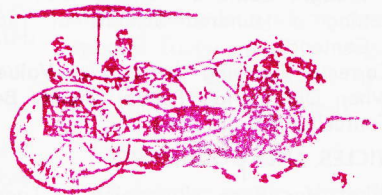
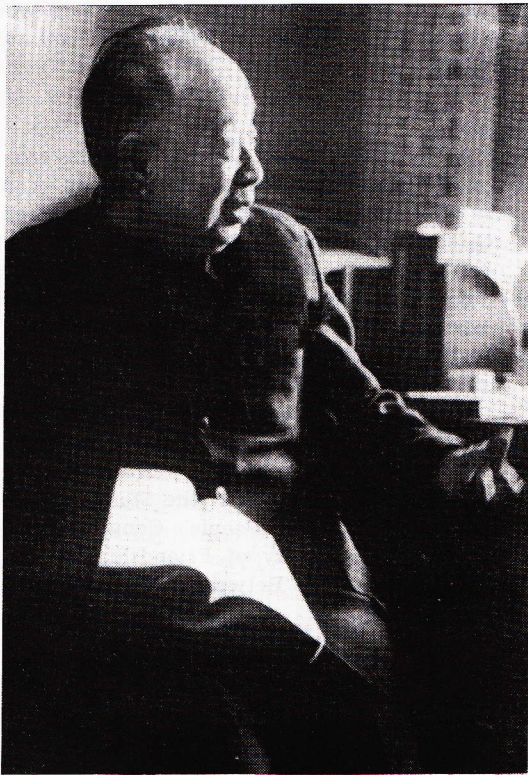


BEIJING REVIEW

● Social Sciences: A Hundred Schools of Thought Contend



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CONTENTS

CHRONICLE 2

EVENTS & TRENDS 3

Readjustment in the Course of Advance Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty Will Not Be Extended

Viet Nam Should Not Set Up Obstacles to Negotiations

Inspection of Party Discipline Protecting the People's Democratic Rights

Factories and Mines Go in for Agriculture Why So Few Good Films?

SPECIAL FEATURE

Social Sciences: A Hundred Schools of Thought Contend—Zhang Wen 9

Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend 10

Correctly Applying the Law of Value 14

When Did China's Feudal Society Begin? 17

Confucius Reappraised 19

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

What Has Been Happening in Laos? 22

Viet Nam's Kampuchean Aggression Eloquent Evidence 24

Aggressors' Lame Argument—A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent 24

The Nub of the Namibian Question—Xiao Xi 26

ROUND THE WORLD 28

ON THE HOME FRONT 30

COVER: Yang Xiangkui (*left*), research fellow and deputy director of the Institute of History Under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Zhang Zhenglang, research fellow of the institute, discussing the division of periods of ancient Chinese history. Yang holds the view that China's feudal society started in the Western Zhou Dynasty (c. 1100-771 B.C.), while Zhang maintains that it began in the Wei (220-265 A.D.) and Jin (265-420 A.D.) Dynasties.

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CHRONICLE

Mar. 29

• The Chinese People's National Committee in Defence of Children held its plenary session. It decided to strengthen its work and to support the U.N. resolution to make 1979 the International Year of the Child. Soong Ching Ling, Chairman of the Committee, addressed the meeting. She said: "We must speed up the four modernizations to create better conditions for children, both in their material and spiritual lives."

• Xinhua reported that the State Council issued on February 10 regulations on protection of aquatic products.

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with the Governor of Xianggang (Hongkong) Sir Murray MacLehose.

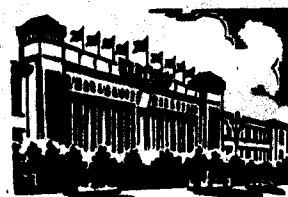
• An agreement was reached in Tokyo between Liu Xiwen, President of the Chinese Committee for the Long-Term Trade Agreement, and his Japanese counterpart Yoshihiro Inayama. The two sides agreed that the original trade agreement, signed on February 16, 1978, would be extended to the year 1990 and the export value of each side would be expanded from 10,000 to 20,000-30,000 million U.S. dollars.

Mar. 31

• The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry expressed deep regret and indignation at Hanoi's lies and repeated obstructions to holding Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. The note called on the Vietnamese side to respond positively to the Chinese proposals by removing the obstacles it had placed in the way of holding the negotiations.

April 3

• The seventh session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress decided not to extend the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between China and the Soviet Union (see p. 3).



Readjustment in the Course of Advance

Large-scale capital construction is indispensable if China is to accomplish socialist modernization. For this purpose the nation has invested large sums of money and allocated a great amount of raw materials, equipment and work force so as to complete the projects and put them into operation as soon as possible. While great achievements have been made in capital construction in the last two years, a number of problems have cropped up on the road forward.

The most outstanding problem is that too many projects are undertaken at the same time, thereby resulting in the dispersion of financial and material forces over a wide front. Many projects were undertaken last year, but still more were added later. Statistics show that there are tens of thousands of projects being built, of which over 1,000 are big and medium-sized ones. In the light of China's present material and financial conditions, it will take several years to complete these projects.

In view of this situation, the national working conference on capital construction recently held in Beijing decided to make the necessary readjustments. A number of projects will be stopped or put off for the time being so as to concentrate efforts on accelerating the construction of urgently needed ones.

It is decided to call a halt to those projects where data relating to geological conditions and resources are still incomplete,

where the technology involved is still not up to the required standards, where building materials, equipment, funds and labour force are not adequate, where there is no guarantee for the supply of fuel, raw materials and water or the necessary means of transport upon completion, where the techniques are backward and consumption is high, and where the question of pollution has not been properly handled.

Efforts will be concentrated on building the following:

- Key projects using the latest equipment and technology;

- Coal mines, power stations, oilfields, transport and telecommunications facilities and construction material plants which are all weak links in the national economy today;

- Light industrial enterprises, textile mills, housing estates, public utilities, which are closely related to market supply and people's life;

- Enterprises for processing or producing goods for export and facilities for tourism.

Renmin Ribao on March 24 published an editorial entitled "Make Readjustment in the Course of Advance; March Forward in the Course of Making Readjustment." It said: To take one step backward is for the purpose of taking two steps forward. Only when the burden is reduced can one quicken his forward march.

Importing Advanced Technology and Foreign Trade. Referring to the import of advanced technology and equipment, the

editorial pointed out that this should be done in a more rational, more economical and more beneficial way. In accordance with the principles of readjustment, attention should be paid to what we should import and what we should not, and what should get top priority. The former practice of buying "eggs" instead of "chickens," the editorial noted, should be changed into buying "chickens" instead of "eggs" or buying fewer "eggs." The buying of "chickens," if necessary, must not be duplicated. The import of technology and equipment must be combined with the improvement of those of existing enterprises, and with the improvement of engineering skills and the standardization and serialization of products. A special force must be organized to handle the import of technology and technical know-how.

In foreign trade, the editorial stressed, there must be balance between imports and exports. All the areas and departments are urged to increase their exports, for only in this way can a larger amount of advanced equipment and technology be imported.

Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty Will Not Be Extended

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was signed in Moscow on February 14, 1950 and came into force on April 11 of the same year, is due to expire on April

11, 1980. In view of the fact that great changes have taken place in the international situation and that the treaty has long ceased to exist except in name owing to violations for which the Chinese side is not responsible, the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, at its seventh session held on April 3, 1979, decided not to extend the said treaty beyond its expiration.

The above decision was notified to the Soviet side on April 3, 1979 by Foreign Minister Huang Hua of the People's Republic of China when the latter met Soviet Ambassador to China J.S. Shcherbakov and reiterated the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that the differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union should not hamper the maintenance and development of their normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. To this end, the Chinese Government has proposed to the Soviet Government that negotiations be held between China and the Soviet Union for the solution of outstanding issues and the improvement of relations between the two countries.

Viet Nam Should Not Set Up Obstacles to Negotiations

In a note to the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry on March 31, the Chinese Foreign Ministry

expressed deep regret and indignation at the lies concocted by the Vietnamese authorities which have put forward preconditions and repeatedly obstructed the opening of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations.

The note said: "The Vietnamese side keeps churning out the lie that 'Chinese troops are still stationed in some places in Viet Nam' so as to obstruct the holding of negotiations. Sometimes it alleges that the number of places in Viet Nam on which Chinese troops are still stationed is more than a dozen. At other times it claims the number of places to exceed thirty. Ten places were listed in its note of March 27. Such arbitrary and contradictory charges reveal not only a flippant attitude but also extreme clumsiness. The Chinese side has time and again stated explicitly that all Chinese frontier troops were withdrawn to Chinese territory as of March 16 and that there is not a single Chinese soldier on Vietnamese territory. As for the places listed in the Vietnamese side's note of March 27, in some of them there are no Chinese troops at all, while those places where there are Chinese troops are all on the Chinese side of the boundary and have always been under China's jurisdiction. If the Vietnamese side holds a different opinion about the alignment of the boundary in certain sections, it should seek a resolution through negotiations. It is utterly unreasonable for the Vietnamese side to make China's withdrawal from these places a precondition for the holding of negotiations."

The note concluded that both China and Viet Nam suffered from imperialist and colonialist enslavement and oppression. Today, both peoples desire to

live in peace so as to have favourable conditions in which to build up their respective countries. If the Vietnamese side is sincere about holding negotiations and wishes to have a peaceful and tranquil border, it should remove the obstacles it has set in the way of negotiations and make a positive response to the repeated proposals of the Chinese side for negotiations. Any attempt to obstruct the holding of negotiations and to maintain or aggravate tensions along the border runs counter to the wishes of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people of the world and is, therefore, doomed to failure.

Inspection of Party Discipline

Leading newspapers in the nation on March 25 frontpaged an announcement by the first plenary session of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline Under the Party Central Committee held in Beijing last January. The commission was elected last December by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. With the veteran revolutionary Chen Yun as its first secretary, the commission's basic task is to uphold the Party's discipline and fine style of work.

Since country-wide victory and the seizure of political power by the Party in 1949, the announcement recalled, the Party's status and the environment have changed, and this has given rise to arrogance and conceit on the part of some Party members and cadres who have gradually estranged themselves from the masses. The

Party's system of democratic centralism has also been damaged to some extent. In 1958 and particularly after 1959, this tendency continued to develop. In 1962, at the Enlarged Working Conference of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong made special efforts to remedy the situation. The conference issued a call to ensure the implementation of democratic centralism in the Party, but because of the absence of necessary rules and regulations, the call did not produce the desired effect.

Later, when Lin Biao and company propagated the personality cult on a large scale, the Party Central Committee's collective leadership was further weakened. During the Great Cultural Revolution, inspection organs at all levels were paralysed, Party discipline slackened, and unhealthy tendencies spread.

As our past experience shows, the announcement said, if under the proletarian dictatorship the Party's system of democratic centralism and inspection of Party discipline is weakened, inner-Party democracy and people's democracy will suffer as a consequence and the Party's regulations and the socialist legal system will be undermined, and conspirators and careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" would seize the opportunity to achieve their own ends.

In the light of the Party's historical experience, the announcement set forth eight principles that must be observed in connection with the work of inspecting Party discipline.

(1) Strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the

two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. In dealing with those comrades who have committed mistakes, the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be adopted, and it is necessary to draw a clear line of distinction between mistakes of a general character and political mistakes and between mistakes of a general or political nature and those relating to the political line. In particular, it is necessary to strictly distinguish mistakes committed within the confines of the Party from counter-revolutionary activities. It is strictly forbidden to use methods employed against the enemy in dealing with Party members.

(2) In the struggle against erroneous tendencies, it is necessary to proceed from the reality, bring out the facts and reason things out so as to convince others. It is necessary to strengthen normal inner-Party political life and encourage criticism and self-criticism.

(3) Lay the stress on evidence and on investigation and study. It is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by coercion and then give them credence.

(4) It is imperative to be extremely prudent in dealing with people. Always adhere to the principle of being strict in ideological criticism and lenient in taking disciplinary action. Comprehensive, historical and objective analyses should be made concerning any comrade who has committed mistakes. Do not take a completely negative attitude toward anyone

merely because he has made a mistake on a certain occasion. All comrades who have committed mistakes should be treated leniently as long as they do not refuse to mend their ways.

(5) Adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever they are discovered. All false charges, wrong sentences and frame-ups should be corrected and the victims rehabilitated whenever they are discovered. All wrong verdicts should be reversed, no matter when or under what circumstances they were made, and no matter what organization or which leading personnel approved it.

(6) All the cadres in charge of inspecting Party discipline should take a firm stand, fear no pressure, and never consider personal gain or loss.

(7) Follow the mass line conscientiously. These cadres should maintain close ties with the masses and know what they really want.

(8) Combine collective leadership with division responsibility among leading cadres. All important questions must be decided through collective discussions.

Centring round the task of upholding the Party's discipline and fine style of work, Party discipline inspection commissions at all levels must at present help Party committees educate Party members in the Party's discipline and traditional fine style of work, step up the work of settling cases left over from the past, and do a good job in handling letters from the masses and receiving visitors who have complaints to make. Discipline inspection commis-

sions must be set up and gradually strengthened as soon as possible.

Protecting the People's Democratic Rights

Many workers and residents in Shanghai, China's largest industrial city, have written to the press censuring a handful of people for abusing their democratic rights, creating social disorder and encroaching upon the rights of other people in the city.

A tiny number of people recently created disturbances in Shanghai, stopped traffic on the thoroughfares and prevented many people from going to work on time; some put up slogans and posters on the walls of public buildings, and a few went so far as to insult the people's police on duty.

How did this come about?

Democratic life has lately been activated throughout the country and the people can speak up freely in criticizing leading organizations for any shortcomings or mistakes in their work. This is conducive to creating conditions for strengthening unity and stability and for carrying out the four modernizations.

But, on the other hand, owing to the pernicious influence of anarchism of the last ten years and more, some people mistake democracy for absolute individual freedom and opposition to all kinds of discipline and authority. While much of this influence is still in evidence today, many people are not accustomed to exercising their democratic rights or do not

know how to use them in the correct way. As for the leading organizations, there are of course shortcomings in giving scope to democracy. This must be overcome. It cannot be overlooked, however, that there are some bad elements in the society who are out for disorder and trouble.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system and protect the people's democratic rights, the security bureau in Shanghai, with the approval of the municipal revolutionary committee, issued a notice on March 6 to the effect that participants in public assemblies and demonstrations must obey the direction of the people's police and that no one is allowed to intercept trains, create disturbances in government institutions or stir up troubles. It is also stipulated that except in designated places, no one is allowed to put up slogans, posters or wall newspapers on public buildings, and the printing and selling of reactionary and pornographic books, journals and pictures are prohibited.

The notice states that anyone persisting in such errors shall be summoned for interrogation in accordance with the Constitution, the Public Security Control and Punishment Regulations of the People's Republic of China and the City Traffic Regulations, and is liable to be indicted for such offences. It calls on the people to heighten their vigilance and be on guard against counter-revolutionaries who create disturbances and carry out sabotage activities.

The notice has won warm support from the local people. Many have stepped forth to

help enforce the regulations and maintain law and order. When a young man was trying to put up a playbill on the wall of a provisions shop in the downtown area, an old worker and passers-by immediately dissuaded him from doing so. A man engaged in reprinting and selling pornographic pictures said after reading the notice that he would not do it again because it is against the law.

Wen Hui Bao and *Jiefang Ribao* published commentaries pointing out that while great efforts still have to be made to give play to democracy, any activity that is carried out under the cloak of democracy but actually violates the principles set forth in the Constitution must be opposed. When a citizen exercises his democratic rights, he must observe certain duties, that is to say, he must respect the democratic rights of others, especially those of the overwhelming majority of the people, and observe socialist law and order.

Factories and Mines Go in For Agriculture

Many factories and mines in China have organized some of the workers and their family members to make use of the uncultivated land in the vicinity and turn it into farmland or bases for side-line production. They grow food crops or vegetables there, plant fruit trees or raise poultry and domestic animals.

Such undertakings were endorsed and encouraged by the General Bureau of Labour at a recent meeting which called on all factories and mines in the country where conditions permit



In the suburbs of
a city.

Woodcut by Liang
Hanchang

to set up similar production bases and run them well.

It was the Daqing Oilfield in northeast China that took the initiative in this endeavour. While leading the workers to open up the oilfield in the early 60s, the Party committee organized the workers' family members to reclaim wasteland for producing grain and other farm and side-line products. This had a twofold purpose: While satisfying the needs of the oil workers and their family members, it lightened the burden of the state commercial departments. In the long run, it will help reduce the difference between industry and agriculture and between city and countryside.

Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai spoke highly of what Daqing Oilfield had achieved in this regard, and before long its experience was popularized among other petro-

leum enterprises as well as in the coal, metallurgical, forestry, geological and railway departments. By 1978, factories and mines in various parts of the country had set up bases totaling 400,000 hectares for farm and side-line production. Last year, they produced 410,000 tons of grain, 1.45 million tons of vegetables and 8,400 tons of edible oil, and raised 1.2 million pigs.

The advantages of these production bases are numerous.

(1) They produce farm and side-line products for the state and help improve the livelihood of the workers and staff members;

(2) They provide opportunities for the workers' family members to take part in production, thereby solving the problem of workers and staff members living apart from their folks. In China, large numbers

of workers come from the rural areas and they can only reunite with their folks at home on festivals or holidays. At the Kunyang phosphate mine in Yunnan Province, more than 500 workers and staff members and their spouses used to live in different places. But since the setting up of farms by the mining administration, more than 1,000 people of 218 families have moved to the mine from 15 provinces.

Why So Few Good Films?

"Alas that ten thousand horses should stand mute!" This line from a poem by a Qing Dynasty poet aptly describes the dearth of art and literary works during the years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power. Things are beginning to look up now two years after the smashing of that gang, notably poetry, modern

Chinese play and the short story. But the situation is none too good for the films. There are very few good films, and the themes and techniques of the few that are produced are monotonous and unappealing. The people complain, and the film-makers are worried.

What's the reason for this? This is a topic discussed today in the press as well as in literary and art circles.

Veteran dramatist Xia Yan, who has been newly appointed counsellor to the Ministry of Culture, had been in charge of film work in the years before the Great Cultural Revolution started. He said that past experience, both positive and negative, should be summed up so as to draw the necessary lesson to guide our work in the future.

Films, he recalled, were first introduced into China from abroad in 1913 and, unlike poems and operas, they do not have a long tradition or a unique national style. Before liberation, most of the film workers were amateurs and very few had any special training.

It was only after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 that the film industry really began to develop. Many good films welcomed by the masses have been produced and a number of outstanding scenarists, directors, actors and actresses have come to the fore.

However, the film industry later suffered interference from the Right and especially from the "Left." For instance, in the nationwide struggle against the

bourgeois Rightists in 1957, some people regarded differing ideological and artistic views as a political question, with the result that false charges were brought against many innocent people, thereby greatly dampening the enthusiasm of the film workers. In the subsequent years, political movements followed one after another and a great many films which had been well received by the people or had not yet been shown to the public were banned.

More serious was the fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who decked themselves out as the most revolutionary of revolutionaries, completely negated the achievements of the film industry after liberation. Many experienced scenarists, directors and actors and actresses were persecuted and their works were branded as poisonous weeds. In a matter of seven or eight years, all the studio grounds in the country fell into disrepair, not a single film was made, and many film workers were compelled to turn to other professions.

Studio Directors Meet. The most difficult years are now over for China's film industry. Directors of the nation's 11 feature film studios met last February and drew up a plan to produce 52 feature films this year, two-thirds of which are on contemporary themes, while the remainder are adapted from well-known literary works including stories about historical figures, traditional operas, mythological and fairy tales.

The meeting decided that emphasis should be placed on

improving the quality of the films. Specifically, this means:

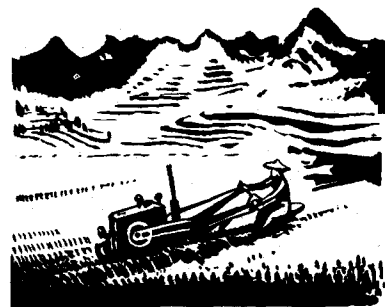
- Encouraging writers to give play to their creativity and produce works with diverse subject matters, styles and forms;

- Giving full scope to the artists' talents. The artists' committees which have been restored in the various studios are responsible for the appraisal of a film;

- Training more film workers. As a result of interference by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there are now very few young film workers. Many directors trained as such in the schools have not yet directed a single film on their own;

- Reforming the present system of management. In buying a film, the distribution company pays a price commensurate with its quality. The studios have the right to use part of the profits to replenish their equipment and improve the living standards of the workers and staff members; and

- Appraising the films and giving awards to the fine works. In this respect, the opinions of the masses and experts should be solicited.



Social Sciences: A Hundred Schools Of Thought Contend

by Zhang Wen



The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" ("Two Hundreds" policy for short) is being stressed and implemented once more after the fall of the "gang of four." Of late, there have been lively, free discussions by people with diverse views in Chinese academic circles.

The article by Zhang Wen, a Marxist theoretician, gives a general idea of the policy and a look into how the policy was implemented in the past and how it is being implemented now. The other three articles deal with some problems currently debated by Chinese economists and historians. — Ed.

THE policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a basic and long-term policy of the Party and state to develop science and the arts.

In 1956, the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production was in the main completed and the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods had in the main come to an end. The question of how to correctly handle the contradictions among the people had become a more important issue than ever. "Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." (Mao Zedong: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) A pressing task confronting us then was to rapidly develop science and culture in the light of the specific situation. Summing up historical experiences and analysing the contradictions in socialist society, Comrade Mao Zedong on this basis put forth the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought

contend." The essence of this policy was to bring socialist democracy into full play so as to mobilize all positive factors, promote the development of science and the arts in conformity with their objective laws of development, so that they better serve the cause of socialism.

Democracy and Free Discussions

Comrade Mao Zedong used "open wide" to explain the "Two Hundreds" policy. He said: "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate; it means not being afraid of wrong views or anything poisonous; it means to encourage argument and criticism among people holding different views, allowing freedom both for criticism and for counter-criticism; it means not coercing people with wrong views into submission but convincing them by reasoning." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, 1957.) That is to say, under the leadership of the proletarian political party, socialist democracy should be brought into full play and solutions found to various problems in science and the arts through free discussions. Science and culture should be developed in line with the objective laws of development and by taking into consideration their special features. Different forms and styles in the arts should be developed freely, and in science, different schools of thought should be allowed to contend. Permitting only one school of thought to the exclusion of others through administrative measures should be opposed. This basic principle is also applicable to philosophy and social sciences. People should be encouraged to be bold and creative in research to push the development of science.

Since those who work in the scientific and cultural spheres are engaged in intellectual

Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend

This refers to contending by different schools in the academic field. During the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (5th-3rd Century B.C.), the transition from slave society to feudal society and the class struggle were reflected ideologically in the emergence of different schools of thought. Each school had its own teachings and writings and each had its own followers. There were lively and heated debates among different schools and this became known as "the contending of a hundred schools." The chief schools and their exponents were: Confucianism (Confucius and Mencius), Taoism (Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi), Mohism (Mo Zi), Legalism (Han Fei), and School of Names (Gongsun Long). There were also a number of minor schools such as the Yinyang, and Zhongheng Schools, School of Agriculturists and Miscellaneous School.

production and creative labour, it is particularly necessary for them to do some independent thinking, pool the wisdom of the masses, promote democracy and hold free discussions. Without democracy, there can be no science. Science and culture cannot develop without free discussion. As everyone knows, when a scientist or a cultural worker is probing, investigating and giving expression to the inner law of development of the objective world, he travels a tortuous path before he finally comes to know the truth, because he is limited by subjective and objective conditions and because the objective thing can be known only after a process of gradual exposure and gradual development. More often than not, errors are unavoidable due to complicated subjective and objective factors. To decide whether an understanding is right or wrong, a literary or art work is beneficial or harmful to the people, the specific historical conditions must be taken into consideration, and judgment itself requires time. Comrade Mao Zedong said, even under socialism, newborn things may be smothered and a correct understanding may be taken as wrong through failing to see the things for what they are. Therefore, the questions of right and wrong in sci-

ence can only be solved through free discussion and practice, and should not be settled by simple, crude methods. All attempts to use administrative orders or "the will of superiors" to settle questions of right and wrong in science are not only ineffective but definitely harmful.

Implementation of the "Two Hundreds" policy will allow people to air their views freely and permit each to hold diverse opinions and views in exploring and studying various scientific subjects. People will be able to make comparisons and distinguish right from wrong. In science, if only one kind of opinion is allowed to the exclusion of others, people will become ideologically retrogressive, stereotyped and rigid. This will definitely retard the development of science.

Experience over the years shows that even if some views in the academic sphere or in some works may be wrong, most of these mistakes belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Only a very few make use of academic writings to carry on counter-revolutionary activities. The re-writing of history to attack by innuendo employed by the "gang of four" is one instance. Under the pretext of appraising a historical incident or a historical personage (such as the criticism of Confucius), they attacked the Party Central Committee and veteran proletarian revolutionaries with the intention of usurping supreme Party and state power. This re-writing of history falls within the category of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves.

A Brief Review

Practice over the past 20 years shows that the "Two Hundreds" policy has played a tremendous role.

First of all, this policy enhanced the dissemination of Marxist philosophy and social sciences and greatly strengthened the leading and guiding role of Marxism in the sphere of ideology. By providing a guideline, this policy clarified to scientific and cultural workers the orientation of scientific and artistic development; and through practice they acquired step by step the ability to conduct research with a method consonant with the law of development of science.

This policy also led them to understand that questions of right and wrong in science can be settled correctly only through free discussion and social practice, and that it is of the utmost im-

portance to give full play to socialist democracy if science is to develop.

This explains the fact that, between 1966 and 1976 when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" openly dumped the "Two Hundreds" policy and clamped down a feudal and fascist cultural autocracy, the masses of scientific and cultural workers resisted and fought their perverse measures in different ways.

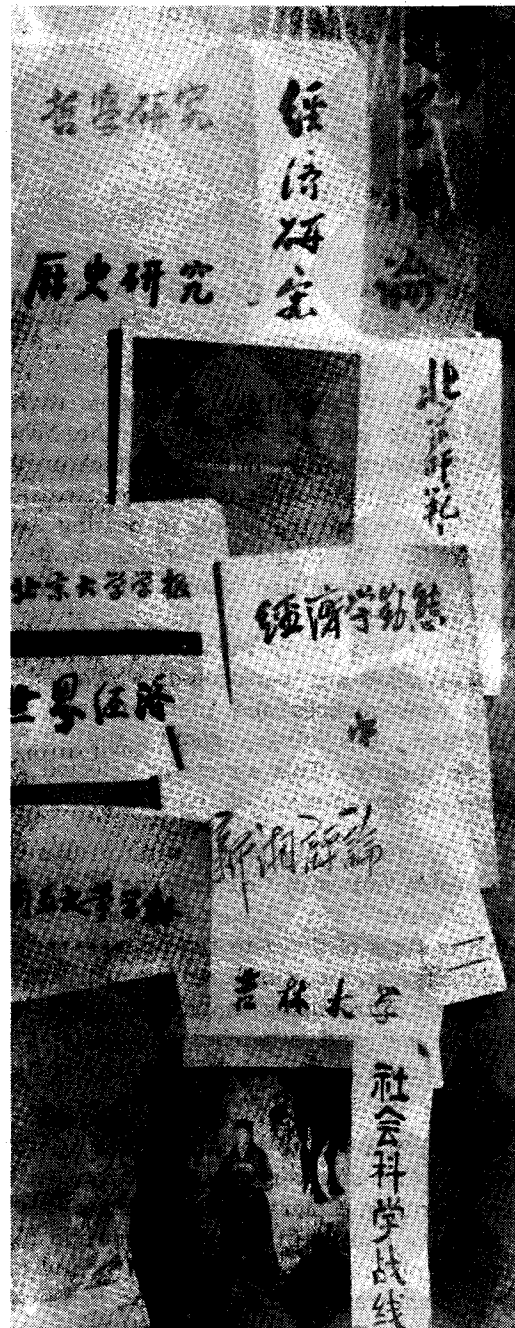
Secondly, during the period from the founding of New China to 1966, there were free discussions in academic circles and theoretical problems were actively debated. Inspired by the "Two Hundreds" policy, philosophers and social scientists constantly discussed questions of both immediate and theoretical significance, questions such as: the high-speed and proportionate development of the national economy, commodity production and the law of value under the socialist system, some fundamental issues in philosophy, the unity and struggle of contradictions, contradictions in socialist society, formal logic, problems related to aesthetics, division of periods in ancient Chinese history and appraisal of historical personages. The lively debates greatly spurred academic research, and research in philosophy and social sciences reached new heights, thereby greatly contributing to the building up and training of a specialized theoretical contingent.

Thirdly, under the guidance of the "Two Hundreds" policy, there were outstanding achievements in philosophical and social scientific research from the 1950s to the mid-1960s. With the advocacy for academic democracy, debates in science and culture were deep-going and broad in scope. Many academic organizations were set up and periodicals published. The state and local publishing houses collected, arranged, annotated and published a number of fine classical Chinese works, and translated a number of important foreign works. The philosophers and social scientists, applying a Marxist stand and viewpoint, turned out a number of academic works, most of which were good or fairly good, or of reference value. Some were of a fairly high standard and of great academic value.

On the other hand, implementation of the "Two Hundreds" policy in the past 20 years involved complicated struggles. During these years some negative phenomena emerged, some of them of a very grave nature. The thorough implementation of the policy was hampered sometimes by interference from one quarter or

another and at times by our lack of experience and mistakes in work.

"Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a well-founded proletarian policy. Truth and falsehood, fine works and bad, are opposites of unity and of the two contradictory aspects, one is always the principal and the other secondary. In a socialist country like ours, we must see to it that fine, Marxist works dominate inside



Many social science journals have been published since the overthrow of the "gang of four."



At a forum of social scientists.

the Party and in the spheres of ideology and culture. Bad, anti-Marxist works must be subjugated. Letting a hundred schools of thought contend permits the criticism of Marxism. It is our firm belief that Marxism cannot be defeated by any criticism and that truth develops only in the struggle against falsehood.

In 1957, a handful of bourgeois Rightists cashed in on our advocating the "Two Hundreds" policy and mounted an attack on the Party and socialism. It was entirely necessary for the Party to lead the people in beating back the Rightists. The target of the counterattack, however, was magnified owing to an over-estimation of the gravity of the class struggle at that time, and many innocent people were wrongly charged and persecuted, which led to negative consequences and many people had doubts and misgivings about the "Two Hundreds" policy. This adversely affected the thorough implementation of the policy.

Then in 1959, Chen Boda, with an ulterior motive, came out with "combat the Right deviationist trend" and called for hauling down "the white flags of truce to the bourgeoisie" in the scientific and cultural circles. In actual fact, he was introducing in an unbridled way ultra-"Leftism" and attacking the proletariat. This, too, struck at many intellectuals and hurt their ardour for socialism.

In 1961, in a talk to participants in a forum on literary and art work and a conference on scenario writing, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in expounding the consistent ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong, emphasized the necessity of giving full scope to democracy and of engaging in mental production in compliance with objective laws. The following year, Chairman Mao in his im-

portant *Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* underscored the paramount importance of giving broad scope to socialist democracy. Inspired by these talks and thanks to the efforts to bring democracy into full play and to let people speak up, a lively atmosphere returned to the Chinese scientific and cultural world. But because of the interference and influence of an ultra-"Left"

tendency, negative phenomena arose once again in the academic world. People were wilfully attacked and labelled and the big stick was used freely in academic discussions. In the mid-1960s there were lively debates over such controversial issues as the "spirit of our times," general and individual characters in literature and art and the appraisal of Li Xiucheng (one of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom leaders). These issues should and could have been solved through free discussion and free inquiry. Only thus can truth be distinguished from falsehood and can science and culture flourish. But for ulterior motives, Yao Wenyuan, Qi Benyu and other self-styled cultural pundits arbitrarily labelled and bludgeoned anyone who held views different from theirs. They purposely confounded academic issues with political problems and equated political problems with contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, crushed academic democracy underfoot and stifled all free airing of views. This severely affected the implementation of the "Two Hundreds" policy.

Academic and political problems in the sphere of social sciences are intimately connected, but the two, in the final analysis, are not one and the same thing. The discussions on the general and individual characters in literature and art and the appraisal of such historical figures as Li Xiucheng, for example, are entirely academic, theoretical questions in social sciences. But Yao Wenyuan, Qi Benyu and others accused all who spoke about individual characters in literature and art of advocating the "theory of human nature" and of being "revisionist," and they charged anyone speaking positively of Li Xiucheng with "reversing the verdict on a renegade" and so on. Any opinion which they considered varied with theirs became a political

issue and was a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. That made free discussion and contention impossible.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" crudely trampled the "Two Hundreds" policy underfoot and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the intellectuals. They proclaimed that everything should be done in compliance with "what Jiang Qing says," and forbade any mention of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." They went all out to wreck socialist science and culture. They dismantled scientific research institutes, banned numerous books and disintegrated the contingent of scientific and cultural workers. A dreary situation prevailed over the Chinese academic world and the flowers in the garden of socialist literature and art withered. Lin Biao and the gang's perversities not only drove the national economy to the brink of collapse but also brought disaster to socialist cultural and scientific undertakings.

A New Beginning

With the toppling of the "gang of four," we have completely eliminated the scourge which had done so much to wreck the "Two Hundreds" policy and Chinese science and culture. Through the struggle over the last two years and more to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we have uncovered and repudiated their crimes and cleared up the confusion they had created concerning the "Two Hundreds" policy. The policy is now being stressed and implemented anew. With both positive and negative experience behind them, the people now have a more profound understanding of the "Two Hundreds" policy.

Article 14 of the new Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress decrees: "The state applies the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' so as to promote the development of the arts and sciences and bring about a flourishing socialist culture." Thus it can be seen that the "Two Hundreds" policy forms an important part of China's fundamental law governing all spheres of work. The importance of adhering to the materialist ideological line and of giving full scope to democracy is reiterated in the Communique of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Com-



Prof. Yang Kun (left) of the Nationalities Research Institute chatting with Prof. Li Jinghan of the People's University of China at a meeting.

mittee and has the backing of the entire Party membership and the people of China. This provides an important guarantee for the implementation of the "Two Hundreds" policy in the new period.

With the promotion of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the socialist legal system, Chinese academic circles are stirring into life again. Academic discussions are under way again, with different viewpoints contending in a normal manner. Many academic writings making deep forages into formerly "banned topics" have appeared. Over the past two years people have been delighted to see scholarly associations and learned societies rapidly rehabilitated and academic journals resume publication after being suspended for many years and more new ones started. A contingent of scientific and cultural workers is being built up again. It is worth noting, too, that in our effort to attain the goal of the four modernizations and promote friendly intercourse between the people of China and the rest of the world, domestic and international academic interchanges have been started and will grow with each passing day.

Activities carried out in recent years in the theoretical and academic fields are inseparably linked with the central task of realizing the four modernizations and with the current struggle to eliminate the noxious influence of Lin Biao

SPECIAL FEATURE

and the "gang of four." They are playing quite a positive role which can be seen in the discussions on the question of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, on whether truth has a class nature, on questions of economic laws (the law of value included) and of how to evaluate certain historical figures. Discussions centring on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, in particular, were highly appraised by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

The implementation of the "Two Hundreds" policy guaranteed by the new Constitution has got off to a good start in academic circles. But there is still a long way to go before a really flourishing situation is brought about. As the evil influence of the cultural autocracy imposed

by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cannot be eradicated overnight and the socialist democratic way of doing things has yet to be applied on a broader scale, there still exists the practice that some people treat scientific works in a downright crude, simplistic manner. In some places, the "will of the superior" is taken as the criterion for judging whether a work is good or bad and the masses' opinions are ignored. More work will have to be done before problems like these can be solved. But the biggest obstacle put up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the way of our scientific and cultural development has been removed. On the new Long March towards socialist modernization, the Chinese people will develop an effulgent science and culture.

Correctly Applying the Law of Value

THE law of value is an objective economic law in socialist society playing an important role in economic life. But it was dismissed as a "capitalist law" by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Anyone who advocated that the law of value be observed was accused by them of "working for capitalist restoration."

In those years when they held sway, violations of this law in practical work were numerous, bringing heavy losses to the national economy, and the theoretical study of the law of value was prohibited.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," economic circles and people doing practical economic work began to study and discuss the question of how to correctly apply the law of value. Current study and discussion centre on the following three aspects.

1. Scope of Function of Law of Value.

Some people maintain that the scope of function of the law of value is strictly limited since in socialist society public ownership has superseded private ownership and the law of national economic development in a planned and proportionate way has replaced free competition and anarchism in production. This law, therefore, no longer plays a spontaneous regulative role in production and circulation in society as a whole, but exerts only a certain extent of influence on them.

Others hold that the law of value does not play a regulative role in production, but does so in the circulation

Training production team accountants, Anhui Province.



of consumer goods within a certain scope and to a certain extent for individuals. This is because the state can work out plans for commodity circulation only in terms of total volume of supply to the market and with regard to major categories of items, but not in terms of the varieties and specifications of different products. This being the case, the contradiction between supply and demand will continue to appear. To resolve this contradiction, the state must use the law of value to regulate supply and demand and effect a balance in the relationship between them on the market.

Still others hold that the law of value plays a certain regulative role not only in commodity circulation but also in commodity production. Their argument is: Where there is commodity production, social needs as well as the replenishment of labour consumed and the increase of profits must be taken into consideration when the means of production and labour force are to be distributed among the various departments and enterprises. Only in this way can socialist simple reproduction and expanded reproduction be carried on.

There are still other people who hold a different view. They consider the law of value to be the most basic or the primary of all economic laws. They are of the opinion that it plays a decisive role in socialist production as a whole. Some comrades, however, take exception to this view on the grounds that in socialist society the production of commodities proceeds, first and foremost, from social needs and not from the value of products. This law, therefore, is not a basic economic law and does not play a major regulative role.

2. Role of Law of Value in Actual Economic Life. The consensus of opinion is that the law of value does play a major role in actual economic life. It can be summarized as follows.

Its role in price policy. Many people maintain that under socialism the state, in setting the prices of commodities, still has to take their values as the basis and reflect the requirements of the law of value so that the prices will, by and large, embody the amount of social necessary labour consumed in producing the commodities concerned. At present, the scissors difference between the low purchasing prices for farm and side-line products and the high selling prices of many industrial products,



Bringing silkworm cocoons to a state purchasing station, Jiangsu Province.

particularly those for farm use, remains big. This is irrational. To reduce the price disparity between industrial and agricultural products, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which closed in December last year, suggested that the State Council make a decision to raise the purchasing prices for grain by 20 per cent beginning from this year when the summer grain will be marketed and effect a corresponding raise for other farm and side-line products. At the same time, the ex factory and selling prices of industrial products for farm use will be reduced by 10 to 15 per cent in 1979 and 1980; the benefits from cost reduction will basically go to the peasants.

Its role in a planned economy. Under the conditions of commodity production, the law of value plays an important supplementary role in a planned economy. This is because planned development of the national economy means, in part, planned distribution of the labour time between different production departments. National economic development in a planned and proportionate way is possible only by making use of the form of value and taking into consideration the requirements of the law of value. For example, the unreasonable price disparity between industrial and agricultural products is unfavourable to the harmonious growth of the two major economic sectors —



A technical class for training workers and cadres in the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant.

industry and agriculture. The unreasonable price disparity between farm products, with the price of grain as the key link, disrupts the proportionate development of farm production itself; and the unreasonable price disparity between industrial products, particularly that between raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and processed industrial products, adversely affects the strengthening of the basic industries and the development of new branches of industry.

Its role in commodity circulation. This consists mainly of the handling of the economic relationship between the state economy and the collective economy and between the various basic accounting units in the collective economy, and the handling of the relationship between the buyers (or consumers) and the sellers (or state commercial departments) in accordance with the requirements of the principle of exchange of equal values under the law of value. It is also necessary to take into account the situation with regard to the supply and demand of certain commodities in the country as a whole and over a fairly long period of time, and make use of certain differences between price and value so as to regulate the relationship between the supply and demand of commodities. In the case of rural fairs, the law of value serves as a spontaneous regulator.

Its role in production. This finds expression in two main aspects. One is the reaction of circulation on production. When there is a backlog of some commodities as a result of unduly high prices, their continued large-scale production will be out of the question. But after making reasonable readjustments in prices, their

sales will increase and production will develop smoothly. The other is the connection between prices on the one hand and the indices of output value, cost and profit in socialist enterprises on the other. Whether the prices are reasonable or not has a direct bearing on these indices and on production. This is particularly true in the case of a collective economy, since it is responsible for its own losses and profits.

Its role in business accounting. Some comrades maintain that socialist enterprises must still use value and price as instruments of business accounting, such as calculating production cost, figuring out income and expenditure and determining the amount of profit and loss. Business accounting is aimed at achieving the optimum economic results with a certain amount of labour consumption. Using the law of value to carry out business accounting makes it possible for the enterprises to compare with each other their management level and economic results, thereby prompting them to improve their production methods, raise their technical level, reduce production cost and increase labour productivity.

3. Recognizing the Objective Nature of Law of Value. Many comrades regard the law of value as something objective. When its requirements are violated in economic life, it will manifest itself through the masses' economic activities or in a negative way. For example, if the purchasing prices for farm and side-line products are unreasonable, people will reduce their production or sell them at rural fairs. So we cannot do our economic work well if we do not recognize the objective nature of the law of value.

Other comrades stress the inherent spontaneity of the law of value, saying that such spontaneity still exists objectively under socialism even though it has been replaced by the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy. If the requirements of the law of value are violated in setting prices and if plans are worked out in contravention of the objective ratio between various production departments, then the spontaneity of the law of value will manifest itself in a negative way and upset the planned economy. Therefore, if we should ignore this spontaneity, we would be at the mercy of the law of value and the result would be anarchism in production.

When Did China's Feudal Society Begin?

HISTORIANS from 15 provinces and municipalities, and representatives from 36 national newspapers and publishing departments attended a forum on questions related to the transition from the slave system to the feudal system in China's ancient history held last October in Changchun, Jilin Province.

Chinese society progressed through primitive communes, the slave system and the feudal system. Divergences of views on some questions regarding the division of the various periods are slight, but there has been a long-standing controversy over the rather important question of the transition from the slave system to the feudal system.

The feudal system covers a long period of China's history and even now feudal remnants have still to be eliminated. It is of immediate significance to apply the Marxist materialist concept of history to study when and how the slave society in China was replaced by the feudal society and to correctly understand the laws governing the emergence, development and withering away of feudal society and the characteristics of these stages. As the division of the two societies also has a bearing on the study of the history of philosophy, economics, politics, military affairs and culture of ancient China, it is a major issue academically.

As with other academic questions, all schools of thought equally have the right to explore and discuss this question of the division of periods in ancient Chinese history. In the 1950s, Chinese historians had held lively discussions on the question and many valuable papers were published. It was all very rewarding.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four," however, arbitrarily placed this question on the proscribed list. With the aim of attacking Party and state leaders by innuendo, the "gang of four" and their followers began in 1974 to put out a series of articles about the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists which came into being towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. They alleged that the nature of the struggle was one between the declining slave-owning aristocrats whom the

Confucianists represented and the emerging landlord class whom the Legalists represented, and concluded that a feudal society had emerged in China when the Spring and Autumn Period was giving way to the Warring States Period. They also claimed that Comrade Mao Zedong already had conclusively pronounced the division of periods in ancient Chinese history and that there should be no further discussions about this question.

After the gang was tossed out, historians shattered the mental shackles fastened on them by the gang and resumed their lively debate on this once forbidden question. At the Changchun forum, truth was sought democratically and scientifically. The papers read out were scholarly, rich in content, the atmosphere was lively and everyone aired their views freely. By and large there were six schools of thought.

1. China's feudal society began with the Western Zhou Dynasty (c. 1100-771 B.C.). Comrades of this school held that the productive forces decide the relations of production, the nature of society and the development of society. The productive forces include the means of production and the producers, with the latter as the main factor, who are, therefore, the decisive force determining the development of society. The main producers of the Western Zhou Dynasty and the Spring and Autumn Period were "*min*." From their economic status, the conditions of labour and land ownership, the *min* of Western Zhou were peasants in an early feudal society. A nascent feudal society had thus emerged in China at that time.

2. China's feudal society began with the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.). Comrades of this school held that a feudal society had come into being in China in the early years of the Spring and Autumn Period, but feudalism then was still at the stage of enfeoffment system. It was not until the latter years of the Spring and Autumn Period that the enfeoffment system gave way to the landlord system. They presented an analysis of several important economic reforms introduced by a few major states of the Spring and Autumn Period.

SPECIAL FEATURE

3. Feudal society in China began from the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). By and large, comrades of this school concurred with the opinion of China's noted historian Guo Moruo. In his *Era of Slave System* published in 1952, Guo placed the demarcation line between the slave system and the feudal system at the time when the Spring and Autumn Period was passing into the Warring States Period.

But there are slight variations among scholars of this school. Some proposed that the line should be drawn at the reform movement in the seven big states — Wei, Zhao, Han, Qi, Qin, Chu and Yan — during the Warring States Period, because the reforms affirmed the fundamental nature of the economic, political and cultural changes in society, and determined the dominancy of the feudal system. Some said that feudal system began only after the abrogation of the nine-square (*jing tian*) land system during the reform worked out by Shang Yang in 350 B.C. because the reform affirmed the private ownership of land by the feudal landlords and established a corresponding bureaucracy and political theory.

4. Feudal society in China began when the state of Qin unified the country (221 B.C.). Comrades of this view argued that the various states during the Spring and Autumn Period had introduced no fundamental reforms to establish a feudal system and that the slave-owning class was still the main aspect of the principal contradiction in society. The reform movement in the various states during the Warring States Period was actually a feudalizing movement. Although the transition from the slave system to the feudal system started in the economic field, slave labour was still universal and the relations of production of the slave system were still the dominant aspect in social relations. It was not until the reform movement had ended with the Qin Dynasty's unification of the country that conditions were ripe for the formation of a feudal system. Private ownership of land, the system of setting up prefectures and counties and the Legalist concepts adopted by the first Qin emperor were basically inherited by the ensuing Han Dynasty onward.

5. China's feudal society began with the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.). Comrades of this school argued for their stand by the three following points. First, judged from the sources of slaves and the development of

China's slave society, the slave system grew continuously from the Xia Dynasty (c. 2100-1600 B.C.) to the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) as the sources of slaves expanded and the number of the slaves rose. There was still quite a flourishing slave market during the Western Han Dynasty.

Second, the break-up of the nine-square land system and the emergence of private ownership of land did not indicate the collapse of the slave system, but created conditions for the further development of the slave system. Although Shang Yang's reform weakened the old hereditary slave-owning aristocrats, the royal families were not compelled to free the slaves. On the contrary, it upheld the slave system and, as more and more bankrupt peasants sold themselves into slavery, greatly developed the slave system. The Eastern Han rulers issued 12 edicts on emancipating part of the slaves and raising their social status, dealing a heavy blow to the old slave system.

Third, the feudal relation of exploitation by rent emerged between the time of Shang Yang's reform and the downfall of the Qin Dynasty, but it became dominant only in the Eastern Han Dynasty.

6. China's feudal society began with the Wei (220-265 A.D.) and Jin (265-420 A.D.) Dynasties. Comrades of this school said that the Western Zhou Dynasty and the Spring and Autumn Period covered the transitional period from the collapse of primitive communes to a developed slave society. The Warring States Period, the Qin and the Han Dynasties saw the development of China's slave society. During this fairly long period the principal labourers in society were slaves, free small peasants, and tenants, and production was predominantly carried out under the slave system. China's society changed from the slave system into the feudal system during the changeover from Han to Wei. The advocators of this theory elaborated their views through examining several main aspects of the social changes from the Warring States Period, Qin, Han down to Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties.

No unanimous agreement was reached at the forum, but on the basis of a resume of the discussions, the department concerned hopes to hold another forum in the future or debate on this question in newspapers and journals.

Confucius Reappraised

CONFUCIUS (551-479 B.C.), as we all know, was a philosopher whose thinking had a dominating influence on Chinese history. As such, the Chinese proletariat is obligated to make a critical assessment of his thought and its impacts.

About 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong expounded at length and with profundity on the question of critically inheriting our cultural and ideological legacy. He thought we needed to critically sum up the several thousand years of Chinese history in a Marxist way. In the course of this summation, we must treat it as food that should first be chewed and then broken down and separated by the enzymes in the stomach and intestines into nutriments to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded. Only after this process could it become a nourishment for our body. This is what is meant by critically inheriting our cultural legacy; we must neither overlook our cultural heritage nor indiscriminately swallow any part of it.

Comrade Mao Zedong made the old culture, including Confucius' thinking, the target of our revolution, but at the same time he pointed out: "We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*, 1938.) Such is the critical approach of the proletariat to the exploiting-class ideology and doctrines that once exercised a profound influence over the nation.

Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking in regard to a critical approach to history, however, was distorted by opportunists of all descriptions. Among them, the "gang of four" proved to be the biggest saboteurs of all. They dismissed without exception academic studies which acknowledged the rational factors in Confucius' thinking as worshipping Confucius. Subsequently, they brandished the big stick of "all

worshippers of Confucius are reactionaries" to misinterpret history, muddle the relationship between politics and academic studies and confuse people. They launched a campaign in 1974 to criticize Confucius for their own political ends rather than to criticize Confucius' thinking as a means of developing proletarian culture. They heaped abuse on Confucius to express their class hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries in our Party and disgraced Confucius to serve their sinister attempt of toppling a number of the leaders of the revolution inside the Party.

It was only after we defeated the "gang of four" and unmasked their real motives for criticizing Confucius that it was possible to apply Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately in making an overall reappraisal of Confucius. In the last few months, a number of articles on this subject have been published. Historian Pang Pu published one such article in *Lishi Yanjiu* (Historical Studies), No. 8, 1978 in which he gives an account of the historical role of Confucius' thinking and discusses the question of appraising this thinking by posterity.

Pang Pu is of the opinion that the Spring and Autumn Period during which Confucius lived was one of great social upheaval. Confucius was not a precursory thinker of his time who paved the way for the advent of a new system, but a conservative who ponderously deplored the passing of the good old days. At that time, the forces which valued the past were anxious to save their material holdings by resorting to the traditional and ideological force. Confucius was produced by the historical conditions of his times. Politically, he was a conservative wishing to preserve the unified rule of the Zhou Dynasty and reinstate the cause of King Wen, King Wu and the Duke of Zhou. Hoping to preserve and perpetuate the rule of the Zhou Dynasty without touching on its fundamental interests, he as a thinker chose the most ideal way the class which he belonged to could have

SPECIAL FEATURE

chosen at that time, that is, putting the accent on improving the relations between the rulers and the people at large.

Confucius maintained that the rulers must not rule the common people by merely issuing government orders and penalizing them; instead, they must also pay attention to ideological education and moral codes. Accordingly, he advised the rulers to act "wisely" and be "virtuous" in order to improve their position. His political creed was never accepted by any force. It can be said that he was not a reformist swimming with the tide of history, neither was he a dyed-in-the-wool die-hard. His political creed, though essentially conservative, was aimed at improving the rulers' relations with the people while having an eye on the former's long-term interests.

Pang also pointed out that Confucius used the two concepts of "rites" and "benevolence" together in his doctrine and gave them new meanings. The "rites" Confucius referred to actually represented a political order, mainly the institutions, rules, mannerisms and customs set up at the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty for people of different statuses in the hierarchy to observe. And Confucius' "benevolence" stressed the need for people to love each other, which was considered the paragon of virtue.

In the author's analysis, the combined use of the two Confucian concepts was idealist and deceitful in essence. However, Confucius' use of benevolence (to love people) to supplement his earlier apothegm, "restrain oneself and return to the rites" represented a kind of progress in the development of man's thinking. From a certain angle this reflected a change in the position of the labourers. Compared with "restrain oneself and return to the rites," the definition for benevolence (to love people) emphasized people and their common points rather than rites and the social differences of people. The saying "people should love each other" was a departure from the old concept that slaves were merely talking tools. Of course hidden beneath this change were the labourers' continual struggles for the right to live like human beings, a history of blood and tears, fire and sword.

In the opinion of Pang Pu, Confucius was an idealist philosophically as well for he

believed in the mandate of heaven and preached it. But Confucius also held that a man's moral principles, high or low, were not innate but had to be achieved through the cultivation of one's mind. He thus restricted the omnipotence of heaven and recognized to a certain extent the fact that human efforts also had a part to play. But the effort to cultivate one's mind was not a subjective one based on practice, but rested on a certain kind of restraint or expansion of the subjective mind. "Benevolence" as a subjective spiritual quality was exalted to such a high plane in Confucius' ideological system that it became a universal principle which was supposed to play a decisive part in social life.

Confucius believed that there were both geniuses "born with knowledge" and blockheads "who could not be made to comprehend things." This was an apriorist mistake in the theory of cognition. But there is no evidence that Confucius had ever named anyone as a genius born with knowledge; in fact he declared time and again that he himself was not a genius. He did not hesitate to admit and rectify certain of his cognitional mistakes, and conceded that he had been enlightened and educated by other people. All this amounted to revising his apriorist theory to a certain extent.

As a teacher, Confucius advanced some theses in practice which were materialistic in nature. For example he said: "Hear more and see more"; "learn a lot and ask questions"; studying must go hand in hand with thinking; "review what you have learnt in order to learn something new." He also applied some dialectical methods to his teaching. His biggest accomplishment in the history of education was his effort to break away from the official educational institutes and give private lectures. According to the legend, he had 3,000 disciples; this may be an exaggeration but it at least gives some idea of the large number of his students. His disciples, moreover, made great contributions to the flourishing of feudal culture in later times. His stand "make no social distinctions in teaching" expanded the scope of his students and this promoted the development of education.

What Confucius taught was conservative in content. His view on the purpose of education —

"He who excels in learning will become an official" — must be seriously criticized. The documents and books Confucius collated and thus preserved have been used by people of succeeding generations to understand China's antiquity and have proved to be invaluable in the treasure house of Chinese culture.

Pang Pu believes that Confucius was the founder of a school of thought which left behind a wealth of ideological material for posterity. Pang depicts him as a man of great learning, an educationalist, a thinker and a political figure. After his demise, Confucius' image was exalted to an incredible height; he became the No. 1 sage to serve the needs of the exploiting classes in all their struggles. The "gang of four," to serve its own sinister ends, disparaged him again and again until he was described as the No. 1 criminal.

We need to determine what role Confucius himself played, what his influence was on posterity and how people in succeeding generations made use of him to serve their own ends. These different aspects are interrelated but they must be carefully and separately treated. Only in this way can Confucius be effectively criticized. Pang Pu's article has made a concrete analysis of these aspects. It also pointed out that the only way to subjugate Confucius' thinking is to follow the method Engels used in approaching Hegelian philosophy, that is, to eliminate its form critically and preserve the achievements which were made in this form that was wrong but was inevitable in the course of development and the times in which he lived. Such criticism will promote progress, successfully subjugate Confucian thinking and fulfill the mission we have been asked to fulfill by history.

How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Following is the Chinese phonetic alphabet showing the pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in brackets for reference.

- "a" (a), a vowel, as in far;
- "b" (p), a consonant, as in be;
- "c" (ts), a consonant, as "ts" in its; and
- "ch" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in church, strongly aspirated;
- "d" (t), a consonant, as in do;
- "e" (e), a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;
- "f" (f), a consonant, as in foot;
- "g" (k), a consonant, as in go;
- "h" (h), a consonant, as in her, strongly aspirated;
- "i" (i), a vowel, two pronunciations:
 - 1) as in eat
 - 2) as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;
- "j" (ch), a consonant, as in jeep;
- "k" (k), a consonant, as in kind, strongly aspirated;

- "l" (l), a consonant, as in land;
- "m" (m), a consonant, as in me;
- "n" (n), a consonant, as in no;
- "o" (o), a vowel, as "aw" in law;
- "p" (p), a consonant, as in par, strongly aspirated;
- "q" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;
- "r" (j), a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;
- "s" (s, ss, sz), a consonant, as in sister; and "sh" (sh), a consonant, as "sh" in shore;
- "t" (t), a consonant, as in top, strongly aspirated;
- "u" (u), a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German unlauded "u" in "Muenchen";
- "v" (v), is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects;
- "w" (w), used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in want;
- "x" (hs), a consonant, as "sh" in she;
- "y", used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in yet;
- "z" (ts, tz), a consonant, as in zero; and "zh" (ch), a consonant, as "j" in jump.

What Has Been Happening in Laos?

OF late the Lao authorities have viciously attacked China by spreading a series of lies — that China is massing troops along the Sino-Lao border, engaging in combat exercises, “threatening” Laos, “invading and occupying” Lao territory, and so on. At the same time, in a deliberate attempt to worsen the relations between the two countries, they have unilaterally torn up agreements by asking China to halt its aid projects in Laos and to withdraw Chinese technicians and experts. On March 23, the Central Committee of the People’s Revolutionary Party of Laos issued an appeal that slanderously accused China of “dispatching troops to penetrate deep into Lao territory” and “plotting to annex Laos.” Meanwhile, they have organized anti-China rallies on a number of occasions and stepped up conscription and military training, fanning up war hysteria throughout the country.

Sheer Fabrications

If things were really as the Lao authorities allege, the situation along the Sino-Lao border would be very tense indeed. However, Western news agencies have filed reports saying that Lao troops have not moved northward to the Sino-Lao border, but southward across the Lao-Kampuchean boundary line to help Vietnamese aggressor troops attack Kampuchea. A Lao state leader has paid a visit to Phnom Penh and issued a joint statement with the puppet regime there, proclaiming “co-operation” in the field of national defence. The Lao military radio has also declared that Laos would co-operate with the puppet troops of Kampuchea to “put down” the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army.

How strange! The division of one’s troops between two fighting fronts is something to be avoided at all times. If the Chinese troops have really “penetrated deep into Laos” as the Lao appeal said, how could Laos send troops south to Kampuchea to mind others’ business while its troops were insufficient to defend its own border in the north?

The Facts

On March 26 the Chinese permanent representative to the United Nations, Chen Chu, sent a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, which stated, “China and Laos are friendly neighbours, and the boundary between China and Laos has always been one of friendship. Over a long period, the border inhabitants of the two countries have helped and supported each other. There has never been any dispute or quarrel along the border. China has not a single soldier in Laos. The Chinese Government and people have always supported the Lao people in their struggle against imperialism and for national independence and liberation, and have rendered assistance to the reconstruction in Laos to the best of their capabilities. Since last year, with the entry of Vietnamese troops into Laos, the Lao authorities have taken a number of actions detrimental to the friendly relations between the two countries. Showing understanding for the difficult plight in which the Lao authorities have found themselves, the Chinese Government has exercised restraint all along. However, of late, the Lao authorities have suddenly escalated their anti-China activities, openly hurled venomous charges against China and even baselessly accused China of ‘preparing to launch an armed invasion’ against Laos. The same fantastic lies were repeated in a communication dated March 21, 1979 from the acting Lao Foreign Minister Khamphay Bouphe addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Chinese side has long made it clear solemnly that the Lao authorities’ attacks on China are sheer fabrications invented out of thin air and with ulterior motives. Recently, it has been pointed out by many fair-minded analysts in international opinion that there is ‘no sign of China’s invasion of Laos’ and that the assertion by Laos is ‘incredible.’ This is a heavy blow to those lie-mongers.”

The Root Cause

What has been happening in Laos after all? People familiar with the ins and outs of the

situation know that the mounting discontent and opposition in Laos in regard to Soviet-Vietnamese control have become a threat to Hanoi's colonial rule there and its plan to rig up an "Indochina federation." Hence Hanoi's redoubled efforts to crack down on the Lao people.

What Hanoi aims to accomplish is to ease its predicament in the Kampuchean battlefield before the monsoon season begins and, at the same time, tighten its control over Laos so as to bring into being the "Indochina federation."

Under the pretext of the "China threat," the Vietnamese authorities are busy transferring their troops into Upper Laos in order to control the whole country. The Japanese news agency, Kyodo, points out that "the Vietnamese strategy is to press on with its plan of creating an 'Indochina federation,' using as its bugaboo the 'outside pressure' from China."

Tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops, originally stationed in Lower Laos in the name of guarding the "Ho Chi Minh trail" during the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, have been reinforced to extend the military occupation of Laos. The supply of grain alone for these forces is a heavy burden on the Lao people.

To eliminate the Vietnamese-Lao boundary, the Vietnamese troops forced Lao people living on the Lao side of the boundary to leave their homes. Many of the inhabitants were put down by the Vietnamese when they rose to resist the resettlement drive.

The Vietnamese "advisers" placed in the various departments of the Lao Government behaved like overlords and ruled the roost there. Those Lao officials who refused to submit were instantly removed.

The people of Laos, an economically underdeveloped country, are being oppressed and exploited by both Moscow and Hanoi.

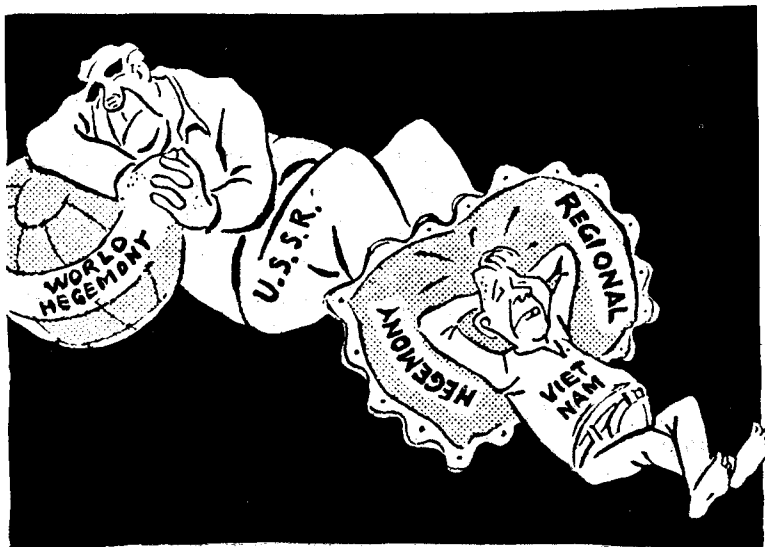
Hanoi's undisguised domination has given rise to widespread resentment among the Lao people. From time to time, armed clashes have broken out between the occupation forces and Lao troops defying their oppression. Western news agencies have reported "sporadic fighting" in a number of places in the country and mutinies and uprisings within the Lao forces.

So, Hanoi and its bosses in the Kremlin conjured up a "Chinese invasion of Laos" to whip up war hysteria and intensify the repression of the Lao people.

According to an AFP report from Bangkok, Vietnamese troops were moved to several provinces in northern Laos in mid-March and used "82 mm. mortars against uncontrolled elements."

The Thai newspaper *The United Daily News* points out that "the way Viet Nam instigates the Lao authorities to antagonize China is the same as it provoked China itself along the Sino-Vietnamese border."

In turning the Lao authorities against China, Moscow and Hanoi also hope to divert attention from world pressure for Viet Nam's withdrawal from Kampuchea. The Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea pose a grave threat to security in Southeast Asia and is strongly condemned by a great majority of the countries in the world, especially by those in Southeast Asia. Viet Nam has become more isolated than ever. Now that the Chinese frontier forces have ended their counterattack in self-defence and withdrawn on their own initiative, the call for the Vietnamese aggressor troops to withdraw from Kampuchea so as to restore peace and stability in Southeast Asia naturally rises to a new crescendo. It is in these circumstances that by fabricating the lie about China's "threat to Laos" and deliberately worsen-



Hegemonists' dream.

by Gen Hua

ing the Sino-Lao relations, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are trying to distract attention from the demand of the people around the world for a Vietnamese military withdrawal from Kampuchea.

The Japanese newspapers, *Yomiuri Shim-*

bun and *Asahi Shimbun*, note that by instigating Laos to embark on an anti-China course, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam intend mainly to "direct world attention to the Lao-Chinese border belt" and that "Laos, by taking the cue from Viet Nam, has reached the point of a break with China."

Viet Nam's Kampuchean Aggression

Eloquent Evidence

IN their recent self-defensive counterattack, the Guangxi frontier forces captured two Vietnamese army documents, which revealed Viet Nam's ugly features concerning its aggression against Kampuchea.

One is the transcription of a document dated January 17, 1979, from the records of a unit of the First Military Area Command of the Vietnamese army, entitled "On the Victory in the Southwest Border War and in Crushing the Kampuchea Reactionary Clique." The other is the minutes of a meeting at the Cao Bang Provincial Military Headquarters on January 15, 1979. It was in the possession of the commander of the First Company, First Battalion, of the 567th Regiment under the provincial command.

The first document describes the developments of the southwest border war and lists the major battles. It shows that Viet Nam's military operation to invade Kampuchea began with its occupation of Way Island in 1975. The document says: "The Central Committee [of the Communist Party of Viet Nam] held the fourth plenum. The resolution adopted at the session confirms that U.S. imperialism is in the long term the main enemy, but the immediate enemy and the direct opponents in war are Beijing and Kampuchea."

"Having adopted the resolution (in June and July, 1978)," the document continues, "the Central Committee is resolved to win swift victory, politically and militarily, on the southwest border. This is the major, overriding task from beginning to end."

The document then records the process of escalation of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.

The second document entitled "Triumph Over Kampuchea" is accompanied by a map showing the routes of the offensive. It outlines in detail the military deployment of the Vietnamese army against Kampuchea. According to

this document, the Vietnamese authorities deployed three armies, 11 divisions, 14 regiments, one brigade, one naval fleet and one combat flotilla, and launched the full-scale and all-front attack along seven routes on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border from north to south, on sea as well as land.

One point merits attention: In the whole operational plan for the massive military deployment, there is no mention of a single soldier of the puppet front created by the Vietnamese authorities. The military mission and the capture of Phnom Penh were accomplished solely by the Vietnamese troops.

On the nature of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities admitted that "we had sufficiently prepared conditions so as to help the friendly side start a new revolution . . . this has but one precedent in the world, that is, the Soviet Union's action to help Czechoslovakia in 1968."

This last sentence, which the Vietnamese authorities used to glorify themselves, serves as the best illustration that they are the loyal disciples of Soviet social-imperialism.

Aggressors' Lame Argument

VIENT NAM'S aggression against Kampuchea has been sternly condemned throughout the world and at the U.N. Security Council session as well. The Vietnamese authorities, finding themselves in a predicament, have had to rack their brains to come up with an argument.

On March 28, the Voice of Viet Nam broadcasted statements by Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh concerning the stationing of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Pham Van Dong said that "a treaty between Viet Nam and Kampuchea was signed on February 18. Vietnamese troops were stationed in Kampuchea at the request of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary council" and "the Kampuchean

people have now become masters of their country. . . . This is irreversible." Nguyen Duy Trinh said, "The presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea is a question which only concerns those two countries and is for them to decide upon."

This line of argument was first advanced by Hun Sen, "foreign minister" of the puppet regime of Kampuchea, on March 17. This position was reiterated by the Voice of Viet Nam in its commentary on March 23: "The presence of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is a fact for all to see and is open and above-board." "It is unlawful for anyone to raise this question and demand that the Vietnamese troops withdraw from Kampuchea. Such a demand constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples."

Attempts to Cover Up Aggression

These lame arguments were brought forth three months after Viet Nam's war of aggression against Kampuchea. They are hardly worth refuting. Since the Vietnamese authorities now claim that it is "open and aboveboard" for them to station troops in Kampuchea, we would like to ask: Why in the past did they try so hard to cover this fact up? In defiance of this "fact for all to see," they described their aggression against Kampuchea as a "civil war" in that country and then accused Kampuchea of committing "aggression" against Viet Nam. They alleged that their support for the Kampuchean puppets was only confined to the "moral aspect." Then, they again came out with the allegation that what was going on in Kampuchea was a "civil war" and a "border war." The Vietnamese authorities have thoroughly exposed themselves by trying to cover up and whitewash their crimes of aggression.

The reality today is that the puppet regime in Kampuchea is propped up by the more than 100,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops stationed in Phnom Penh, the capital, and most of the cities and towns in Kampuchea. An AFP correspondent reported recently from the Kampuchean capital: "In Phnom Penh itself, there are three Vietnamese advisers for every Cambodian official, ten Vietnamese soldiers for every Cambodian one." How does this tally with Pham Van Dong's remarks, "The Kampuchean people have now become masters of their country"? Hanoi has invaded a sovereign country with troops numbering more than one hundred thousand and now maintains a military

occupation there. How can such acts of aggression which contravene the criteria of international relations and endanger world peace and security be called "a question which only concerns those two countries"?

The assertion that Viet Nam's military presence in Kampuchea is provided for in the recently concluded treaty and is hence "completely within the law" does not hold water either. The Kampuchean quisling regime was rigged up by Viet Nam on its own soil and then transplanted to Phnom Penh under the escort of an aggressor army. The regime itself was illegitimate from the very beginning. Can there be any "legality" in a "treaty" signed between the wire puller and the puppet? How can such a "treaty" provide a "legal basis" for the presence of Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea! In point of fact, the treaty was signed in February whereas the Vietnamese troops started their massive invasion of Kampuchea at the end of last year. Recently the Chinese frontier forces, in their self-defensive counterattack, captured a Vietnamese document which gave specific dispositions for the invasion of Kampuchea. Also captured was a map indicating the seven-pronged attack routes followed by the Vietnamese invading troops. This evidence brooks no denial. It is preposterous for the Vietnamese authorities to take the treaty signed in February as a justification for the aggression they launched three months ago. Were the Vietnamese aggressor troops mere ghosts in Kampuchea before the signing of the treaty?

Get Out of Kampuchea!

It is widely recognized that the Vietnamese authorities have committed armed aggression against Kampuchea for the purpose of incorporating the country into its "Indochina federation." Thus, they have overrun a sovereign state and trampled on international law. Now the Vietnamese authorities are impudent enough to claim that their actions are "legal" and to declare that the just condemnation of their aggression by other countries is "illegal" and "constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples." To hell with this sophistry that aggression is justifiable and resistance to aggression is criminal. The Vietnamese authorities must withdraw their aggressor troops from Kampuchea immediately, completely and unconditionally.

(A Commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

The Nub of the Namibian Question

by Xiao Xi

AFRICAN countries and world opinion are concerned about the long-unsolved Namibian question. What is the crux of this question?

Namibia was a German colony before it became a mandated territory administered by South Africa after World War I. After World War II, it was trustee again by South Africa. At the First Session of the U.N. General Assembly held in 1946, the South African authorities clamoured for incorporating the territory into South Africa, but their demand was turned down. In 1949, they arbitrarily passed a so-called "amendment act of the South West Africa affairs" and illegally annexed Namibia. The United Nations has since then been fighting South Africa over the Namibian question. Since 1966, the international organization has adopted a number of resolutions declaring the South African occupation of Namibia to be illegal and demanding that South Africa withdraw and transfer political power to the Namibian people with the help of the United Nations. But all these resolutions have been rejected by the South African authorities.

The Namibian people have been waging a long and arduous struggle to overthrow the criminal rule of the South African racist regime. Since the late 1950s, they have been waging a sharp political struggle. In the early 1960s, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was born in the course of the struggle. In 1966, SWAPO led the Namibian people to take up armed struggle. In the mid-1970s, along with the stepped-up armed struggle, the popular movement against the South African racist regime also surged forward. This dealt a telling blow to the reactionary regime and advanced the process of Namibian independence. In the face of the mounting African national-liberation movements, the South African authorities have been

forced to change their manner of domination over the Namibian people. They have coupled military suppression with political guile; they call for "relaxation" and "peaceful negotiation" in an attempt to hold back the people's struggle in southern Africa.

Five Countries' Proposal

And at this moment, the Soviet Union, ostensibly "going to the support of the African national-liberation movements," used Cuban mercenaries to step up expansion and aggression in southern Africa with Namibia and Zimbabwe increasingly becoming the major targets. Against this background, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada in April 1977 put forward a proposal for holding a U.N.-supervised referendum in Namibia; a phased withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia after initially cutting the number down to 1,500; maintaining order by U.N. troops and administrators during the period of transition to Namibia's independence; and striving for the complete independence of Namibia by the end of 1978.

As public opinion from all quarters point out, there are serious defects in this proposal. For example, it allows the South African racist regime to retain, during the period of transition in Namibia, military and police forces and the whole administration headed by an administrator-general appointed by Pretoria. In spite of this, African frontline countries and SWAPO have agreed to accept this proposal and to try to achieve independence through negotiations on the basis of struggle.

In August 1977, the parties concerned met to negotiate over the Namibian question. But the South African authorities deliberately complicated the issue and declared that Walvis Bay was no longer part of Namibia but belonged to

South Africa as of September 1. So negotiations collapsed. On Namibia's South Atlantic coast, **Walvis Bay** is economically and strategically important. This unjustified South African demand is aimed at not only obstructing negotiations but also at continuing its military and economic control over Namibia by occupying **Walvis Bay** when it can no longer prevent the territory from winning independence.

Under pressure from world opinion and through the mediation of the five Western countries, the South African authorities in April 1978 were forced to accept the proposal of the five and agreed to participate in the negotiations. Last July, even as it continued with its armed struggle, SWAPO agreed to sit down with them and talk. On July 10, representatives from the five Western countries, SWAPO and southern African frontline countries began talks in Luanda, capital of Angola, and on July 12 an agreement was reached on accepting the proposal of the five and submitting it to the U.N. Security Council. President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO pointed out at a press conference: "Walvis Bay has always been an integral part of Namibian territory. We will not accept independence without Walvis Bay."

On July 27, the U.N. Security Council adopted two resolutions based on the proposal of the five. The first requests the Secretary-General to appoint a special U.N. representative to ensure early independence for Namibia through free elections held under U.N. supervision. The second declares that Walvis Bay is an alienable integral part of Namibian territory and enjoins the South African Government to terminate its illegal occupation of the bay and return it to Namibia. World opinion at that time considered these resolutions a step forward to solving the Namibian question.

Election Fraud

When people were expecting Namibia to gain independence, the reactionary South African authorities went back on their word and moved to undermine the negotiated agreement and to reject the U.N. resolutions. They insisted that Walvis Bay was an integral part of South African territory and blustered that the only question to discuss was that of "using" the port of Walvis Bay. They announced that only when there is visible peace and a cessation of violence within the prescribed period can the reduction

of South African troops in Namibia begin to take place. Otherwise, they asserted, the number of South African troops there cannot be cut. And disregarding world condemnation, they unilaterally staged an "election" fraud and rigged up a puppet regime. To mislead the world, they alleged that this was only an internal process of electing leaders and that they would persuade the elected leaders to agree to a re-election under U.N. supervision in the future. Prior to this "election," South African policemen in Namibia were called out to suppress the masses who demonstrated against the bogus election. A number of the SWAPO leaders were arrested.

The "election" farce aroused such strong condemnation by world opinion that the foreign ministers of the above-mentioned five countries considered it "null and void" after talks with the South African authorities.

Tortuous Course

The moves taken by the South African authorities over the Namibian question make it crystal clear that the road to Namibia's independence is still tortuous and rugged. The reactionary South African regime which has dominated Namibia for scores of years will never give up its white racists' colonial interests there of its own accord.

What has been done by the reactionary South African authorities over the Namibian question is exactly what Soviet social-imperialism hopes for. It is clear that if the proposal of the five had been put into effect, resulting in withdrawal of South Africa and the early independence of the Namibian people, there would be less opportunities for the Soviet Union to carry on its infiltration and expansion there. The South African authorities on their part is exploiting the Soviet threat to bargain with the West to improve their own situation. Moscow and Pretoria are making use of each other to gain something for themselves before Namibia wins independence.

The Namibian question is a concentrated expression of the various contradictions in Africa and the situation there is therefore complicated. It is difficult to predict when Namibia will gain independence and how. But history will ultimately prove that it is not the reactionary South African regime, much less superpowers, but the Namibian people who hold the destiny of Namibia.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF
INDIA (M-L)

Protests Soviet Support For Vietnamese Aggression

More than 2,000 members of the Communist Party of India (M-L) held a demonstration on March 26 outside the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi to protest Soviet support for Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea.

The demonstrators shouted: "Down with Russian imperialism and Vietnamese expansionism!" "Vietnamese aggressors, hands off Kampuchea!" "Scrap the Indo-Soviet military treaty!" "End Russian interference in India!" and "End Russian exploitation of India!"

Addressing the demonstrators, Satya Narain Singh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (M-L), flayed the Soviet Union for adopting a "calculated plan for world hegemony" and for instigating and aiding Viet Nam. A circular distributed by the demonstrators said: "Russian imperialism has turned Viet Nam into a new 'Cuba' of the East to create trouble in the region. These Vietnamese hirelings of Russian imperialism want to turn the Indochinese countries into a 'federation' under their rule, with the intention of fulfilling their local expansionist ambitions."

The circular went on to say: In Laos there are still over 50,000 Vietnamese troops; in Kampuchea, more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops. This not only has endangered the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos and Kampuchea, but also all the

countries in Southeast Asia. This constant threat posed by Russia and Viet Nam has particularly caused anxiety to patriotic Indian people, rousing them to realize the need to unite and fight against Russian-Vietnamese imperialism on our subcontinent.

The circular also pointed out that day by day the people of the world have come to realize that the two superpowers are the source of world war, and of the two, Russian imperialism is the chief source of war today. The most dangerous troublemaker and the hotbed of war today is Russian imperialism.

ASEAN

More Economic Strength

Member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have made new forward strides in industrial co-operation, joint ventures, trade and regional economic strength.

The first ASEAN summit meeting in February 1976 called for concerted action in the

economic development of each country and of the entire region as a whole, so as to make maximum use of the region's natural resources and mutually satisfy economic needs. Soon afterwards, economic ministers of the five countries met, planned joint ventures and decided to launch a big industrial project in each member nation, to be financed in common, so as to develop industry and agriculture with regional resources and technology. At the seventh ASEAN economic ministers' meeting last December an agreement was initialled for the building of urea factories in Indonesia and Malaysia. Their completion will increase annual chemical fertilizer production in ASEAN by one million tons. Being examined are plans for a huge caustic soda plant in Thailand, a phosphate plant in the Philippines and a diesel engine plant in Singapore.

Further efforts are under way to expand regional and bilateral economic co-operation. In February this year Thailand and Malaysia reached agreements on joint exploration and develop-



A workshop in a Philippine dress-making factory.

ment of natural resources in the continental shelf waters of the Gulf of Siam bordering the two countries, the mutual supply of farm goods and increased co-operation in agriculture, forestry, livestock and irrigation projects. A plan for the exchange of Indonesian cement for Thai rice is being carried out. Not long ago, Indonesia and Singapore reached an agreement on the supply of electricity by the latter to Indonesia's Batam Island.

Another aim of ASEAN in economic co-operation is to establish a free trade zone. Conditions, however, are not yet ripe due to the differing circumstances and imbalance in economic development among member nations. In order to expand intra-regional trade, a mutual agreement for preferential trade has been reached, with 1,326 commodities already listed for tariff reductions varying from 10 to 30 per cent.

IRAN

Limited Self-Rule for Kurdistan

On March 27 Kurdish leaders accepted the Iranian provisional government's plan granting limited self-rule to Kurdistan, a province in western Iran.

Armed conflict between Kurds and government forces had erupted on March 18 in Sanandaj, capital of Kurdistan. The Kurds took over the provisional governor-general office and besieged an army garrison. An agreement was reached on March 24 after four days of negotiations with Kurdish leaders by Ayatollah Taleghani, a religious leader, and Iran's Minister of the Interior Ahmed Sadr-Haj-Seyyed-Javadi.

Under this agreement, the Kurds undertook to withdraw their occupation of the radio station, airport and government buildings, and not to take Sanandaj. All regional affairs in Kurdistan were to become

the responsibility of representatives elected by its people and not imposed from Teheran.

The agreement also stipulated that like Iran's other minority groups, the Kurds will take part in drawing up the future constitution and that all their rights will be guaranteed in it.

Meanwhile, Interior Minister Javadi has named a Kurdish leader Ibrahim Yunessi as governor-general of Kurdistan for the first time in Iran's history.

The Kurds number nearly 3 million, 85 per cent of whom are Sunni Muslims. The Kurdish Democratic Party representing them has demanded unified and democratic autonomy within the Iranian state. Taleghani made no mention of "autonomy" as demanded by Kurdish leaders. Instead, he announced a five-member provisional council which would arrange for a "general election" to choose a new administrative council for the province.

The agreement is likely to have a profound impact on other regions, such as Baluchistan, Azerbaijan and Kuzistan, which for decades have agitated for autonomy.

BRITAIN

New Elections Soon

A general election will be held ahead of schedule for the first time in 54 years as a result of the Labour government failing to receive a vote of confidence in the House of Commons on March 28.

The no confidence motion was made by the Conservative Party on March 22 after the devolution referendum was defeated on March 1 in Scotland and Wales. Originally there was support within both the Conservative and Labour Parties for the devolution of part of the central government's authority over Scotland and Wales to

local assemblies there. After coming to power, the Labour Party proposed in the House of Commons such referendums be held in order to win the support of the Scottish nationalists. But on March 1, 40 per cent of the electorate—the number stipulated as necessary for passage—failed to vote "yes" on the issue in Scotland. In Wales, the overwhelming majority of the electorate voted "no." Prime Minister Callaghan announced on March 22 a proposal for an all-parties talk, but it was rejected by the Scottish National Party and the Conservative Party, and they both submitted censure motions.

The Labour Party failed to win a majority in the elections for the House of Commons in 1974 and it took office with the support of the Liberal Party. However, as the economic conditions deteriorated and popular resentment grew, the Liberal Party withdrew its support and the Labour Party lost a number of seats to the Conservative Party in by-elections afterwards. Thus when the vote of no confidence carried 311 to 310, the Labour Party had only 308 seats, with the speaker and the deputy speaker not taking part in the vote.

On March 29, the Labour government announced that Parliament would be dissolved on April 7, a general election held on May 3 and the new Parliament convened on May 9.

Economic policy will be the focus of the election campaigns. The Labour Party has pledged to stabilize the British economy during the next five years, while the Conservative Party has put out a call for "reducing revenue and enforcing law and order." Both parties are striving to win a majority in Parliament and establish a stable government.

● **New Multi-Metallogenetic Belt**

A multi-metallogenetic belt extending 550,000 square kilometres has been located in the Yunnan-Tibet-Sichuan-Qinghai border area of southwest and northwest China.

The deposits offer good prospects for the mining of iron, copper, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, antimony, tungsten, molybdenum, nickel, platinum and some rare metals. Non-metal deposits such as tourmaline, potassium salt, mica, asbestos, gypsum, arsenate, magnesite and limestone are also plentiful.

Preliminary surveys show that iron ore is concentrated in the southern part of the belt, copper mainly in the central and northern parts, tin mainly in the south and lead-zinc ore almost throughout the entire belt.

The several big iron, copper, lead-zinc and platinum mines already discovered in Tibet and Yunnan are within this belt.

● **More CAAC Flights**

Two direct flights a week by Trident for tourists from Xianggang (Hongkong) to Hangzhou and Nanjing respectively were started on April 1 by the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC).

In addition, 90 regular scheduled flights to tourist cities began in April. The number of flights from Guangzhou to picturesque Guilin in south China has risen from 12 to 21 a week and the 14 weekly flights from Guangzhou to Shantou have also increased to 21. More flights a week have been added from Beijing to Kunming, to Guangzhou, to Chengdu, to

Chongqing, to Xian and to Lhasa. On some routes larger planes have been introduced.

CAAC in March added new flights linking Shanghai with Tianjin (the north China seaport), Harbin (a northeast China industrial city) and Dalian on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula; the central China industrial city of Wuhan with Guilin; Tianjin with Guangzhou; and Guangzhou with Xingning.

Xingning is in Meixian Prefecture in Guangdong Province, the well-known home of many Chinese overseas. The Guangzhou-Xingning air route has cut travelling time from 10 hours by bus to one hour by air.

● **Social Order Improves in Beijing**

The crime rate in Beijing dropped to its lowest level in a decade owing to a citywide drive launched last October to improve public order and crack down on criminals. The number of criminal cases during the last three months of 1978 was 38.2 per cent below that of the previous three months, with serious offences down by 72.3 per cent. Even fewer cases have been reported since the beginning of the year.

The drive paid attention to curbing juvenile delinquency. Seven part-work, part-study schools were set up for minor offenders, with the result that most of them have now started to study regularly and be more disciplined thanks to the painstaking efforts of the school authorities and teachers. A number of these young people are diligently studying techniques and have excelled in production; some have been commended for their willingness to help others.

Beijing didn't have many criminal offences until Lin Biao and the "gang of four" fanned up anarchism and advocated indiscriminate beatings, smashing and looting in their attempt to seize Party and state power.

● **Gift of Rare Chinese Stamps**

A certificate of merit, a 5,000-yuan bonus and an album of the stamps of the People's Republic of China were given to a 73-year-old retired teacher in Hunan University for the large and valuable collection of rare Chinese stamps he presented to the state.

This collection of Jiang Zhifang's includes stamps issued or used in China's various regions at different historical periods between 1878 and 1949 and stamps issued by foreigners in China. Among them are:

- More than 800 huge dragon stamps issued in 1878 during the Qing Dynasty;

- The earliest Chinese commemorative stamps issued in 1891 for the 60th birthday of the Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty;

- A postcard bearing the postmark used by the eight foreign invading powers in 1900 when their troops occupied Beijing;

- The temporary neutrality stamp Nanjing issued during the Revolution of 1911;

- China's first air mail stamps issued in 1921;

- Stamps issued between 1927 and 1931 by the Central Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government led by the Communist Party of China.



Jiang Zhifang (with beard) who presented his collection of rare Chinese stamps to the state.

Jiang Zhifang, who has been an avid stamp collector from the age of 12, has written many articles on stamps and participated in many international stamp exhibitions. He won a gold medal at one of these exhibitions. In 1966, Jiang Zhifang presented his collection of stamps and reference materials concerning the development of China's stamps to the state in five large cabinets.

Jiang Zhifang was formerly a diplomat with the Kuomintang government embassy in Poland. He declared allegiance to New China on October 3, 1949, the third day after the founding of the People's Republic of China and returned to China in 1951.

● **Direct Overseas Contracts**

China is modifying state control of its foreign trade. For example, a porcelain plant in Hunan's Liling County, the country's second biggest porcelain centre, has signed contracts directly with foreign companies since the second half of 1978, instead of through an intermediary — a state foreign trade company.

CORRECTION: In our last issue on page 18, the last line in the first paragraph under part one should read "journalist Erik Pierre last year. He said:"

This porcelain plant in Hunan Province is turning out new products specially designed for overseas buyers from the United States, Australia and other places. They include Western-style dinner services, tea services and traditional Chinese vases. Some customers placed orders for one million pieces of porcelain.

● **Training for Workers Stepped Up**

Three hundred thousand workers are attending classes in spare-time colleges and secondary technical schools which have been reopened or newly set up in east China's Shandong Province. This aims at raising the scientific and cultural level of the workers so as to enable them to cope with problems cropping up in China's socialist modernization.

Shandong plans to train all its workers under the age of 35 to at least a senior middle school or technical secondary school level within three to five years. Some will achieve a college graduate level in the same period.

The No. 2 Machine Tool Plant in Jinan, the provincial capital, has junior middle school, technical secondary school and college level part-time courses for half of its 3,000 workers.

A spare-time college for workers has also opened in the coastal city of Qingdao. In addition to its 50 full-time teachers, the college has invited 300 professors, lecturers, engineers and technicians to give lessons. Among the many special courses offered for the 10,000 workers attending the college are heat treatment, machine building, automatic control, architectural engineering as well as English, Japanese, French and German.

In addition, a television university was recently set up, with 15,000 workers attending courses on a part-time or full-time basis and another 10,000 auditing lectures in their spare time.

● **New Hybrid Crane**

Efforts to cross a male red-crowned crane with a female black-necked crane have proved fruitful at the Renmin Park in Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province in the northwest. At seven months, this eight-kilogramme male hybrid has graceful lithesome movements; his call is loud and clear.

China is the home of eight of the world's 15 species of crane. The rare black-necked crane mainly inhabits the marshes of China's Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, some 3,000 to 4,000 metres above sea level. The state has established a preserve for the endangered black-neck crane in its natural habitat on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.



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