some measures which produced desired effects.

At present, the party committees above the county-level are living out organizational life and implementing the "Resolution on attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm" passed by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and seriously sum up lessons and experiences in the anti-corruption struggle.

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CSO: 4005/1081

PARTY AND STATE

MORE CONTRIBUTIONS TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS WORK URGED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359]: "Make More Contributions to the Construction of the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Since liberation, Hubei Province has become an important industrial base and a main grain and cotton-growing area under the leadership of the party and the state. The working class in Hubei must try hard to make more contributions to the construction of the four modernizations.

Hubei Province, which is one of the birthplaces of the Chinese nation, is situated in the hinterland of central China at the middle reaches of the Chiangjiang River Valley. As early as in the period of the Warring States (475-221 B.C.) more than 2,000 years ago, the splendid culture of Chu was here. Natural conditions in Hubei also are very favorable, for example, a temperate climate, moderate rainfall, fertile land, convenient communication systems, and rich mineral resources. Historically, Hubei has been called a "land of plenty" and a "communication center connecting nine provinces." However, prior to liberation, under the rigorousness of the three big mountains, the rich resources in Hubei Province were untouched or not being utilized. The level of agricultural production was low and unstable. Due to the incapability in providing disaster relief, the destiny of "poor harvests in 9 out of 10 years" simply could not be avoided in this well known Jiang-Han Plain, not to mention the state of poverty in the mountainous areas in western Hubei. Hubei was then especially weak as an industrial base. The fact that there was only 38,000 kw of power-generating capacity throughout the province in 1949 could fully speak for itself.

Until after liberation, thanks to the leadership of the party and the socialist system, the economic development in Hubei has been accelerated.

An outstanding change in agriculture is that the condition of agricultural production has been greatly improved through the protracted, large-scale capital construction of water conservancy works. There are now a total of more than 6,200 reservoirs throughout the province having a storage capacity of 25,800 million cubic meters. Besides, the electrical irrigation and drainage equipment of 4.64 million hp has a water storage and drawing capacity

of more than 42,000 million cubic meters. The situation of low level and unstable agricultural production has begun to take a turn for the better and preliminary successes have been achieved in building Hubei into an important grain and cotton-growing base. The victories gained both in resisting the catastrophic flood in 1954 and in fighting the waterlogging in 1980 have won favorable comments all over the world.

In industry, the state has given top priority to making investment in capital construction in Hubei since liberation. At present, fixed assets of industries in Hubei owned by the whole people have exceeded that of Shanghai. The total value of industrial output ranks seventh in China. Power generating capacity throughout the province has reached 3,499,000 kw which is approximately 100 times greater than that of 1949 making it a major hydraulic power generation network among which the famous Gezhou dam project traversing the Changjiang River has already installed 3 generating units to go into operation. The annual steel producing capacity of this iron and steel base, of which the Wuchang Steel Works is the center, has reached 4.67 million tons. Of these producing units, the 1.7 meter rolling mill is at the world's 1970's level has begun to receive benefits. The machinery industry in Hubei also has become relatively strong. For instance, the modernized 2d motor plant has a capacity of producing 80,000 cars annually. The textile industry also occupies a position in the country as a whole. There are a total of 1.55 million spindles mostly equipped with a complete set of weaving, printing and dyeing facilities. In such other industrial sectors as the light industry, the chemical industry, the electronics industry, coal industry and the petroleum industry, considerable improvements have also been made.

With regard to communications, both railway and highway have been expanded rapidly. As far as railway is concerned, aside from the existing Beijing-Guangzhou line, a second railway running through the province from north at Jiaozuo to south at Zhicheng and other railways east and west including the Wuchang-Daye line, the Hankow-Danjiang line, and the Xiangfan-Chongqing line have all been completed recently. Since liberation, a total of more than 14,800 kilometers of new highways have been built. Motor vehicles have now been utilized as transportation means by 98.5 percent of the communes and 67.6 percent of the brigades throughout the province. The Changjiang River traverses the whole province from west to east and has great potentials for us, from now on, to develop and utilize.

The rapid economic development taking place in Hubei since liberation has strongly indicated that "without the Communist Party there would be no new China," and that "only socialism can save China." Despite the fact that there have been faults and setbacks in the work in Hubei Province, especially the setbacks suffered during the "10 year turmoil," the leadership of the party and the socialist system have constantly played a dominant role and have achieved great successes. Our party has absolute capability to overcome all difficulties including overcoming the faults made in our own work and to unite the masses victoriously to achieve the great goal of building the two socialist civilizations.

The favorable natural conditions and the existing industrial foundation require our Hubei working class to try hard to make contributions to the four modernizations. The state has given Hubei a vast amount of investment and thereby a considerable production capacity is taking shape. It is our duty-bound obligation to try hard to do our work still better, and to make the most of the investment made by the state in order to strive to realize speedy development which can yield high benefits. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the working class in Hubei has been adhering to this spirit to exert themselves in struggles. From 1979 through 1981, the average annual increase of the total value of industrial output throughout the province was 15.1 percent, while the average increase of industrial profit was 13.1 percent. Not only the goal of a balanced budget has been achieved, there was even a slight surplus. However, as far as the situation of industrial production in the province as a whole is concerned, its economic benefits still lag far behind the advanced level of our country. This is our main issue today.

Under the guidance of the lines adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our country has entered the path heading to prosperity and progress. We have both determination and confidence in building Hubei into a still better industrial area so that we can keep abreast of the pace of our country as it marches victoriously forward.

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CSO: 4005/1136

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' DISCUSSES COMMUNIST IDEALS

HK131221 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

["Ideological Forum" by Qi Lin [7871 2651]: "Ideals and 'Material Benefit'"]

[Text] The dispute between "righteousness" and "interest" dates back to ancient times. For thousands of years, there have been various opinions on which should be valued more highly. Even now, the dispute between righteousness and interest still exists. When we say "righteousness," we mean "communism;" when "interest" is referred to, it means "material benefit" as described by some people. There is absolutely no question as to whether a Communist Party member should attach importance to doctrine or to material benefit. Because the title itself indicates that a Communist Party member should be ready to dedicate his life to communism. This is the spirit of "laying down one's life for a just cause," put by Mencius. However, facts are not so perfect. After the chaos of 10 years, some party members believe that they have "seen through everything." Therefore, they want to overturn the pledges they made when joining the party and abandon righteousness to pursue interests. Their reasoning from life is "only material benefit is real, everything else is but illusory and should not be relied on."

The ideal of communism is really a great objective. However, it is not an illusory object because of its great nature. The ideal of communism is not only great but also realistic. The integration of both the great and realistic nature has existed ever since the appearance of communist theory. As early as in the late 1840's when "Communist Manifesto" was published, communism was already not a theory or ideal only, but a practical movement guided and inspired by this theory and ideal. Without such a great ideal inspiring people to fight bravely, it would have been impossible for so many dauntless heroes to have emerged in the international communist movement. More than 100 years ago when the working class had not yet gained a foothold, the communists firmly believed that the "Internationale must certainly be realized." At a time when we are living in a socialist society, the early stage of communism, why do some people still think that communism is illusory? As a matter of fact, it is because these people have lost sight of the objective and cannot see it clearly, but not because the objective is becoming more remote and illusory.

It is true that the ideal of communism belongs to the ideological category. As a scientific world outlook, however, it is deeply rooted in real life and is practically embodied in people's behavior. Without the communist spirit, there will be no communist behavior. Only when one has established a communist ideal, can one whole-heartedly serve the people. If one loses the ideal of communism and cares for one's own salary, housing and the future prospects of one's sons and daughters, that means one has lost all the fine qualities of a Communist Party member but keeps the empty title of a Communist Party member. People always say: "To pursue undeserved reputation brings disasters only." This saying is right. We must never practice formalism and never engage in false talk, big talk and empty talk. However, this does not mean that we cast aside ideals and beliefs and no longer uphold principles. We must also pay attention to the saying: "To pursue material benefit brings disaster." There are many lessons we can learn and much experience we can draw on in this field. It is all the more necessary for Communist Party members, especially under the circumstances of opening up to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy, to uphold communist principles, to be loyal to their own beliefs and to work hard for the interests of the people.

Does that mean that we oppose material benefit while laying stress on the ideals of communism? Of course not. Communists do not care for their individual interests, but care for revolutionary interests. One of the principles in socialist construction is to let the people gain more "material benefits." If we treat the emphasis on communist ideals as opposition to implementing the party's current economic policies and evidence in opposing the improvement of people's living standards, it is at least a misunderstanding.

However, when we say "material benefit," we must distinguish public from private and reasonable from unreasonable. It is right to fight for the public interests of the people; whereas it is wrong to secure personal gain for the interests of individuals and small groups. It is reasonable to obtain deserved material benefit according to the party's policies and the government decrees. But we must resolutely refuse to accept material benefit we do not deserve according to the party's policies and the government decrees. Higher demands should be raised on Communist Party members who must be models of working more yet asking for less. Communist Party members must not only set demands of policy on themselves, but also set demands of party spirit, namely the communist spirit of dedicating their lives to a just cause. There are thousands and thousands of people who really have this spirit, and Liu Hulan, Lei Feng and Zhou Yunchen are their representatives. Their noble ideology is none other than communism in our life, which cannot be understood by those who are extreme individualists and those who believe in the doctrine of "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

The communist ideal is the reflection of the Marxist world outlook as well as the ideological core of the Communist Party members. We must talk about it and think of it from time to time, and express it in our words and deeds. This is not only for the future, but also for the present moment. That is because only communist ideology can effectively resist the corruption of capitalist ideology, cleanse the air and make the socialist sky pure and bright forever.

CSO: 4005/1315

PARTY AND STATE

LIU SHAOQI'S WORK ON HOW TO BE GOOD COMMUNISTS NOTED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zhao Jinrong [6392 2516 1369]: "Party Members Must Keep in Mind Their Swearing-in Pledges to the Party"]

[Text] On the day of admission to the party, every Communist Party member must take this solemn oath before the flag: "I swear to devote the rest of my life to communism." This oath represents the ultimate objective every Communist Party member must strive to achieve.

As far as every Communist Party member is concerned, he draws his firm political belief from his deep understanding of the laws governing the development of history and his correct assessment of the nature of things. The day our revolutionaries of the older generation vowed to show boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause and full faith in the victory of the communist cause began with their search for ways for national salvation, which subsequently led them to accept Marxism as the truth and develop a scientific communist world outlook. The revolutionary principles of Marxism convinced them that the old systems and old order were bound to die out and that no force could resist the triumphant advance of the revolution toward the realization of communism. It was precisely this firm belief in the final victory of the revolutionary cause that led them to display an indomitable spirit of dedication to communism. This is why they would never back away from their commitment to this faith and their pledges to the party even when the revolution suffered frustrations and defeat or when the party was placed in the most difficult position; they answered the enemy with the same attitude when he tried to win them over to this side with lures of lucrative and high-level government positions; their faith remained firm even when they were unjustly accused of introducing erroneous tendencies into the party.

But after the war was over and the gunfire was silenced, the political status of our party underwent changes. With improvements in living and working conditions, some of our party members, especially those comrades who joined the party in peacetime, gradually have been losing their sense of communism while increasingly shifting their concern to the welfare of individuals and families. In their minds, the realization of communism is so remote and invisible that they don't think they will live to enjoy its fruit. For this

reason, they have refused to make any sacrifices for this purpose. Although some believers in communism have been moved to tears by tales of the heroic deeds performed by our revolutionary martyrs and have taken to heart the oath that "every Communist Party member should pledge to dedicate the rest of his life to communism," they are still lacking in the indomitable spirit that is willing to make sacrifices. While embarking on revolution, they often fear hardships and fatigues, facing difficulties and problems with an air of pessimism and depression, with pent-up feelings bottled up inside, and with a lack of courage to fight a battle. When confronted with the unhealthy tendencies that exist in society, they choose not to "become involved" in any struggle against them. Some have even begun shamelessly to "drift along with such unhealthy tendencies" with a sense of pride. These people will not want to struggle for communism for the rest of their lives, even though they may be able to do so for a specific period or a few years or "momentarily." This behavior is counterproductive to the cause of our present generation!

The oath, "I swear to devote the rest of my life to communism," is not empty talk but a philosophy of life and a communist world outlook. In his work, "How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: The communist cause is our lifelong undertaking. We must spend the rest of our lives gearing all our activities to serve this cause rather than anything else. When efforts are being made to rectify those unhealthy tendencies within the ranks of the party, all our Communist Party members must constantly and conscientiously remind themselves of their swearing-in oath, and remind themselves of whether they can take resolute action to sacrifice everything they have in the struggle for the realization of communism. I think it is very meaningful for them to do so.

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CSO: 4005/1080

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI PARTY SECRETARY ON LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Jiang Yizhen [3068 0001 4176], Secondary Secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee, Calls for Strengthening Party Leadership"]

[Text] On 16 May, the Standing Committee of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress held a forum to which responsible comrades on the standing committees of various municipal, county and municipal district people's congresses attending the 15th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hebei Provincial People's Congress were invited. Jiang Yizhen, second secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress, delivered an important speech at the forum. He emphasized the need for the standing committees of the country level people's congresses to improve their work and for the party to strengthen its leadership over such work. In this connection, Comrade Jiang Yizhen said: Both the party Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress have issued instructions defining the nature, functions and role of the standing committees of the local people's congresses at various levels. The people are masters of their own country. "All power in the PRC belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels." The fact that the people's congresses at country and higher levels have been allowed to set up their standing committees is an important reform in the organization of state power in various regions throughout the country. To help the standing committees of the local people's congresses function well is of vital significance to the endeavor to improve the socialist democratic system and the socialist legal system and to strengthen local organs of state power at various levels. Whether we can help them function well depends first of all on whether we can achieve a correct understanding of their nature, functions, tasks and role. At present, a widespread problem is a lack of the understanding of the standing committees of the local people's congresses--local organs of state power--among comrades from all walks of life, especially those comrades working for these committees, who still cannot adjust their habits to the requirement for handling affairs of the state in conformity with democratic proceedings and the laws. Meanwhile, the tendency to confuse the party with the government still exists in some localities. Comparing the establishment of the standing committees

of the local people's congresses to the introduction into politics of some "bossy old ladies," some comrades said: "When the government acts on orders dictated by the party committee, the people's congress just keeps complaining." This erroneous idea has prevented the normal development of the work of the standing committee of every local people's congress. He pointed out: The standing committees of the local people's congresses are power and work organs which must exercise the power as provided for by the laws so that they can keep functioning normally. Under no circumstances should they be viewed as "voting machines," or "honorary organizations" or "places for exchanging lengthy and meaningless views." The "Local Organic Law" and the draft of the revised constitution stipulate that the standing committees of the people's congresses at county and higher levels have the power to preside over the election of their own deputies; they are authorized to discuss and make decisions on important matters concerning the welfare of their respective administrative areas and to oversee the performance of the corresponding people's governments, courts and procuratorates; they have the power to annul inappropriate resolutions and decrees issued by the corresponding and next lower level people's governments and inappropriate resolutions issued by the next lower level people's congresses; they have the power under the law to decide on the appointment and removal of personnel to and from the organs of state power; when the people's congresses are in recession, their standing committees are empowered to elect deputies to fill any vacant seats of the next higher level people's congresses or to remove any individual deputies from there. To discharge these duties and accomplish these tasks calls for enormous effort. This is why the standing committees of the people's congresses at all levels cannot be called "rubber-stamp organs sitting idly, doing nothing." During the recent elections held in some counties, some people were found guilty of engaging in unlawful activities aimed at electing "three categories of people," or persons with serious problems, to the leading bodies in the place of those good comrades capable of upholding the party's line adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In the case of such unlawful activities, the standing committees of the people's congresses should intervene as required by law and should never allow any conspiracy to succeed. The standing committees of the county level people's congresses are empowered by law to exercise their important functions. To put real teeth in these local organs of state power, we must call on comrades working for the standing committees of the local people's congresses to get more work done voluntarily and "to blaze a trail to the future." As soon as they get the job effectively done, it is only a matter of time for the standing committees of the people's congresses to become powerful and for the people to change their attitude and to bring the role of these local organs of power into full play.

He said: The leadership and support provided by the party committees are crucial to the efforts to bring the role of the local organs of state power into full play. The party leadership is at the core of the four basic principles. Our comrades working for the standing committees of the people's congresses must remember that although the standing committees of the people's congresses must count on the leadership of the party committees to carry out their work, this does not mean placing the party in a position to monopolize everything. Under the leadership of the party, the people's congresses and their standing committees can directly exercise power to manage the affairs of state on behalf

of the people. We must improve the system for the people to manage the affairs of state so that more favorable conditions can be created for the party to exercise its leadership. Attention must be given to the fact that in the national life, our Communist Party has provided leadership and other activities within the framework of the constitution and the laws. The party has led the people in enacting and observing the constitution and laws. In our country, the constitution and laws reflect a sense of unity between the advocacy of the party and the will of the people. Observing the provisions of the constitution and laws means obeying the leadership of the party. Therefore, it can be said that there is nothing inconsistent between the call for relying on the leadership of the party and the call for bringing the role of the standing committees of the people's congresses into play. We must correctly resolve the contradiction between the call for relying on the leadership of the party and the call for bringing the role of the organs of state power into play. How can this problem be successfully resolved? The party committees should hold themselves mainly responsible for demonstrating skills in using the local organs of state power to realize the party's proposals. The party committees of various municipalities, counties and municipal districts must effectively strengthen their leadership over the work of the standing committees of the people's congresses. They must list this work as an item on their agenda, regularly listen to reports given by the standing committees of the people's congresses, and study their work several times a year. They must follow the provisions of the laws or obey their own consciences in submitting all important proposals for consideration and action by the standing committees of the people's congresses. Party organizations at all levels must give support to resolutions and decisions adopted by the standing committees of the people's congresses, and teach party members to act as models in observing and enforcing them conscientiously. Attention must be paid to preventing responsible comrades on the standing committees of the people's congresses from assuming specific government jobs concurrently. Aware of the fact that some cadres still do not clearly understand the nature and role of the standing committees of the people's congresses, the party committees must make them known through related meetings, while leading comrades of the party and government at county and higher levels must restudy the related documents of the party Central Committee, and acquaint cadres and especially leading cadres at all levels with the important role played by the standing committees of the people's congresses in the administration of the affairs of state. In short, in the course of carrying out the actual work, they must help the standing committees of the people's congresses to persist in doing their work in conformity with the provisions of the laws, and bring into fully play their role as the local organs of state power. Party organizations of the standing committees of the people's congresses must promptly brief their higher level party committees on their work, bring the actual situation to their attention and arrange the activities of the committees in close coordination with the central task of the party. In a nutshell, if the party committees can strengthen their leadership over the work of the standing committees of the people's congresses, if the standing committees can conscientiously implement the party's principles and policies, constantly keep in close touch with the people, act conscientiously according to the laws, step up investigations and study, dare to put new ideas into practice, and continue to accumulate working experiences through constant probing, they will be able gradually to get their work off

the ground and function more effectively than ever as the organs of state power. Expressing the hope that comrades attending the forum would enthusiastically, firmly and confidently study hard and do a good job so that they can live up to their heavy commitment to and the expectations of the party and people, Comrade Jiang Yizhen said: At present, they must effectively concentrate on promoting industrial and agricultural production and work on the financial and trade fronts, deal blows to the serious criminal activities in the economic fields, continue to do a good job of building our spiritual civilization, and organize and bring the discussion on the draft of the revised constitution to a successful conclusion.

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CSO: 4005/1078

PARTY AND STATE

CPC CONGRESS FAILS TO DEAL WITH ARMY BUILDING

OW121341 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] The 12th Party Congress has evoked various responses among large numbers of party members, commanders and fighters in the army. On the one hand, they have been inspired by some of the resolutions adopted by the congress that are correct in principle. If these resolutions are implemented, they will definitely play an important and positive role in party life. On the other hand, however, they regret that leading comrades of the party Central Committee look down on the army, try to push army cadres out and particularly belittle the army's positive role in party life.

It is most regrettable that questions concerning the army, army building and the modernization of national defense were hardly dealt with in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report as well as during group discussions. This is a practice completely different from that of the Eighth Party Congress, which was of historical importance. Comrades of the older generation clearly recall that at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Peng Dehuai made an important speech specially on the question of army building. Delegates attending the Eighth Party Congress enthusiastically and meticulously discussed the specific task of army building set forth by Commander in Chief Peng. However, in their speeches at the 12th Party Congress, even principal leaders of our army such as Geng Biao, Yang Dezhi, Yang Yong, Xiao Ke and Wu Kehua failed to put forward the army's pressing problems and short-term tasks for discussion.

In addition, at the 12th Party Congress, no mention was made of the acute political and ideological problems existing in the army; nor was any effort made to redress the frame-up case of Lin Biao, a problem many army members are most sensitive about. At the same time, problems concerning the retirement of army cadres and the transfer of such cadres to civilian work were also not solved.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the congress called for an all-round rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations by stages and in groups. As far as the army is concerned, it still must judge whether a party member in the army is good or bad according to the following criteria: Whether or not he was directly or indirectly connected with the Lin Biao clique, how he conducted himself during the cultural revolution, whether or not he participated in three-support and two-military activities [support industry, support agriculture and support the broad masses of the left;

military control and political and military training], and so on and so forth. It goes without saying that such measures cannot but cause doubts and misgivings among large numbers of army cadres.

Take the election of central party organs by the congress for example. While making preparations for and holding the elections, a certain person of the party Central Committee repeatedly insisted that the number of army delegates to be elected to such organs be held to a minimum, in an attempt to weaken the army's role in party life. All this cannot but cause disappointment and discontent among large numbers of party members, commanders and fighters in the army.

CSO: 4005/1313

PARTY AND STATE

DENG PRAISE FOR 7TH CPC CONGRESS SIGNALS PURGE

OW111421 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] At the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has totally ignored historical facts and openly played down the historical significance of the 8th CPC National Congress. He has also heaped praise on the Seventh CPC National Congress. It is easy to understand why he has done all this.

There have been only 5 CPC national congresses during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC. Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the work of the central authorities immediately prior to the convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress.

To negate the four previous congresses naturally means to negate the party and government leadership as well as the principles and policies laid down during this period. This is like telling the whole party and all the people throughout the nation that the party line and the various party policies are correct only after Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work at the central level. This is like saying that the 12th CPC National Congress is the only national party congress of any consequence.

Needless to say, the 12th CPC National Congress is far better than the 9th, 10th or 11th CPC National Congresses in every respect. It has displayed the party's democratic style even more prominently. However, it has been less successful than the Eighth CPC National Congress.

The Eighth CPC National Congress was the most unified, democratic and lively congress in party history. More than 100 deputies made speeches at the congresses in which they summarized the work of the party, the government and the army, pointed out the future tasks and mapped out the specific steps and policies to help the nation forge ahead. Unfortunately, the line of the Eighth CPC National Congress was later betrayed and the people were compelled to follow the adventurist policy of "hoisting high the three Red Banners." In fact, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was also involved in this.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping seeks to praise only the Seventh CPC National Congress because it set an example in promoting the personal cult around the leader, whereas the Eighth CPC National Congress disapproved of such a personal cult. In addition, the Seventh CPC National Congress was convened on the basis of the

Yanan Rectification Campaign. Comrades of the older generation should remember that the Yanan Rectification Campaign aimed at ruthlessly struggling and oppressing the broad masses of party, government and army cadres who dared to speak the truth and to refuse to have blind faith in the leader.

The fact is that the 12th CPC National Congress was also convened after 3 years of mass purges and suppression, to praise the Seventh CPC National Congress means to approve the mass purge conducted in the party and in the army during the past few years and to lay a theoretical and historical foundation for a general rectification campaign after the 12th CPC National Congress.

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PARTY AND STATE

'TIANJIN RIBAO' ON GUARDING AGAINST CORRUPTION

HK101316 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Wen Zhu [2429 4554]: "Uproot the Outworn Concept of Bringing Honor to One's Ancestors"]

[Text] In some of the economic crimes or the activities that violate law and discipline there is something that gives people an outworn impression. This is the influence of the feudalist ideology. Among the offenders, there are some people who have done quite a few things that hinder the implementation of policy, violate law and discipline and receive personal gains at the expense of the public interests because they have obstinately pursued bringing honor to their ancestors and displaying their influence in their homeland. Therefore, when we fight against the corruption of the capitalist ideology, we should not overlook the influence of the feudalist ideology.

Exploiting the relationships of fellow villagers to carry out some illegal trade is a kind of unhealthy trend and is also one of the means by which economic crimes and other illegal activities have been committed. Naturally, in developing the economy, the mutual support and cooperation between the rural and urban areas is indispensable. However, in doing so we should obey the state plan and act in accordance with the policies and regulations of the state, and we should not disregard the plan, policies and regulations of the state on account of the relationships of fellow villagers. The reason why some people have overemphasized the interests of their homeland and even placed these interests above the interests of the state and thus pursued the former at the expense of the latter lies in the fact that they have become infatuated with the passion caused by the old concepts of bringing honor to their ancestors and making a show of their influence in their homeland. The concept of bringing honor to one's ancestors is a kind of corrupt idea of pursuing official ranks and wealth that has been propagated by the landlord class. According to this idea, when the descendant of a family is appointed to an official post, becomes rich or earns a good name or a high position, he will be able to bring honor to his family and ancestors and thus he will also be respected and have have renown and influence in his homeland. When some people have become cadres, especially leading cadres, they may act wantonly at will if they hold this outworn concept, and moreover, are carried away by the flattery of other people. These people will perhaps be generous at the expense of the state and use their power of office to allocate funds and materials to their homeland as "special favors" even though this

is banned by the state. They will perhaps act as go-betweens for the illegal trade of their fellow villagers. Moreover, they will perhaps do things to facilitate the illegal activities of some people from their homeland. Because these people have become intoxicated by their zeal to gain renown and to "have a monument set up and a biography written for them" in their homeland, they have even unscrupulously practiced fraud and robberies in violation of the party discipline and the policies and have finally become the "major" offenders in criminal activities.

[HK101318] Simple and honest feelings for one's homeland is something we can understand. Some of our proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary martyrs were full of love for their homeland. The people of their homeland were also proud of them. However, this feeling differs diametrically from the concept of bringing honor to one's ancestors and of gaining renown in one's homeland. When Gan Zuchang, a veteran Red armyman, returned to his homeland, what he brought back to his homeland was a party member's noble virtue of disregarding one's personal renown and interests instead of the vulgar practice of being proud of having achieved merits, and returned home with honor and wealth. Now many of our old cadres are not working in their homeland, but they still treasure a deep love for the people in their homeland and often think that they should live up to the expectation of the people and fellow villagers in their homeland. They will never use the powers of their office to engage in unhealthy practices in order to obtain some special benefits for their homeland. When some people from their homeland try to achieve through them some goals that do not conform to the policies, they will patiently explain the policies to these people and politely refuse their requests. Perhaps by so doing one may hurt some people's feelings. However this action sets an example in resisting the corruption of the unhealthy trend and displays the high consciousness of a party member and a state cadre, and therefore, it will certainly win the approval of the majority of the people. We should like to say that this is an action that brings honor to one's homeland. If one conducts some improper transactions in collusion with some people from his homeland at the expense of the interests of the state in order to gain "renown" for himself in his homeland. Thus the "good renown" is a temporary one while the bad name will be a lasting one.

As the idea of feudal privilege is doing mischief in some people's minds, these people forget the party spirit and the whole situation, and in working for the people in their homeland, they have paid no attention to the principles and have bent the law for the benefit of their fellow villagers. As a result, they have committed serious mistakes and even crimes. What is even more dangerous is that these transactions that are done for personal relationships may provide opportunities for a few economic criminals and other evildoers and enable them to bring harm to both the urban and rural areas, with the results being dreadful to contemplate.

As the feudal clan idea is doing mischief in some people's minds, these people forget the people and their duties in general and do something in violation of the policies for their relatives or friends in their homeland or even commit all kinds of offences in defiance of the law. This will not only ruin their own reputation, but will also impair the relationships between the party and the masses of people, reduce the party's prestige and injure the people's initiative in going all out to realize the four modernizations. This is what we will never tolerate.

Many comrades are vigilant in preventing the corruption of the capitalist ideology, but some comrades may pay insufficient attention to preventing the impact of the feudalist ideology. In fact, these two kinds of poisonous ideology may collide under certain conditions. When you have serious individualist ideas and pursue renown, position and material gain, in due course this idea will collide with the old concept of bringing honor to your ancestors and obtaining renown in your homeland and make mischief. Even if the latter can be regarded as the ghost of a dead idea, it may arouse your new motive for seizing renown. Therefore, we must be on our guard against the ghosts of some feudalist ideas which we have not completely eliminated.

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PARTY AND STATE

UPHOLD MAO ZEDONG'S SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES ON LITERATURE, ART

Beijing WENXUE PINGLUN [COMMENTS ON LITERATURE] in Chinese No 3, 15 May 82 p 3-15

[Article by He Xilai [0149 6007 0171] and Du Shuying [2629 2579 3467]: "Uphold the Scientific Principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's Literature and Art Thought"]

[Text] "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" which Comrade Mao Zedong gave 40 years ago and an important contribution to the history of proletarian literature and art. These talks, together with other writings and speeches on literature and art by Comrade Mao Zedong before and after the founding of the PRC, summarize the historical experience of the practice of proletarian literature and art in China since the "May 4 Movement" and set forth the directions and policies of literature and art and the theoretical principles of sinicized Marxist literature and art, and this constitutes Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. For several decades Mao Zedong's literature and art thought has been the guiding thought for China's proletarian artistic creation and theoretical criticism, and under the guidance of just this thought our literature and art have made enormous achievements.

Our course, the road of our literature and art development has not been as straight and level as Changan Street. In the decade of chaos in particular, our literature and art suffered enormous disasters; Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought was unscrupulously perverted and distorted; individual opinions of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning questions of literature and art, which had already proved to be inappropriate by practice, were used with ulterior motives, and many of the basic questions of Marxist literature and art theory were thoroughly mucked up. After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, China's proletarian literature and art entered a brand new period of development. The leftist cage which had confined people's minds for a long time was broken open, a series of forbidden areas which should not have been off limits were broken into, artistic productive forces were given unprecedented liberation, artistic creation rapidly flourished and theoretical research also became more lively daily. Looking back, looking ahead, pondering, searching, everywhere one could sense the vitality and everywhere one could see the spirit of courageous advance. Like all of social life, our literature also experienced a profound change. When people strive to draw the necessary lessons of experience from the complications of the past and reevaluate certain events, people, and

works, and when people search the new creative or theoretical realm and try to answer the sharp and urgent questions which practice poses they cannot avoid restudying, rethinking, and relearning the literature and art thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, which has guided our literature and art movements for so long. This is a very normal phenomenon.

It should be said that the majority of people can make a seeking truth from facts evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought on the basis of the criterion of the practice of testing truth. However, the two attitudes of intellectual rigidity and liberalism which come from "left" and right deserve attention. The former holds a "whatever" attitude that Comrade Mao Zedong's writing and speeches on literature and art are "every word truth" and everything should be done according to them. If anyone expresses any doubts about individual views of Comrade Mao Zedong on literature and art, or believes that it is necessary to change as circumstances change, then he is viewed as "heretical," "revisionist" and "setting up the 'Talks' as conventions to be broken out of." The latter holds a negating attitude towards Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and speeches on literature and art. People who hold this attitude are not good at, or do not wish to conduct, scientific, seeking truth from facts analysis of history, are not good at, or do not wish to, distinguish between the basic principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought and certain incorrect views, especially leftist errors which were committed in work guiding literature and art in the late years, and even want to deny some scientific principles. Some of them also yearn to find a way out in the out-moded theoretical treasure-house of the modern bourgeoisie and promote corrupt idealistic artistic thought. These two attitudes are mistaken, harmful and must be resolutely opposed.

How should Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought be treated correctly? The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" which was approved by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee said "We must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously study and apply its standpoint, viewpoint and method to research the new situations which appear in practice and resolve new questions."¹ This is the only correct attitude for treating Mao Zedong Thought, including literature and art thought.

To uphold Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought it is necessary to conduct strict scientific analysis according to the standpoint of the Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion of truth, i.e., not rashly affirm everything and even less so lightly deny everything. Some of Comrade Mao Zedong's views on literature and art were correct when they were voiced, but with the development of the situation and the change in conditions they are no longer suitable and must be replaced by new formulations and new viewpoints; some of the views which were one-sided and imprecise at the time must be supplemented and revised through the scientific method; some of the views have been repeatedly proven to be mistaken through practice and must be abandoned. The important part of Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and views on literature and art apply the fundamental principles of Marxism, and made a scientific summary of the historical experience of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement. The crystallization of this scientific summary is the basic princi-

ples of what we usually call Mao Zedong's literature and art thought, including a series of basic theories and basic policies. For example, proletarian literature and art must serve the broad masses of the people and maintain the broadest and closest links with them; actual life, especially the life of struggle of the broadest masses of the people, is an inexhaustible and sole source of proletarian literature and art; while reforming the objective world, literature and art workers must also reform their own subjective world, reform their own ability to understand and become one with the masses in their thoughts and feelings; the principle of "use the old for the present, use the foreign for the Chinese" must be adopted, the artistic and literary experience of antiquity and foreign countries must be absorbed and a "Chinese style and Chinese school which the ordinary Chinese will enjoy" must be established and developed; it is necessary to implement "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" to make the most of the proletariat's broadest artistic democracy and artistic freedom to create the most favorable environment and conditions for the flourishing and development of proletarian literature and art, etc. Through severe tests of several decades of historical upheavals the above basic principles were repeatedly proven by practice to be correct, scientific, and objectively true. What is meant by upholding Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought basically is upholding the above important scientific principles, especially applying these scientific principles to research new situations and resolve new questions and summarize the brand new experience provided by practice.

Literature and Art Must Serve the People and Society and Maintain the Closest Ties With the Masses

Proletarian literature and art is the people's art in the true sense of the broadest mass basis. Its flesh and blood ties with the masses are its life-blood. To act as the voice of the masses, to reflect the life of struggle of the masses and to express the thoughts and feelings, ideals, desires and demands of the masses is its bounden duty. Comrade Mao Zedong had a firm grip on this essential characteristic of proletarian literature and art, and developed his brilliant exposition by starting with the relationship between literature and art and the people.

In China, the new democratic revolution which began with the May 4 Movement has been a great anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat. The nature of this revolution determined the nature of the proletarian literature and art movement which was an important front. Proceeding from the fundamental Marxist viewpoint that the people are the force which creates history, Comrade Mao Zedong especially emphasized the mass nature of this literature and art movement. In "On New Democracy" he said: "New democratic culture (including literature and art--authors) in a word is the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal culture of the masses led by the proletariat." He also said: "This new democratic culture of the masses and thus is democratic. It should serve the workers, peasants and toiling masses who make up over 90 percent of the people and gradually become their culture."

The important question which Comrade Mao Zedong resolved in "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was "a fundamental question and a question of principle": Who should literature and art serve? He said: "Our question is basically a question of being for the masses and how to be for the masses." In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, the question of serving the masses (at the time primarily workers, peasants, and soldiers) was the beginning and end of resolving the whole question of revolutionary literature and art, the core of the whole question. It was proceeding from precisely this central question that on the basis of summarizing scientifically the lessons of experience of the revolutionary culture movement since the May 4 Movement Comrade Mao Zedong explained and resolved a series of important questions of literature and revolution, literature and art and life, popularization and improvement, reform of the writer's world view, praise and blame, etc. The basic viewpoint of Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and speeches on literature and art in the period from the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art right up to Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction is also shot through with this main thread that literature and art must serve the broad masses of the people.

The relationship between literature and art and the people is a question which has existed since the birth of literature and art. In the history of literature and art, both in China and abroad, all works of literature and art which are superior have maintained a certain relationship, indirectly or directly, to this or that degree, by this or that method, with the masses. However, writers and theoreticians before the proletariat were unable to fundamentally resolve the question of the relationship between literature and art and the masses creatively and theoretically because the masses of the time were in a position of servitude and because of their own limitations ideologically. Only with the advent of Marxism was their theoretical basis for fundamentally resolving this question. However, in the time of Marx and Engels a real mass literature and art movement had not begun, and works which could be called proletarian mass literature and art were still in the embryonic state. Thus, under the historical conditions of the time, Marx and Engels had not clearly stated the question of how literature and art should serve the people, or at least had not given a profound explanation of this question. The first to state that literature and art must "serve the thousands upon thousands of laboring people and the essence, strength and future of these nations"² was Lenin. That was in November 1905 during the high tide of the Russian democratic revolution. After the October Revolution, the above idea of Lenin's was further developed due to the development of the revolutionary movement and literature and art. In a talk with Caitejin [5591 3676 6855] he said: "Art belongs to the people. It must have its most solid foundation at the lowest rung of the laboring masses. It must be understood and liked by these masses. It must be integrated with the feelings, thoughts, and will of these masses and raise them. It must arouse the artists in the masses and cause them to be developed."³ Comrade Mao Zedong carried forward this glorious idea of Lenin's, and on the basis of the specific practice of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement developed it creatively and made it Chinese. For example, on the basis of the specific characteristics of the classes in Chinese society at the time and their attitude towards the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong conducted a specific analysis of the "masses of the people" and said that the workers, peasants, and soldiers were the main body, while the urban petty bourgeoisie, laboring masses, and intellectuals "are revolutionary allies" "who will cooperate with us for a long time,"

and thus the idea that literature and art serves the people is that it serves the above-mentioned four classes but primarily workers, peasants and soldiers. Or again, on the basis of the fundamental ideological condition of China's revolutionary literature and art workers, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Writers must plunge into the thick of the life of workers, peasants and soldiers, must resolve the question of standpoint in actuality and not just orally, and become one in thought and feelings with the broad masses, primarily with the workers, soldiers and peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the people. This provided guaranteed conditions from the subjective aspect of the writer for literature and art to serve the masses. Or again, on the basis of the specific environment of the Chinese revolutionary struggle of the time, Comrade Mao Zedong combined the ideas that literature and art serve the masses and literature and art serve the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. He demanded that writers take the standpoint of the proletariat and the masses, create works of literature and art "to serve as powerful weapons to unite the people, educate the people, attack the enemy and annihilate the enemy and help the people struggle against the enemy with one heart and mind." In his view, for literature and art to serve the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary war of the time was fundamentally also to serve the masses of the people. In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong's discussion that the popularization of literature must be the people's popularization, and improvement must be the people's improvement; the discussion of the revolutionary utilitarianism of proletarian literature and art which "proceed from the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, which make up over 90 percent of the population"; the discussion of the relationship between praise and blame in literature and art which is resolved by the criterion of the fundamental interests of the masses of the people, etc., were Mao Zedong's application and development of the universal principles of Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory in the specific practice of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement, and important contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory in the relationship of literature and art to the masses of the people.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The people are the mother of writers and artists. The artist life of all progressive literature and art workers is in their flesh and blood ties with the people. To forget, ignore, or cut off these ties will dry up artistic life."⁴ The practice of the past 40 years has repeatedly proven that if these ties are maintained, proletarian literature and art will maintain its flourishing vitality and will develop greatly; if these ties are cut off, proletarian literature and art will be on their last legs and even basically changed.

In the Great Cultural Revolution and the previous state, the tendency of literature and art to be divorced from the people became increasingly clear and increasingly serious. Making a group of works which reflected the demands and hopes of the masses "anti-party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds" in 1957 was the earliest expression of this trend. Thus works which presented a false picture of peace and prosperity, which avoided contradiction and which closed their eyes to the ever worsening difficulties of the masses due to the rampancy of the leftist thought tide increased daily. This is not the people's literature and art. Its further transformation of necessity led to the emergence of

an anti-people literature and art. The deification and conspiratorial literature and art which virtually dominated the literature and art scene for 10 years because it was advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was out-and-out anti-people literature and art.

For a long time in the past our literature and art circles were keen to make literature and art part of politics, and raised the slogan to serve politics and emphasized it to an absolute degree, even demanding that it serve very momentary and localized policies. Under such conditions and in response to such slogans as "act out innermost thoughts, sing out innermost thoughts, write out innermost thoughts, paint innermost thoughts" could also be made unchallenged criteria. This of necessity made literature and art simply a tool and a mouthpiece for politics, especially when leftist errors in politics became increasingly serious, the harm this slogan did was very obvious.

The restoration of the people's maternal flesh and blood ties with literature is something which began only after the smashing of the "gang of four." This is an important characteristic of the new literature and art which is mainly revolutionary realism. This is expressed in: first, works of literature and art not only truly reflect the suffering, devastation, and unhappiness experienced by the masses in the decade of chaos, and the scars left on their spirit and their epic struggle in adversity, but also reflects with deep strokes the tortuous path which the masses have walked in the last 20 years and their thoughts on this setback; second, literature and art works have courageously exposed many sharp and urgent social questions and abuses, for example, anti-bureaucratism and its incorrect style, and played a promoting role in present social change; third, literature and art works solemnly and earnestly express the strong desire and cry of the masses' demand for reform, portray images of those who joined the four modernizations, pioneers, industrialists, and new men who carry forward change and the modern heroes of the defensive war. Just because the flesh and blood ties of art and the masses were restored, the masses are more concerned with artistic creation than ever before, and the audience for all forms of art is extremely broad. All works which truly reflect their lives, demands, hopes, feelings and ideals arouse strong sympathy and enormous reverberations. It should be said that literature and art of the new period developed with the support and concern of the party and the broad masses of the people. Without this vigorous support it would have been very difficult to smash the "leftist" fetters and very difficult to achieve the present condition.

In today's socialist new period, the party Central Committee has proposed that literature and art serve the people and socialism, and this is the application and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought under the conditions of socialism. This formulation both supports the theoretical core of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought and avoids the leftist error which was committed when handling the relationship between literature and art and politics in the past few decades, and opens up an even broader road for the development of China's socialist literature and art today. Comrade Hu Qiaomu said very correctly: "To serve socialism is a broad concept. As long as it is advantageous for cultivating the new man's world view, ideals, character, faith, will, wisdom, courage, values, and entire spiritual world, then it is serving socialism."⁵

The literature and art of the new period, speaking in terms of its main currents, is something which upholds the direction of serving the people and upholds the central core of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought in reality and not just in name. Of course, there are also a few works which express a more serious tendency to be divorced from the people. Without considering the fundamental interests and needs of the broad masses of the people, individual writers even publicly proclaim that their works were written for the few with similar tastes. In actuality they advocate individualistic "self-expression" which runs counter to the thoughts and feelings of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, and is the "self-expression" of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia which Comrade Mao Zedong criticized 40 years ago. This erroneous trend must be criticized and corrected.

Social Life Is the Sole Source of Literature and Art Creation

Emphasizing that social life is the sole source of literature and art creation is a fundamental principle of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. The relationship between literature and art and life is one of the most fundamental questions in literature and art creation. Before the birth of Marxism, a great many progressive literature and art theoreticians had conducted brilliant expositions on this question.

Comrade Mao Zedong summarized the rich experience which had been accumulated in this aspect in the literature and art of the past, applied the fundamental viewpoint of his "On Practice" to the realm of literature and art and made a specific and incisive exposition of the question of the relationship between literature and art and life. He said:

"What is the ultimate source of all kinds of literature and art? Works of literature and art which are ideological are reflections of a certain social life in man's mind. Revolutionary literature and art is the reflection of the people's life in the mind of the revolutionary writer. In the people's lives there has always been a mine of raw materials for literature and art. This is something in the natural state, something crude, but it is something most moving, most rich, and most fundamental; in this regard they make all literature and art pale by comparison, and they are an inexhaustible sole source for all literature and art. This is the sole source because there can be only this source and there cannot be another source."

In this passage there are three important ideas which must be noted. First, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasizes very strongly the ultimately decisive role of social life for literature and art creation. Second, when stressing the ultimately decisive role of objective social life for literature and art creation, he definitely does not mean passive objective determinism. He does not overlook the subjective dynamic role of the writer and the tendency of literature to be revolutionary or reactionary, progressive or backward, determined mainly by the writer's standpoint and worldview. Third, Comrade Mao Zedong stresses the position of life as a "source" for literature and art. He does not make it absolute, but analyzes it dialectically. On the one hand he says that life is "something most moving, most rich, and most fundamental" and on the other hand also says that life is only "a mine of raw material" for literature and art, "something crude" and "in the natural state." Thus, Comrade Mao Zedong expounded profoundly the intimate ties of literature and art and life and the dialectical relationship which differentiates them.

Proceeding from the scientific proposition of Marxism that social life is the sole source of literature and art creative work, Comrade Mao Zedong reaches the following two conclusions in conformity with the laws.

First, writers and artists must plunge into life and join in the great struggle of the masses. Imbued with deep feeling he called: "For China's revolutionary artists to be writers and artists with a future they must go among the masses for a long period, without conditions and wholeheartedly they must go among the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, go into the thick of the struggle, go to the broadest and richest source to observe, to learn, to research, and to analyze all men, all classes, all the masses, all lively forms of life, and forms of struggle, all literary and artistic first-hand materials, then they will be able to start the creative process." In the period right after the October Revolution, Lenin had called: "Get closer to life, pay more attention to how the worker and peasant masses actually build new things in daily work."⁶ He urged Gorky to leave St Petersburg and walk about the real life. In June 1919, Lenin wrote especially to Krupskaya, who was at work on the propaganda ship "Red Flag," for her to find a way to get Gorky a position on the ship the better for Gorky to get closer to real life. But Comrade Mao Zedong's discussions on this question are more profound and shot through with the brilliant idea of dynamic theory of practice "come from the masses, go to the masses." After the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's demands, many writers and artists threw themselves into the great torrent of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle, linked up with the worker, peasant, and soldier masses and thus changed the face of literature and art creative work.

Second, writers and artists must create typical works which come from life. The artistic authenticity which we often mention comes from authenticity of life and is not limited to the authenticity of life of the primitive state but is the epitome of life phenomena in the natural state, "typifies its contradictions and struggles," discards the dross and selects the essential, eliminates the false and retains the true, from this and that, from inner and outer, and achieves what we normally call the authenticity of an artistic model through artistic understanding of the deepening and leaping from feeling to reason. He said, "Though the social life of mankind is the sole source of literature and art, though the latter has incomparably more moving and richer content, the people are dissatisfied with the former and demand the latter. Why is this? It is because although both of the two are beautiful, the life which the works of literature and art reflect can and should be higher, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, more ideal than ordinary real life and thus more universal." This provided an extremely incisive philosophical commentary on the principles of artistic creation and the nature of artistic authenticity. This must be said to be an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxist aesthetics.

Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant idea that life is the sole source of literature and art has enormous direct and vital guiding significance for literature and art creation. Practice proves that by upholding this ideal, literature and art creation can be vital, and make great progress; divorced from this idea, not only can it become partial to idealism, theoretically, but also must suffer setbacks and take the wrong way in literature and art creation. Practice proves

that by upholding this ideal, literature and art creation can be vital, and make great progress; divorced from this idea, not only can it become partial to idealism, theoretically, but also must suffer setbacks and take the wrong way in literature and art creation. From after 1942 to the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, in China's literature and art there appeared a large number of excellent works of literature and art, and a large number of accomplished writers and artists all of which scored great successes under the guidance of the above-described thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. However, after the mid-fifties, using the political movement's criticism of "truthful writing" which had first been put forth by Stalin, criticism of the rational content contained in the slogans "expose the dark side" and "intervene in life," criticism of advocating "realism is the broadest path," "deepening of realism," "describing middle characters," and among these criticisms equating the "truthful writing" of realism with revisionism and making the role of world view the absolute in guiding creative work, etc., all deviated to varying degrees from the scientific principle that real life is the sole source of creativity and its ultimately decisive role in creative work. These idealistic slants in theory played a harmful hindering and destructive role towards creative practice. And during the decade of chaos, the subjugation by the so-called "eight black doctrines" of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their gang and the advocacy of "proceed from the line," "the three saliences" and "will of the authorities" advocating idealistic theory as the philosophical foundation was an even greater thorough refutation of the scientific principle that life is the sole source of creative work, and its necessary consequence in creative work was a flood of "deceptive and fraudulent" works of literature and art.

Through over 20 years of twists and turns, when literature and art circles faced the serious task of setting things to rights after the smashing of the "gang of four" people had to return anew to the scientific principle that life is the sole source of creative work, and through the penalty of practice, people even more sensed the importance and value of this scientific principle. Thus, the cry "proceed from life" gradually rose. As the pace of the thought liberation movement accelerated, literature and art also began to stride closer to the source of life. The important accomplishments we have made in literature and art in recent years mentioned above all are inseparable from the restoration of this principle.

When Transforming the Objective World, Literature and Art Workers Must Transform Their Own Subjective World

In "On Practice" Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The struggle of the proletariat and revolutionary peoples to transform the world includes the following real tasks: transform the objective world and also transform their own subjective world--transform their own ability to understand and transform the relationship of their subjective world with the objective world." This also suits completely literature and art workers. For literature and art works to be more objective and master objectivity more correctly and truthfully demands that writers and artists constantly transform their own subjective worlds, transform their ability to understand and express the objective world (including artistic method, technique, skill, etc.), transform their own standpoint, thoughts, and feelings, and transform the relationship between their subjective world and the objective world.

Five years after uttering the passage quoted above, Comrade Mao Zedong gave another specific explication of the writer's transformation of the objective world at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art. He stressed especially that writers and artists must, through plunging into the life struggle of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, through the study of society and Marxism-Leninism, "through long-term and even bitter tempering" shift their stand "to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to the side of the proletariat" and "become one with the masses" in thought and feeling. This formulation was entirely correct at the time and was thoroughly necessary. This is why:

First of all, since revolutionary literature and art are to serve the broadest masses of the people, primarily the workers, peasants, and soldiers and its source can only be the life of struggle of the masses, and literature and art must express their thoughts, feelings, ideals, hopes, and demands, and be their voices, thus it of necessity demands that writers and artists have a profound understanding of the main objective of description and service. But this understanding can only be achieved by the method and path pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "On Practice": conscientiously practice. It is also as Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art: literature and art workers must participate in the struggle of the masses to change the world, join in the thick of the life of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and link up with them.

Second, the question of literature and art workers linking up with workers, peasants, and soldiers is the key to spreading the revolutionary literature and art movement among the masses. This is a question the new literature movement since the May 4 Movement has wanted to resolve, but which it has never resolved due to the suppression and watchfulness of the Kuomintang reactionaries and because the civil and military revolutionary lines were for a long time separated by the counterrevolutionary and cultural "encirclement and suppression." Before the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, the divorce and estrangement between literature and art and the worker and peasant masses was a serious problem. But only in places where the masses are their own masters, as at Yanan, can the objective conditions be created for literature and art workers to go among the masses and give them the valuable right to go among the masses. The better this integration is achieved, the better it is able to create the necessary literature and arts works suited to the worker and peasant masses and able to spread literature and art among them.

Third, the problem of linking up literature and art workers and the worker and peasant masses is a common question which faced all progressive intellectual circles at the time, especially the large number of intellectuals who entered the liberated areas. This problem had a very sharp reality and urgency. Already 3 years before "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" were delivered, in an essay "The May 4 Movement," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If intellectuals do not link up with the worker and peasant masses then we will get nowhere. The final demarcation of intellectuals as revolutionary, non-revolutionary or counterrevolutionary depends on whether they are willing to and will link up with the worker and peasant masses." Although the intellectuals, including literature and art workers, who came to Yanan and other revolutionary bases at the time hated the old world and were inclined towards revolu-

tion, the conditions and reasons for individuals to take the revolutionary path were very different. Moreover, in terms of their educations and origins, most belonged to the category of petty bourgeois intellectuals. Deep in their souls, most of them still preserved a petty bourgeois intellectual kingdom and to varying degrees had a tendency to look down on the laboring masses. The attitude of most literature and art workers towards the objectives of service and depiction, in the words of Comrade Mao Zedong's generalization, were called "inexperienced, uncomprehending, and without scope to exercise their talents." And the isolation and incompatibility in thought and feelings also was very widespread. Facing these problems, for literature and art workers to be educators and engineers of the soul, there had to be a problem first of educating and changing their own souls, and there had to be the problem of first learning from the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, acquiring the standpoint, ideology and feelings of the proletariat. Only in this way could the problem of who literature and art was for be truly resolved ideologically and the works needed and liked by the worker, peasant, and soldier masses be written.

From the above three points it can be seen that no matter whether it is viewed from the necessary demands of proletarian literature and art development at the time or from the concrete conditions of the ranks of literature and art workers at the time, to say that literature and art workers transform their ideology, change their standpoint and become one with the worker, peasant and soldier masses in thought and feeling is correct and necessary. Practice proves that Comrade Mao Zedong's idea that at the same time that literature and art workers change the objective world they change their own subjective world is an important scientific principle of his literature and art thought, and we must maintain it.

However, at the same time that we affirm the basic viewpoint of the above-discussed scientific principles of Comrade Mao Zedong, we must note that in treating the question of intellectuals, including literature and art workers, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his late years, departed from the same ideology and principle by which he had treated intellectuals in the period of the democratic revolution and committed a leftist error. Comrade Hu Qiaomu said, "This is expressed in concentrated fashion in the violent-type mass-style criticism he constantly launched against literature and art workers and the 1963 and 1964 memos concerning literature and art works (the parth Central Committee has already made these two memos public and repudiated them). The two latter events also were one of the remote causes and proximate causes for the Great Cultural Revolution which he launched. It should be admitted that Comrade Mao Zedong lacked complete understanding and appropriate faith in the writers, artists, and intellectuals of that time in general, and mistakenly saw them as part of the bourgeoisie and even viewed them as "black line figures" and "demons," so that the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique could use this viewpoint to inflict serious harm on them. We must never forget this painful lesson.⁷ In making this analysis and evaluation we are doing so by seeking truth from facts and are thus a propos.

When we study Comrade Mao Zedong's basic principles concerning the literature and art workers changing ideology and the subjective world now, we cannot focus it on the specific demands created by the special circumstances of literature and art workers of that time (such as the demand that literature and art workers undergo a fundamental change from one class to another, etc.) and make it an in-

flexible rule to be carried out to the letter, but should use the fundamental spirit of this principle to guide us in researching today's new situations and resolve new questions. Of course, there has always been a question for literature and art workers of links with the people and being at one with them in thought and feelings, and there has always been a problem of changing their subjective world. As Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "People all change, and never stop even when they grow old."⁸ This is because "ideological change is a long-term task."⁹ However, the basic state of intellectuals now, including literature and art workers, is very different from the time when Comrade Mao Zedong gave his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art": they have already become part of the working class. Thus, the transformation of the subjective world of literature and art workers referred to now is different from the Yanan period, and should belong to the category of selfremolding of the laboring people. It is no longer necessary to emphasize the "transformation" and "conversion" from one class to another. And now it is no longer necessary to issue slogans especially for literature and art workers to carry out "ideological transformation." If this was the case, some people would become transformers and others would become the transformed, and this would repeat the errors of the late fifties, which would not be good for stability and unity and not good for liberation of artistic productive forces. Comrade Chen Yi once said most intensely: "Today we are victorious, we hold political power and thus proclaim ourselves leaders and transformers, to make all people the object of change. This runs completely counter to Chairman Mao's thought, and runs counter to party Central Committee policy."¹⁰ We hope that this phenomenon criticized by Comrade Chen Yi will always be a historical relic.

In addition, transforming the subject world is very broad concept. It includes both the "changing standpoint" and "changing thoughts and feelings" we often refer to, as well as including changing the ability of the subjective to understand the objective and to make the self understand society and conform to objective actuality it is necessary to make the self's understanding be able to stand up to the objective truth of the test of practice.

The Ancient To Serve the Present, the Foreign To Serve the Chinese, Establish and Develop 'a Chinese Work Style and Chinese Manner Enjoyed by the Ordinary Chinese'

"A Chinese work style and Chinese manner enjoyed by the ordinary Chinese" is basically a fundamental topic which comes from the linkage of the universal truth of Marxism and the specific practice of the Chinese revolution. It is first of all the inherent characteristic of all Mao Zedong thought and does not refer only to literature and art.

The question of "Chinese style and Chinese manner" was first proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee in 1938. He said that Marxism could be realized in a certain national form only by linking up with China's specific characteristics. If it cannot become part of the Chinese people, and join with the flesh and blood of the people, then it is only an abstract, empty Marxism.

This idea of Comrade Mao Zedong's was further applied, developed and expanded in a series of later writings--"On New Democracy," "Oppose Party Formalism," "On the Ten Great Relationships," "Talks With Music Workers," and thus became an important scientific principle in his literature and art thought. Applying this principle in literature and art theoretical research demands that one proceed from the historical actuality of China's artistic development and the artistic movement and the establishment of a Marxist literature and art theory which is sinicized and has its own national characteristics. Application in literature and art creative work demands that writers and artists pay attention to literature and art national creativity, paying attention to national traditions, characteristics, style, and forms requires continuing to oppose literature and art dogmatism which has little promise.

In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, to establish and develop, in literature and art, national forms which had a "Chinese style and Chinese manner," one should mainly pay attention to two aspects of work: one is to correctly treat the national literature and art heritage and national literature and art traditions and one is to borrow and study correctly the good experience of literature and art.

In the historical development of the past several thousand years, the Chinese people created a brilliant ancient literature and art and formed their own unique national literature and art traditions. The proletariat must take stock of and carry on the vast ideological materials and ancient heritage and make it the raw material and starting point for developing a new national literature and art. However, this inheritance is not absolutely unprincipled acceptance of everything. Comrade Mao Zedong did not approve of either discounting history or being conservative and sticking to conventions. Comrade Mao Zedong said about literature and art forms: "In art there is the question of form and the question of national forms. Art cannot be divorced from the people's customs, feelings, or language, and it cannot be divorced from the people's historical development. The national conservatism of art is rather strong and can even survive for thousands of years. The art of antiquity is still appreciated by later generations."¹¹ The national character of art is inseparable from the nation's customs, habits, character, psychology, language, etc. It is gradually accumulated in long historical ages from the common lives of generations of this people and develops slowly; and the stability of national forms is even greater. The "national conservatism" mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong refers to this point. This stability and conservatism may even go to such a degree so that Stalin felt that the difference between proletarian culture and bourgeois culture is not in form but only in content. Thus he stated his famous "content is proletarian, form is national--this is the culture of all mankind which socialism is to achieve."¹² When giving a definition of new democratic culture, Comrade Mao Zedong also said, "National forms and the content of new democratic culture are our new culture today."¹³

Comrade Mao Zedong was unusually well acquainted with China's history and its present state and was well-versed in the attainments of ancient culture. He always regarded highly carrying on the national traditions. He could skilfully use classical verse forms to express revolutionary ideological content and give voice to his great feelings as a proletarian revolutionary, and these poems had very high artistic level and aesthetic value. His entire life he cherished the national dramatic arts, including the Hunan regional opera; he set the drama

reform direction in "let a hundred flowers bloom, weed out the old and let the new emerge," he proposed collecting folk songs, etc., all of which speaks for the high regard he had for national traditions and national forms of art.

However, his high regard for national traditions in art was for no other reason than to develop a new proletarian literature and art which had the national characteristics and the characteristics of the time. Thus he concluded "study of the ancients is for the living of today." This is the principle of the famous "use the ancient for the present" in treating the question of the heritage of ancient literature and art.

In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, although national traditions in art, including national characteristics and forms, have stability in one regard, in the final analysis they are still developing. Thus the best preservation is development. Comrade Mao Zedong's statement: "Oppose dogmatism and conservatism, for these two things are not good for China"¹⁴ proceeds from this dialectical viewpoint of preservation and development.

The motive for promoting the development and change of national artistic traditions comes from two aspects. On one hand it comes from among the people. This is the different material conditions of life, mainly different economic lives, which people faced in different periods. Different conditions of material life of necessity leave their own stamp on people's spiritual life, including people's political views, religion, morality, social psychology, and aesthetic tastes. These changed elements reflected in art must stimulate change and development of the national traditions. This is the decisive and main aspect. The other aspect comes from the mutual influences and inter-penetration of peoples and countries. This mutual influence and inter-penetration is an objective law and with the advance of history, is expressed more and more clearly. The history of cultural development of peoples in China and abroad proves this point. For just this reason, Comrade Mao Zedong always had a very high regard for studying foreign things, and stressed absorbing the strong points of other peoples. As early as 1940 in "On New Democracy" he said, "China should absorb advanced culture of foreign countries in great quantities and make it raw material for its own cultural food, this kind of work has not been done enough in the past." He felt that regardless of whether it was foreign contemporary culture or ancient culture, "all are things which we can use today and all should be absorbed."¹⁵ By the fifties, in "On the Ten Great Relationships" he stressed, "Our policy is that we should study the strong points of all peoples and all countries; politics, economics, science, technology, literature, and art, all truly good things we should study. But, we must study analytically and critically, we cannot study blindly, cannot copy everything and transport it mechanically. Their short points and defects, of course, we should not study."¹⁶ This is to say, in absorbing foreign things we should take their essence and cast off their dross through a process of critical transformation, and absolutely cannot "absorb them completely uncritically and swallow them whole." He said, "The advocacy of so-called 'total westernization' is still a mistaken viewpoint." Comrade Mao Zedong also emphasized in particular that the study of foreign things should have a clear objective, that is, "study the strong points of foreign countries to straighten out Chinese things, and create Chinese things which have unique national style." In a word, "study foreigners

for today's Chinese."¹⁷ This is the famous principle "use the foreign for China."

In the decade of chaos, under the ultra-leftist slogans to oppose "feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism" and "big, foreign, and ancient," the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique on the one hand implemented a policy of anarchism towards the national literature and art legacy which cut off history and denied all the people, and on the other hand implemented a policy towards foreign literature and art of total exclusion and national isolation, which caused great harm to literature and art.

Already in the last century Marx and Engels said, "Since the bourgeoisie has squeezed the whole world's markets, this makes the production and consumption of all countries global in nature...the past condition where places and peoples closed themselves off from international contact and were self-sufficient has disappeared and what has arisen to replace it now is mutual intercourse and mutual reliance of peoples. It is thus with material production and it is also thus with spiritual production. The fruits of people's spiritual activity has become something to be enjoyed in common. Day by day a people's one-sidedness and narrowness is less and less able to exist, and thus a world literature has formed from the many ethnic and local literatures."¹⁸ It is clear that national isolation in literature and art is a kind of retrogression, and retrogression even as far as the bourgeoisie is inferior. In the past few years our party has corrected this anti-Marxist ultraleftist policy and implemented open policies from economics to culture. Since it is open, of course, it is hard to avoid having some bourgeois corruptions come in along with it, and it is necessary to wage effective struggle against these things, otherwise bourgeois liberalism will appear and influence the healthy organism of our people. However, just because of this we cannot stop being open and lock ourselves up again. Some people also view these normal lessons in literature and art, such as absorbing and transforming certain artistic methods from the contemporary West, as great outrages and think they insult the achievements of the ancients, so they fight hard to oppose them, and that is not right.

Of course, we should also pay attention to another trend, which thinks that everything foreign is good and everything which has come down to us from our forefathers is not wanted, and advocates rejecting national traditions and copying everything from abroad. This is a repetition of the "total westernization" under new conditions. We should know that "total westernization has been proposed by some but cannot be implemented."¹⁹ This is already well-known in modern Chinese history, including the history of modern Chinese culture. In literature and art, if we disregard China's national situation, do not consider the national traditions and characteristics, and do not want "a Chinese style and Chinese manner enjoyed by the ordinary Chinese," then there is no way out.

Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend, Develop Proletarian Literature Democracy and Freedom

The policy of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend, was put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in May 1956. The next year he explained it fully in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." The presentation of this principle was after the large-scale and violent mass-

style class struggle, in which class struggle was no longer the main social contradiction, was basically concluded and was predicated upon the recognition that in socialist society there were still various contradictions, mainly a large number of contradictions among the people. Just exactly as Comrade Mao Zedong said, it only applied to among the people. It is a principle for resolving questions of right and wrong and questions of contradictions among the people in the realm of science and culture and is not the same as a coercive method and a dictatorial method for resolving contradictions between the enemy and us. The objective in putting forth this principle was to mobilize all positive factors to promote the development of the economy and culture, to satisfy the people's constantly growing urgent demands of material and cultural life. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend was a principle to promote development of art and the advancement of science, and a principle to promote the flourishing of China's socialist culture."

Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend principle summarized the objective laws of mankind's scientific and cultural development. Literature and art, by their very nature, are an unusually free spiritual activity of mankind and are incompatible with mechanical coercion, slavery, etc. As far as socialist literature and art development is concerned, implementing this principle is to fully develop the democracy and freedom of proletarian literature and art, to fully believe in the ability of the masses to discriminate and truly make the masses the final and most authoritative judge of works of literature and art.

For a long time now people have formed a bias so that if once democracy and freedom are mentioned it is certainly "bourgeois rubbish," and certainly a suspicion that one is engaging in "bourgeois liberalism." This is actually a misconception. When explaining the demands of the double hundred principle, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Different forms and styles in art can develop freely, different schools in science can debate freely. We think that to use administrative force to coerce adoption of a style or a school, or to prohibit another style or school can be harmful to the development of art and sciences. Questions of right and wrong in art and science should be resolved through the free discussion of the art world and the scientific world, and be resolved through the practice of art and science and should not be resolved through the adoption of a single method."²⁰ In this passage, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed "freedom" in three places: "develop freely," "debate freely," and "discuss freely." Clearly, in Comrade Mao Zedong's view, freedom of socialist literature and art is a necessary condition and important method for the development of literature and art, and that coercion of administrative force is an obstacle to the development of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong made the freedom of literature and art an objective law of the development of literature and art and emphasized it. This is a consistent idea with him. Already in his talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art he stressed: "We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to actively become close to workers, peasants and soldiers, and give them complete freedom to go among the masses and give them complete freedom to create truly revolutionary literature and art." Comrade Mao Zedong also said, "Under the great principle of unity against Japan, we should permit the existence of works of

literature and art which contain a variety of political attitudes," "and should permit the free contention of various kinds and descriptions of works of art." Thus, we can see that presenting the principle of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend, was based on Comrade Mao Zedong's understanding of the objective law of freedom of literature and art.

Before Comrade Mao Zedong, the authors of the classics of Marxism discussed the need for complete freedom in the creative activity of literature and art as a part of spiritual production and the lack of freedom for literature and art in capitalist society. They saw behind the curtain of "freedom" and "democracy" which dazzled through elaborate decoration, the dependence of the artist and artistic activity on the slave-ship of the propertied and money. Marx and Engels said, "The bourgeoisie has wiped out the soul of professions which heretofore were respected by people and which they held in awe. It has made physicians, lawyers, teachers, poets, and scientists hired labor bought with its money."²¹ Only by overthrowing the capitalist system can artists and artistic works have freedom in the true sense. Lenin developed these ideas of Marx and Engels, and said that the proletarian revolution "opened a big gate" for artists "so that they broke away from the low conditions of life explained with extraordinary clarity in the "Communist Manifesto" and entered a vast universe of freedom."²² Lenin regarded freedom of artistic creation very highly and his famous views on the two "vast universes" in "Party Organization and Party Literature" are well known. However, he never made the question abstract. Lenin was disgusted with the beautiful sounding phrases of bourgeois "freedom, equality, universal brotherhood" and was disgusted with the intellectual-style empty talk of "pure democracy." When he talked about freedom he always strictly differentiated proletarian freedom and bourgeois freedom, and stressed that proletarian artistic freedom should be greater and broader than the bourgeoisie's and thus true freedom. He said, "In a society based on privately owned property, the artist produces a commodity for the market and needs a buyer. Our revolution has liberated artists from the oppression of this senseless state. The revolution has made the Soviet nation the patron and subscriber of the artist. Each artist and each person who wants to become an artist has the right to freely create independently according to his own psychology."²³ Lenin understood art very well, understood artists and their creative laws. Time and again he warned Lunacharsky, who was in charge of culture and the arts after the October Revolution, "Don't treat art roughly."²⁴

It is not hard to see that Marx, Engels and Lenin generally touched on the many viewpoints later developed by Comrade Mao Zedong which focused on the core of literature and art democracy and freedom. However, they were unable to generalize their own views into a complete principle. On the basis of China's situation, Comrade Mao Zedong first proposed the principle of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend and the entire theory related to this principle. This is another of his important contributions.

And yet, what is regrettable is that 20 years after this principle was put forward it has not been conscientiously and continuously implemented. As soon as it was put forward it encountered the expansion of the anti-rightist struggle and a large group of literature and art workers who had responded to the party's call for "contending" and "blooming" were attacked as "rightists," some only be-

cause a work had its own characteristics or advocated its own artistic viewpoint. From then on, the double hundred principle actually became a mere scrap of paper. In 1961 and 1962 Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi both took the lead in calling for artistic democracy and freedom. Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "We should create a democratic style, and change the work style of the literature and art world. First of all we should change the cadre's work style; to transform the cadre's work style we must first of all change the work style of leadership cadres."²⁵ Comrade Chen Yi appealed: "We should open up democracy and let them speak; if comrades have something to say they should dare to speak out, this is a good phenomenon for our party, the picture of prosperity; not to talk out, but to withdraw is not a very good omen."²⁶ How movingly and how apropos people speak out! However, because the theory of broadening the class struggle was proposed at the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee came right after that and their pertinent cries did not have time to be turned into reality when they were swallowed up by the political noise of the leftists and the tide of literature and art criticism that came in high wave after wave. By the midpoint of the "Great Cultural Revolution" the above-mentioned views of Comrade Chen Yi became the grounds for persecuting him. In this way literature and art democracy and freedom were finally driven out of the literary camp completely, thoroughly, cleanly and comprehensively, and replaced by feudal, fascist cultural dictatorship.

After the smashing the "gang of four," the double hundred principle once again returned to the literary camp amid the masses' cries to suppress cultural dictatorship. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has reaffirmed this principle again and again. It should be said that the tentative flourishing of literature and artistic works in recent years and the activity in theoretical criticism are inseparable from the conscientious implementation of this principle.

Experience both positive and negative over the past 20 or more years has been conclusive proof that the let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend principle is an important magic weapon which must be upheld. Socialist literature and art democracy and freedom, which is the core of this principle, should also certainly be upheld. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said: "The yamen work style must be abandoned and administrative orders in literature and art creation must be abolished." He also said: "What to write and how to write can only be determined by writers artists seeking and gradually finding in the practice of literature and art. There should be no flagrant interference in this area."²⁷ We must uphold the party's leadership of literature and art and improve party leadership, and through implementing correct principles (including the double hundred principle) carry out the party's leadership of literature and art, but definitely not interfere with the creative freedom of the artist.

Overcoming the resistance of ideological rigidity and semi-rigidity in implementing the double hundred principle is still an important task. At the same time, works and viewpoints which are erroneous and unhealthy creatively and theoretically and even questionable politically should be severely and conscientiously criticized. Of course, this criticism should be seeking truth from facts, entirely reasonable and should not attack one fault without considering other aspects, to use one's authority to oppress others or to blow things out of proportion.

As for evaluating works of literature and art we should certainly adopt a cautious attitude. If it is not something which is politically reactionary, openly proclaims a counterrevolutionary viewpoint or sings a different tune than the line, principle and policy being carried out by the party, then it is best if the leadership does not draw the conclusions. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Whether this form will survive and whether or not the people will like it is not something which leadership approval can determine; but present leadership decisions are mostly approved by the masses. Whether a work of literature and art is good or bad should be determined by the masses and not by the leadership."²⁸ The spirit of Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech is very important.

China's socialist literature and art is now undergoing a great change. We are advancing in pondering and searching. The scientific principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought will always be a guide to lead us forward. If only we uphold it, apply it, enrich it, and develop it we will certainly be able to secure even more glorious achievements.

We look forward with full confidence to the early arrival of the prime of a socialist literature and art in which flowers bloom in a riot of color and masses of stars glisten and which is truly worthy of the name.

Feb-Mar 1982

FOOTNOTES

1. "Renmin chubanshe," single volume edition, p 51.
2. "Dangde zuzhi he dangde wenxue" [Party organization and party literature], "Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin Lun Wenyi" [Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Literature and Art], 1974, p 109.
3. "Liening Lun Wenxue yu Yishu" [Lenin on literature and art], II, p 912.
4. "Zai Zhongguo Wenxu Yishu Gongzuozhe Disici Daibiaodahuishangde Zhuci" [Congratulatory speech at the fourth congress of Chinese literature and art workers], see WEN YI BAO 1979, 11-12 joint edition.
5. "Dangqian Sixiang Zhanxiande Ruogan Wenti" [Certain question of the present ideological front], HONG QI 1981 No 23.
6. "Lun Women Baozhide Xingzhi" [On the nature of our press], "Liening Quanji" [Lenin's Complete Works] Vol 28, p 83.
7. "Dangqian sixiang..." loc cit.
8. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi" [Zhou Enlai on literature and art], Vol 1, p 38.
9. Ibid., p 19.
10. Ibid., p 69.

11. "Tong Yinyue Gongzuozhede Tanhua" [Talks with music workers] REMIN RIBAO
9 Sep 1979.
12. "Lun Dongfang Renmin Daxuede Zhengzhi Renwu," [On the Political Mission of
the People's of the East University], see "Sidalin Quanji" [Stalin's Com-
plete Works], Vol 7, p 117.
13. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" [Selected Works of Mao Zedong], p 700.
14. "TongYinyue..." loc cit.
15. "Mao Zedong Xuan..." loc cit.
16. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" Vol 5, p 285.
17. "Tong Yinyue..." loc cit.
18. "Gongchandang Xuanyan" [Communist Manifesto], "Makesi Engesi Quanji"
[Complete Works of Marx and Engels], Vol 4, p 470.
19. "Liu Shaoqi Xuanji" [Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi], p 333.
20. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" op cit, Vol 5, p 388.
21. "Gongchandang Xuanyan," loc cit.
22. See Caitejin [5591 3676 6855] "Huiyi Liening" [Reminiscing About Lenin],
"Liening Lun Wenxue yu Yishu" op cit, II, p 916.
23. Ibid., p 911.
24. Ibid., p 931.
25. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi," op cit, p 10.
26. Ibid., p 77.
27. "Zai Zhongguo Wenxue..." loc cit.
28. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi," op cit, p 21.

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PARTY AND STATE

REFORM MOVEMENT OF 1898, ITS TWO LEADERS APPRAISED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU (JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH) in Chinese No 3,
20 May 82 pp 103-107

[Article by Ling Zhi [0407 5347]: "A Few Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement and Its Two Leaders"]

[Text] Many books and articles of research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao published by the Chinese academia since the founding of the PRC involve a great many problems. Due to lack of space, the following are brief expositions of a few of the problems.

I. The Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement

There is no consensus in the academic circles on the nature of the 1898 Reform Movement. Many comrades regard the 1898 Reform Movement as a bourgeois reformist movement. This was the basic view shared by the academic circles before the "Great Cultural Revolution." In 1980, Tang Zhijun wrote an article saying that the reform faction was afraid to tackle the land problem. Instead, they asked only for the establishment of agricultural associations and schools "to develop agriculture for the staples." They were extremely careful and did not want to offend the feudalist ruling authorities, hoping to win the cooperation of the feudalist forces in the pursuit of specific reforms. They did not present to the public either a revolutionary theory or a revolutionary program. What they proposed was still "to pursue reforms in the name of the ancients," and the "rights of the people" they advocated were in reality the "rights of the gentry." Interested only in winning over the landlords and bureaucratic intellectuals, and banking on Emperor Guangxu who was powerless, the reform faction had to depend solely on issuing directives and orders for constitutional changes and modernization, and to prepare for the growth of capitalism without encroaching on the basic rights and interests of the landed class. Their ideal government was but a constitutional monarchy acceptable to both the feudalist landlords and the bourgeoisie. "In attempting to secure national independence and the development of Chinese capitalism, the reform faction had to opt for the reformist road which they find most practical." ("Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement," RENMIN RIBAO 20 June 1980)

In the last couple of years, some comrades claimed that the 1898 Reform Movement was a bourgeois reform movement and not a reformist movement. These are their reasons: First, reforms and reformism, like revisions and revisionism, are two different concepts which must be strictly distinguished. Marxism which champions revolutions is opposed to reformism but does not oppose reforms indiscriminately. Second, reformism is a foreign word which had cropped up in the late 19th century European labor movement. It was a political tide hostile to both Marxism and the basic rights of the proletariat. It sought to replace the anti-bourgeoisie class struggles with reforms which do not encroach upon the bourgeois system of exploitation. Such being the case, we simply cannot equate any reform before the emergence of Marxism with reformism. Third, although the reforms of 1898 did not demand the overthrow of the Qing Government of the feudalist landed class, it did represent the wishes of the bourgeoisie to develop capitalism and to change the feudal society into a capitalist society by means of political and economic reforms initiated from above. It was a step forward under the circumstances at that time when bourgeois revolutions had not appeared. We may say that if not for the 1898 Reform Movement, the 1911 Revolution could not have occurred so soon. Judged in the historical context of the revolutionary struggles in semi-colonial and semi-feudalist China, the 1898 Reform Movement belongs in the category of the old bourgeois democratic revolutionary movements, a "step" in the march of history, and should be called a progressive bourgeois reform movement. (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Sep 1980)

In his article "From Westernization and Modernization to Bourgeois Revolution," Li Shiyue said "the Reform Movement obviously does not belong in the category of reformism." It "attempted to go through channels from the top working downward, i.e., reforms." "The 1898 Reform Movement was the first attempt of the bourgeoisie to seize political power." (LISHI YANJIU No 1, 1980)

Other comrades think the 1898 Reform Movement was "a bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement, attempting to turn China into a capitalist society." Since "the 1898 Reform Movement led by the reform faction sought to bring about a new social configuration, it ought to belong in the category of social revolution." ("More on the Nature of the 1898 Reform Movement," Journal of South China Teachers College, No 1, 1982)

With regard to the role of 1898 Reform Movement in history, all the writings before the "Cultural Revolution" agreed that it played a significant role in seeking national salvation and liberation of the mind.

The research by the academic circles on the 1898 Reform Movement which subsided during the "Cultural Revolution" came back to life after the downfall of the "gang of four." In his article "Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement," Tang Zhijun said: "The 1898 Reform Movement occurred after the 1894 Sino-Japanese War when China was confronted with the threat of partition and Chinese capitalism had just begun to develop. It sought national salvation and the development of capitalism. Since it represented the trend of Chinese social development at that time, it signified progress." He also pointed out: "As an

enlightenment, the 1898 Reform Movement encouraged the Chinese intellectuals to seek liberation of their mind. Although this was only the very first step, it was nevertheless a very important step." (RENMIN RIBAO 20 June 1980 p 5)

Xiao Li pointed out that the 1898 Reform Movement was the first violent attack against the feudalist autocracy, the first patriotic national salvation movement and the first bourgeois ideological enlightenment movement in modern Chinese history. ("The Positive Impact of the 1898 Reform Movement Should Be Affirmed," KUANGMING RIBAO, 17 July 1979) Other comrades have gone even further to say that the 1898 Reform Movement was a patriotic movement in Chinese history, a milestone of the awakening of the Chinese nation in modern history.

On top of this, historians are debating the appraisal of Emperor Guangxu in the light of the studies on the 1898 Reform Movement. To pursue more penetrating research on the causes of the failure of the 1898 Reform Movement and the lessons to be learned, some comrades have compared it with the Meiji Reform in Japan, and analyzed why the Meiji Reform had succeeded and why the 1898 Reforms had failed.

II. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei and His "Treatise on Universal Harmony"

1. The Appraisal of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony"

First of all, there are different theories about the year the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" was written. Some believe the book was written in 1901-1902. Some claim the book was written in 1901-1902, but its basic concepts and major theme had existed for quite some time. Some allege the book took 18 years (1884-1902) to finish. Others claim that since the first two parts of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" were published in 1913 by BUREN ZAZHI, it must have been completed a little before 1913.

The academic circles are divided in their appraisal of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony." According to one of the theories, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony," which represents Kang Youwei's thought in his later life, is a book designed to dope the masses and to oppose the democratic revolution.

In his 1957 article ("On Kang Youwei's Treatise on Universal Harmony," "WEN SHI CHE" No 1, 1957), Tang Zhijun believed: "Actually opposed to the national democratic revolution, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" sought to apply reform as a pretext to suppress the revolution, and resorted to "lofty ideals--universal harmony--to dope the masses, but he himself did not and could not find a way to reach universal harmony."

In his 1979 article "On Kang Youwei's Theory of Three Stages of Universal Harmony" (ZHONGHUA WENSHI LUNCONG, Vol 2, 1979) Tang again pointed out: "Kang Youwei's theory of "three stages of universal harmony" before and after the 1898 Reform Movement did not remain the same." His earlier

"theory of universal harmony" and his later work "A Treatise on Universal Harmony" should be appraised separately. Tang said: "Before the 1898 Reform Movement, the spearhead of struggle of the 'three stages of universal harmony' aimed at the feudalist diehards, while the 'three stages of universal harmony' after the 1898 coup gradually turned toward the bourgeois revolutionaries." Consequently, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" became Kang Youwei's "theoretical backstop of his post-coup advocacy of constitutional monarchy and the restoration of the dethroned monarch."

In an article "Discussions Concerning the Ideological Substance of Kang Youwei's 'Treatise on Universal Harmony'" (WENSHI ZAZHI, No 2, 1957), Zhang Qizhi and others claimed "'To rise above national boundaries' which Kang Youwei called 'the way to save the people' is actually anti-national independence, anti-democratic revolution, but pro-constitutional monarchy. If we say the theory of constitutional monarchy implied progressiveness during the 1898 Reform Movement, then the advocacy of such a theory after the 1911 Revolution would be utterly reactionary."

According to another view, the essence of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" is basically Kang Youwei's earlier progressive thought on bourgeois democracy and freedom. But this does not agree completely with its final appraisal of the work.

In his article "On Kang Youwei's 'Treatise on Universal Harmony'" (WEN SHI ZHE No 2, 1955), Li Zehou said: "The content and uniqueness of the 'Treatise on Universal Harmony' rested on its use of a Utopian framework to express candidly and fully Kang Youwei's earlier progressive anti-feudalist bourgeois thought." "The central theme of the 'Treatise on Universal Harmony,' the foundation of Kang Youwei's theory of democracy and his fantasy of universal harmony consists of individual freedom, equality, independence, individual rights, and the liberation of individual personality." This opposition to the feudalist family and patriarchal system "represents not only the heartfelt wishes of the masses but also the objective requirement of social development. This is exactly the progressive ideology of the nascent bourgeois class."

In his article "On the Treatise on Universal Harmony" (included in "Selected Research Essays on Modern Chinese Thinkers"), Lin Keguang said the book affirms its battle against feudalism, exposes the "superficiality of the capitalist material civilization and the hypocrisy of what the bourgeoisie regard as democratic freedom," and gives publicity to the "advanced bourgeois thought of democracy and liberalism." He thinks the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" stands for "both socialism and democracy" and that "it represents the apex of Kang's political philosophy, the cream of Chinese philosophy during the 1898 Reform era."

2. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei's Philosophy of Changes and Historical Evolution.

The academic circles of our country have advanced various theories on Kang Youwei's philosophy. The following are different views on Kang Youwei's philosophy of changes and historical evolution.

In his article "An Appraisal of Kang Youwei's System of Philosophy at the Height of His Popularity" (XUESHU YUEKAN No 9, 1963), Cai Shangsi pointed out: "In spite of the positive implications of that part of Kang Youwei's philosophy on changes, he preferred gradual changes to sudden changes, and publicized the theory of predestination and retribution, and the subjective idealist concept of the 'heavenly origin of all things on earth.' These are the passive aspects of his philosophy."

In his article "An Appraisal of the Uniqueness and Idealist Trends of Kang Youwei's Philosophy" ("Teaching and Research" No 3, 1961), Zhang Changjiang said the uniqueness of Kang Youwei's philosophy is "primarily his recognition and exposition of the concept of 'changes.'" But the "changes" contemplated by Kang Youwei are metaphysical changes, "gradual changes (quantitative changes) instead of sudden changes (qualitative changes)," changes for the preservation instead of the destruction of the old things." This "feeble" approach which nevertheless represented the understanding and interpretation of a violently changing world by the enlightened bourgeoisie constituted the major theme of Kang Youwei's philosophy.

In his article "Research on Kang Youwei's View of Historical Evolution Based on Gongyang Gao's Theory of Three Stages" (ZHONGHUA WENSHI LUNCONG, Vol 1) Wu Ze said Kang Youwei's theory of historical evolution covered two different periods, one before the 1898 Reform Movement and the other after the 1898 Reform Movement. According to Wu: "Kang Youwei regarded the Chinese before the 1898 Reform Movement had reached a stage of comfort and peace which called for modernization and constitutional reform to work toward the stage of universal peace, meaning to abandon the feudal absolute monarchy for a bourgeois society under a constitutional monarchy." After the 1898 Reform Movement, Kang Youwei turned his three-stage historical evolution into a theory gradual historical progress of three recurrent stages. The "purpose is to uphold reformism, to oppose 'overstepping the stages' and 'overreaching,' and to oppose revolutions."

In his article "On Kang Youwei's Theory of Reforms" (included in "Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Zhang Qizhi said Kang Youwei "called for changes and yet dreaded changes. He admitted in theory the existence of contradiction 'antitheses' but stayed away from contradiction struggles in practice. He applied his theory of evolutionary development to enhance public morale but urged people to put up with reality. He promised mankind an 'age of peace and prosperity' and yet projected its realization for a far distant future. He was as aggressive as he was conservative." He "substituted unity for struggle, used evolution to oppose revolution, preached gradual progress to reject leap forward, and encouraged compromise to harmonize contradictions. These represent the actual content and class characteristics of Kang Youwei's theory of evolution."

In his book "Kang Youwei's Philosophy," Kuang Bolin pointed out that Kang Youwei believed that nature and the history of human society change and evolve continually. This part of his philosophy was representative of the

times and full of vitality, and served as the major philosophical basis of his drive for reforms and modernization." "His theory of 'three stages' which constitutes Kang Youwei's concept of historical evolution criticized the feudalist dogma that 'the way is as immutable as heaven' and proclaimed in no uncertain terms that the feudalist institution must change, and so must the 'principles' which defend the feudalist system of government." But he believed the progress of history is brought about by removing and gradually assimilating the barriers (contradictions) between people and those between people and material things." This is "entirely his own fantasy." Kuang Bolin said "Kang Youwei's theory of historical evolution of changes is a vulgar theory of evolution and also an idealist view of history with pronounced religious connotations.

3. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei's Economic Thought

In 1962 the Beijing Economics Society sponsored a seminar on the economic thought of Kang Youwei. (Reported by GUANGMING RIBAO 23 Jan 62.) Zhao Jing told the gathering that Kang Youwei had a better understanding of the relationship between politics and economics, between production and distribution, and between industry and agriculture than his predecessors. The fact he proposed to build an industrial state is a noticeable step forward.

Feng Youlan and Xue Hanwei, however, regarded Kang Youwei's economic thought as capitalism which he had idealized, and doubted whether it had any shade of utopian socialism, because the two are contradictory.

Yi Menhong said Kang Youwei's earlier thought is neither capitalism per se nor completely free from utopian ideas. His later thought which repudiated private ownership indirectly repudiated capitalism. So we could not say it was founded mainly (basically) on capitalism.

In an article "Kang Youwei's Economic Thought" (JINGJI YANJIU No 5, 62) written after the adjournment of the meeting, Zhao Jing broke down Kang Youwei's economic thought to cover two different periods with the year 1902 (particularly 1898) as the chronological divide. The former which favored an "industrial state" and capitalist industrialization represents the wishes of the nascent bourgeoisie to develop national industry and commerce. The latter part of Kang Youwei's economic thought served as "a tool to whitewash and defend the rule of the reactionary forces at home and abroad." He opposed the economic thought of the revolutionary faction, and tried to rescue the crumbling Qing imperial regime by befuddling the real issue.

4. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei

Cai Shangsi regards Kang Youwei as one of the leaders who looked to the West for truth before the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, a very prominent representative of modern Chinese bourgeois reformism, and an awfully controversial thinker. ("An Appraisal of Kang Youwei's System of Philosophy at the Height of His Popularity" carried in XUESHU YUEKAN, No 10, 1963)

In his article "The Historical Implications of the 1898 Reform Movement" ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Fan Wenlan said the fact that Kang Youwei ranked above his contemporary thinkers and occupies such a prominent position in the history of political thought is because he had presented those lofty ideals" (i.e., Treatise on Universal Harmony).

In his article "Kang Youwei's Political Platform for the 1898 Reform Movement" (included in "Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Liu Renda said: "The patriotic modernization movement of the reform faction organized and led by Kang Youwei reflected the demand of the nascent Chinese bourgeoisie to oppose imperialist aggression and feudalist constraints, and launched frontal struggles against the feudalist ruling class--the diehards and the Westernizationists--for the establishment of a constitutional government." "This is Kang Youwei's major historic feat."

In his article "An Appraisal of Kang Youwei," Tang Zhijun said: "Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a historical figure who once played a progressive role in modern Chinese history, has ended up in later life as a reactionary rejected by the people. What accounts for stagnation of his political thought is mainly reformism which played a role in pressing for the development of capitalism during the formative years of the Chinese bourgeoisie before the revolutionary wave had swelled. Once the bourgeois revolutionary movement sprang up, his stagnant thought became a historical stumbling block and finally turned into a feudalist dreg."

Xu Guangren said: "In practical politics, Kang Youwei always 'worked to maintain the status quo' and followed the example of Confucius 'to aim at the universal harmony but actually working to bring about peace and comfort only.'" "Obviously, Kang Youwei's political action was weak and feeble. He was a 'giant' in writing books but a petty intellectual in real action." ("On Mr Luo Mengti's article: Comments on the Appraisal of Kang Youwei in 'On the People's Democratic Dictatorship'" published in Journal of South China Teachers College, No 2, 1959)

III. The Appraisal of Liang Qichao

First of all, there are different views on Liang Qichao's class affiliation. Wu Yuzhang considers Liang "a bourgeois intellectual who had broken away from the feudalist class. ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement") According to Liu Danian, the reform faction, including Liang Qichao, unlike the bourgeoisie led by Sun Yat-sen which had "emerged from the petty bourgeoisie," consisted of the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had emerged from the landed bureaucracy, lacking revolutionary commitment. That is to say, Kang and Liang represented the upper-class bourgeoisie. ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement") Jin Chongji and Chen Shikuang think Liang Qichao represented "the landed bourgeoisie." ("On Modern Chinese Leaders")

The academic circles believe Liang Qichao's activities covered four different periods: 1894-1898, 1898-1903, 1904-1911 and 1911-1929. There is consensus

on what Liang had done during the first period, but the appraisals on the remaining three periods differ widely.

Liang Qichao's political activities and political ideology in those years from 1898 to 1902 received both approval and disapproval by the public. Hu Shengwu and Jin Chongji said that in those days Liang Qichao "held fast to his royalist position without yielding an inch, but acted deceitfully to defraud Sun Yat-sen" whereby the revolutionaries suffered losses in attempting to cooperate with the royalists."

In his "A Biography of Liang Qichao," Meng Xiangcai said Liang Qichao's efforts in those years to befriend the revolutionaries were just a false front which did not last very long before he turned around to attack the revolution. Meng gives Liang credit for the effectiveness of his propaganda skill, but does not approve of Liang royalist activities and his effort to have an independent army.

In Chapter 20 of his book "From the Opium War to the 4 May Movement," Hu Sheng attests that during this particular period Liang had done highly effective ideological enlightenment work, helping people (especially youths), who knew nothing other than the Confucian classics and works of Zhuangzi and Laozi, broaden their outlook...and arousing their ardent patriotic and revolutionary enthusiasm." He also affirms Liang's political influence.

According to Hu Sheng, between 1902 and 1903 Liang Qichao was skeptical about the democratic revolution, but realized a revolution was the only way to save China. His contradictory attitude invited the criticisms of the revolutionary faction on the one hand and that of Kang Youwei and others who favored reformism on the other. "Liang Qichao's contradictions reflect the response of the progressive intellectuals at the time to a situation where the bourgeois revolutionary ideology was replacing the bourgeois reformist ideology."

Most comrades believe Liang Qichao's political position between 1904 and the 1911 revolution was on the decline and becoming more reactionary. His reformist thought at the time was so brutally attacked by the revolutionary faction that his influence on public opinion suffered a marked setback. Some comrades consider this polemic debate was a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and Liang was on the counterrevolutionary side. The campaign for constitutional government sponsored by Liang was an effort to use a constitutional monarchy as a vehicle to inaugurate certain political reforms to the feudal system in order to defend the rule of the Qing Government and to prevent the eruption of a revolution. That was reactionary in nature and intent.

There are many other comrades who do not accept this interpretation. They believe the polemic debate at that time between the reformers and the revolutionaries should not be interpreted as a conflict between two hostile classes because the ultimate objective of both was to defend the independence of the Chinese nation and to develop capitalism. Although

they differed in their method of approach and the form of government to be established through the reforms, they both sought to substitute a capitalist system for the feudalist system. The kind of government to be established, be it a democratic republic or a constitutional monarchy, would not affect the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, even though the former would benefit the middle-lower strata while the latter would bring more benefit to the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie. (Opinions expressed at the Hunan provincial academic seminar to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.)

Some comrades think the negative impact of the campaign for constitutional government was outweighed by its positive impact, and they think the same criterium ought to apply to the appraisal of Liang Qichao. There are others who think Liang Qichao who was active overseas at the time should not be lumped together with the constitutional faction in China.

Most comrades do not approve of what Liang Qichao did after the 1911 Revolution. Some think he "had become such a political degenerate that he cooperated with the warlords and bureaucrats of the landed compradore class to oppose and suppress the revolution...and gradually became a key member of the landed compradore camp." ("Collected Research Papers on Modern Chinese Thinkers" pp 85-86) Some think Liang's efforts "during the "4 May" movement to defend the feudalist culture, to honor Confucius and restore the ancient ways, and to oppose the democratic republic made him an enemy of the new cultural movement. He played a reactionary role to attack Marxism in the so-called polemic debate on "socialism." Some comrades, however, do not accept this assessment. They claim that Liang had illusions about the feudalist warlords and bureaucrats of the day, but he also opposed resolutely what they did, especially the restoration of the monarchy. At the time of the "4 May" movement, Liang was definitely not an enemy of the new cultural movement; he was a member of the united front for the new cultural movement. (Hu Xiao: "On the Appraisal of Liang Qichao's Thought in His Latter Years," see FUDAN XUEBAO, No 5, 1979)

In his overall appraisal of Liang Qichao, Li Houze said Liang Qichao's role and position in modern Chinese history should be assessed on the basis of what he did during the period ranging from 1898 to 1903 which marked the apex of his achievement as an enlightening bourgeois propagandist. The most unbiased role he played earned him his lifetime height of popular influence. It was a short but extremely important period of his achievement...more than enough to offset all his mistakes and misdeeds..." He "is definitely a leading figure in modern Chinese history whose achievements outweighed his mistakes." (Li Houze: "On the History of Modern Chinese Thought")

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

SINO-JAPANESE FILM--The propaganda department of the autonomous regional federation of trade unions has issued a circular calling on trade unions at all levels to conscientiously organize their staff and workers to see a Sino-Japanese film entitled "An Unfinished Game of Chess." The circular notes: Through the Chinese and Japanese chess players' tragic lot, the film "An Unfinished Game of Chess" exposes the crimes of Japanese imperialists in launching the war of aggression against China, which brought great suffering to the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The film also sings the praises of struggles waged by the Chinese and Japanese peoples against militarism and the profound friendship between the peoples of the two countries. On the pretext of revising textbooks, the Japanese Education Ministry has distorted historical facts to prettify militarism. This practice goes against the common aspirations of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The circular says: The film "An Unfinished Game of Chess" can be described as vital teaching material that can be used in carrying out education in patriotism and internationalism for our staff and workers. In addition to organizing their staff and workers to see that film, trade unions at all levels can also hold forums and organize film reviews so as to further extend the film's educational effects. [Text] [HK061348 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Sep 82]

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