

BEIJING REVIEW

- Spring Festival 1979
- On Policy Towards Intellectuals



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CONTENTS

CHRONICLE 2

EVENTS & TRENDS 3

A Happy Spring Festival
Marriage—The New Way
Luxembourg Prime Minister Visits China
Policy Towards Educated Youth
Small Rural Industries: A Bright Future
Awards for Inventions
Discussion on Economic Questions

ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

On Policy Towards Intellectuals — *Renmin Ribao* Special Commentator 10
Lin Biao's Anti-Marxist "30-Word Principle" — Shen Taosheng 16
A Turbulent Year in the Middle East — A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent 20
Marxist-Leninist Organizations: Aggression Against Democratic Kampuchea Condemned 22

ROUND THE WORLD 25

ON THE HOME FRONT 27

CULTURE & SCIENCE 29

COVER: The lion dance (paper-cut), a traditional Chinese folk dance performed by the people on festive occasions, with two persons playing the lion and another tantalizing the lion with an embroidered ball.

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CHRONICLE

Jan. 22

• The first plenary session of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline Under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China closes in Beijing. The session adopts an outline of the tasks, functions and structure of the commission and an announcement of the commission.

Jan. 23

• Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, visits China.

Jan. 24

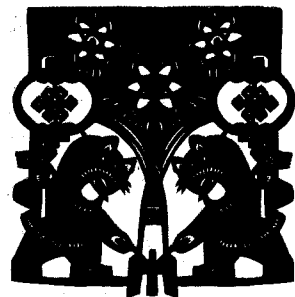
• Vice-Premier Li Xiannian returns to Beijing after visiting Tanzania (from Jan. 4 to 8), Mozambique (from Jan. 8 to 12), Zambia (from Jan. 12 to 16), Zaire (from Jan. 16 to 20) and Pakistan (from Jan. 20 to 22).

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping meets with Hedley Donovan, editor-in-chief of the *Time* magazine of the United States, and his assistant Marsh Clark, bureau chief of *Time* in Xianggang (Hongkong). At the meeting, the Vice-Premier answers Mr. Donovan's questions on Sino-U.S. relations and the current international situation.

• The United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced at a discussion meeting the Party's recent decision to carry out the policy formulated by Chairman Mao towards the national bourgeoisie. According to this decision, their bank deposits and other property confiscated with the approval of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution will be returned to them, and the money deducted from their original wages over the years will be refunded. From now on they will receive the same high salary as they used to get before the Cultural Revolution.

Jan. 29

• Premier Hua meets with the delegation of Belgrade led by Zivorad Kovacevic, President of the Belgrade Municipal Assembly.



A Happy Spring Festival

The nation celebrated the Spring Festival with gusto and joy. Being the lunar New Year, it is the biggest traditional festival which the Chinese people have been celebrating for more than 2,000 years. This year it fell on January 28 (Sunday), and with the following three days set aside specially for merrymaking and recreation, the people throughout the country thoroughly enjoyed themselves. Times change, and with them customs and habits too, but much of the time-honoured traditions are still observed today. There were the usual happy family reunion dinners and visits to friends and relatives. In the villages, as in the cities, members of the people's communes had a very good time, with the festivities continuing for days on end.

Unity and stability now prevail across the land after the smashing of the "gang of four." People's democracy has been gradually restored, the national economy had taken a turn for the better and is now striding forward, and the people's livelihood has improved too. All this makes for a truly joyous Spring Festival enjoyed by one and all.

Get-Together in Great Hall of the People. On the eve of the Spring Festival, Party and state leaders Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and others celebrated this happy occasion together with 30,000 cadres, army men and citizens of the capital in the Great Hall of the People. The programme that evening was rich, adding to the carnival mood prevalent

throughout the hall. There were songs, dances, operas and films, puppet shows and acrobatics, *wushu* performances and chess games, to the great delight of the old and the young. Beaming with smiles, Chairman Hua and the other leaders waved to the gathering and wished everyone, the model workers on various fronts in particular, a very happy Spring Festival. Contact between the leaders and the people and exchanging greetings on festivals was a tradition dating back to the days in Yanan and was still observed after the founding of New China. But it was discarded in the ten years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power.

There was a bustle among the crowd in the Great Hall of the People when they saw Peng Zhen, formerly Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Mayor of Beijing; Lu Dingyi, also formerly Member of the Political Bureau, Director of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; and Bo Yibo, formerly Member of the Political Bureau and Vice-Premier of the State Council. These three former Party and state leaders joined the people of the capital in celebrating the festival. Wang Guangmei, widow of Liu Shaoqi, and her children were also present at this grand gathering.

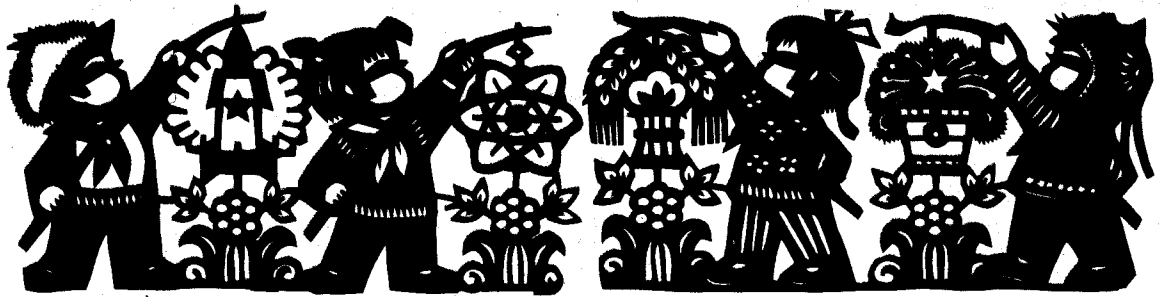
Speaking to the correspondents, Comrade Peng Zhen said: "As long as Marx does not call me away from this world, I will work for the four modernizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said that he will work

for another 20 years. I think I will work for another 18 years, since I'm two years older than he."

In the past week, get-togethers and other activities were held in celebration of the occasion, with model workers, scientists, writers and artists, teachers and representatives of the youths, minority peoples and returned overseas Chinese taking part, and everywhere there was an atmosphere of unity and great joy.

Leaders With Workers and Peasants. On the first day of the Sheep Year by the Chinese lunar calendar, Comrade Hua Guofeng and several leading comrades in charge of industry went to the Beijing General Petrochemical Works on the city's outskirts to visit the workers who kept at their posts during the festival. They made the rounds of the workshops, extended festival greetings to the workers and encouraged them to study science and technology and foreign languages so as to do their work better and contribute to the modernization of industry. Chairman Hua joined the workers in the canteens and ate meat dumplings, a traditional northern China custom during the festival. On the afternoon of the next day, Chairman Hua and other leading comrades paid a visit to the Red Star People's Commune in the suburbs. They called on Erwin Engst and Joan Hinton, two American friends working there and ate dumplings together with them.

Deng Xiaoping Visits U.S.A. Vice-Premier Deng's historic visit to the United States of America has added lustre and



joy to the Spring Festival this year. (Details of his visit will be published in our next issue.) For the past few days the Chinese people have been following this event with great interest, listening to the radio broadcasts, watching the TV and reading the news reports of Deng's visit in the newspapers. The Chinese people are working hard for the early realization of socialist modernization. This requires of course a political situation of unity and stability at home and a peaceful international environment. It is universally acknowledged that Vice-Premier Deng's visit will not only promote the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, but will be of far-reaching significance to peace, security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

People's Livelihood Improving. Days before the holidays, the shops, markets and department stores were crowded with people buying new clothes and food supplies for the festival. According to the Ministry of Commerce, daily sales in many places during this period had increased 2.5-fold. This was possible not only because of the development of production. In the past two years, over half of the city workers have their pay increased, while a greater number of people got bonuses and, more recently, the vast

majority of workers have received year-end bonuses. The peasants' livelihood has improved too. In Sichuan Province, for example, over 90 per cent of the commune members have increased their income.

There was a dearth of cultural life in the years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" smothered all creative efforts on the part of artists and writers. The situation has changed tremendously in the past two years. This year there was a rich bill of special radio and TV broadcasts, film shows and theatrical performances, concerts and parties, all portending the flowering of socialist art and literature in this new era of socialist modernization.

Since the Spring Festival is the time for family reunions, thousands of extra trains and buses were run weeks before the festival to take tens of millions of people home from faraway places — an indication of the attention shown by the Party and the state to the well-being of the people.

Marriage—The New Way

The Spring Festival is more than a traditional Chinese holiday. It is an occasion of special rejoicing for the young people, many of whom choose this day to get married in

groups, adding to the festive mood of the nation.

Group wedding ceremonies took place in many places across the country. Discarding the old custom of giving sumptuous feasts and going through superstitious rituals, the brides and bridegrooms, wearing big red flowers on their tunics, took part in simple ceremonies, with local cadres officiating. Then to the burst of firecrackers and the beating of gongs and drums, little children presented them with flowers and wished them a happy life ever after. In some places in the cities, the ceremonies were followed by dancing and other forms of recreation. All this made for simplicity, economy and a pleasant time for all. Of course these couples — workers, peasants, P.L.A. men and women and cadres — being partners of free choice, had to register in person with the local government of their place of abode.

The National Women's Federation, the Communist Youth League and other departments concerned did much to encourage this practice. They had carried out propaganda in diverse forms since New Year's Day, the aim being to help people handle marriages in a way that conformed to socialist ideas, and to oppose venal practices in connection with

marriages and ostentatious and wasteful weddings.

In the old China, and in the rural areas in particular, women used to be regarded as "commodities." The arbitrary and compulsory marriage system was prevalent; the young girls had no free choice of partners but had to obey their parents who usually took the opportunity to extort money and gifts from the prospective sons-in-law. Once married off, the girls as likely as not found themselves completely at the beck and call of their parents-in-law and husbands. There was a popular saying in those days: "A woman taken to be a wife is like a horse bought on the market." It was not until the promulgation of the Marriage Law in 1950, the year following the founding of New China, that the feudal marriage system was uprooted. Both men and women now have free choice of partners, with equal rights for husband and wife guaranteed.

In the last decade or so, however, morality and social

customs suffered at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Juggling with "revolutionary" phraseology, they muddled up love and marriages with revolutionary ideals, as if revolutionaries dedicated to a noble cause should not bother about such "vulgar ideas" and "trifles." The consequence was that no ideological guidance was given to the young people on such matters, and any talk about love was under taboo on the stage or screen and in art and literary works. Such feudal and despotic inhibitions produced unsavoury results. Morality lapsed instead, and people reverted to old ideas and customs.

In their choice of partners, the sole criterion for some young people in those days was money, and engagements or marriages depended more than anything on the amount of money and gifts offered. Some parents openly asked for pecuniary rewards and wilfully intervened in their children's marriages when their requests were not granted. This was

especially common in the countryside in the last few years, with little or no consideration for the happiness of their children.

Last year saw the publication of a number of literary works with love as the theme, giving pointers on the way young people should regard it. The first to come off the press was the short story *The Proper Place of Love*. Since it was broadcast on the radio, the author Liu Xinwu, a teacher by profession, has received more than 4,000 letters of encouragement and congratulations. Among those who wrote to him were two young courting couples of a fishing team in a village by the Huanghai Sea. When they heard over the radio such a story for the first time in years, they were so excited and overjoyed that they wrote to the author, expressing their appreciation of his work praising the revolutionary concept of love between men and women. They promised to send him as souvenirs the most beautiful shells they could find on the beach. This is only an instance showing how the people wish for a change in the old habits and customs.

In an interview with the press, Chairman of the National Women's Federation Kang Keqing spoke of the importance of stepping up ideological education. She added among other things that an important reason why the old habits and customs can still survive is that the production level is low and the living conditions are poor. It is difficult under these circumstances to do away with open or disguised venal practices in connection with mar-



At a group wedding ceremony for 59 couples in Wuhan.

riages. It is imperative, Kang Keqing said, to develop production and bring about socialist modernization at an early date, for only in this way can we lay a solid economic foundation for a socialist marriage and family system.

Luxembourg Prime Minister Visits China

Prime Minister Gaston Thorn of the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg paid a visit to China from January 23 to 29. During his stay in Beijing, Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with him on separate occasions, and Vice-Premier Geng Biao held talks with him. Both sides exchanged views on the international situation and discussed co-operation in iron and steel technology, air service and cultural exchange.

Prime Minister Thorn is an old friend of China. When he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, he visited China shortly after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Luxembourg in 1972. Over the last seven years, there has been a steady increase in trade and friendly exchanges between the two countries.

During his meeting with Prime Minister Thorn, Premier Hua Guofeng said that China needs two conditions, stability and unity at home and a peaceful international environment, for achieving its four modernizations. A situation of stability and unity has been brought about in China. But, he stressed, "it is not easy to have a peaceful international environment. Soviet hegemonism is

extending its reach far and wide, trying to control many countries politically and militarily. As we see it, the international situation is not relaxing; on the contrary, tension is mounting. We must all heighten our vigilance."

Prime Minister Gaston Thorn said: "China enjoys full sympathy in the European Economic Community. We hope to see a powerful, prosperous China."

Speaking at a banquet in honour of the Luxembourg guest, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping noted: "We sincerely hope that the European Community will grow stronger and stronger in line with its general goal of strength through unity. Luxembourg has always actively promoted West European cohesion and stood for the strengthening of West European defence. We appreciate all this." In our drive to accomplish the four modernizations, he added, we are willing to develop co-operation with other countries including Luxembourg on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and assimilate all their advanced experience and technology.

A press communique issued on January 29 announced that Luxembourg will soon set up an office for its diplomatic representatives in Beijing. Both sides have accepted invitations for mutual visits by their state leaders.

Policy Towards Educated Youth

The State Council issued a notice on the eve of Spring Festival calling on the local authorities in all parts of the

country to send delegations to the countryside to extend festival greetings to the educated young people who have settled down there. Leading comrades were required to go in person to commend the advanced elements, help those in difficulty and listen to criticisms and suggestions so as to improve the work in this field.

By educated youth we mean urban middle school graduates who have settled in the rural and hilly areas as peasants. This is a phenomenon resulting from specific historical conditions. Since agriculture in China is still backward and labour productivity low, marketable grain and industrial raw materials provided by the peasants fall far short of the needs in developing the national economy. If we should disproportionately increase the number of workers and staff in the cities, it would create an overly great burden for agriculture. The sending of middle school graduates to the countryside, therefore, is determined by our present level of agricultural and industrial development.

With the growth of urban population and the promotion of education, the number of middle school graduates in the cities rapidly increased in the mid-50s. Meanwhile the rural areas needed a large number of educated youths after the establishment of agricultural co-operatives to help with the promotion of scientific farming and the expansion of educational work. It was in these circumstances that the late Chairman Mao called on them to go and settle in the countryside.



Educated youth on the grassland.

Woodcut by Xu Kuan

The number zoomed in the three years following the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. To date there are about 17 million middle school graduates in the rural areas. Applying whatever knowledge they have acquired in school, they have made contributions in agro-scientific experiments and farm mechanization, in rural educational and health work, in commune-run industries, and in defending the frontier regions. Significantly, they have in word and in deed repudiated the traditional concept of contempt for the peasants and aversion to the rural areas.

There are, however, some problems which remain to be solved, the chief ones being the lack of an overall plan for accommodating urban and rural labour force and the need of quick and practical solution for difficulties facing the young people. Moreover, in some villages where a great number of graduates have settled, the burden on the peasants has increased. The fundamental reason

for this, of course, is that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only undermined the national economy but caused terrible havoc to education, creating immense difficulties for the young people to continue their studies or get proper work.

Towards the end of last year, a meeting was held in Beijing to discuss the related problems. It was decided that the policy towards these educated youth should be adjusted and different methods adopted so as to make better arrangements for their life and work.

Middle school graduates will still go to the countryside in the next few years, but the number will be gradually reduced as socialist modernization advances.

In his speech at the meeting, Vice-Premier Chen Yonggui announced that from now on urban middle school graduates will (1) continue their studies, (2) go to the countryside, (3) settle in the frontier regions and (4) work in the cities. In those cities where conditions are available for accommodating all the middle school

graduates, they may remain there. Those going to the rural areas will no longer stay in the production teams but will work on state farms or collectively owned farms specially set up for them. The state will look after their education and training and help them raise their scientific and cultural levels.

In the cities new trades and branches of universities will be started to provide the young people with good jobs or enable them to continue their studies.

Small Rural Industries: A Bright Future

An exhibition showing what commune- and brigade-run industries can do has just closed at the Beijing Agricultural Exhibition Centre. It shows the new vistas opened up for the rural people's communes by combining industry with agriculture and city with countryside.

On display were 3,597 kinds of products including farm machinery and attachments, motors, minerals, chemicals, manufactured goods, arts and crafts and building materials.

The exhibition testifies to the fact that commune- and brigade-run industries have become an important sector of the national economy. In 1977 the output value of 1.39 million such enterprises in the country was 39,100 million yuan and their total accumulation was 7,700 million yuan. The farm machinery and attachments, coal, iron ore, gold, sulphur, non-ferrous ores and cement they produced accounted for a sizable proportion of the nation's total.

Six hundred million of China's 800 million people live in the rural areas and more than

half of them are engaged in agriculture. At present efforts are being made to speed up farm mechanization and raise labour productivity. The number of people engaged in farm production will thus be reduced by two-thirds in the future. What will the remaining 200 million do? Commune-run industries will provide the way out.

China cannot rely on the industries in the cities alone to quicken the tempo of industrialization. The peasants in the vast countryside have a part to play in this endeavour. While the state runs large key factories and important industrial branches, the people's communes should and can set up smaller enterprises under a unified plan.

As shown in the exhibition, seven counties and five communes have gained successful experience in this respect. Small rural enterprises mainly cater to the needs of farm production and the local people's daily life. Some produce farm machinery and attachments, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, cement and bricks, while others process farm and side-line products. But more and more of them have started receiving orders from big enterprises in the cities for processing or producing goods for export.

Local resources are also fully utilized. Take for instance the Caijiagang Commune in central China's Hunan Province. It now produces lime, stone coal, cement and prefab parts and, using medicinal herbs grown on the hills, it has built a pharmaceutical factory for making traditional Chinese medicine. In addition it has planted fruit trees on the once barren hills.

The exhibition shows that the development of commune- and brigade-run industries has in turn promoted the growth of agriculture, providing the communes with funds to buy tractors, drainage and irrigation equipment and other farm machinery.

In the communes and brigades where such enterprises are developing apace, their per-unit yields are several times higher than the local average and their members' income has increased notably.

Awards for Inventions

Awards will be given to inventions which are of major scientific and technological value. A notice to this effect has been promulgated by the State Council in "Regulations on Awards for Inventions."

The purpose is to encourage creations and inventions, promote scientific and technological development and speed the four modernizations. The State Scientific and Technological Commission will exercise unified leadership over the work of awarding inventions.

In giving awards, attention will be given to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and combining honorary with material awards, with the stress on the former. Apart from special prizes for very important inventions, there are awards of 1,000 yuan, 2,000 yuan, 5,000 or 10,000 yuan, plus a certificate and a medal, depending on the significance of the inventions.

The regulations clearly stipulate that inventions belong to the state and that all units in the country may use whatever inventions they need.

The system of giving awards for inventions was introduced after liberation. Chairman Mao wrote inscriptions for the certificates of invention, and several regulations on awards were drawn up under Premier Zhou Enlai's leadership. Later, however, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" slandered the award system as revisionist stuff, "putting awards in command" and "material incentive," and so forth. This confused people's minds and made it impossible for the regulations to be implemented. It also dampened the initiative and creativeness of scientists and technicians.

Like the bonus system now adopted in our country, giving awards for inventions will result in some getting more than others. Will this difference bring unfavourable consequence to socialism? This involves the basic question of how should we regard differences in socialist society. An editorial in *Renmin Ribao* dealt with this question. It said:

"The policy of giving awards for inventions, like the principle of 'to each according to his work,' is based on the recognition of differences in society. Taking things as a whole, this policy is necessary in raising the general living standards of all the people. To talk glibly about eliminating the differences may sound very nice and very 'revolutionary.' But it is ridiculous and reactionary if no efforts are made to develop production. Empty talk will only tarnish the banner of socialism and plunge the society into chaos.

"We must base our policy on reality. In the course of social-

ist construction, it is permissible that some areas, enterprises and working people get more pay and improve their living standards first because they have made greater efforts and contributions to the society. This will encourage others to learn from them and bring about a steady development in the national economy and improved livelihood for the people of the whole country. Awarding those who have made inventions is, in the last analysis, in the interest of all the working people."

Discussion on Economic Questions

Like their colleagues in other fields of endeavour, economists have become increasingly active over the past year. They have held discussions, local as well as nationwide, to clarify some major theoretical issues muddled up by the "gang of four." Items on the agenda now include the changes to be made in the systems and methods of management so as to expedite the four modernizations.

Larger in scale and much more lively than before, these discussion meetings have some salient features deserving mention. In the first place, everyone has spoken his mind and many have aired views related to their personal experience. People engaged in practical work have participated in the discussions — with encouraging results. The study of theory is thus more closely linked to reality, and the guidance of theory on actual work will become more and more evident.

"To each according to his work" is a socialist principle for

distribution and was explained long ago by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. The "gang of four," however, alleged that it provided the economic basis for engendering capitalism and the new bourgeoisie, and smeared piece rate, bonus and special allowances, which embody this socialist principle, as "revisionist trash." This theoretical distortion has had very bad influence, dampening the workers' enthusiasm and undermining production.

Two nationwide forums were held last year to discuss this question. Emphasis during the first meeting was on refuting the gang's fallacies. Participants from Zhejiang Province cited facts obtained through investigation in Wenzhou Prefecture to show that none of the newborn bourgeois elements there came into being because of the implementation of this principle of distribution; they emerged because the socialist relations of production and unified economic planning were undermined. They recalled that years ago when followers of the "gang of four" usurped the leadership in Wenzhou, the place was rife with speculation, black markets and other capitalist activities.

The second forum discussed in detail the law of this principle. Many participants pointed out that, in the three decades after the founding of the People's Republic, the piece-work and bonus system was introduced and then cancelled on three occasions. When it was put into practice, production upped, and when it was revoked, production dropped. This shows that violation of the socialist economic principle of "to each according

to his work" is bound to bring serious consequences.

The economists reviewed the development of the national economy since the birth of New China. They were unanimous that development had been uneven and unsteady, sometimes quick and sometimes slow, and that production had even nosedived on two occasions. All this points up the fact that some of our past economic policies and the theories on which they were based conformed to the objective laws, while others did not. Therefore, it is necessary to sum up our experience and pay special attention to changing the systems and methods of management.

Meetings were also held to draw up three-year and eight-year plans for promoting the study of economics and for carrying out research. Another national meeting is scheduled for this year.

Articles and investigation reports on economic policy have been published in large numbers. The theoretical journal *Jingji Yanjiu* (Economic Studies), which was suspended for years, has resumed publication. *Jingji Guanli* (Economic Management) and other journals have been brought out this year. All this ensures that the study of economics will better serve socialist construction.



On Policy Towards Intellectuals

by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator

A Marxist Party must draw up policies in the light of the actual situation and revise them when the situation changes. Shortly after countrywide liberation in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party brought out the policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals as most of them were bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals from the old society. More than two decades have passed and many fundamental changes have taken place in the ranks of the intellectuals. Today, the policy is no longer applicable in regard to the overwhelming majority of intellectuals. They are no longer the object of uniting, educating and remoulding, but are now a part of the working class engaged in mental labour and a force the Party relies on.

IN the wake of the emphasis of our Party's work being shifted to modernization, it has become increasingly important and urgent for a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the Party's policy towards intellectuals and for bringing their role into full play. Some comrades, however, to this day have not a correct understanding. Some ask if it is not over-

estimating intellectuals to declare that the overwhelming majority of them are now working-class intellectuals. Others ask if the Party's policy of uniting, educating and remoulding them still applies, now that the overwhelming majority of them are part of the working class.

One principle to be adhered to by a Marxist Party is to decide on policies in the light of the actual situation and revise them in a matter-of-fact way according to the changed situation.

In Retrospect

The Party policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals was put forward after nationwide liberation. But even before this, our Party was educating and remoulding intellectuals who had joined the revolution. However, there were a small number of intellectuals within our ranks then, so our Party emphasized on recruiting large numbers of intellectuals.

During the War of Agrarian Revolution (1927-37), due to limitations imposed by historical conditions and the effects of an erroneous line, many comrades in various localities and in the army had a mistaken view on the intellectuals whose number was relatively small in the revolutionary ranks.

In the early years of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), group after group of intellectuals found their way to Yanan and other anti-Japanese base areas. But, still, many comrades did not realize the importance of intellectuals and, psychologically, were apprehensive and even inclined to exclude them, and paid scant attention to recruiting them. To correct this, Comrade Mao Zedong in 1939 drafted the decision *Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals* for the Party Central Committee. The decision pointed out: "Without the participation of the intellectuals victory in the revolution is impossible." Its implementation in the various base areas attracted large numbers of intellectuals to join the revolution. This enlarged the revolutionary forces, developed the revolution-



Wang Zhentong, a faculty member of radio engineering in Qinghua University and once a victim of the "gang of four's" persecution, now has his grievances redressed.

ary united front and promoted various fields of work in the base areas. Many intellectuals were tempered and remoulded in the revolution and became one with cadres of worker-peasant origin, thereby expanding the ranks of Party cadres. This was an important condition for winning the War of Resistance Against Japan and the subsequent War of Liberation.

After the country was liberated, our Party shifted the emphasis of its work from the countryside to the cities where we took over from the Kuomintang a large number of propaganda and educational institutes, schools and colleges, cultural and literary and art organizations as well as undertakings and enterprises. This brought in some 2 to 3 million intellectuals, including teachers, professors, scientists and technicians, literary and art workers, journalists and doctors. What was to be done with them? Throw them out, abandon them? Or win them over and unite with them? The Party Central Committee proposed that the policy should not be to throw them out and abandon them, but should be one of uniting, educating and remoulding them to enable them to work for the socialist New China. The revolution required this and it was well intended. It was designed to avert the wrong tendency of abandoning them and to turn these intellectuals from the old society gradually into working-class intellectuals.

This policy was formulated in the light of the actual situation in regard to the intellectuals of our country at that time and on the basis of a scientific analysis of the intellectuals from the old society.

Old China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and most intellectuals also felt the oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. They were also made to suffer and they were intrinsically revolutionary. Reactionary intellectuals who worked stubbornly for the reactionaries were very few. Although intellectuals worked for the old society, the overwhelming majority were mental workers, while the rank-and-file engineers and technicians, as Marx had pointed out, created surplus value and were themselves exploited by the capitalists. Therefore, in a given condition, they could accept Party leadership and serve the people and socialism. The founding of New China and its changed economic system provided fundamental conditions for allowing the intellectuals from the old society to serve socialism.



Professor Jiang Chunhua, a Deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress, has more than half a century's experience in research and teaching of traditional Chinese medicine behind him.

But as the overwhelming majority of them had never had much contact with the Communist Party, they did not understand and were very unfamiliar with the revolutionary cause led by the Party, the Party's policies and stand as well as the leadership framework and work methods of the People's Government. Their minds were still preoccupied with ideas of democracy and individualism. Most of them came from families of the exploiting classes and had received a bourgeois education and were under the influence of imperialism and feudalism. Their world outlook was basically bourgeois and so they were bourgeois or petty-bourgeois intellectuals. To enable them to adjust to New China's needs and serve socialism, they had to be educated and given help to study anew and to gradually remould their own world outlook.

Policies Must Change as the Situation Changes

This was the historical condition behind the Party's policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals, chiefly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals from the old society. Uniting, educating and remoulding them was a specific historical task during a specific stage of socialism. With the development of the socialist revolution and construction, together with the changes which have taken place among these intellectuals and the changes in the composition of all the intellectuals in our country, corresponding changes are also needed in our Party's policy towards intellectuals.

What changes in the composition of the intellectuals of our country have taken place over the last 20 years or so after nationwide liberation?

China now has about 25 million intellectuals, falling mainly into the following three sections: Those from the old society; those who joined the revolution before liberation, in addition to worker-peasant cadres who have since become intellectuals; the middle-aged and young intellectuals trained in the new society by the Party (they make up more than 90 per cent of all intellectuals). The overwhelming majority of those in the last two categories were the working-class' own intellectuals to begin with. As to those from the old society, the overwhelming majority of them have gradually turned into working-class intellectuals.

Let us first take a look at the changes that have taken place among the intellectuals from the old society. The question of "for whom?" is the fundamental one in man's world outlook. Intellectuals who had served the old society and private ownership have changed now to serve the new society and public ownership. The overwhelming majority have become working personnel either in our state organs or enterprises and undertakings belonging to the whole people or a collective, and many have taken up important leading posts.

Man's social being determines his consciousness. If in the early period of liberation they had worked for the new society unconsciously or not so consciously, they have now gradually become conscious, following the deepening of the socialist revolution and the impact of the socialist economic base and superstructure on their thinking. They have paid attention to remoulding their own world outlook and made considerable progress in the course of studying Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, and doing their work. The overwhelming majority love the Party and socialism, work willingly and hard, and have made great achievements and played an important role. Even in the three years of difficulties, even when harshly hounded and brutally persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," their confidence in the Party, their determination to serve socialism were not shaken.

Their changes and progress are a great victory for the Party's policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals. After the fall of the gang, their enthusiasm for revolution has soared. They support wholeheartedly the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng and work with might and main for the four modernizations. Can it be said



Chen Renfu, (first on the right), an worker-turned engineer, has made contributions to the making of high-speed electronic computers.

that these are not working-class intellectuals, but bourgeois intellectuals?

While uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals from the old society, the Party has made great efforts to train large numbers of new intellectuals. This category (including the worker-peasant-soldier college graduates during the Great Cultural Revolution) has the following salient features: Over 70 per cent of them are children of labouring people or revolutionary cadres; the education they received was basically a proletarian, socialist education; from the first day of their working life, they have been working under Party leadership for socialism. They have grown up in the new society. Through study and practice in social struggle and vocational work, the overwhelming majority, including many intellectuals of exploiting class origin, have by and large acquired a proletarian world outlook. They are in the prime of their life and are core members on the scientific-technological, cultural and educational, public health, literary and art fronts. Of course they are working-class intellectuals.

Our worker-peasant cadres have years of study and practice behind them. Many of them have attended crash middle school courses for workers and peasants and some have even been through college or abroad for further studies. In the past their formal education was scanty but they have now acquired some learning or have become quite learned. A considerable number of them have, in fact, become experts in various professions and trades. These intellectualized worker-peasant cadres are, of course, working-class intellectuals.

From the above analysis, it is clear that in the years after liberation, a series of fundamental changes have taken place among the intellectuals in our country, and in line with the Marxist principle that concepts must change with the change in objective reality, the uniting-educating-remoulding policy put forward by our Party in the early days of liberation that took the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals as its main objects cannot be applied any more to the overwhelming majority of intellectuals. They are no longer objects to be united with, educated and remoulded as in the early days of liberation, but members of the working class engaged in mental labour and a force to be relied on by the Party. Essentially, the correct way to treat them today is a question of correctly handling relationships among the working class itself. It is no longer one of handling relationship between the working class and its allies. One of the basic requirements for bringing about the four modernizations is to firmly establish a close relationship between physical and mental workers who learn from each other and make common progress within the working class.

The Need to Emancipate One's Mind

Why is it that some comrades still fail to see or acknowledge, or do not have the courage to acknowledge, these changes?

In the first place the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has yet to be eliminated. When they were attacking and persecuting intellectuals, they made up with active ill-will the lie that "more knowledge makes one more reactionary" to split the working class. They labelled outstanding experts in various fields and writers as "reactionary bourgeois authorities" and intellectuals trained after liberation as a force "undermining the cornerstone of the socialist wall." They judged a person's class attribute by whether or not one had any learning and by how much learning one had. Those with learning were categorized as bourgeois intellectuals and they were later equated with the bourgeoisie itself. According to their logic, not only bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals from the old society could not be transformed into working-class intellectuals, even the worker-peasant cadres, workers and peasants and their children who had acquired some learning were also members of the bourgeoisie. This is out-and-out anti-Marxist nonsense.

Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been crushed, their reactionary fallacies still influence some of our comrades, with the result that they have not only failed to see the progress made by intellectuals but have also built up a prejudice against and taken a dislike to them. They invariably look upon intellectuals as being "politically unreliable" and "ideologically backward." As they see it, the working class apparently must not and cannot possibly have their own intellectuals.

However, even in the old society, the working class already had its own intellectuals. Were Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong not outstanding representatives of working-class intellectuals? Engels pointed out at the end of the 19th century that proletarians doing mental labour were emerging and he hoped that they would, together in the same ranks with their worker brothers doing physical labour, play a big role in the forthcoming revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong and our Party have always attached great importance to building up a force of working-class intellectuals. Today we have built up a big contingent of working-class intellectuals. What Engels had hoped for at the close of the 19th century has come true in our country.

For over a decade Lin Biao and the "gang of four" prohibited this and tabooed that and, under their fascist dictatorship, thinking became rigid and stereotyped. Some comrades have themselves bound up in knots, not daring to say or do anything not written down in books or documents or not said and sanctioned by leaders. They just mechanically copy or pass



Poet Ai Qing (centre) and writer Liu Zhixia (right) learning a thing or two from a worker.

on whatever came to them. They do not try to find out how that policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals was worked out, nor do they study the changes in the ranks of intellectuals. They continue to see and do things the same old way. They do not understand that if we had taken reality into consideration we should have changed long ago our understanding of the intellectuals and our policy towards them.

Comrade Chen Yi in a report he made in 1962 has put it very well: "If it is said that this contingent of scientists has not changed in 12 years, it only shows that the Communist Party is good for nothing, that socialism cannot represent truth and we have underestimated our task. Men can change and also can yield to truth." Sixteen years have passed since Comrade Chen Yi said this, and in this period the intellectuals from the old society have been severely tempered and tested during the Cultural Revolution. Is it conceivable that they have not changed? Is it conceivable that we still have not brought up large numbers of new intellectuals? Is it conceivable that we must still treat them according to a policy put forward in the early years of liberation designed chiefly to handle bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals?

The influence of the force of habit of small-scale production also cramps thinking. The heritage of thousands of years of the feudal society and a century and more of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society has gravely impaired the development of our economy and science and culture. Our minds, too, have been deeply marked. Maintaining the status quo, settling in a rut, seeing only what is under one's nose, not caring to make progress and unwilling to accept new things — these are all manifestations of the force of habit.

When we affirm that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals have become working-class intellectuals, it does not mean that their education and remoulding should be discontinued. Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly pointed out in 1957 in his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and in his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* that everyone must remould himself throughout the course of building socialism. Not only those whose basic stand has not been changed must be remoulded, but everyone must study and be remoulded.

Comrade Zhou Enlai in his 1956 Report on the Question of Intellectuals also pointed out that after the basic completion of the task of remoulding intellectuals from the old society, "intellectuals, like everybody else, must continuously remould themselves in studying and practice, and, on a new level, forge ahead towards a higher standard of progress. But then, that will be a routine task." This means that this education and remoulding are in nature no longer one of remoulding basic political attitudes and class stand, but are identical with that for workers, peasants and cadres.

In the historical period of socialism, the working people of China, including intellectuals, still have to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology and guard against and resist corrosive bourgeois ideas. This is particularly true in the new historical period of rapidly accomplishing the four modernizations. There will be reforms and developments in the relations of production and in the superstructure. If we do not pay attention to studies and to remoulding ourselves, we will lag behind and fail to adjust ourselves to the needs of the developing situation.

Are there any among the 20 million-odd intellectuals who are still hostile to or against



Zhang Ruifang, celebrated film actress, has come back to the screen. She leads the cast in the film "The Great River Flows On."

socialism? Will there be active counter-revolutionaries among them? There are bound to be. But these will be extremely isolated instances. Similarly, such instances also occur among state functionaries of worker-peasant origin and among workers and peasants, too. Nothing startling in that. In this regard, we must be vigilant, but we must not, because of this, negate the progress of the overwhelming majority of intellectuals and deny the fact that the overwhelming majority of them have already become part of the working class.



Mao Beilei, a Shanghai primary school teacher, was awarded the title of "Model Form Teacher."

Treat Intellectuals as Members of the Working Class

Since the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in our country have become part of the working class, we must genuinely look upon them as such, that is, members of the working class.

We must fully trust and freely use people with specialist knowledge. We must put intellectuals, both Party and non-Party members, who have a high political consciousness; who are vocationally proficient, zealous in their work and who get on well with the masses, into appropriate leading posts so as to gradually raise the number of cadres who have a good educational level and technical expertise and who know how to manage in the leading bodies of enterprises and undertakings to 30, 50 and then 70 per cent of the total. Their responsibilities should be defined. They must really have position, authority and responsibility. It will not do merely to hold them responsible and not give them power.

Intellectuals who are up to the requirements of advanced elements of the proletariat should be admitted to the Party according to the Party Constitution.

Leading comrades and comrades in charge of Party work and political work must have a democratic style of work, listen earnestly to the opinions of scientists and technicians, actively back their rationalization proposals and inven-

tions, encourage them to be bold in pondering on and raising problems and solving them. In the academic field, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend" must be implemented in real earnest and different viewpoints and schools must be allowed to freely contend. They must learn from the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, who were sincere with intellectuals, who had faith in them, who treated them as equals and who patiently helped them to make progress. When a problem arises, there should be frank, sincere exchanges of views to reach an understanding and proper settlement. As to intellectuals with failings and mistakes, warm-hearted help should be given.

Our intellectuals must see that the historical mission of scaling the pinnacles of science and culture has devolved upon them. They should dedicate all their wisdom and wit to the magnificent cause of socialism and continue to work hard to speed up the realization of the four modernizations.

(An abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on January 4 under the title "Comprehensively and Accurately Understand the Party's Policy Towards Intellectuals." Subheads are ours.)

Lin Biao's Anti-Marxist "30-Word Principle"

by Shen Taosheng

The Marxist approach to theoretical study is to comprehensively and accurately understand and grasp Mao Zedong Thought and apply his stand, viewpoint and method in guiding the struggle in real life. Lin Biao tore apart Mao Zedong Thought as a comprehensive system, made extracts from it and absolutized it to fit it in everywhere, irrespective of time, place and condition. In the "Foreword to the Second Edition of Quotations From Chairman Mao" which he made public in December 1966, he worked out a "30-word principle" for studying Chairman Mao's works. This anti-Marxist "principle" for some time had produced very adverse effects and therefore should be criticized.

Lin Biao energetically recommended a so-called "30-word principle" for studying Chairman Mao's works. He said: "One should have specific problems in mind, study and apply his works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and strive hard to apply what one is studying." (These words are given in 30 Chinese characters. — Tr.)

Lin Biao's "Short Cut"

This anti-Marxist recommendation was concocted by Lin Biao in collaboration with Zhang Chunqiao. Two months after Lin Biao got what he deserved when he turned against his own country and was on his way over to the enemy, Zhang Chunqiao said in November 1971 to people in Shanghai who suggested criticizing Lin Biao's "30-word principle": "Why criticize that? I wrote that 'Foreword' to the second edition. Lin Biao merely put his name to it. He didn't contribute so much as a punctuation mark." Zhang Chunqiao thus inadvertently and publicly admitted to his early and close collaboration with Lin Biao.

Lin Biao said in September 1959 at a meeting of senior army officers: "How should we study Marxism-Leninism? I would like to suggest to you comrades here to study mainly the works by Comrade Mao Zedong. This is the short cut to learning Marxism-Leninism." Why? The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, he claimed, "are too voluminous and there are so many names of people and places which you can never make head or tail of." But if one studies Mao Zedong's works, one "can apply them immediately." "It's extremely profitable." This weird advice ostensibly gave paramount importance to Mao Zedong's works and pointed out to others about a "short cut" to learning Marxism-Leninism, but it was actually pitting Mao Zedong's works against works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and thus depreciating Marxism-Leninism.

Later, Lin Biao went further and publicly declared that Marxism-Leninism was "outdated," that Marxist-Leninist works were so voluminous that no one could possibly read them all, and that they were "too far from us." He also made much of the "limitations" of Marxism-Leninism. He said, "Some people say *Capital* provides the basic grounds for theory. In actual fact, it only resolves the issue about the law of capitalist society." He even averred that Marxist dialectics was "just those few tenets." "There is nothing new in some of these books [Marxist-Leninist works]," he declared, "but merely a rehash of old ideas, old materials and old utterances. It is like children's building blocks, moved about and put together, but still the same blocks." On this ground, he declared that the study of Marxist-Leninist classics should be "99 per cent the works of Mao Zedong," and actively advertised his "short cut" everywhere.

Lin Biao seemed to give first importance to the study of Mao Zedong's works, but how

was it to be done? He had a "short cut" too, that is, learn by heart "aphoristic sentences," learn by heart "certain quotations" and "commit to memory *Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains.*" This soon became a vogue and many were actually taken in. By December 1966, Lin Biao, with the help of Zhang Chunqiao, had refined this "short cut" into "30 words" and officially incorporated it into the "foreword" to the second edition of the *Quotations*. In the "foreword," they underscored this "30-word principle" with a footnote reading, "The experience of the broad masses in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the last few years has proved that to study selected quotations from Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind is a good way to learn Mao Zedong Thought, a method conducive to quick results!"

Many comrades, however, pointed out that the employment of such a principle to guide political studies was contrary to Marxism, and it was a vulgarization and oversimplification of Mao Zedong Thought. The late Comrade Lo Ruiqing pointed out at that time that it was positively harmful to think that "studying with specific problems in mind" and "finding ready-made answers" was the way to integrate study with real life, whereas systematically studying Mao Zedong's works and employing the stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought in our struggles were considered not to be integrating studies with real life. There are some people, he said, who are studying Mao Zedong Thought in a way which directly violates Mao Zedong Thought itself. Quoting isolated passages is actually separating theory from practice.

Comrade Lo Ruiqing was ruthlessly persecuted for this by Lin Biao and company who were then in the position to make life a hell for anyone who did not agree with them.

After Lin Biao's fall, there was a move to criticize this much-ballyhooed "principle." But the "gang of four," however, frustrated this and continued to propagate this "principle" in other ways, and the result was that people moved increasingly away from the fundamental principles of Marxism, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was criticized and dismissed as revisionism, while revisionism, disguised as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, was allowed to spread unchecked.

Adherence to Marxist principles became a crime, while contravening these principles became rife. The Party's style of study — integrating theory with practice — was thrown overboard and people were confused and their thinking stunted.

Mendacious Slogans

If we only take things at their face value, then "studying and applying [Mao Zedong's works] in a creative way" appears very much like linking theory with practice, very much like the opposite of dogmatism. However, it is sheer demagoguery. Their "studying and applying creatively" was "learning by heart excerpts and sentences," and sedulously "committing to memory and quoting" truncated passages and sentences out of context. They "creatively" quoted whatever served their own purposes and wilfully distorted and dismembered Mao Zedong Thought. They forced people to "daily read and recite" endlessly the same few articles and passages, claiming that when one had committed these to memory, then they could "really master" Mao Zedong Thought. It became mandatory to start a meeting, make a report, or write an article by leading off with a few well-used quotations from Chairman Mao's works. Things got to such an extent that even advertisements, goods and wrappings were lavishly decorated with quotations.

We have had dogmatists in our Party who used passages from Marxist-Leninist classics as a panacea, mechanically quoting and applying them to the great detriment of the Chinese revolution. But Lin Biao and the Four excelled them all. This was a bunch of cunning counter-revolutionaries who were doing this in an attempt to usurp the power of the Party and the state.

One noxious consequence of "studying and applying [Mao Zedong's works] in a creative way" as advocated in the "30-word principle" was to dismantle Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a comprehensive unitary system. Instead of being understood accurately and in an all-round way, Marxism was arbitrarily dismembered into "fragments" and "pieces" and the "30-word principle" led people into contenting themselves with memorizing "fragments" and "pieces" and rejecting the very essence of Marxism.

Lin Biao and the gang picked out a few words and passages from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong and made them into Holy Writ and arbitrarily used them, irrespective of time, place and condition. Then totally ignoring the overall argument concerning a specific question in these works, they abstracted one particular aspect and exaggerated it to absurd lengths. This is a common practice, a very despicable one, with all revisionists bent on tampering with Marxism. On this matter Lenin had pointed out: "Marxism is an extremely profound and many-sided doctrine. It is, therefore, no wonder that scraps of quotations from Marx — especially when the quotations are made *inappropriately* — can always be found among the 'arguments' of those who break with Marxism." (*Letter to Comrades.*) This was exactly what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did. For instance, they quoted certain statements of Chairman Mao laying stress on politics and revolution as a substitute for his complete exposition on the dialectical relationship between politics and economics, between revolution and production and one-sidedly exaggerated these statements to the absurd extent of producing such fallacies as "politics may push everything else aside," and "production will naturally go up if revolution is well taken care of." They one-sidedly quoted Chairman Mao's thesis that the relations of production and the superstructure can, under given conditions, play a decisive role, and negated the thesis about the decisive role of the productive forces and the economic base as the "rationale" of their vaunted reactionary theory that "the superstructure is decisive."

Another noxious consequence of their "studying and applying [Mao Zedong's works] in a creative way" was the advocacy of blind faith which led people to consider Marxism as a dogma.

Marxism is a science, completely devoid of mysticism. "Learn by heart aphoristic sentences" and "memorize certain quotations," as well as other banalities of Lin Biao, such as "every sentence said by Chairman Mao is a truth," "one sentence of his is as good as ten thousand," "carry out what you can understand and also carry out what you cannot," superficially have elevated every word and statement of Chairman Mao's to astronomical heights but, have actually degraded Marxist theories to a hotch-potch of dogmas as Stalin had once

criticized, and distorted revolutionary teachers who had flesh-and-blood ties with the people into "sages" and "prophets." "Holding high [the banner of Mao Zedong]" was actually a gross insult to the revolutionary teachers. Some 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong had already criticized this. He said: "We need Marxism in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory no such formalistic or mystical notion as that of 'prophecy' ever enters our minds."

Undoubtedly, the revolutionary teachers standing at a higher plane see things farther than most people. They are adept at promptly summing up the practical experience of the masses and can predict the trend in developments and their theories are of great significance in guiding people's actions. But they, too, have to go through a certain process in order to get to know the objective world. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If anyone claims that any comrade — for instance, any comrade of the Central Committee, or for that matter I myself — completely understood the laws governing the Chinese revolution right from the start, then he is a braggart and you must on no account believe him." It is a fact that in Marxist-Leninist works we can find many instances of the authors modifying some of their views. Therefore, "every sentence is the truth" and "one sentence is as good as ten thousand" and other similar assertions completely contravene the law of cognition.

One more noxious consequence of "studying and applying [Mao Zedong's works] in a creative way" was the complete violation of the principle of linking theory with practice.

This "30-word principle for political studies" averred that nothing more was called for other than strictly applying the quotations to obtain sure-fire, miraculous "quick results." It led people into starting out from isolated Marxist phrases and not from reality.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the truth in that it originates from social practice; it is the scientific summation of people's practical experience in knowing and transforming the world. Marxist theories play a great role in guiding revolutionary practice; but the universal truth of Marxism still has to be integrated with the revolutionary practice in different countries before it can play such a role. If, as they averred, things can be accomplished merely by indiscriminately copying and following what

is said in selected quotations, then investigation and study would become something unnecessary. But how can real problems be solved in this way? For instance, if Comrade Mao Zedong had not pointed out the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside by applying Marxist theories in the light of the peculiarities of the Chinese revolution, and if we had faithfully followed the Russian example of seizing cities first and then the countryside, one wonders what would have happened to the Chinese revolution.

Moreover, we must also enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought with new experience we have gained. Lin Biao and company claimed that "it [Mao Zedong Thought] has everything" and all we had to do was to act accordingly. This, in reality, was trying to turn Mao Zedong Thought into set formulas, which, of course, harms our revolutionary cause.

Propagating Pragmatism

During Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao and company's promotion campaign to sell their mendacious slogan of "striving hard to apply what one studies," the slogan for a time was widely applied with disastrous effects. Their definition of "application" had nothing in common with the "application" Marxists have always advocated. "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." The word "apply" used here by Comrade Mao Zedong fully embodies the principle of linking theory with practice. It is rich in content, incorporating the use of the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in revolutionary practice, testing theory in practice, and developing Marxist theory on the basis of repeated practice and repeated knowing. Whereas Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" "application" was mere pragmatism. Had not Lin Biao described studying Mao Zedong's works as a most "profitable" piece of business? Had not Zhang Chunqiao, too, claimed that Marxist-Leninist works are "like an atom bomb, hydrogen bomb, useful in that it can frighten people"?

In a talk he made in 1966, Lin Biao purposely distorted "political power" in Chairman Mao's saying that "the fundamental question of revolution is political power" to mean "the power to suppress." This was his declaration of intent to kill off a number of people and dismiss a number of people from government posts in his scheme to seize power and take

over. This is one main manifestation of the counter-revolutionary pragmatism practised by such scoundrels who seize on what Comrade Mao Zedong had said and distort it to fit their counter-revolutionary needs.

Another manifestation of their pragmatism was using quotations to hammer and harm others. They would freely gouge out one or two sentences from a complete statement of Comrade Mao Zedong's and use them to accuse and condemn others. They used what Comrade Mao Zedong had said or a certain incident he had mentioned under specific conditions as grounds for attacking others. For instance, in the article "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie" he wrote in 1975, Zhang Chunqiao cited the episode about storming a fortified enemy village* at Baoan in 1936 as told by Comrade Mao Zedong in a speech he made in August 1945 — *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*. Zhang used this to claim that there were still many fortified villages of the bourgeoisie in our country and on this ground he began attacking a large number of revolutionary leading cadres and the leading organs under the central authorities.

Pragmatists have only one standard — anything goes so long as it serves their nefarious schemes. If it fits their requirements, it is the "truth." Their "truths" need not be tested in practice. On the other hand, truncated quotations, distorted beyond recognition, and their fallacies were pronounced to be "absolute truths" and people were enjoined to "follow every sentence in them," because, they said, that gives "quick results." According to Marxism, no theory is considered true until it has been tested in practice; and when people accept a certain theory, they can really master and apply it only after repeated practice. The pragmatism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" completely denies social practice as the yardstick to judge if a theory is true or not. They distorted the application of theory in practice to mean getting "quick results" without repeated practice. This is sheer nonsense.

* Baoan, now Zhidan County in northern Shaanxi, was the seat of the Chinese Party Central Committee at that time. The fortified village referred to was Danbazhai to the southwest of Baoan. This strategic village had for a long time been held by a landlord despot and his armed thugs. The Red Army besieged the village several times but could not capture it. It fell only after attacks were launched from outside coupled with efforts made to win over the masses inside the village to disintegrate the enemy from within.

A Turbulent Year in the Middle East

DISQUIET is the word to describe events in the Middle East region in the year that just departed. The peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel were on and off. Violence gripped North and South Yemen. The civil war went on unabated in Lebanon and Iran was in turmoil. The region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf was engulfed in tensions and turbulence, fraught with all sorts of contradictions, which claimed world attention.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace Talks

The Egyptian-Israeli peace talks stood out as the most salient event in the region last year. The Camp David summit between Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Menachem Begin of Israel and Jimmy Carter of the United States produced two documents: Framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and a framework for peace in the Middle East. This was followed by a tripartite negotiation in Washington from October 12 in search of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 and the signing of the Camp David agreements last summer took place against a complex, variegated background. During the past 30 years, Arab countries time and again fell prey to the aggression of the Zionist Israelis. On four occasions Egypt was involved in war and suffered losses valued at some 40 billion U.S. dollars. The country had to carry crushing economic burdens owing to the huge military expenditures dictated by the need to resist Israeli aggression. To make things worse, the Soviet Union dunned it for repayment of loans and held it to ransom for previous promise of supply of arms and spare parts.

In the circumstances President Sadat decided to set in motion his peace initiative, which was designed to effect a change in the state of "no war, no peace."

In the case of Israel, mounting indebtedness and inflation brought about by its aggression and expansion policy as well as its

isolation in the world had caused deep resentment among the people. Jerusalem wanted peace talks, too, if only to gain a respite from the internal stresses and strains and get rid of its isolation internationally.

The reactions to the Egyptian-Israeli peace talks and the Camp David agreements varied in different Arab countries. Unity in Arab ranks faced a severe test. Moscow was not one that would let an opportunity pass that it could exploit. It stepped up its attempt to sow discord and exert its influence in Arab countries stealthily.

At the time of the Arab summit held in Baghdad in early November last year, Egypt was conspicuously absent, a fact unprecedented in the history of the Arab League. After a heated debate, a final communique was adopted which reiterated the mission of the Arab nation to recover the occupied lands and restore the national rights of the Palestinian people laid down at the earlier summits at Algiers and Rabat. Open dissension was avoided in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences. While the summit did criticize the Camp David agreements, it refrained from condemning Egypt and President Sadat despite Soviet encouragement. It should be noted that what the Soviet Union had in mind was to make use of the delicate situation to deepen the chasm among the Arab countries.

The United States was forced by the situation to pledge its full support for the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations. The Middle East lies strategically on the flank of Europe, and 80 per cent of the oil supply to the United States and Western Europe comes from the region. U.S. global strategy and West European security will come under severe strain if the United States finds its interests in the Middle East in jeopardy.

Washington's strategic aim was to preserve U.S. interests in the Middle East, and first of all its oil interests. The United States took the initiative in the Middle East peace talks and work-

ed to exclude Soviet intervention in the solution of the Middle East problem, stabilize the situation in the area and prevent the recurrence of another armed conflict between Arabs and Israelis.

The intention of the United States was to persuade Syria, Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization to join the negotiations with Israel after the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and eventually to bring about a phased settlement of the Middle East question. But the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty negotiations were not all plain sailing. Egypt declared repeatedly against a separate settlement; it insisted that the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty must be linked with the Palestine issue and talks on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Israel on its part stuck to its guns. It wanted a separate peace. Because of this and other factors, the peace negotiations ran into snags and whether the conclusion of a peace treaty is in the offing is highly problematical.

Soviet Offensives

Unreconciled to its exclusion from the efforts to reach a "peaceful settlement" in the Middle East region, the Soviet Union, in its rivalry with the United States for supremacy, went on the offensive. On the one hand, it tried to torpedo a U.S.-monopolized peace settlement. Brezhnev accused the United States of forsaking the principles in the Soviet-U.S. joint communique on the settlement of the Middle East question dated October 1, 1977 and of "deliberately trying to provoke the Soviet Union." The Soviet Union, he said, would resolutely oppose what he called encroachments on the rights and interests of the Soviet state, and would act accordingly. First, the Soviet Union pressed those Arab states which disagreed with the Camp David agreements to form a "strategic alliance" with the Soviet Union. Both before and after the Baghdad summit, it sought to divide the Arab countries and undermine Arab unity. Second, it smeared President Sadat and called on so-called Egyptian "progressive forces" to topple the legally constituted Egyptian Government. Third, it tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, sending Jewish emigrants to Israel and maintaining contacts, overt and covert, with Israeli politicians.

In the meantime, the Soviet Union pursued its aims aggressively in the Red Sea, Arabian Peninsula and Gulf area, all vital to the West.

It is abundantly clear that the Soviet Union was out to encircle the oilfields and cut off the oil route. Having failed in rigging up a so-called federation of Red Sea states, it engineered the K.G.B. assassination of President Ghashmi of North Yemen and President Robaya of South Yemen, the one coming after the other in the space of three days in June last year. Earlier, President Daoud of Afghanistan had met with the same fate. In less than two months three heads of state died an unnatural death, murdered by the Soviets in the Middle East and Gulf area. This shocked the world's people. One Kuwaiti paper said that "Russia wanted to get in by every means, even at the cost of our lives." The press in Western countries noted in alarm that the Soviet Union had so speeded up its expansion into the world's vital areas that it now "wanted not only a foothold in the oil lane," "but also to control the sources of oil."

Grave Threat to Gulf Countries

The Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" with Ethiopia was signed for the purpose of consolidating its position on the west coast of the Red Sea. But what gave the United States and other Western countries the jitters was Soviet expansion in the Gulf area where Iran must bear the brunt of the Soviet thrust. Situated on the northern coast of the Gulf, Iran controls the Strait of Hormuz, the jugular of the oil lane. It has a border running for 1,600 kilometres with the Soviet Union in the north. And it is the second biggest oil exporting country and the fourth oil producing country in the world. The United States imports 900,000 barrels from Iran a day, or 10 per cent of its total oil imports. Throughout 1978 Iran was in turmoil. To cope with any eventuality, the U.S. Defence Department went on record at the beginning of 1978 that the United States was ready to fight "half a battle" in the Gulf. A task force 100,000 strong was formed and in case of emergency could be airlifted to the Gulf in two weeks. The Soviet Union was also reported to have expanded its amphibious striking force for use in the Gulf and the East Mediterranean in the event of "a crisis." A Soviet Persian-speaking infantry division was massed threateningly along the border with Iran. In the words of a Lebanese political leader, the area from the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan now faced the danger of a Soviet "pincers attack." Besides

Iran, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries found themselves confronted with a grave threat.

Most Forceful Lesson

While complex internal factors in the area had a part to play in the 1978 unrest, the above-mentioned facts show that the turmoil in the Middle East originated in the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. In particular it was the result of the infiltration, subversion, sabotage and sowing of discord on

the part of the Soviet Union. The people of the Middle East, however, are awakening and getting stronger, and they have come to see more clearly the true features of the Soviet Union. Speaking of the situation as regards the Arab world, an Arab newspaper said that the most forceful lesson of Arab history was that "without the unity of Arabs, there could be no survival of the Arabs."

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

Marxist-Leninist Organizations

Aggression Against Democratic Kampuchea Condemned

A NUMBER of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have recently published communiques, statements or articles strongly condemning the Vietnamese authorities who, with support of the Soviet hegemonists, invaded Kampuchea. They also expressed resolute support for the Kampuchean people's just struggle against Soviet-Vietnamese aggression.

Justice With the Kampucheans

The Nava Lanka Communist Party on January 15 issued a press communique which said, "We express our wholehearted support to and solidarity with the heroic Kampuchean people who are fighting in defence of their national independence against the Vietnamese aggressors and the Soviet social-imperialists."

The French paper *l'humanite rouge* on January 11 carried General Secretary of the French Marxist-Leninist Communist Party Jacques Jurquet's statement which pointed out that the Party supports without reservation the Kampuchean Communist Party and the heroic Kampuchean people in resisting the new imperialists and expansionists who have invaded their country. It also expressed its support to the patriotic action of Samdech Sihanouk

who has once again engaged himself in a historic struggle in defence of the just national cause of the Kampuchean people.

The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Italy issued an appeal on January 7 calling on Italian public opinion, democratic parties and mass organizations to support the Kampuchean people in various ways. On January 8, the Unified Communist Party of Italy organized a mass demonstration in front of the Chamber of Commerce for Italian-Soviet Trade in Milan in protest against the Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and in support of the Kampuchean people's struggle against aggression.

The Italian Party of Socialist Revolution called a meeting on January 12 in Rome to discuss the present situation in Indochina. It was also agreed that the various political factions at the meeting would start a campaign in support of Democratic Kampuchea and to condemn the Vietnamese aggression.

Christian Semler, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, said, "The fall of Phnom Penh is by no means the end of resistance against Vietnamese aggression. On the contrary, it marks the begin-

ning of resistance. We are firmly convinced that the Vietnamese aggressors are sure to be defeated by a protracted people's war under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the puppet regime under their control will certainly be swept away."

The Working Committee of the Central Committee of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) issued a statement on January 8 pointing out that the Soviet-directed Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has put before the progressive and anti-imperialist people an extremely important task, namely, to condemn most strongly the aggression and to provide more support to the Kampuchean people. It also said: There are ample reasons for an extensive mobilization of all democracy-loving people, irrespective of their political views, to denounce the aggression.

Southeast Asia Is Threatened

The Secretariat of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Portuguese (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party issued a statement on January 9 saying, "the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is only the first step in its new aggression against other countries in Southeast Asia where peace and stability is being seriously threatened. Following in Cuba's footsteps in Africa, Viet Nam is playing the role of Soviet gendarmes in Southeast Asia. The Kampuchean people's struggle for liberation is a just struggle which has our full support, for this struggle is part of the struggle of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world to oppose the hegemonic forces, especially Soviet expansionism, and to win national independence."

Heduno Gomes (Vilar), General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), in a recent message expressed firm support for the just struggle of the Kampuchean people.

The Communist Party of Japan (Left), the Worker-Peasant Party of Turkey, the Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization, the Political Bureau of the French Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece and the Communist Party of Peru have all



Norwegians demonstrate in front of Vietnamese Embassy in Oslo.

issued statements or communiques condemning Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece pointed out in a January 7 statement that the military occupation of Phnom Penh makes Viet Nam the Cuba of Asia at the height of its aggressiveness.

Roger Rashi, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), pointed out that the leaders in Viet Nam, Le Duan-Pham Van Dong, are traitors who have sold out their country to the Soviet Union.

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Marxist-Leninist) issued a statement on January 13 which said that the idea of forming an "Indochina federation" has been one long cherished by the Vietnamese authorities. Emboldened by their so-called "friendship treaty" with the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese rulers launched the present massive aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. It noted that Soviet social-imperialism in pursuance of its policy of global hegemony now uses the Vietnamese ruling clique as its Asian pawn in the same manner as it is using Cuba as its pawn in Africa and the Middle East.

The statement added that "the so-called 'salvation front' which the Vietnamese rulers formed about a month ago is no more than a puppet under cover of which the Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea. Without the protection given to it by the Vietnamese regular forces it cannot exist even for a single day."

The Secretariat of the Unified Communist Party of Italy said in a press communique that

the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea reminds people of the Nazi invasion of Spain and the (Soviet) invasion of Czechoslovakia. "This grave invasion shows that Viet Nam is a danger to the people of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. It is not a non-aligned country."

The Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist) said in a recent statement that "the Soviet Union has established bases on all the continents and reared watchdogs, such as Castro's Cuba and revisionist Viet Nam. The aggression against Kampuchea is another warning to all the peoples and countries of the world. Russian social-imperialism is a threat to the national independence of all the countries, a threat to the interests of all the peoples."

The Role of the Soviet Union

The Communist Party of Sweden on January 7 issued a statement which said that the Soviet support for Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea shows how unscrupulous the Soviet Union is in seeking world hegemony. The Soviet Union has expanded its influence in Africa through military means in the past few years and now it takes Asia as the arena for its aggressive war. However, the strategy of the offensive is first of all aimed at Europe and the control of Africa and Asia is considered as part of its encirclement of Europe. Therefore, Europe, including Sweden, will share the common interest with the Kampuchean people who are resisting Soviet and Vietnamese oppression.

The Central Committee of the Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) of Iceland stressed in a statement on January 8 that by violating the most elementary right of nations and by its total obedience to the Soviet Union, Viet Nam is no longer a socialist country, but a completely reactionary state.

The Communist League of Luxembourg recently issued a press communique. It said: "Viet Nam has become the 'Cuba in Asia.' Behind the aggression against Kampuchea lies the global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism."

The Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) said in a January 15 statement: "The occupation of Phnom Penh and other towns signifies not the end of the war but the beginning of a people's war in the countryside of Kampuchea. There can be no doubt that the Kampu-

chean people, united in their burning hatred for foreign invaders, and fighting a protracted, patriotic and just war of liberation for their country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and with the resolute support of all justice-loving people throughout the world, will defeat the foreign invaders and liberate their country."

The Revolutionary Communist League of Britain pointed out in an article in this year's first issue of the League's political paper *Class Struggle* that "today it is Viet Nam, acting as an agent for Soviet social-imperialism, that has become an aggressor, the Kampuchean people will defeat them too."

The Belgian organization, "All Power to Workers" (AMADA), on January 18 distributed a tract expressing the conviction that "the people of an invaded country always win final victory and the people's war will end the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea."

The Central Committee of the Communist League of West Germany on January 15 sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea saying: "The Kampuchean people have a glorious history of struggle for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity." "The Kampuchean people and Democratic Kampuchea are now in a bitter struggle for safeguarding national survival, revolution and socialism." The letter expressed the conviction that the Soviet and Vietnamese aggressors are bound to fail and the Kampuchean people are sure to regain emancipation.

Fernand Lefebvre, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium, issued a statement on January 8 which said that "the Vietnamese aggressors will not rejoice long." "The Kampuchean people are armed. The war has become a guerrilla war, a people's war."

The Central Committee of the Communist League of Austria published a statement recently pointing out that "Brezhnev is today's latent Hitler. There is no doubt that he will meet the same fate as Hitler." The statement stressed that "Moscow and Hanoi are now hailing their victory. However, they have rejoiced too soon because the national-liberation war has just begun." "Kampuchea has not been defeated but is fighting on," the statement said.

KOREA

Significant Proposals for Peaceful Reunification

The Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland of Korea discussed the question of promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland and put out an important four-point proposal for the reunification of the country. The main points of the proposal are: The north and south should return to the intrinsic idea and principles of the July 4, 1972, joint statement; an immediate end should be put to the calumnies and slanders against each other by any means and method; the two sides should unconditionally and immediately stop military activities menacing each other, discontinue the shipping in of weapons from outside and eliminate all possibilities of military conflicts; and a whole-nation congress attended by all political parties and public organizations in the north and the south should be convened in early September this year after preparatory work is made.

This is another major effort made by the Korean Workers' Party, Government and people to revive the deadlocked dialogue between the north and the south to bring about the reunification of the fatherland. It fully embodies the spirit of the three principles and the five-point policy for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country initiated by the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung, and reflects the eager aspirations of the entire Korean people to accomplish at an early date the grand cause of the reunification of the country. The new pro-

posal is rational, reasonable and practical.

The failure of the country to achieve reunification and of the nation to realize reunion in the past 34 years was entirely the result of foreign aggression and intervention. The U.S. Government must renounce the policy of creating "two Koreas" and in compliance with the resolution of the 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly withdraw from south Korea all its land, naval and air forces together with nuclear arms, dissolve the "U.N. command" in south Korea and let the Korean people settle the question of the country's reunification by themselves.

Recently, the south Korean authorities, in response to the principle enunciated by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, expressed readiness to enter into a dialogue with the north. The Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland of Korea has welcomed this positive attitude of the south Korean authorities. This is an encouraging new development since the suspension of the north-south dialogue.

KAMPUCHEA

The People Fights On

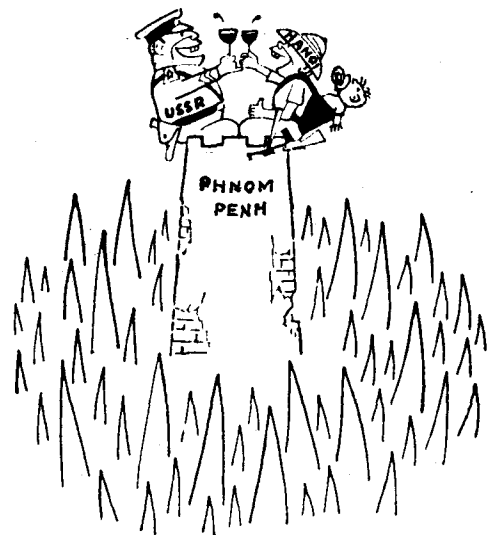
Moscow and Hanoi, big and small hegemonists, have been gloating since Phnom Penh fell to the Vietnamese invaders. Kampuchea has really entered a "new historic era," they declared. It is "exciting news."

But they are celebrating victory too early. The fall of Phnom Penh is not the end of the war. It marks the start of the Kampuchean people's na-

tionwide war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression.

Fighting is going on in various parts of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people are letting the Vietnamese aggressors know with bullets that they love their motherland. Denis Gray, an AP reporter, on January 19 reported that Pol Pot's armed forces were intact, probably because they had sidestepped Viet Nam's blitzkrieg. These troops were now attacking on the eastern region of Kampuchea, which was overrun earliest by the Vietnamese aggressors and its puppet troops. They also attacked the coastal city of Kompong Som, the sole deep-water harbour in Kampuchea.

Mustering their forces, the Kampuchean army and people are making use of the vast countryside to fight a guerrilla war, springing on the enemy out of the jungle and out of the mountains. The situation is as the Western press and news agencies describe it: Viet Nam controls the cities and towns, but the Kampuchean control



Here's to us!

by Wang Yu

the countryside. The Kampuchean people are counter-attacking from the countryside and putting up an effective guerrilla resistance.

This development on the Kampuchean war front gives the lie to Hanoi's boast that they have won "complete victory." The Austrian paper *Die Presse* pointed out that 100,000 Vietnamese troops are far too few to cope with such warfare in such a country. Viet Nam is probably bogged down in the same way as the United States had once been by its own guerrillas and was eventually defeated.

The blatant trampling underfoot of all norms of international relations and invading a sovereign country by the Vietnamese hegemonists have naturally met with strong condemnation from the world. Many non-aligned countries have condemned Hanoi for sabotaging the principles of the non-aligned movement. Demands for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea are heard throughout the world. A number of countries have decided to halt or reconsider their aid to Viet Nam.

Hanoi's iniquity has aggravated its domestic political and economic crises. Hanoi ringleaders have readily sold out the independence and liberty that the Vietnamese people won with blood in order to get alms from Moscow. They have also joined the Soviet drive for global expansion and are forcing the Vietnamese people to become cannon-fodder in a war of aggression. They have thus reduced Viet Nam into a Soviet satellite politically, militarily and economically. All this is against the interests of the Vietnamese people and has no popular support at all.

The aggressors may crow and gloat now, but they are doomed. How did aggression by the Japanese militarists and Hitler end up? Can Soviet big hegemonism and Vietnamese small hegemonism escape a similar fate?

BRITAIN

Workers on Strike

More than 100,000 truck drivers held a nationwide strike on January 12 demanding higher wages.

This action grew from a strike that started in Scotland on January 3 by 5,000 truck drivers who were soon joined by drivers in Liverpool, the Midlands and London, quickly swelling the number of workers involved to 50,000. Their demand for a 22 per cent increase in basic wages was rejected by the truck-owners. The British Transport and General Workers Union expressed support for the truck drivers' strike and decided on the nationwide strike beginning January 12 despite Prime Minister James Callaghan's last-minute personal appeal to the union leaders.

The strike has seriously affected the British economy, plunging the country into industrial chaos, as 85 per cent of British goods use highway transport. Factories have cut production or closed down for

lack of raw materials and pileup of products. Workers have been laid off. The strike has nearly paralysed Britain's export and import industry. Daily necessities are in short supply, and food prices have jumped 200 to 300 per cent since last December.

The British Government sought to confine inflation to a single digit number by proposing last July that the government-set 5 per cent pay-rise ceiling would be enforced for the coming year. But the announcement of this new wage policy was strongly opposed by the trade unions and there was also dissent from within the Labour government. Strikes resulting from the wage dispute have occurred one after another since last August. The new year has brought new developments, the most prominent being strikes by oil-tanker and truck drivers.

The January 3 strike by drivers of the Texas Oil Company brought heavy pressure on oil supplies in many places. Some 360 petrol stations in Northern Ireland closed down leaving 400 schools without adequate fuel for heating. The British Government on January 11 announced a state of emergency in Northern Ireland and called out some 500 troops to replace striking drivers and ensure urgent supplies.

Rush to buy food during British truck drivers' strike.



● "August 1" Nanchang Uprising Monument

More than 10,000 army men and civilians gathered to celebrate the completion of the Monument to the "August 1" Nanchang Uprising on January 8, 1979, three years to the day Premier Zhou Enlai died.

The 45.5-metre monument is at the southern side of the "August 1" Square in the centre of Nanchang, capital of Jiangxi Province. On the monument is the inscription by Chairman Hua Guofeng: "Monument to the 'August 1' Nanchang Uprising." On one side is a brief description of the uprising, on the other sides are bas-reliefs depicting the event. On the top of the monument are a 14-metre-long rifle and an 8.5 by

8.1 metres army banner carved in granite.

The Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927 was led by Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and He Long. It marked the start of the Communist Party-led armed struggle and the birth of a new-type people's army, which is why August 1 is New China's Army Day.

● New Stockbreeding Bases

The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is building more stockbreeding bases. It already has over 24 million head of livestock and 50 million of its 80 million hectares of grasslands are exploitable pastures. Since the founding of New China, Xinjiang has become famous for the fine breeds of livestock it produces for improving the stock elsewhere in China.

The Xinjiang fine-wool sheep is the first Chinese species which gives fine wool and good quality mutton. Twenty-nine counties and a number of state farms have been selected to raise this sheep on an extensive scale. Sheds, enclosures and *kuluns* (large tracts of fenced or walled land for growing fodder) are being built as well as buildings and equipment for the cold lambing season. Modern machines for the sheep bases are being built and greater efforts are being made to upgrade scientific research work and management.

The big-tail early maturing Altay sheep is another improved breed. It weighs as much as 35 to 40 kilogrammes

in five months and gives a tender meat. Seven counties in the Altay Prefecture have been earmarked for breeding this big-tail sheep.

The Sanbei lamb of Xinjiang produces a fine lambskin, meat and even milk. Seven counties and six state farms in the Aksu Prefecture are to concentrate on rearing this breed.

Twenty-five counties in Xinjiang have been asked to produce beef cattle. Local breeds are being improved and stud cattle from abroad are to be introduced for crossbreeding with local breeds.

● More Foreign Exchange

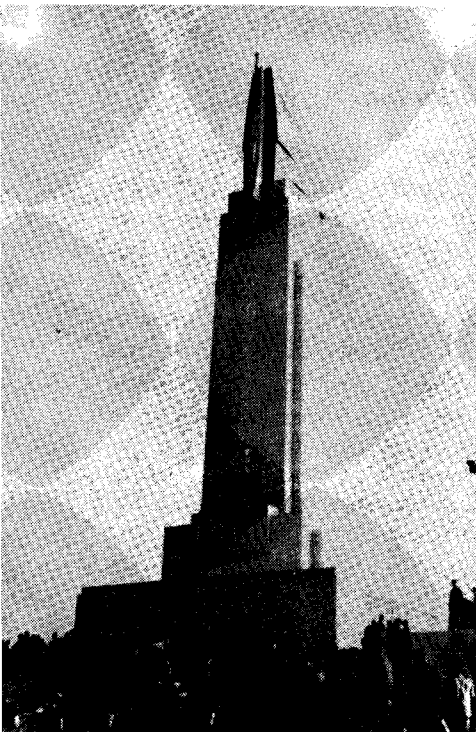
China earned 21.4 per cent more foreign exchange in 1978 than in 1977 and income from exports was up 28.6 per cent.

Compared with 1977 non-commercial income rose by 40 per cent. Overseas Chinese remittances rose 20.1 per cent, income from tourism was more than trebled and revenue from maritime shipping and port services increased 33.5 per cent.

● RMB Traveller's Cheques

Renminbi traveller's cheques are now being accepted in more places in China to cope with the influx of tourists from abroad, the Chinese People's Bank decided.

Tourists, invited foreign guests, foreign organizations in China and foreigners staying in China (exclusive of foreign residents) can use Renminbi



Monument to the "August 1"
Nanchang Uprising.

traveller's cheques in Friendship Stores, shops attached to maritime shipping companies, service departments of fine art companies and antique shops as well as hotels, international airports and certain railway stations.

The Chinese People's Bank has set up more foreign exchange facilities in many cities. In Guangdong and Fujian Provinces that have close ties with overseas Chinese, large numbers of the bank's offices are also handling Renminbi traveller's cheques. In some villages where there is no bank offices, Renminbi traveller's cheques can be converted in the credit co-operatives.

● **Five Years for a Corrupt Official**

Bai Junfeng, former deputy secretary of the Zhanjiang prefecture Party committee in south China's Guangdong Province, was given a five-year sentence by the prefecture's intermediate court for taking bribes and shielding bad types. His ill-gotten gains were confiscated.

Administratively, a prefecture embraces a number of counties and a prefectural Party secretary is a man of some importance. The fact that the politically corrupt Bai Junfeng was brought before a court and duly punished gave the people in the locality cause for rejoicing and convinced them of the determination of the Party and the Government to strengthen the country's socialist legal system.

Bai was found guilty of a number of crimes when he held leading posts in Xuwen County and Haikang County during the period of 1973-76. He put an

embezzler, Li Yueyang, in the responsible position of a Party secretary in Xuwen County and received from him a bribe of 800 yuan and tried to keep him from being exposed. Li is now under arrest.

In the same period Bai protected and got kickbacks from Cai Weichun, an illegal contractor. Cai is now put behind prison bars. Bai Junfeng was charged with conniving at the brutish acts of two commune Party secretaries who beat up commune cadres and members, and with embezzlement of several thousand yuan of public funds and helping himself to a large amount of state property.

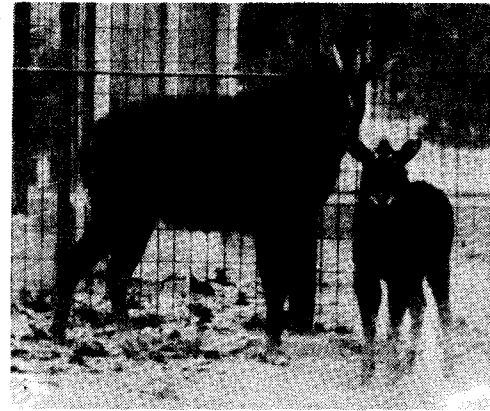
Bai's case came to the attention of higher-up organizations when cadres and the masses in the prefecture wrote to expose his misdeeds. In the course of investigation he showed little repentance and even went so far as to take it out on those who wrote the letters.

Bai Junfeng's sentence was preceded by expulsion from the Party and dismissal from all his posts.

● **Young Birds and Beasts**

The Beijing Zoo successfully bred 930 young animals of 110 species last year. Birds made up 38.2 per cent, reptiles 3.6 per cent and other animals the rest.

This well-kept, popular zoo covers 50 hectares in the western suburbs and was set up in 1906. More than 4,000 birds and beasts of some 480 species from China and many other countries are assembled here. Among rare animals are the lovable giant panda and the lovely snub-nosed monkey, found only



Mother serow and baby.

in China, and animals from abroad.

Last year, a giraffe, a brown baboon, barbary sheep, a rhea, a giant panda, an Asian elephant, a hippopotamus, a gnu, zebras, white-lipped deers, flamingoes and other animals produced offsprings in this zoo through careful tending by the zoo attendants. A muted swan, for example, had not laid any eggs since 1957, but last year produced a brood of six cygnets, now five months old.

● **Briefs**

Sugar Refineries. Four sugar refineries each to produce 9,000 tons of sugar a year are being completed in the important sugar-beet producing province of Heilongjiang, north-east China. The Zhalantun refinery recently started and equipment is being installed in the other three.

Big Platinum Mine. A big platinum deposit has been found in the Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province. The ore also contains other rare metals such as palladium, osmium and iridium. Very little platinum was found in the past and China has had to pay heavily for imports.



DRAMA

Voicing the Feelings of The People

The setting: Inside a typical northern Shaanxi cave-dwelling, Mao Zedong, simply dressed, picks up two potatoes from the charcoal burner and gives them to two young Red Army fighters, both guards of Zhou Enlai. But where is the other potato? I have "wiped it out," Zhu De says with a smile. Zhou Enlai enters. The three great revolutionaries and close comrades-in-arms are thus brought together on the stage.



Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De as portrayed in "The Xian Incident."

This is how the nine-scene play *The Xian Incident* depicts the Chairman of the Party Central Committee and the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army saying good-bye to Vice-Chairman Zhou who is leaving on an important mission for the ancient city Xian. The year is 1936. Two patriotic Kuomintang generals have arrested their Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang is obdurately bent on attacking the Chinese Communists who are determined to defend the country against Japanese invasion. The atmosphere is tense. At this critical moment in the history of China, Zhou Enlai arrives in Xian and with great tact and resourcefulness manages to find a peaceful solution to the situation. Chiang Kai-shek is forced to call off the civil war which has been going on for ten years and agree to co-operate with the Communist Party in repulsing the Japanese aggression.

This play was first shown on Beijing TV screens on January 8, the third anniversary of the death of Premier Zhou, and is one of the better-liked plays put on during the first round of the national theatrical festival held to mark the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The festival began on New Year's Day and will end on National Day, October 1.

The first group includes six plays, all with themes about China's first generation of proletarian revolutionaries. Two of the plays have the same title *The Xian Incident*. In both, the three outstanding Chinese Communist Party leaders as well as Chiang Kai-shek, and some senior Kuomintang officials appear on the stage. In *Autumn Thunder*, which is about the 1927 peasants' armed uprising in Hunan Province, and in the play *Yang Kaihui*, describing the revolutionary activities by workers and peasants after the uprising, Mao Zedong and his wife Yang Kaihui appear. She later unflinchingly meets her death at the hands of the Chinese people's enemy. *Chen Yi Comes Down From the Mountains* and *Dawn* are about the early revolutionary activities of Marshals Chen Yi and He Long respectively.

In spite of their serious political content, all six plays are absorbing. The audiences learn about the heroic lives of their leaders and their world-shaking exploits and how deeply rooted they were among the masses. Years ago, the "gang of four" idolized Chairman Mao while ruthlessly persecuting and playing down the veteran revolutionaries. Today, the modern dramas are undoing

the damage of those scoundrels and restoring these tried and tested old stalwarts of the Chinese revolution to their rightful places in history.

Modern Drama Revived

Modern drama, condemned by Jiang Qing, has been revived after the overthrow of the "gang of four." The pent-up fury of the playwrights is finding an outlet in artistic creation. Today, modern plays are spearheading the campaign to undo the things the "gang of four" had done and are speaking out what is on the minds of the people. Over the past two years some 200 full-length and short plays have been staged in China.

The satirical play *When the Maple Leaves Turn Red* staged in Beijing was the first to present on the stage some of the ugly aspects of the gang. *Loyal Hearts*, written by some amateurs, broke the ban imposed by the gang against allowing intellectuals to feature positively and prominently on the stage. The one-act comedy *The Rendezvous* mounted last summer in Shanghai was the first of the new plays to deal with love, another theme once proscribed by the gang.

Where the Silence Is which has the April 1976 Tian An Men Incident as its background is being staged by a hundred troupes all over the country, to full houses. The secret of its success is that the play, like other recent successful plays, gives voice to the feelings of the people.

In addition to new plays, many old favourites, which had once been declared as poisonous weeds, are now back on the stage. They include works by the noted veteran playwrights

Guo Moruo, Lao She and Cao Yu.

At present, professional and amateur playwrights, old and new, are breaking old taboos and are producing more and more works of varying styles.

ACADEMIC EXCHANGES

Learning From Others

China sent 480 students to 28 countries last year for two to three years of studies on science and other subjects. More will go to more countries this year. The students, ages ranging from 20 to 49, included researchers, lecturers, engineers, doctors, college and middle school graduates, and translators.

More than 100 scholars and professors from 12 countries were invited to China for a one-to three-month lecture tour last year. Their lectures to foreign language teachers and their lectures on natural sciences,

their conscientiousness and their friendliness were very much appreciated. This year 140 professors have been invited to give lectures in China.

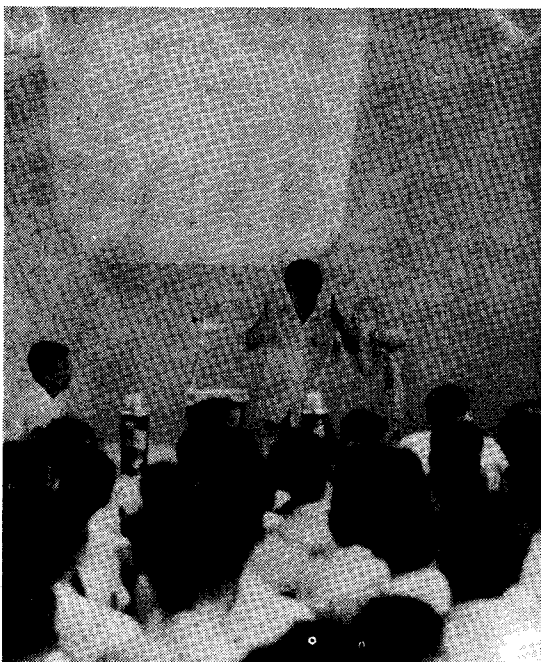
Last year, China conducted cultural exchanges of this type with: Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Britain, Canada, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Egypt, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Laos, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Switzerland, Syria, the United States and Yugoslavia.

These exchanges arranged by the Chinese Ministry of Education helped many people learn about the science and culture of other countries, which will contribute to speeding up the modernization of our country.

PUBLICATIONS

New Books

- The first two volumes of *The History of Tsarist Russia's Invasion of China* which came off the press recently are a record of Russia's invasion and occupation of China's territory and Russian aggression which took the form of unequal treaties, slave trade and collection of intelligence by so-called missionaries from the 17th to mid-19th centuries. The *History* also gives an account of the Chinese people's struggle against the alien invaders.



American physicist Dr. Yang Chen-ning lecturing in Beijing

Edited by the Institute of Contemporary History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the *History* will be completed in four volumes.

- A *Chinese-English Dictionary* with more than 57,000 entries is the work of a 50-member team headed by Professor Wu Jingrong of the English department of the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute. In addition to common Chinese

characters, the dictionary includes ancient literary expressions still in use, terms of foreign origin, colloquialisms and words and phrases from local dialects. The new Chinese phonetic alphabet is adopted in spelling Chinese names of persons and places.

- *Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, the first of its kind compiled after China's liberation, is the product of the

joint effort of 500 people and more than 300 organizations over a period of 19 years. Edited by the Nanjing Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine, this 10-million word magnum opus with 4,500 illustrations records the medicinal properties and use of 5,767 kinds of herbs, animals and minerals. Attached to the tome are seven indices including names of medicines, Latin names of medicinal herbs and their chemical components.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

Cinema

- *The Great River Flows On* — a wide-screen colour feature film showing the changes which have taken place on the banks of the Huanghe (Yellow) River during a period of 20 years before and after liberation. Starring Zhang Ruifang in her fourteenth film. Stage Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou appear for the first time in a Chinese film.

- *The Rugged Years* — a new feature film about the struggle against the "gang of four."

- *Waves of the Honghe River* — a film shot in the 60s showing a guerrilla unit of the 30s. Once a "poisonous weed" and banned by the "gang of four."

- U.S. feature films: *Future World*, *Convoy*, Charlie Chap-



lin's *Modern Times* and two U.S. documentary films publicly shown for the first time in New China coincided with Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States.

Kabuki Theatre

A cultural mission from Japan presented the traditional *Chushingura* and *Kagami-Jishi* to capacity Chinese audiences. The first is about an honest official, the other is a dance-drama. The performance of Shoroku Onoe and Baiko Onoe were enthralling.

Opera

- *Mountain Flowers* — an opera about the workers in a small railway station.

Modern Drama

- *Oh My Teacher!* — about life in a middle school in the mid-70s. It was written by some playwrights who had personally experienced what the play is about. It is dedicated to those working all their lives for educating the younger generation.

Beijing Opera

- *The Banner of King Valiant* — Adapted from the novel

about Li Zicheng, the leader of a 17th century peasant uprising. The novel *Li Zicheng* is a best seller.

Pingju Opera

- *Happy Ending* — a comedy describing the marriage of two young people, one from a worker's family and the other from a peasant family in a sugar-cane growing area.

Concerts

- Sunday concerts, presented by the Central Philharmonic Society.

- Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* presented by the "Red Scarf" Orchestra of the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory of Music. The orchestra has just been revived after its disbanding 12 years ago.

Puppet Show

- The Chinese Puppet Show Troupe, just back from Yugoslavia presented *Up roar in Heaven* and other items.

Recital

- Foreign songs and poetry recital. Works of ten famous foreign writers and poets were presented. Foreign songs and arias from foreign operas were also presented.

THE WORKS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

(English edition)

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

Manifesto of the Communist Party
Selected Letters

Karl Marx

Wages, Price and Profit
Wage Labour and Capital
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the State

V.I. Lenin

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Karl Marx

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The Tasks of the Youth Leagues

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tatorship of the Proletariat

The Three Sources and Three Component Parts
of Marxism

What the "Friends of the People" Are and
How They Fight the Social-Democrats

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

A Great Beginning

Marx - Engels - Marxism

J.V. Stalin

The Foundations of Leninism

Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Marxism and Problems of Linguistics

Problems of Leninism

Lenin

On the Opposition

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