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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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LEARN FROM MAO TSETUNG

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 2-8

[Excerpts from the third part of Chou En-lai's report at the First All-China Youth Congress¹ on 7 May 1949]

[Text] The Chinese people's great revolution has won nationwide victory. Our youth should continue to participate with great enthusiasm in the cause of building new China. We must have a leader who is recognized by everyone, because such a leader can lead us forward.

The history of the revolutionary movement in the past 30 years proved that we Chinese people have our leader: Mao Tsetung. Thus, the slogan of this national youth congress is: "Advance under Mao Tsetung's banner." This congress is determined to carry this banner when moving forward. I will now give you an account of several major points indicating why Mao Tsetung is worth our esteem and how to learn from him. Learning from Mao Tsetung is not a mere slogan. It must have a very rich content and a clear-cut orientation. After returning to your posts, you young delegates should first publicize what this congress has advocated. This work must be done among the broad masses of youth throughout the country: in rural areas, factories, cities, liberated zones and in Kuomintang-controlled areas.² You should encourage thousands of other young people to join us in our advance. In this respect, Chairman Mao's banner is our best appeal. We should appeal to young people throughout the country to follow this banner. Therefore, we must know how Mao Tsetung's banner has developed into its present form. In brief, this development was not accidental, nor is it innate. Mao Tsetung is a great man born in the land of China. My friends attending this meeting: When you publicize Mao Tsetung Thought or learn from him, you should not regard him as a mysterious leader or as a leader from whom it is impossible to learn. If you do that, our recognition of our leader will be empty talk. If we think that no one can learn from him, doesn't it mean that we have isolated Mao Tsetung and regard him as a god? Such a leader exists in the mythology of feudal and bourgeois societies. Our leader was born among the people. He is related to the Chinese people by flesh and blood and is closely linked to China's land and soil. In other words, the emergence of a leader such as Mao Tsetung,

who was born and brought up in Chinese society, is not accidental. He is the fruit of the revolutionary movement in the last 100 years, and he is a people's leader who came forward as a result of the experience and lessons drawn during the many years of revolution in China. Therefore, when we learn from Mao Tsetung, we must learn from him comprehensively. We must learn from his past as well as his present great achievements. When we call on youth to learn from Mao Tsetung, we should encourage them to go deeper and deeper and become more and more interested in learning from him. We should encourage them to systematically study Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Mao has frequently said that he was a rural youth, that he was superstitious during his childhood and that some of his beliefs at that time were backward. He is totally opposed to what is said about him in a school textbook published in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei area. The book describes him as a boy who opposed superstition at the age of 10 and who has not believed in God since early childhood. Chairman Mao says that, on the contrary, he had a strong belief in God when he was a boy and that when his mother was sick he prayed to God for her recovery. Wasn't that superstition? That textbook portrays Chairman Mao as being a born disbeliever in superstition, the opposite of what he really was. Chairman Mao says the book is not true. Generally speaking, in the feudal society in which he lived it was impossible for one to do away with superstition in one swoop, regardless of whether one came from a peasant or a worker family. Because Chairman Mao was born in a village in the late 19th century (1893), it was impossible for him to be born without some superstitious beliefs. Why do I explain this? I hope that you do not ostracize some young person merely because he has not yet done away with superstition. A boy with superstitious beliefs could become a Chairman Mao. Of course, I am not saying that all children can become men like Chairman Mao. Superstition is something we should eliminate. Do not believe that some superstitious young people cannot be educated. You may have been superstitious 2 years ago but have now made some progress. Didn't you ever suffer from childhood illnesses? Don't show contempt for something just because you have made some progress. Chairman Mao says he is a reader of classical books. A reader of classical books must know how to read them. Because Chairman Mao likes to read the classics very much, he often very skillfully applies historical experience and lessons in his writings and speeches. The classics have broadened his knowledge and further increased his greatness. Therefore, we should not believe that people who like to study old things are unable to progress. On 4 May I read an article written by Comrade Fan Wen-lan.³ According to his article, he devoted himself to the textual study of classics and studied some old things during the 4 May movement period when many persons were impatient with society. Those old things enlightened his mind and proved useful to him when he compiled Chinese history. Therefore, we should not believe he has old ideas simply because he studied classical subjects. We should not fail to unite with him and educate him. We should not ignore him because he is a little backward. He can be

transformed as long as he is willing to progress. Chairman Mao had often said that he himself was transformed in this way.

Chairman Mao also frequently says that when he studies something he first concentrates on a particular aspect until he masters it. After the 4 May movement, Chairman Mao took part in the revolutionary movement in which he engaged in the workers movement in urban areas. At that time Mr Tao Hsing-chih⁴ advocated that a rural movement be carried out. Comrade Yun Tai-ying⁵ wrote Chairman Mao and said: "We, too, can learn from Tao Hsing-chih and do something in rural areas." Chairman Mao replied: "Now we don't even have enough time to do our urban work. How can we take care of the rural areas?" This shows that at that time Chairman Mao did not consider both sides of the issue. Nevertheless, Chairman Mao soon turned his attention to rural areas, familiarized himself with the rural situation and thus linked urban work with rural work. This shows us that some youths are interested only in certain specific subjects, not the entire subject. But we should not frustrate their desire to learn. Instead of ostracizing them, we should gradually educate them if they do not want to participate in political activities.

The examples I have just cited show that Chairman Mao was a boy from a peasant family in feudal society, he was superstitious, he read ancient books and when he studied something he began by studying one aspect of a subject without regard for the remainder. He is great because he has awakened from superstition and negated old things. He is great because he dares to admit his past. In bourgeois society or even in a society run by the people there are many persons who consider everything in their past to be great just because they made some progress. They describe themselves as a "born saint," "having great wisdom since childhood" and a "perfect person." This attitude is very dangerous. Chairman Mao was brought up in the old society. His rejecting of the past and growing into what he is today involves a process. When he first studied ancient books he was no different from other people and studied only one aspect of them. Later he studied other aspects of ancient knowledge, and he began to study the worker movement in cities, the peasant movement in the countryside and military affairs. He learned about all these subjects and acquired comprehensive knowledge. Therefore, we must not merely look at superstitious and backward young people, who constitute only a part of all the youth. We must not abandon them and ignore their education. You young people should learn from one another and allow backward people to learn from you, and at the same time you should learn from backward persons. Chairman Mao is the leader of the people. His experiences grew out of several thousand years of history and lessons, nearly 100 years of revolutionary movement and nearly 30 years of direct struggle. We should all look at Chairman Mao's past growth in this light. In this way, arrogance among comrades can be deflated. Even Chairman Mao is not arrogant. What do we have to be arrogant about? Who has made no mistakes and has no shortcomings? How can anyone be arrogant? Compared with Chairman Mao, we are all far behind.

We should learn from Mao Tsetung because he is a leader who is most determined to uphold principles and most capable of flexibly applying principles. Since he joined the Chinese revolution, the revolution's orientation has become more correct with every passing day. In each of the four stages of the Chinese revolution Chairman Mao was correct and represented the correct orientation of the Chinese people. At one time or another, either the party Central Committee or a part of the revolutionary masses often followed an erroneous orientation and lost their bearing, but Chairman Mao has always followed the correct orientation. During the great revolutionary period what Chairman Mao advocated was correct but was not accepted by the leadership at the time. During the 10-year civil war period he was correct, and again some comrades were wrong and did not completely agree with his opinions. During the war of resistance against Japan the whole party recognized his correctness, and the leadership was successful. In the war for liberation his correctness has been further confirmed. Therefore, Chairman Mao's orientation is the Chinese people's correct orientation. He has constantly pointed out and adhered to the truth. This is why we often say: Chairman Mao has applied the truth of world revolution--the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism--in China and integrated it with Chinese revolutionary practice to become Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung is a man who upholds the truth, points out the truth and develops the truth. This is his orientation which has always been correct at many crucial historical moments in the 30 years of the great Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao adhered to principles. From this we can learn the following: 1) Adhere to the orientation and 2) implement the orientation. It is not enough if only one man understands or if only a few people agree with the orientation. The masses must understand and implement the orientation. To put the orientation into effect your principles and policies must be specific, and the majority of people must agree with them and implement them. We should also understand that we may encounter difficulties when we adhere to the truth. Chairman Mao not only put forth the principle but formulated specific policies and stratagems to implement his principles. The policies in each historical period suited that particular period. Our young people can easily discern this fact when studying "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung." During the period of the great Chinese revolution it was necessary to carry out the peasant movement in great depth; thus it developed into the land reform movement. Chairman Mao's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" testifies to this truth. He called for support for measures advocated by the peasants and explained these measures. He had both theories and methods to carry out these measures. However, people did not go along with him at that time, and the leading body of the CCP did not accept his ideas. Consequently, the great revolution failed. During the civil war period he pointed out the necessity of conducting political work in the army. Study the resolution proposed by Chairman Mao at the ninth party congress of the Fourth Red Army and you will realize that today's political work in the PLA is the direct continuation of the political work at that time. Chairman Mao's

instructions were implemented step by step over a period of more than 20 years, and many frustrations and obstacles were overcome. This demonstrates that great efforts must be made to put a policy into effect. Although people may appear to accept that policy at the beginning, it takes a very long time before such policy is actually implemented and its importance appreciated. During the war of resistance against Japan it was necessary to unite with the Chiang Kai-shek government against Japan. Although it was well known that Chiang Kai-shek was wavering and passive, only after he was pushed to resist Japan could the whole nation be mobilized. We needed to unite with him but at the same time guard against him and struggle against his reactionary aspects. This is why we say "both unity and struggle." We had to persuade very many people to agree to use this method of waging the war of resistance in order to expand our people's own forces. Regarding the anti-Japanese national united front, some people said that there should be no criticism in time of unity (there were even people within the party saying the same thing). Therefore, we had to experience numerous struggles to actually put this principle into effect. During the war of liberation matters were comparatively smooth. However, we still had minor drawbacks and committed minor mistakes. For instance, we had ultra-"left" mistakes in land reform which were not wholly corrected until the publication of Chairman Mao's 25 December 1947 report.⁶ This shows that many specific tasks have to be completed before a principle, truth or policy can be implemented. That is why Chairman Mao not only adhered to the truth and pointed out the orientation but formulated many specific policies and stratagems to implement the truth and principles. Otherwise, victory in revolution cannot be won. Chairman Mao did not talk idly about the truth but integrated truth with practice and made the truth clearly understood. This is why we have had today's victory. To learn from Mao Tsetung we young people should not only understand the orientation, principles and truth pointed out by Chairman Mao but study his specific policies and stratagems before we can actually carry out our work. We young people must not talk idly but must perform actual work. Lenin, the great revolutionary leader of the world's proletariat, said: "Utter fewer pompous phrases and do more daily, routine work."⁷ This is a valuable lesson for our young people. A characteristic of Mao Tsetung Thought is to embody the universal truth and apply it to the Chinese land. This is where we should learn. Chairman Mao did not stop at making a statement about embodying the universal truth and applying it to the Chinese land. He did not let a few people carry it out alone regardless of whether or not all the people agreed. Not so. Chairman Mao talked again and again at great length to have people accept the truth in order to turn it into strength. This means that people should not stop at mapping out a measure and leaving it to the people at large whether or not they understand or are capable of accepting it. Doing so means that the consciousness and wisdom of the leaders cannot be translated into the strength of the masses. Thus, translating the leaders' wisdom into the masses' strength necessitates a process of education, persuasion and even waiting for the awakening of the masses. Chairman Mao waited when his ideas were not yet accepted by the people. Whenever an opportunity arose

he lectured, educated and persuaded people. Chairman Mao had similar experience within the party. Concerning what I have just said, the 10-year civil war period is a case in point. We wanted to attack big cities, while Chairman Mao said that our strength was limited and that we should not attack big cities but concentrate our efforts to build up bases. However, Chairman Mao's ideas were not supported by others. The majority were opposed to his ideas and wanted to attack big cities, so he went along with the others. The result: We were defeated. Chairman Mao immediately proposed at a meeting: "Our defeat shows that this method doesn't work. Let's change!" People still refused to accept his ideas, so he again had to wait and went along with the others. The aforementioned 10,000-li Long March was the result of our defeat in Kiangsi. We had fought recklessly in Kiangsi and suffered great attrition of strength, and eventually we could stand it no more and had to evacuate. At that time Chairman Mao also had to retreat with the others. However, en route Chairman Mao again put forth his correct ideas. At the Tsuni conference he corrected the erroneous line and led us out of the dangerous situation in the Szechwan grasslands and led the Red Army to northern Shensi. This shows that when the leadership's correct opinion is not accepted by people, it is necessary to wait and persuade people. However, when the majority does not agree, the minority has to organizationally subordinate itself to the majority. It turned out at last that Chairman Mao was correct and the majority erroneous. This shows that when the masses were in the dark it was difficult for them to accept the truth, and that when they gradually awoke they would support Chairman Mao's correct ideas. This also means that much time has to be spent waiting before the leadership's ideas can be accepted by all. However, this specific waiting period was a painful one. Had we accepted Chairman Mao's ideas much earlier, we would not have sustained casualties and our strength would have become still stronger. Yet when the backward Chinese society is reflected in the party or in Chinese revolutionary groups, correct ideas are more often than not unacceptable to the masses at first. Then we have only to wait and persuade people and to experience the painful process of translating our own ideas into the masses' strength. However, such cases will occur much less often in later work. This is because the CCP today is not what it was, and the absolute majority of our comrades recognize this leader and willingly obey and believe in him. The people in general also support him. However, this is speaking generally. For instance, when we say we have to carry the revolution through to the end and embark on the new democratic construction, the people, generally speaking, agree. Yet there will still be plenty of disputes on specific policies and tasks. Therefore, we need to study--study Chairman Mao's process of adhering to the truth, pointing out principles and the orientation, and making the principles specific and clearly understood so as to translate them into the strength of the people. This cannot be accomplished with rashness. It requires tremendous perseverance and patience to unswervingly advance the revolution. Only thus can we win final victory. We young people ought to learn this process--the process in which Chairman Mao persisted in crystallizing truth in China and translating it into the strength of

the party. We must not stop at putting forth a slogan, believing that this is enough. Nor should we be disappointed when a slogan doesn't work and rejoice and stop advancing when it works well. With such behavior, people will not be Chairman Mao's good pupils. Our great victory has been won because Chairman Mao persisted in embodying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in this land of China. Today, not only does the CCP respect him, but all people who have tasted the fruit of victory of the revolution willingly believe in and obey this leader.

Another experience of Chairman Mao's in upholding and practicing truth is that in outlining principles he takes the vast majority of the people into consideration and keeps their interests in mind. Today Chairman Mao is unmistakably the leader of the CCP, and, at the same time, we all recognize him as leader of all the people. From the standpoint of the party he represents the proletariat. The Chinese proletarians are only several millions in number, accounting for less than 1 percent of the Chinese population. To enable the CCP, which represents the proletariat, to win the victory of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always fixed his attention on application of proletarian ideology in China and on efforts to rally the masses around the proletariat to win the victory of the revolution; he has never prated about the revolution by confining himself to a tiny circle. Thus, he has realized that we should not merely rely on the vanguard but rally all the forces that can be rallied in order to destroy the most reactionary enemies. The proletariat is the vanguard, but we should not rely on it alone. In the period of the democratic revolution Chairman Mao's concept was to unite the forces of the Chinese people on the new democratic road of the Chinese revolution. This is why he regarded the peasantry as the biggest ally in the first revolution and considered it impossible to win the victory of the people's revolution without relying on the peasantry. Sure enough, the revolution failed because his teachings were not followed. After we returned to the countryside, many people, adopting a very narrow viewpoint, then made "left" deviationist mistakes. At that time Chairman Mao noted that it was necessary not only to rely on the peasantry but to win over the middle and petty bourgeois elements so they would join the revolution. By that time Chiang Kai-shek's evil, counterrevolutionary behavior had been further exposed, and he only had the support of the comprador-bureaucrat, landlord and feudal classes. Therefore, we should win over the middle and petty bourgeois elements. However, there were indeed some people in the Communist Party who took a very narrow view of things. They said that all those middle and petty bourgeois elements were unreliable. They refused to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, so the revolution suffered further setbacks and we had to undertake a 25,000-li march. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao, preventing rightist deviations, united with elements of the upper stratum of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to conduct the war. Some people then said: "Now that we have united with them, we should not struggle against them." Chairman Mao said: "They are our enemies at home. Now we should unite with them in order to fight our national enemies. But we should by no

means regard them as reliable cooperators (allies); we should guard against them. If we do not guard against the reactionary enemies of the people in order to expand the people's front, they will turn around and bite you." Thus, Chairman Mao prevented unconditional compromises. During the liberation war the following situation occurred: When land reform was implemented in the countryside, "left" deviationist mistakes were made, because no land or bad land was left to the landlords and they could not make a living, or because too many people were branded as feudal rich peasants or landlords. In addition, on the question of execution of people, only those who were incorrigible and were hated by all the people were supposed to be killed. Some people might not have been killed. However, due to the fact that the masses were indignant and were not persuaded by the merits of each case, too many people were killed. As a result, our work among the peasants, especially among the middle peasants, was adversely affected.

From the four stages of the revolution it can be seen that Chairman Mao's concept of the united front is to unite with the broadest possible allies to smash the enemies one by one. Thus, we defeated Japanese imperialism in the war of resistance against Japan; after Japanese imperialism was driven out, we defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries so that reactionary rule ended in China; and the reactionary rule of the feudal landlord class in the country has been uprooted. Internationally, we have opposed U.S. imperialist aggression against China. It is with these slogans that we should unite the masses of peasants--more than 90 percent of the peasants. Therefore, Chairman Mao told many of our Communist Party cadres: "You should keep a daily diary. You don't have to write anything else but '90 percent' in your diary." I think our greatest achievement is that, under Chairman Mao's leadership, we have applied the policy of winning over the vast majority of the people to fight for our common cause and to smash the reactionary rule. Our young people should learn from Chairman Mao in this regard. To implement the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in China we must keep the actual conditions of our country in mind, carry out many arduous practical tasks, unswervingly make progress, constantly work hard and strive to win over the vast majority of the people. To have the masses of young people follow us we should not rely on our small contingent alone but should unite and educate the vast majority of the people. The two questions I have discussed (this, of course, is not an introduction to all of Chairman Mao's achievements and principal theories) are of significance for the youths' united front.

What I have discussed is only a very small part of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao's achievements in military strategy and tactics and in building the people's army, his military science, his political thesis on new democracy and coalition government, his articles on economics, his talks at forums on culture, literature and art and the orientation of new culture and his creations in philosophy have greatly developed Marxism-Leninism. I won't go into further details here. Chairman Mao's achievements are not only broad in scope but specific and perfect as well. He

is an expert and continues to improve. In learning, Chairman Mao's slogan is to "seek truth from facts." As far as he, an honest man, is concerned, what is right is right and what is wrong is wrong. He opposes arrogance and rashness most. In the revolutionary movement over the past 30 years he has matured in the struggle against arrogance and rashness. His workstyle is one of being both modest and prudent. As Stalin said ("On the Question of Leninism"), he has a revolutionary vision as well as the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Therefore, in learning from his spirit we should learn from him in taking an honest attitude and following an honest workstyle. We should not learn any superficial, arrogant and impetuous practices. The CCP has such experience in the people's revolutionary movement. I was impetuous in the past. Of course, it is not so easy for the younger generation to learn all this. Young people should be careful to make few mistakes. The young people will fall down and run into snags. However, they should not be discouraged. In the revolution we have shed much blood and suffered many setbacks. Many people have laid down their lives for the revolution. We were not discouraged at the most difficult moment. As Chairman Mao said, we should get up after falling down and continue our advance after wiping the blood from our bodies and burying our dead comrades. We must have such high aspirations and courage. Today we are marching toward nationwide victory, and the bright light is shining over our whole country. But we must not become arrogant, swagger like conquering heroes and forget our past experiences and lessons because we are winning victories. Chairman Mao said: Now we have taken only the first step in a Long March of 10,000 li, and there are many arduous tasks awaiting us in the future. Here there are two lessons meriting our attention: One lesson is looking down upon others and estranging oneself from the masses, and the other is becoming degenerate. Our young people should regard these as their enemies. We should not be impetuous, arrogant and discouraged, despondent or dejected. We should learn from Chairman Mao's style of study and work, be honest, seek truth from facts and advance bravely, steadily and in a down-to-earth way. Only thus can we lead hundreds of millions of young people in marching forward. Only thus can we truly achieve democratic liberation and national independence for all people of the country, build a new China with new democracy and make preparations for transforming the old China into a new, socialist China. Therefore, our slogan is: "Young people throughout the country, unite and advance under the banner of Mao Tsetung!"

FOOTNOTES

1. The First All-China Youth Congress was held in May 1949 in Peking. Great leader Chairman Mao wrote this inscription for the congress: "Unite the young people from all walks of life to take part in the new democratic construction task." Commander in Chief Chu Te delivered a message on behalf of the party Central Committee. Vice Chairman Chou En-lai delivered a report entitled: "Young People of

the Whole Country, Unite and March Forward Under the Banner of Mao Tsetung." "Learn From Mao Tsetung" is excerpted from Part III of this report.

2. KMT-controlled areas: Areas dominated by Kuomintang reactionaries.
3. Fan Wen-lan (1893-1969): Member of the Ninth CCP Central Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the Third NPC and director of the Modern History Institute, Philosophy and Social Sciences Department, Chinese Academy of Sciences.
4. Tao Hsing-chih (1891-1946): A noted educator of our country.
5. Yun Tai-ying (1895-1931): A CCP political activist in the party's early period and one of the outstanding leaders of the youth movement. He took part in central leadership work of the Chinese Socialist Youth League in 1923; he was at one time director of the Propaganda Department of the league and chief editor of CHINA YOUTH.
6. This is the report made by Chairman Mao to the conference held from 25 to 28 December 1947 at Yangchiakou, Mitzu County, northern Shensi. The conference was convened by the CCP Central Committee, and the title of Chairman Mao's report was "The Present Situation and Our Task."
7. Lenin: "The Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 12, p 17 (published in 7 October CHINA YOUTH journal).

SPEECH AT THE NINTH NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 9-12

[Speech by Teng Hsiao-ping, 11 October 1978]

[Text] The Ninth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions will play an important part in advancing the workers movement in China and speeding up the four modernizations. On behalf of the party Central Committee and the State Council, I extend warm congratulations to the congress and extend our cordial regards to all the comrade delegates at this congress and all the comrade workers and staff now fighting on various fronts.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been predominant in China's workers movement and trade union work since the founding of the People's Republic. The lines, principles and tasks set for the workers movement by the Sixth All-China Labor Congress and the seventh and the eighth national trade union congresses are correct. Under the leadership of the party, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and trade union organizations at all levels have done a considerable amount of good work and played a tremendous role in the successful development of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Thanks to the leadership of the party and work by the trade unions, a contingent of model workers and working class core elements for revolution has emerged in all industrial branches, in all areas and from all nationalities throughout the country. They remain to this day the core of unity and models for us to emulate.

However, for a number of years Lin Piao and the "gang of four" brought the trade unions to a halt and cultivated a group of bad elements to get control of the worker organizations and reduce them to tools in their plot to usurp party and state power. They fanned up bourgeois factionalism and armed strife among workers, incited them to stop work and production and opposed and brutally persecuted revolutionary cadres, model workers and trade union activists in factories and mines. They created anarchy in enterprises, in whole industries and in the national economy as a whole; they worked against the planned economy of socialism, against the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and against all rational rules and regulations,

and they sabotaged labor discipline. All these criminal counterrevolutionary activities produced extremely serious consequences. At the same time they aroused great revolutionary indignation among workers across the country. Everywhere many advanced elements, defying the white terror they imposed, struggled against them heroically and unyieldingly. These struggles show that China's working class deserves to be called the long-tested leading class in the revolution, standing firm at all times.

In the 2 years since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has grasped the key link in running the country well and righting wrongs. Things have fundamentally changed, and the situation has kept improving. It is obvious that great efforts are still needed to eliminate the pernicious influence and the bad effects of the "gang of four" among the workers, and every enterprise should work to complete the consolidation of class ranks. We must carry the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" through to the end. But it is equally obvious that there have been decisive victories on a countrywide scale in this struggle, and we can begin our new battles on this foundation.

The party's 11th national congress and the Fifth National People's Congress set forth before the people of the whole country the great goal of the four socialist modernizations within this century. Now the party Central Committee and the State Council urge a faster pace in the four modernizations, and they have set forth a series of policies and organizational measures for this effort. The Central Committee points out that this is a great revolution in which the country's economic and technological backwardness will be radically changed and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated. Since this revolution is aimed at greatly changing the present backward forces of production, it must in many ways change the relations of production, the superstructure and the forms of management in industrial and agricultural enterprises as well as the state administration of them, so that they meet the needs of a large-scale modern economy. Speeding up the tempo of economic development requires much greater specialization of enterprises, a far higher technical level of all workers and staff members, conscientious training and evaluation, far better economic accounting in enterprises, and much higher labor productivity and rate of profit in proportion to the funds. Therefore, major transformations are required on various economic fronts, not only in regard to technique, but in regard to systems and organization as well. The long-term interests of the people throughout the country lie in such transformations; otherwise we cannot end the present backward state of technology and management of production. The party Central Committee believes that in the interests of socialism and for the four modernizations the workers of the whole country will surely play a selfless, model and vanguard role in these transformations, and the trade union organizations will energetically help the enterprises bring about these transformations through deep-going agitational and organizational work among the masses and make new significant contributions to the cause of revolution and construction. One of the most important characteristics of

the working class is its relations with socialized mass production, and, therefore, it has the highest consciousness and discipline and plays the leading role in economic advance and social and political progress in the present era. We hope that the Ninth National Trade Union Congress will discuss the current situation in depth so as to unite all its members to take on this great task on the basis of the complete victory won in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

The trade unions should educate all members to recognize the profound significance of the four modernizations and work to raise their political, economic managing, technical and cultural level. The workers should carry forward their glorious traditions of hard work, selflessness and discipline, accepting transfers readily and loving their enterprises like their homes. They should unite and get rid of any vestige of bourgeois factionalism and anarchism that the "gang of four" fanned up. The working class should go all out to master modern technology and managerial skills so as to make outstanding contributions to the four modernizations. It is only right and proper that whoever makes more contributions to the four modernizations be accorded greater honor and more awards by the state. The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided that a national model workers conference will be called next year for industry and transport, capital construction, agriculture and forestry, finance and trade, culture and education and science and technology to commend the advanced and greet the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. I hope that workers throughout the country will welcome the first great gathering of heroes to emerge in the course of the new Long March with big accomplishments in work.

Our enterprises should observe the system of responsibility by directors or managers under the leadership of party committees and should set up a strong system to direct production. The trade unions should educate all members to safeguard highly the centralized administrative leadership in their enterprises and the full authority of the production command system. Only thus can we effectively eliminate the present general situation of no one accepting responsibility and organize production in a normal and orderly fashion. And only thus will we be able to insure constantly expanding reproduction, increase profits and at the same time steadily improve the workers' living conditions, thus guaranteeing the unity of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. The trade unions should educate all members to take an active part in managing enterprises. In order to achieve the four modernizations, all our enterprises without exception should have democratic management, and this should be combined with centralized leadership. Workshop directors, section chiefs and group heads in every enterprise must in the future be elected by the workers in the unit. Major issues in an enterprise should be discussed by workers' congresses or general membership meetings, at which leading cadres of the enterprise must listen to the views of the workers and accept criticism and supervision by them. Such congresses and meetings have the right to suggest to higher levels that certain leading

or managing personnel be punished or replaced for serious neglect of duty or for a bad style of work. The trade union in an enterprise will be the functioning body between workers' congresses and general membership meetings. Therefore, it is no longer an unnecessary organization as some believed. The effectiveness or ineffectiveness of trade union work affects the workers in exercising their rights as masters of the country; it also affects management and the smooth exercise of centralized leadership in an enterprise. That is, when an enterprise is managed well it is to the credit not only of the party and administrative cadres but also of the workers and their trade union.

Our trade unions must work hard to protect the welfare of workers. Welfare cannot be expanded very quickly since our country is still quite backward; it can only grow step by step on the basis of increased production, particularly of increased labor productivity. But this should in no way be used by the leadership of an enterprise, still less by the trade unions, as a pretext for indifference to the welfare of the workers. The leadership of our enterprises can do a lot in this respect in present conditions, and this is even more so for our trade union organizations. They should urge and assist the authorities in enterprises and localities to do everything possible to improve the working and living conditions of workers, their canteens and hygiene, and at the same time should encourage mutual aid of various forms among the workers.

For whatever work of this kind to be successful, trade unions must have close ties with the workers, make them feel that the unions are indeed their own organizations and trustworthy and that the unions speak up on their behalf and work in their interest, and under no circumstances lie to them or act like overlords fed on the workers' membership dues or work for the benefit of only a few people. Trade unions should fight for the democratic rights of the workers and oppose bureaucracy of every kind. So they themselves must be models of democratic procedure. Our trade union cadres themselves must set an example of working hard, showing complete devotion to public interest and giving no thought to just themselves, respecting discipline, accepting transfers readily and loving their enterprises like their homes in order to educate the workers in such a spirit. If the trade unions act along these lines, they will have high prestige among the workers and be able to make important contributions to the four modernizations. In places where exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" have been fairly adequate, all party, administrative and youth league organizations, and trade unions, too, have the duty to do their work well and score significant advances within 3 years. They should not always shift the blame for problems in their work to the pernicious influence of the gang. If this influence continues, then we ourselves should be held responsible. Provided each of us sets this high demand on our work, the cause of our party and our country will prosper, and we will achieve the great goal of the four modernizations at an earlier date.

Comrades: While building our own country, our working class must always keep in mind the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the

rest of the world. We must further strengthen our unity with the workers and revolutionary people the world over, support their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for winning and safeguarding national independence and their struggles for social progress, and make our due contribution to the emancipation of the working class throughout the world and the progress of all mankind. Our workers must learn modestly from the experience of working class struggle in other lands and from their advanced science and technology so as to speed up the four modernizations in China.

Comrades, our cause is splendid, our future is bright. Let us hold high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, work with one heart and one mind, advance courageously in the direction set by the 11th party congress and strive to fulfill the new great historic mission of the Chinese working class--to make China a great, modern and powerful socialist country before the end of this century.

SPEECH AT THE 10TH NATIONAL CYL CONGRESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 13-16

[Speech by Li Hsien-nien, 16 October 1978]

[Text] Comrades: Following the opening of the Fourth National Women's Congress and the Ninth National Trade Union Congress, the 10th National CYL Congress was ceremoniously opened today. This congress is significant for the development of the youth movement in China. It is significant for the training and bringing up of a large number of successors who are both Red and expert and will carry on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It is also significant for the acceleration of China's four socialist modernizations. On behalf of the party Central Committee and the State Council, I would like to extend my warm greetings to the congress and give my kind regards to all comrades present at this meeting and the Chinese youth and CYL members of all nationalities who are vigorously fighting on all fronts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our party has formulated the line of its 11th national congress and set the general task for the new period. We are determined to execute the behest of our great leader Chairman Mao, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and Chairman Chu, to make China a modern, powerful socialist country within this century. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, the whole party, army and the Chinese people of all nationalities are mobilizing as never before and tightening their centralized organization for this great and profound revolution. They are working heart and soul to consolidate and develop the present excellent situation, fighting for the greatest victory in history in this unprecedented battle.

The young people are most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. They are the most active and vital force in society. In the great revolutionary struggle to speed up our four socialist modernizations, which will bring about a fundamental change in China's backward economy and technology, and to further consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, the Chinese youth, under the party leadership, will

advance with greater vigor and play their full part as a heroic shock brigade in industry, agriculture, commerce, science, education, culture and military affairs. This is a glorious mission assigned to the Chinese youth by history.

About this time 44 years ago the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army departed from Kiangsi and other base areas and began the world-famous 25,000-li Long March. The Long March ushered in the victories overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, which lay like three big mountains on the Chinese people. The great majority of the fighters in that Long March were young people 20 or 30 years old, just like you deputies present at today's meeting. Now we have begun a new Long March. The party and the people always assigned arduous historical missions to young people during the two long marches, although the two are different in time and task. Young people of different times shoulder different historical missions. Accomplishment of the great proletarian revolutionary cause requires successive struggles by many generations. Your generation of youth not only has to work along with us for the grand goal of building China into a modern, powerful socialist country before the end of this century, but also has to contribute to reaching still higher goals in the next century. The party Central Committee believes that you certainly can accomplish this great historic mission by exploiting your diligence, bravery, wisdom and ability and by fighting in unity. You certainly will not disappoint the party, the people and the thousands of martyrs who gave their lives for the revolutionary cause.

The Chinese young people led by the CCP and nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought have glorious revolutionary traditions. In particular, there is great hope for the young generation tempered in the storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They are capable of great things and are fully reliable. Many, many young people displayed an indomitable spirit of dedication and showed a high awareness of the two-line struggle during the struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four." During the new Long March the party Central Committee hopes that China's 170 million youth of all nationalities will act even better, hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, carry forward glorious revolutionary traditions, organize into a new fighting force loyal to the proletarian revolution, advance in the direction pointed out by the party and invincibly and constantly win new victories.

This new force should have a firm and correct political orientation and be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It should love the party, the people, the motherland and socialism and keep to the lofty ideals of communism. It should fear neither hardship nor death and display the spirit of revolutionary heroism and optimism. It should persist in the working style of combining theory with practice, forming close ties with the masses and conducting criticism and self-criticism. It should be daring in practice, diligent in thinking about our problems,

unfettered in its thinking and free from superstition. It should learn how to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze new situations and solve new problems that crop up on the new Long March and constantly push forward the socialist revolution and construction.

This new force should be truly competent at building socialism and be armed with the knowledge of the most advanced science and technology. It should strive to study political science, economics, military science, natural science and technology and raise its educational level. It should master its vocational work, work diligently, study hard and display initiative. It should dare to think, speak and act and dare to be the path-breaker for socialist construction. It should make outstanding achievements in all trades and professions and dare to scale the heights to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole Chinese nation and achieve the four modernizations.

This new force should be strictly disciplined and educated in the principle of democratic centralism. Our revolution will surely be victorious if our sense of discipline is strengthened. This new force should advocate democracy, foster a democratic working style and live a sound democratic life. It should play an exemplary role in adhering to the principle of socialist democratic centralism. It should resolutely defend the centralized and unified leadership and defend the discipline of our revolutionary organization. It should be united, alert, earnest and lively. It should fight wherever the party orders it to fight.

This new force should have a lofty proletarian internationalist spirit and be guided by Chairman Mao's theory on the differentiation of the three worlds. It should have a good command of one or two foreign languages, increase exchanges and unite with revolutionary youth organizations and young people of other countries, and firmly support the youth and other sections of the people of other countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. It should play its rightful role in the revolutionary movement of world youth and for the progress and emancipation of mankind.

The CYL, which grew in strength under Chairman Mao's cultivation, is the nucleus of this new force. Since the founding of this republic Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always played a leading role in the youth movement and CYL work. The CYL made important contributions during the long revolutionary war and during the great socialist revolution and construction. During the new Long March under the new circumstances the CYL should redouble its efforts, fully play its role as an assistant to the party and make new contributions for the party and the people. When Chairman Mao was planning socialist construction he instructed that we should work out a plan for training competent persons. He said: "An old Chinese saying goes, 'It takes 10 years to grow trees but 100 years to rear people.' Let us subtract 90 from the 100 years and rear people in 10." This shows how anxious Chairman Mao was in wanting to accelerate

the training of competent people in all fields. China at present urgently needs competent people for the four modernizations. The length of time in which a youth is educated in the CYL, a big school, is also about 10 years. These 10 years are crucial to a youth's moral, intellectual and physical development. They are an important period for training and bringing up competent people. The prosperity of our motherland will be decided to a great extent by whether we can bring up a new competent generation in the next 10 years. The CYL should seriously know how to rear people and make contributions to the party by training a new force which is both Red and expert.

The task of educating and training young people requires the efforts of the whole party. The young people's appearance always clearly shows the spiritual outlook of a nation and a country. Whether young people can grow healthily is decided by the success or failure of the party's work. Therefore, party committees at all levels should take the progress made by youth in work as a magnifying glass for examining their own work. Keeping the young people in mind is a basic principle for the party, and this question should be placed on the agenda of party committees at all levels. They should frequently think about what can be done for the young people. While stepping up ideological and political work, party committees should effectively help young people to overcome various difficulties. They should help young people to solve their problems in study, work and daily life gradually and rationally. Party committees should think of whether our specific policies and measures need improvement, whether they have considered the young people's characteristics, whether they have aroused enthusiasm among young people and whether they have brought the role of CYL organizations into play or not. Party committees should also think of how to carefully bring up young people and children. Party committees at all levels should make efforts to develop the young people morally, intellectually and physically and make them keep fit, study hard and work well. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1957: "We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades." Today, 21 years later, our country no doubt has made tremendous progress. But in terms of labor productivity and average per capita income our country is still poor and backward. We must help our young people understand the current situation in our country so that they will not be willing to lag behind but will work hard for the prosperity of the country and maintain the glorious tradition of hard struggle and plain living. Of course, we must also do everything possible to create better material conditions and spiritual, cultural and living conditions for the healthy growth of our young people.

Party committees at all levels must take full account of the serious harm caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in trampling on the CYL and

poisoning the masses of the young people for a long period of time. It is necessary to organize CYL cadres to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the series of principles, policies and instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, carry the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end and thoroughly eliminate their poisonous influence. There should be both destruction and construction, constructing while destroying. The whole party must act to strengthen the building of the CYL. Party committees at all levels must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, learn to lead the work of the CYL and be good at organizing and educating the masses of young people around the party's central tasks and taking into consideration the characteristics of young people. It is necessary to strengthen the party's leadership over the CYL in an all-round way, politically, ideologically, organizationally and in work in accordance with the requirements and stipulations of the party Central Committee's "4 May" circular this year. While placing the main emphasis on leadership of party committees over CYL organizations at the same levels, it is also necessary to take effective measures to restore and strengthen the CYL's leading system and establish the CYL's regular work. It is necessary to readjust and properly select leading bodies for CYL committees at all levels in accordance with the five requirements for successors, allow them a free hand in their work and encourage them to increase their abilities through practice. The party and government should devise more measures to strengthen education for young people and invigorate the work of the CYL. The masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals must pass on their experience and help and guide the younger generation of revolutionaries and contribute their efforts to training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Comrades, the future of the great motherland is extremely bright. The tasks of the younger generation are glorious and arduous. We hope that you will hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, study, study and again study, unite, unite and again unite under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount all difficulties and dedicate your youthful years to the great cause of building a powerful and modern socialist country. The future of China belongs to you. Our hope is placed in you.

CARRY FORWARD SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN ENTERPRISES

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[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] China's Ninth National Trade Union Congress has triumphantly ended. In line with the instructions issued by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the congress clearly pointed out that it is necessary to regard the practice of educating workers to take part in enterprise management and fully guaranteeing the workers' democratic rights as masters of the country as a major task for the workers movement in the new period of development. To firmly implement this important guideline set by the congress will definitely help promote the development of China's workers movement and speed up the four modernizations.

I

In order to fulfill the general task in the new period of development, our enterprises must carry out democratic management without exception and insure that workers enjoy their democratic rights as masters of the country. We must fully realize the significance of this issue.

Our nation is a socialist nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. China's working class is the country's leading class, and the workers are the masters of its enterprises. Fundamentally speaking, the practice of carrying out democratic management in all enterprises with the workers' participation is determined by our country's nature and the status of the working class. Therefore, whether or not we give full play to socialist democracy in enterprises and insure the workers' rights as masters of the country concerns, in fact, the major question of whether or not we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. On this question Chairman Mao pointedly said: We should not interpret people's rights as only the benefits people enjoy under the management of some other individuals in labor, education, social insurance and in other fields. The workers' right to take part in the management of the state, of various enterprises and in the fields of culture and education is their

greatest and most fundamental right under the socialist system. To insure this right, the key lies in initiating efforts from the basic-level units up, such as from factories and stores, and in conscientiously applying democratic management there.

Only by guaranteeing the workers' democratic rights as masters of the country can we whip up the enthusiasm of the broad masses of workers. The great revolution of the four modernizations in which we are now engaged is a common cause for hundreds of millions of people. The broad masses of workers have shown tremendous enthusiasm in pursuing this cause. Naturally we will have to carry out our ideological and organizational work penetratingly and meticulously in order to bring into full play the wisdom and creativeness of the broad masses of workers. But, more important, leading comrades of an enterprise must wholeheartedly rely on the working class and allow them to truly exercise their rights as masters of the country. The experience of many units also shows that the more democratic rights the workers enjoy, the stronger their sense of responsibility as masters of the country. On the other hand, when workers' rights as masters of the country are not fully guaranteed, when their criticisms and suggestions are ignored or they are merely treated as hired hands, their enthusiasm and creativeness will decrease. This is an important lesson and experience which we have gained in the past few years.

Only by encouraging workers to take part in enterprise management can we effectively combat bureaucracy, prevent revisionism and firmly follow the socialist orientation of enterprises. In the past few years Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only undermined centralized leadership and management but also destroyed the system of democratic management in various enterprises. They also peddled many feudal and fascist absurdities. To this date, in some enterprises their pernicious influence still exists, and party principles and policies are not being implemented well. In some units bureaucracy and subjectivism prevail to a serious degree, while in other units practices of coercion and commandism still exist. In some units acts violating state laws and party discipline as well as illegal practices of embezzlement, corruption and theft are not exposed in good time. To solve these problems the most effective method is to carry out democratic management and exercise mass supervision. Having fought on the forefront of the three great revolutionary struggles, the workers have gained rich experience. They understand the situation in enterprises best, and they are the most concerned with the development of these enterprises.

Only by organizing the workers to take part in enterprise management and creating conditions for them so that they dare and are willing to speak, particularly so that their remarks are put to good use, can we effectively solve these problems. With the masses' supervision, party policies and principles will be implemented well, and the socialist orientation of enterprises will be insured.

Bringing into play socialist democracy in enterprises does not mean that centralism is not needed or that anarchism or extreme democracy is being exercised. Without a high degree of centralized leadership, unified command and thorough organization and strict discipline, it is impossible to carry out modern large-scale production well. However, the centralized leadership and unified command of an enterprise must be established on the basis of bringing the socialist democracy of the enterprise into full play and must be combined with the democratic management of the enterprise. As Chairman Mao put it, without a high degree of democracy we cannot have a high degree of centralism; without a high degree of centralism we cannot establish a socialist economy. Thus, only if there is a high degree of democracy will there be a high degree of centralism. Only by linking it with democratic management can an enterprise's centralized leadership have the sincere support of the masses of workers, establish a high degree of authority, effectively overcome the currently prevailing situation of lack of responsible personnel, and organize production in a normal, systematic and civilized way.

II

To bring democracy into full play and bring into play the enthusiasm of the masses of workers as masters of the country, a socialist enterprise must have the necessary conditions and system to insure that the masses of workers effectively take part in enterprise management and supervise cadres.

In the early period following liberation we set up workers congresses and democratic management committees in our state-run enterprises. We also encouraged the workers to take part in enterprise management. Through these methods the masses actually felt they had become masters of the enterprises, a fact that greatly aroused their enthusiasm to become their own masters. Precisely by relying on this kind of enthusiasm we were able to overcome various difficulties and more quickly restore and develop production from the hopeless mess left behind by the Kuomintang. Because of the "one manager system" practiced by some enterprises, the factory democratic management committees "died out" after 1953. The Eighth CCP Congress in 1956 negated the "one management system" and affirmed the necessity of carrying out the system of collective leadership, with the party committee as the center, and of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. At the same time, for the sake of implementing the mass line and expanding and invigorating democratic life in the enterprises, it put forward the system of workers congresses under the leadership of enterprise party committees. In his 1960 instruction on the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," Chairman Mao further put forward the principle of "two participations, one reform and three combinations," stressing the need to encourage worker participation in management. The "Seventy Rules for Industry" also made clear provisions. After the Eighth CCP Congress, and particularly after the publication of Chairman Mao's instruction on the "Charter of the Anshan Iron

and Steel Company," there was a further development in the democratic management of enterprises. Some enterprises conscientiously gave play to the role of workers congresses, mobilized the enthusiasm of the working people and more properly carried out the production and management of enterprises. However, because quite a few enterprises turned the "one chief system" of administration into the "one chief system" of the party committee, and because they practiced the arbitrary system of "do as I say" instead of democratic centralism, the workers congresses did not bring their role into play, and nothing more was done except that the leaders made their calls and the masses guaranteed the calls.

When the "gang of four" ran amuck, the various forms and systems of democratic management already established in the factories, mines and enterprises throughout the country were all sabotaged. The "gang of four" not only undermined centralism but also advocated that "the major orientation is to point the spearhead upward," and "rules and regulations are controls, checks and suppression." Many enterprises were reduced to a mess. At the same time they also undermined democracy, willfully trampled on the democratic rights of the working people and used dictatorial means to suppress and persecute the masses at the slightest provocation. Many enterprises were forced to stand mute, there was no democracy to speak of and the enthusiasm of the masses was seriously dampened.

From the experience gained in carrying out democratic management at enterprises since the founding of the PRC, it is evident that the holding of workers congresses and workers meetings is a good way to develop democracy at enterprises, supervise cadres and run enterprises well by relying on the masses. The CCP Central Committee's draft decision on some problems in quickening the pace of industrial development regards this as one of the fundamental steps in running enterprises. A workers congress should bring democracy into full play, enable everyone to speak, and boldly arouse the masses to put forth their views, criticisms and suggestions; it should neither exercise formalism nor regard itself as a voting machine. We must conscientiously persist in this method, effectively develop its role and at the same time pay attention to summing up and absorbing new experiences so as to gradually establish a complete set of methods to effectively carry out the democratic management of enterprises.

The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua grants the masses of workers full rights as masters of the country. These rights must be defended earnestly. In the future, all important problems of an enterprise must be discussed at a workers congress or meeting; its leading cadres should report their work to the workers, listen to their views and accept their supervision; the heads of workshops, sections, shifts and teams should be elected by the masses; and the executive member of a workers congress and a trade union organization should periodically go to work at the enterprise. He should offer criticisms and proposals, have the right to propose that the upper-level unit punish or dismiss

leading and administrative personnel who make serious mistakes or whose workstyle is poor, and have the responsibility to propose that the higher-level unit commend and award outstanding leading cadres of the party, government, trade union and league. Only in this way can the masses of workers take effective part in enterprise management and supervise cadres. No one can violate these workers' democratic rights.

It is necessary to uphold the workers congress system. Whether this system can be upheld hinges on whether leading personnel of enterprises truly support the idea of wholeheartedly relying on the working class. Unless the leading cadres of our enterprises regard the masses as masters of the country and show respect for the workers' right as masters of the country, we cannot carry forward democracy in our enterprises in a down-to-earth way, and any system or measure, no matter how effective it may be, will merely become a formality which exists in name only. Leading cadres of every enterprise must deal with this question in all earnestness. We must realize that there still are some people who think that only the leading personnel are outstanding and that the masses can only take orders from this handful of leading personnel and have no right to question them. They have actually come to see the masses as nothing but mercenary laborers. This is a reflection of the bourgeois ideology or the feudal patriarchal ideology--an ideology which not only is incompatible with the nature of our socialist enterprises but also becomes increasingly inapplicable with each passing day and must therefore be resolutely overcome.

III

In order to carry forward democracy in our enterprises, safeguard the workers' democratic rights and give fuller play to the workers' enthusiasm as masters of the country, it is necessary to establish a regular functioning body.

Simply having general directives is not enough to arouse the workers' enthusiasm as masters of the country and to organize and make use of their enthusiasm to carry out all kinds of activities in our enterprises with still better results. To this end, a great deal of ideological and organizational work must be done first. For instance, what problems exist in our enterprises? What are the masses' opinions? What are the solutions? Therefore, personnel must be assigned to conduct investigations and study so as to lay the groundwork for holding successful workers congresses. Meanwhile, personnel must also be assigned to organize the worker masses to implement the decisions adopted at the workers congress and to examine and supervise whether the masses' correct opinions and demands are accepted and carried out. Who are supposed to carry out all these thorough and complicated tasks? Naturally this is the responsibility of the trade union, the mass organization of the working class. In his speech at the Ninth National Congress of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping explicitly pointed out:

"The trade union will be the functioning body of the workers congress. The effectiveness or ineffectiveness of trade union work affects the workers in exercising their rights as masters of the country; it also affects management and the smooth exercise of centralized leadership in an enterprise." This reflects a deep trust and is an important assignment entrusted to trade unions by our party. All trade unions must vigorously shoulder this responsibility.

Do the trade unions have conditions for fulfilling the task? The answer is yes. Trade unions do not merely rely on a handful of professional cadres to do this. They rely on the masses of activists and working people in the trade unions to fulfill this task under the leadership of the party committee. The masses are most familiar with the situation in the enterprises and have the most right to speak. The masses also have the most practical experience and are best able to suggest methods for solving problems. As long as the trade unions regularly make reports and seek instructions from the party committee and closely rely on the strength of the masses, they will definitely be able to bring their proper role into play. Naturally, if the leading bodies of some trade unions are definitely unsuitable, the party committee must reorganize and strengthen them.

The fundamental interest of leadership and the masses in an enterprise is identical. Therefore, the duty of the trade union and enterprise administration is also identical. The trade union's purpose in arousing and organizing the masses of workers to participate in enterprise management, put forward their criticisms and opinions, and carry out necessary supervision over enterprise work is to provide the enterprise administration with assistance and cooperation in running the enterprises well together. The trade union should frequently educate the masses of workers to safeguard a highly centralized administrative leadership in the enterprise and the full authority of the production command system, as well as to pay special attention to all fields of work, strictly observe labor discipline, consciously implement all rules and regulations and sincerely protect state property with the attitude of masters of the country. It is necessary to mobilize the masses to practice economy, be very accurate in calculations, protect public property and do a good job in economic accounting. Efforts should be made to organize the masses to carry out technical innovation and technical revolution, do a good job in training staff personnel and workers and raise still higher the scientific and cultural level of staff personnel and workers. It is also necessary to rely on the masses of workers to do an even better job in labor protection, insure safety in production and improve working conditions so that production can be carried out under civilized conditions. Along with paying attention to workers' living conditions, efforts should be made to do a good job in regard to the collective welfare of workers and further improve the workers' material and cultural standards. Under the socialist system it is wrong to regard enterprise administration as bureaucratism which does not represent the interests of the people; by doing so

one sets the trade unions against the administration. Individual leading members of trade unions have been guilty of this kind of mistake in the past. Trade union cadres should take a warning from this.

Because classes and class struggle still exist in our socialist society, it is possible that bad elements may once again sneak into our enterprises and that some of our cadres may adopt bad bureaucratic practices. This is an inevitable phenomenon in the process of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, trade unions must shoulder the task of organizing the masses of workers to wage a struggle against bureaucratism and against bad elements and bad deeds of all descriptions. The trade unions should not remain indifferent or show signs of fear whenever the state interest suffers damage, party policies are undermined and the workers' democratic rights and vital interests are violated. The trade unions must unite and lead the masses of workers to wage a resolute struggle against all these activities. This does not contradict what we have said about dealing properly with the relations between trade unions and enterprise administration, because there is no fundamental antagonism between the two. Undesirable tendencies such as bureaucratism, subjectivism and violation of law and discipline are not only opposed by the working people but are also bitterly hated by the masses of party and government cadres. In struggling against such undesirable tendencies, trade unions will certainly be able to obtain the support of these people.

In order to do a good job in carrying out these tasks, the trade unions should plunge deeply into the masses. Only by maintaining the closest ties with the broad masses of workers, thoroughly familiarizing themselves with the thinking and life of the workers, fully understanding their opinions and aspirations and thoroughly analyzing and studying them can trade unions truly become representatives of the masses of workers and grasp all their correct opinions. The trade unions must emancipate their own minds, put daring above everything else and be bold in reporting true conditions to the party and administrative leadership. The trade unions must also dare to support those opinions of the masses that are correct and to make the masses understand whenever their opinions and demands are incorrect. The leading cadres of trade unions must be models of democratic procedure themselves, consciously place themselves under the masses' supervision and constantly listen to the masses' opinions. Only by acting to meet these requirements can trade unions become the workers' trusted organizations which can speak and function for the workers and win the trust and support of the masses of workers. This will further arouse the masses' enthusiasm and push forward the development of the four modernizations in greater strides.

BRING UP A STRONG FRESH FORCE FOR THE NEW LONG MARCH

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 21-26

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text]

I

Recently the CYL successfully held its 10th national congress under the solicitous concern of the CCP Central Committee headed by the wise and brilliant Chairman Hua. This congress, which called on the CYL members and masses of young people to "dedicate their youth to the great new Long March," fully expressed the strong determination of the young people of our country to become a strong fresh force in the new Long March and to struggle to fulfill the general task of the party in the new period. This congress hallmarked the entrance of the Chinese youth movement into a period of carrying on past traditions and breaking new ground for future generations.

The Chinese youth movement has a glorious revolutionary tradition and has developed and grown in strength under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest historical service rendered 59 years ago by the 4 May Movement was to propagate the truth of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese people. With our great leader Chairman Mao as their most outstanding representative, young people at that time integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese revolution. Despite untold hardships they eventually discovered the truth, the thought of Mao Tsetung, to liberate the Chinese people from the oppressions of the "three big mountains." In the past half century and more a historic change has taken place in China, and a socialist China is now standing magnificently in the eastern part of the world. What is the historical mission of this present generation of young people? It is to follow Chairman Hua and the CCP Central Committee, build China into a strong and modern socialist country together with the masses and continue on the inevitable course of history toward the communist future. If the Long March of the revolutionary forerunners was primarily to solve the questions of seizing arms by armed force and founding a new socialist China and to struggle to fundamentally transform the exploiting system and liberate productive

forces, then today's new Long March is mainly to solve the question of how to greatly develop social productive forces by relying on and giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system and to carry out an unprecedented major revolution to radically transform the backward features of China's economy and technology, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and pave the way for continuing the revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This calls for this generation of young people to always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to resolutely integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with present revolutionary practice by following the great example of Chairman Mao. We must be bold in practicing, diligent in analyzing and good at innovating, continue to pave the way and solve new problems put forth by the new period and keep on pushing forward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat along the orientation already pointed out by the 11th CCP Congress line.

II

An outstanding problem presented to this generation of young people is how to struggle for the development of science. Science and democracy are the two slogans put forth at the time of the 4 May Movement. At that time some young people thought of taking the road of science for national salvation. However, the harsh reality and repeated bloody lessons of that time enabled young people to understand that there must first be democracy before there can be science. Without radically transforming the corrupt social system and without practicing people's democracy there could be no transforming the backwardness of the economy and technology or changing the fate of being bullied and oppressed. The road of saving the nation through science and industry without reforming the old system was only an illusion. Moreover, the proposal to put into practice a bourgeois republic in China was also impractical. If it is said that socialism was needed for science in the past and that it was necessary to liberate productive forces to radically transform the relations of production of feudalism and capitalism and to establish a socialist system, then the history of today may be said to stress socialism's need for science. Following their revolutionary forerunners in overthrowing the "three big mountains" of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, this generation of young people must advance on science, technology and culture and wage the most resolute and stubborn struggle for the sustained and rapid development of our national economy.

Science is a mighty productive force in pushing the progress of human society forward. Whether or not modern science and technology can be mastered is an important matter concerning whether or not this generation's young people can shoulder their historical mission. In mankind's long history the past 300 years of capitalism have witnessed a giant leap forward. "During its rule of scarcely 100 years the bourgeoisie have created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all

preceding generations together." ("Manifesto of the Communist Party," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I, p 256) The rapid development of productive forces in capitalist society is closely related to the utilization of science and technology. Ever since mankind entered capitalist society there have been three upsurges in technical revolution which have touched off massive developments in productive forces. To realize a sustained and rapid development of the national economy, China must attach even more importance to and fully utilize modern science and technology. Chairman Hua has called for greatly raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole Chinese nation. Young people should be in the forefront of this great advance.

The "gang of four" were a small but extremely reactionary and corrupt sinister group. Since they opposed socialism, not only did they disrupt socialist production but they also were naturally hostile to science. When the "gang of four" and their reactionary theorists actively criticized "the theory of productive forces," some comrades regarded "transition to poverty" as a fashionable theory. People are now gradually understanding the error of this theory. Socialism cannot be built without going in for modern large-scale production. However, there was still another kind of fallacy that claimed that "socialism can also be built without culture" and "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." In short, this is a "transition to blankness." The pernicious influence of this kind of fallacy is still far from eradicated. "Transition to poverty" and "transition to blankness" are the twin monstrous embryos of a feudal mentality and a small peasant economic mentality in Chinese society today. Even now some comrades are still afraid that young people going in for the study of science and technology may end up "taking the bourgeois road" and will not be progressive or revolutionary. This mentality of fearing that people will become knowledgeable and the mentality of fearing that people will become rich are likewise extremely ridiculous and harmful. Facts have proven that many intellectuals with genuine ability in the old society were patriotic. Li Szu-kuang and Chu Ko-chen are outstanding examples among them. Must young people who are born and brought up in the socialist motherland "take the bourgeois road" upon learning science and technology? Red stands for love of the party's cause and love of the socialist motherland, while white stands for opposition to the party and to socialism. The two basically cannot be confused. In the complex environment of socialist class struggle we still cannot rule out the question of "taking the bourgeois road." From the counterrevolutionary performance of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and company we can see that those who really cause trouble in socialist society are precisely the careerists and politicians of all categories without any learning or ability, who apart from embarking on conspiracy shout revolutionary slogans the loudest. They are proud of their ignorance and try their utmost to enforce feudal cultural dictatorship and obscurantism, which has serious consequences for the Chinese people and the younger generation in particular. We must firmly bear in mind the teaching of the great Lenin: "You can become a communist only when

you enrich your mind with the knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind." ("The Tasks of the Youth League," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol IV, p 348) Therefore, it definitely is not a case of "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." On the contrary, in our socialist society the more scientific knowledge we have, the better we can work for socialism. It is precisely a case of the more knowledgeable, the more progressive. In the face of the crux of the present problem, we must vigorously grasp science, furiously attack science and struggle to acquire genuine ability for building socialism.

III

Our younger generation must not only struggle outstandingly to develop science but must also struggle outstandingly to develop socialist democracy. These are the two important tasks entrusted by history to the present generation of young people. The new journey to realize the four modernizations is a great and profound revolution that includes not only the rapid development of productive forces but also the constant perfecting of the superstructure and the relations of production. Only by simultaneously grasping the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment under the leadership of the party can young people shoulder the great mission of building a modern socialist motherland.

Like scum rising to the surface, the appearance of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has enabled us to clearly see that their rise was not accidental but had profound social and historical origins. China has a history of more than 2,000 years of feudal despotic rule, more than a century of semicolonial and semifeudal rule and more than two decades of Chiang Kai-shek's fascist dictatorial rule. China has only feudal and despotic traditions and no bourgeois democratic traditions. Only with the Communist Party, the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's government have the Chinese people begun to have a people's democracy. However, the history of this people's democracy has been too short to wash away the filth of feudal despotism and fascist dictatorship. In the socialist China of the 20th century there actually appeared Chiang Ching, who openly wanted to be an empress; such strange things as the portrayal of the Legalists, who historically enforced a strict despotic rule over the people, as more revolutionary than the Communist Party; and shameless people who drew inspirations from feudal archaic laws and religious superstitions to make rules and compose music for the worship of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." "Factional" influence was rife for a time. Those induced by feudal practices collected together a band of society's dregs, riffraff and gang leaders and again practiced the sinister intrigue of Huang Shih-jen and Mu Jen-chih. They not only sabotaged democracy but also sabotaged centralism and fanned up feudal fascism and anarchism. People's democracy, which was greatly promoted in some places during the Great Cultural Revolution, was again knocked down by them. All this explains that

reactionary and corrupt old traditions still have their foundation in our society and still seriously affect political life in the country and endanger people. The great calamity to the people caused by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has profoundly educated the Chinese people by negative example and enabled many of them to bitterly realize that China must still learn about democracy! Without socialist democracy the four modernizations cannot be realized; without socialist democracy the dictatorship of the proletariat will degenerate into a bourgeois fascist dictatorship, and the Red domain won at the price of the blood of countless martyrs will change its color. During the 1976 Chingming Festival, thousands of young people appeared on the streets and squares, together with the people, to stage a massive demonstration against the "gang of four." In this violent struggle between the two classes they gave play to socialist democracy and inspired the revolutionary spirit of the people. They solemnly declared: The sentiments of the party and of the people are not to be insulted! They predicted that all reactionaries who thwart the will of the people and go against the tide of history will ultimately be pulverized under the iron fist of the people.

The smashing of the "gang of four" has greatly educated and stimulated people. They are able to see more clearly than ever that socialist democracy is a magic weapon for subjugating demons. Upholding the principle of democratic centralism, we shall be able to struggle against all conspirators and careerists hiding in the party. People are delighted to see that those who stand on the forefront of this mighty struggle and consciously apply this magic weapon of democracy are precisely the young people who grew up during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Young people are pure and passionate, believe in the truth, have a strong sense of justice and admire things that are beautiful and good. What they cannot stand most are pressures from people using their position or influence, bureaucratic airs, corrupt habits and customs and improper workstyle. More than 70 years ago Lenin pointed out: "We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth who most eagerly follow the innovators. We are a party that is waging a self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness. Youth are always the first to undertake a self-sacrificing struggle." ("The Crisis of Menshevism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol XI, p 338) This life-and-death struggle against the "gang of four" has fully indicated that, after acquiring revolutionary traditions, the young people of China are a most active and courageous force in the struggle to develop socialist democracy.

The "gang of four" have been smashed, but their social sources still exist. Such old ideas and traditions still have not been swept away. Can we not see that such feudal despotism, bureaucratism and Kuomintang style, along with such reactionary ideology, are even now corroding our revolutionary ranks? Do we not still frequently see such startling and intolerable things as indifference to the material interests of the people, willful trampling of the people's democratic rights, contriving

"local policies" that go against the party's guiding principles, wasting and even stealing public property, accusing good people of being "counter-revolutionaries" and exercising dictatorship over them but letting bad people go free, blindly obeying the wishes of upper levels regardless of whether they are right or wrong and completely neglecting the views of the masses. All this explains that it is still an extremely arduous task to give play to socialist democracy. Not only must we set up and strengthen a socialist legal system from top to bottom, but we must also have the conscious struggle of the masses from bottom to top. Young people must continue to make their contributions in the struggle to develop socialist democracy.

To give play to the tradition of people's democracy it is first necessary to educate our younger generation to understand democracy, learn about democracy and establish in them the sense of responsibility of being the masters of the people's republic. The CYL should be a big school to teach young people about democratic centralism. All CYL activities should implement the principle of democratic centralism and serve as models in giving play to democracy. Young people must be models in observing law and discipline and actively propagating democracy. The spirit of democracy is first manifested by initiative and creativity in work and labor. Young people must actively take part in enterprise management, strive to master and become conversant in their own professions and trades, be good at making rational suggestions, actively reflect conditions, make known their views and keep on improving their work. Young people must resolutely oppose all ideas and actions that run counter to democracy. They must have the courage to struggle against bad people and things that suppress democracy and violate law and discipline. In this direction they must not become quixotic heroes but must closely unite with the masses. Experience has proven that only by listening to the voices of the people, representing their demands, reflecting their moods and drawing wisdom and strength from them can young people play a vanguard role in developing socialist democracy.

IV

Bringing up a strong fresh force for the new Long March is not only the CYL's glorious responsibility but also the cause of the whole party. How can this new force be properly built? Chairman Mao said: "Young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." Chairman Mao's basic assessment is consistent with the actual condition of today's younger generation. The fundamental point of departure for making a success of our youth work is to proceed from reality, accurately understand young people and actively guide them.

Our younger generation has been tempered in the storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They have been through the course of a most tortuous and complex struggle in the history of our country, which will

leave its mark on the growth of this generation and cause them to have characteristics different from young people of the past. Under the call of the party this generation of young people enthusiastically and daringly stood on the forefront of the struggle to combat and guard against revisionism. This struggle was unexpectedly complex, and they encountered the kind of ultra-"left" or false left but real right revisionism that even confused adults. They studied Chairman Mao's works with unprecedented zeal, but because they lacked practical experience they could not fully grasp that Mao Tsetung Thought is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and that it can only be mastered by persisting in seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigation and study. They bombarded Liu Shao-chi, but behind their back appeared even more insidious and crafty enemies such as Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who styled themselves as "supporters" of the revolutionary young fighters and as leaders of the "left." They were confronted with glaring conspiracies and flatteries on a scale never seen before. One struggle followed another, and it seemed that each victory was but the prelude to another still sterner test, repeatedly forging the revolutionary will and lofty conviction of the Chinese young people.

The unique and complex environment of this class struggle will naturally result in great differences and contradictions in the growth of this generation of young people. In this complex environment some young people definitely lost their orientation and were led astray, while some became passive and discouraged. When the erroneous ideology and improper style of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were rampant in society, young people were affected to various degrees, and some suffered internal injuries. However, it should be seen that it was precisely this unique and complex environment that more properly tempered this generation of young people. Having weathered the storm, faced the world and come into extensive contact with society, they greatly raised their ability to recognize various political swindlers and evil forces. The twists and turns on the revolution's road have enabled this generation of young people to more richly accumulate the positive as well as negative aspects of their experience. Many of them are able to make more solid progress, mature more quickly politically and grow up more steadily. The positive and negative aspects of the experience acquired by this generation of young people have already become extremely valuable ideological treasures, helping them to obtain the ability to think independently so they can independently sum up their own historical experience and independently observe things around them. This is extremely valuable. As the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua affirmed, there is great hope and plenty of scope for our generation of young people who have been tempered in the storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They can be completely trusted. Just think, at the most difficult moment of that struggle to decide the fate of China, were these millions of revolutionary young people who were charging to the front with indomitable courage, from Yuhuatai to the Monument, not waging a life-and-death

struggle against the reactionary dying forces of the "gang of four"? Were they not representing the mainstream of Chinese youth and the future and the hope of our socialist motherland?

The reason this generation of young people has great hope is displayed by them not only by their greatly bringing into play their 4 May democratic spirit or their courage to struggle for the truth, but also by their efforts to master and apply science to realize the four modernizations and their great enthusiasm to transform the backward features of our country's economy and technology with their own diligent hands. In those days when the cause of Chinese education and science was seriously disrupted by the "hero" who handed in a blank sheet of test paper, did not many young people resolutely stand against the pressure of the "gang of four," persevere in study and research and create outstanding results? When they actively criticized "the theory of productive forces" and stigmatized as "revisionists" people who stood fast at their posts, did not many young people still make important contributions by grasping revolution and promoting production together with the old workers and technicians? The masses of young people have advanced in science and culture and in the four modernizations. They are becoming an irresistible historical current. All this has effectively demonstrated that the younger generation has passed every test and is completely able to shoulder the glorious historical task entrusted by the new era.

For many years a basic experience of our party and the CYL in training and educating young people has been to fully trust young people, not avoid problems and put stress on providing positive ideological and political guidance. In bringing up a fresh force for the new Long March we must fully use this experience and adhere to this method. Young people are full of enthusiasm and vigor, which like a swift torrent must be promptly guided onto the riverbed of Marxism. It is necessary to guide young people by means of their practice to recognize and grasp the truth. Lenin pointed out: "If youths do not have full independence, they not only cannot temper themselves into outstanding socialists, but also cannot temper themselves to direct the advance of socialism." ("Youth International," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol XXIII, p 164) Positive guidance also means giving full play to the independence and initiative of young people under the leadership of the party and boldly mobilizing young people to be vanguards in the three great revolutionary movements with the courage to think, speak out and act so they may learn and grow in the struggle. We must help young people master various practical problems independently under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to gradually mature by summing up the positive as well as negative aspects of their experiences. While exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four," we must also extend public recognition to the advanced fighters who courageously struggled against Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and to model workers and shock troops on various fronts who made outstanding achievements by going all out for socialism, use the fine representatives among young people themselves as examples to encourage

and attract other young people, and unremittingly give play to the positive socialist factors that are increasing all the time among them. In the transformation of things, the internal factor is the basis and the external factor the condition. Only by grasping positive factors in young people and providing them with positive guidance can we effectively promote their revolutionization and healthy growth. Otherwise, the efforts will be wasted and things will turn out differently. The tactics Lin Piao and the "gang of four" used on young people were counterrevolutionary. When they needed them as hatchetmen in their efforts to usurp party and state power, they praised them to the sky. When they discovered that young people refused to be at their beck and call, they ruthlessly suppressed them and mercilessly attacked them. They frenziedly disrupted socialist social order. On the one hand, they instigated young people to commit crimes; on the other, they made them their scapegoats and punished them. Although Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have been toppled, their pernicious influence is still with us. Even now there still are people who use punishment as a principle means against young people. We must correct this erroneous method of not strengthening ideological education among young people and punishing them rather than providing them with positive guidance. We must permit young people who made mistakes to mend their ways. Just because Lin Piao and the "gang of four" once took advantage of the young people's lack of experience does not mean that we should obliterate their fine points. This will dampen the revolutionary spirit and socialist initiative of young people to struggle for truth.

To provide positive guidance we must give full play to the role of the CYL as a fighting core. We must adopt effective measures to restore and strengthen the CYL's leadership, support the work of the league centered around the party and actively develop activities suited to young people. We must help young people properly solve problems in study, employment, livelihood and love and marriage and provide guidance for their all-round development and healthy growth. The party and government must strengthen education over young people and devise more means to invigorate CYL work. We must build and strengthen all kinds of recreational facilities such as clubs for youth and children, restore the facilities abolished when the "gang of four" ran amuck, recapture the important occupied areas and greatly enrich activities. Government departments concerned must provide necessary assistance through personnel, funds and equipment.

Speaking on behalf of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council at the 10th National CYL Congress, Comrade Li Hsien-nien pointed out: "The strength and prosperity of our motherland to a very great extent will be determined by whether or not we can bring up a new generation of people in the current decade." The new Long March needs a strong fresh force. This fresh force must have a firm and correct political orientation and be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It must have genuine ability to build socialism and be armed with the most advanced science and technology. It must have strict discipline and be armed with the principle of democratic centralism. It must have the lofty spirit of

proletarian internationalism and heroically struggle for the cause of human progress. Under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and inspired by the call to "dedicate their youth to the great new Long March," Chinese young people on various fronts are full of vigor. A multitude of heroes has appeared, and there is great hope for the future. We must ask the whole party to take action and the whole society to show concern and strive to do well in building this kind of strong fresh force that will be loyal to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND MATERIAL INTEREST

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[Article by Liu Wei [0491 0787]]

[Text] A communist must struggle for the material interest of the broadest masses. This has always been a general Marxist tenet, a cause pursued by the world proletariat under the Marxist banner for more than a century, and something about which each and every revolutionary comrade will, based on his own practice, gradually acquire a correct understanding.

The reason for bringing up this issue again is that Lin Piao and the "gang of four," for more than a decade, vigorously advocated a "class struggle" theory which seemed to have no connection with material interest. On the one hand, they did their utmost to conceal their own actions and their connections with the private interest of a small handful of the exploiting class, and, on the other hand, they severed the "class struggle" from the material interest of the laboring people, putting them in opposition. Their propaganda had an extremely serious effect on economic life, disrupted the theoretical basis for right and wrong and confused the minds of certain comrades who had been clear, or generally clear, about Marxist principles.

I. Two Divergent World Views

For several thousand years the exploiting class concealed their actions under all kinds of righteous mantles and decked themselves out as "gentlemen" and "men of culture," seemingly without any desire for material interest.

Mencius said: "Why talk about interest? Benevolence and righteousness are sufficient." He stressed that the reason for the deterioration of man's character was the obscuration caused by "material desire." Tung Chung-shu proposed: "Rectify conduct and refrain from the pursuit of profit; clarify the principles and claim no credit." According to the moral science of Cheng and Chu in the Sung Dynasty, "destroy private interest, and the Heavenly principles will manifest themselves." The

science of ethics of Lu and Wang also advocated "preserving conscience" and "eliminating desire." Comrade Mao Tsetung sharply criticized such "deceptive idealist platitudes" uttered by the landowner class and stressed that "we cannot 'rectify conduct and clarify principles' on an empty stomach; we must have something to eat; we must pay attention to economic work." ("The Economic Issue and the Financial Issue," "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," Northeast Bookstore edition, p 852) Lu Hsun ridiculed such hypocrites: "For someone who admits that food has to be bought with money yet despises money, if one can feel his stomach, there are probably fish and meat not yet digested. After starving him for one day, let us hear again his views." ("What Happens After the Departure of Van Nala?")

The moment it began to ascend the stage of history, the bourgeoisie announced that the goal of its actions was a rational kingdom, constant justice, equality, etc. Slogans like this, often repeated in all their social activities, were extremely hypocritical. Engels said: "This rational kingdom is merely an idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; constant justice is realized in the judiciary system of the bourgeoisie; equality ends up as the equality of the bourgeoisie before the law." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 57)

Though recognizing, or even bringing up, the issue of the economic liberation of their own classes to a certain extent, certain petty bourgeois factions and the factions in the workers movement other than the Marxists likewise could not scientifically explain the relationship between class struggle and material interest. Germany's "true" socialist representative Kliegel concluded that the communist movement was "nonsensical words of love." Actually, "it precisely indicated his cowardice: He flattered the usurers, promising not to touch the things belonging to them." (Marx and Engels, "Announcement Against Kliegel," op. cit., Vol 1, p 91) Utopian socialism was born out of the earliest instinctive desires of the proletariat when reforming the old society. However, it was impossible for them to see the material conditions for the liberation of the proletariat. Their outstanding representatives replaced the realistic with illusory conditions. "According to them, world history hereafter will be merely the history of propagandizing and implementing their social plans." (Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto," op. cit., Vol 1, p 282) Their insignificant progenies sought help from the charity and purse of the bourgeoisie.

Engels pointed out: "The old historical philosophy which has not eliminated idealism does not know any class struggle based on material interest, and basically it does not know any material interest. Production and all economic relationships are considered by it to be only auxiliary factors of the 'history of culture' and mentioned in passing." ("The Development of Socialism From Fantasy to Science," op. cit., Vol 3, p 423) The exploiting class obliterates the fundamental opposition of the different classes in their material interests; it obliterates the fundamental

opposition in ideological tendencies based on the material interests of the different classes and takes certain abstract realms, i.e., things of man's subjective gestalt, as the starting point, as the inherent, or even only, existence. According to them, people's social activities and struggles are not motivated by the realistic economic interest of their own class but are pursued around an empty concept seemingly severed from such economic interest. At most they have examined the ideological motive but have not searched for the material cause behind such motive. Lenin said: "When people still cannot recognize the interest of this or that class in the views, announcements and promises connected with ethics, religion, politics and society, they will, whether in the past or the future, always be stupid sacrifices deceived by others or themselves politically." ("The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 446) Only by revealing the internal links between the activities of the exploiting class and its material interest will we be able to thoroughly tear apart their hypocritical mantle of idealist preaching. Explaining the internal connections between the proletarian class struggle and the material interest of the proletariat and the laboring people and placing the understanding of the relationship between the class struggle and material interest on a scientific foundation for the first time constituted a great revolution of historical materialism in the history of man's understanding.

According to historical materialism, we absolutely cannot discuss the class struggle apart from the development of production or from the economic position of a specific class and its material interest created from it. Searching for the source of the contradictions and struggles of the various classes in the production relationship and imputing such contradictions and struggles to the material interest of specific classes constitute the basic demand of historical materialism.

Marx and Engels pointed out: "In the past, all classes, after gaining control, always made the entire society subservient to the conditions of their enrichment in order to consolidate the position in life already acquired by them." ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 262) The exploiting class often verbally refuses to acknowledge material interest, while actually it exhausts all means and unscrupulously seizes its material interest. Even its fraudulent verbal propaganda is also for the purpose of realizing its material interest. Regardless of how elegant and noble are the words of the preachers of the idealist historical philosophy, or whether they are conscious of it, their entire viewpoint cannot but be based on the material interest of their class. What must be distinguished is that, when an exploiting class is in its ascendant period, as its interest is still linked with that of other nonruling classes and possesses a certain identity, its representatives actually feel that they are struggling not just for the interest of their own class but for the common interest of the entire society. Once an exploiting class is on the decline, its "idealist fraudulent platitudes" become the ideological weapon to defend its private interest and

deprive the laboring people of their interest. In this respect we can say that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had reached the peak. Lin Piao proposed that "politics can make an onslaught on other things," attempting to wipe out socialist construction and the people's material interest by means of counterrevolutionary politics and ideology. The "gang of four" banned discussions, especially on solving the issue of the people's material interest, and advocated that "revolution" was "not particular about any principles of material interest," that the 800 million people must "all undertake the superstructure," that "it does not matter how hard life is," that "for the class struggle," it was all right for the chimneys of plants to be smokeless, for the trains to be late and for the fields to be cropless and overgrown with weeds. Whoever advocated developing production or improving the level of the people's material and cultural life was accused of being a "bourgeoisie" and of "revisionism" and punished. Look, did not such scorn for material interest make them lofty and refined and otherworldly? Nevertheless, the "hardship" of the 800 million was the very basis for their theft of the national treasury, their extravagance and pleasure. There is no need to mention their silken garments and sumptuous meals, their tall buildings and spacious mansions, or the fact that one wave of their hands robbed several thousand workers and peasants of the fruits of an entire year's labor. The more they refrained from discussing interest, the more greedily they sucked the blood of the people. This is the original meaning of the "class struggle" of the biggest hypocrites in history. Like the mosquito which, as described by Lu Hsun, before sucking man's blood hums to show why it must do so for nourishment, all their rantings only bored and sickened the people.

II. All Class Struggles Arise From Material Interest

Only by first solving the problems of clothing, food, shelter and travel, the basic material means of livelihood, will mankind be able to pursue other social activities. Production is the most fundamental practical activity. As Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out, "in a classless society each and every individual, as a member of society, cooperates with other members and forms a specific production relationship to pursue productive activities in order to solve the material living problems of mankind. In a society of all sorts of classes the members of the classes, in various patterns, form a specific production relationship to pursue productive activities in order to solve the material living problems of mankind." ("On Practice")

In a class society the opposition and struggle between any classes are founded on their different material interests. As the exploiting class, slaveowner class, landowner class and bourgeoisie, at different stages of the development of the production force, they usurp the labor of the exploited class in various patterns. When we say that the old production relationship impeded the development of the social production force, we indicate primarily that it fundamentally violated the material interest

of the laborer, the foremost factor of the production force, and suppressed his positivity in productive activities. Every class struggle which more or less promotes social development cannot but, to a certain extent, liberate the production force and satisfy a certain amount of the material interest of the laborer. Therefore, there is no so-called class struggle above material interest. Behind a class struggle there is always a profound material cause. The theory of how every act of the class struggle "originates from a direct material cause and not from words accompanying the material cause, while, on the contrary, political and legal words, like political acts and their results, originate from material causes" (Engels, "Karl Marx' 'Criticism of Political Economy,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 118) is a red line running through all Marxist documents.

In another aspect, in a class society the fundamental material interest of different classes must be realized by means of the class struggle, all the way to the seizure of state political power. Marxism regards the class struggle as the direct motive force for the development of history, especially the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is regarded as a giant lever producing modern social changes, always actively creating the conditions and, upon the maturity of the objective and subjective conditions of revolution, promptly leading the people to the great arena to fight for political power. However, the class struggle waged for the purpose of seizing political power is not, in itself, the goal. In Engels' words, "any political struggle is a class struggle, while any class struggle seeking liberation, though inevitably possessing a political form (because any class struggle is a political struggle), is, in the final analysis, waged around economic liberation." ("The End of Ludwig Feuerbach and the German Classic Philosophy," op. cit., Vol 4, p 247)

Engels once discussed the three aspects of the class struggle, i.e., the theoretical, political and economic aspects. However, what is the position of the struggle in the three aspects? Politics is the concentrated manifestation of economics. It is not only a product of the aggravation of the opposition and conflict between different classes in material interest, but, regardless of what form it assumes, is finally for the purpose of overthrowing one kind of ownership system and creating another, with realizing the maximum material interest of the particular class as its goal. The outcome of every revolutionary class struggle is to discard the obsolete political trash and create a political situation whereby the new "economic conditions" can rely on it to survive and develop. Therefore, Engels pointed out when criticizing Duhring: "The goal is much more 'fundamental' than the means to reach it; in history the economic aspect of the relationship was also much more fundamental than the political aspect." ("Anti-Duhring," op. cit., Vol 3, p 199) Consciousness is merely the existence of what one can be conscious of. "A class is the material strength occupying the controlling position in society; at the same time it is also the spiritual strength occupying the

controlling position in society." (Marx and Engels, "The German Consciousness Gestalt," op. cit., Vol 1, p 52) All realms, concepts and theories of different classes are the theoretical gestalt of the economic position and economic interest of a particular class. Therefore, theoretical struggles cannot but finally be controlled by the economic position and economic interest of mutually opposed classes.

Under certain historical conditions, class and national struggles mutually intertwine. National struggles also originate from opposing material interests. During the Japanese war, Japanese imperialism followed the policy of completely subjugating China. The aggressors robbed the people of their basic necessities, leaving them hungry and cold; they robbed the people of their production tools and strangled China's national industry. This policy was first enforced in the three northeastern provinces and subsequently transplanted to the interior. It enraged the entire people of China. The workers and peasants generally demanded resistance. Finding itself unable to exist alongside imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie, in the position of the small producer, had no choice but to resist. In face of the issue of life or death, the national bourgeoisie, and even certain warlords and their political parties, gradually changed their political attitude. The development of the contradictions between Japanese imperialism and other imperialist nations created the possibility for certain factions of the large bourgeoisie dependent on such other imperialist nations to resist Japan. Such changes in the social class relationships created the opposition between Japanese imperialism and the nation of China. Thereupon the national contradiction rose to become the principal contradiction, and the existence of a national united front to resist Japan acquired its objective premise. Class contradictions and class struggles still existed within the national united front. Their economic position and material interest determined whether the classes could, and to what extent, participate in the national united front, and also how far they could travel on the road of resisting Japan.

As proved by history, apart from the opposition between different classes in the aspect of material interest, it is impossible to explain the class struggle and all social phenomena connected with it. Furthermore, in ancient or modern times, Chinese or foreign countries, where does one find a class struggle apart from the opposition of the material interests of different classes?

III. To Seek the Interest of the Absolute Majority Is the Supreme Criterion for All the Words and Deeds of a Communist

Every class struggles for its own material interest. After its economic position has been determined, the proletariat must struggle not only for its own material interest but also for that of the absolute majority of the people; until all mankind is liberated it cannot liberate itself. Therefore, seeking the interest of the broadest masses is in the fundamental interest of the proletariat. The communists are the utilitarians

of the proletarian revolution. The "Communist Manifesto" openly declared: "All movements of the past were movements of a minority and in the interest of a minority. The proletarian movement is an independent movement of the absolute majority and in the interest of the absolute majority." (Op. cit., Vol 1, p 262) Comrade Mao Tsetung said: "A communist must take compatibility with the maximum interest, and having the support, of the broadest masses as the supreme criterion for all his words and deeds.... Closely standing together with the people of China and serving them heart and soul constitute the only principle of this army." ("On the Coalition Government")

In China's new democratic and socialist revolutions the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, have always been in the forefront. To lead the classes and strata in the struggle against the common enemy and to win victory, the leading class and political party must, according to the revolutionary tasks and under the current conditions, propose an outline guaranteeing the material interest of their allies and make it possible for such material interest to be realized in the course of struggle.

Nevertheless, around the proletariat and its political party there were both direct and indirect allies. Our party always struggled for the interest of the proletariat and its direct ally, i.e., the broad masses of laboring people. To form a firm worker-peasant alliance, one important content of the party's democratic revolutionary outline was to thoroughly eliminate the feudal and semifeudal land system and introduce the system of "one who tills the land owns it." Comrade Mao Tsetung said: "The entire party must understand that the thorough reform of the land system is a fundamental task of China's revolution in the present stage. If we can generally and thoroughly solve the land issue, we will have gained the most fundamental condition to overcome all enemies." ("The Current Situation and Our Tasks") In the period of the second domestic revolutionary war, the party's policy to knock down the local rascals and divide the land had a tremendous effect in rallying the peasants and launching the struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek clique. After the outbreak of the Japanese war, the party, in view of the new situation, made a big concession and revised the policy of "one who tills the land owns it" to the policy of rent and interest reduction. However, we did not, for this reason, relinquish the land reform outline. The Kuomintang regime did not enforce the decrees such as the so-called "25-percent rent reduction" it had promulgated, and it still placed the entire burden on the laboring peasants. In regard to the contention for leadership power between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and all the disputes resulting from it, as stated so precisely by Comrade Mao Tsetung, "as for the social essence, it actually rests on the issue of rural relationship." In regard to all the poison arrows shot by the antipeople Kuomintang clique, "isn't it precisely because the Chinese Communist Party has made a conscientious achievement truly compatible with the national interest?" ("On the Coalition Government") The moment the Japanese war ended,

Comrade Mao Tsetung again stressed that we must give the people visible material interest so that the people, by their personal experience, would distinguish the superiority and inferiority of the two parties, and we would win their support and smash the attack of the Kuomintang. The party promptly launched the land reform movement throughout the liberated areas. The moment land reform was launched, the situation cleared. The peasants enthusiastically joined the army and supported the front, furnishing an inexhaustible source of manpower, resources and other reserve strength.

The national bourgeoisie was also an ally of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. To gain its participation in the revolution, the party, in the period of the Japanese and liberation wars, always adhered to the policy of protecting industry and commerce. The landowner class was the objective of the democratic revolution. However, under the condition when the national contradiction rose to become the principal contradiction, our party policy was, on the one hand, rent and interest reduction by the landowners in order to activate the positivity of the basic peasant masses against Japan, but not excessive reduction, and, on the other hand, rent and interest payment by the peasants, with the land and property ownership remaining with the landowners. We only confiscated the land of spies and traitors. Enforcement of this policy promoted the Kuomintang's participation against Japan while reducing the resistance of the landowners in the liberated areas to our activation of the peasants against Japan. In the land reform we also distributed land to the landowners, so that they would gradually reform themselves into self-supporting laborers; we did not destroy them physically. Even after national liberation and agricultural cooperativization, we still permitted them to participate in labor in the collective economic organization and enjoy equal work and equal pay.

The proletariat struggles for the cause of liberating all mankind. Precisely with the interest of the laboring people as the starting point, in the different stages of the revolution and based on the premise of realizing the interest of the laboring people, we enabled certain strata and groups of the exploiting class which were our indirect allies to have suitable arrangements and consideration in material interest according to the needs of the struggle, in order to isolate a small handful of enemies to the maximum and rally all the strength which could be rallied. Even in regard to the enemies of the revolution, once they laid down their arms we also gave them the means of livelihood. Correctly handling the class relationship primarily indicates correctly handling the relationship of the material interests of the various classes. Only thus will the party truly become the deserving leader of its direct and indirect allies. Without a series of correct policies to adjust the relationships among the classes, primarily the relationships of their material interests, it will be impossible for China's revolution to be victorious.

In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels said: "The communists struggle for the most immediate goal and interest of the worker class,

but they also, in the current movement, represent the future of the movement." ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 284) We subscribe to the theory of integrating the current and long-range interests of the masses and the interests of the individual and the entirety.

We firmly oppose the shortsighted view of indulging in current material enjoyment, "drinking today while there is wine," and forgetting the great future goal of liberating all mankind and realizing communism. Neither do we toy with the fraudulent words of religion, painting a cake to assuage hunger and promising the people a distant and indefinite beautiful paradise while asking them to be satisfied with a puritanical life. The Marxist and the economist are different. The economist negates the effect of revolutionary theories, negates the mission of the proletariat to seize political power and create a proletarian dictatorship, worships the spontaneity of the worker movement and replaces, and even sacrifices, the long-range and overall interest to the current and individual interest. The Marxist also differs from the anarchist. "Anarchism takes the individual as the foundation and feels that liberating the individual is the principal condition for liberating the masses, the collective. According to it, before the liberation of the individual it is impossible to have the liberation of the masses. Therefore, its slogan is: 'All for the individual.'" ("Anarchism or Socialism?," "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 1, p 273) Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "We take the unification of the current and future interests of the broadest masses, constituting 90 percent or more of the entire populace, as the starting point." ("Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art") Class liberation is the premise for individual liberation. However, if class liberation is not manifested concretely in the liberation of the individual, it will be merely an empty phrase. Similarly, even while current interest must be subordinated to long-range interest and individual interest to that of the entirety, if such subordination leads to disregard of individual interest and opposition between the long-range and entire interest and the individual interest, then how can we speak of the long-range and entire interest of the masses?

One important point as to whether a class represents the direction of history and whether it actually follows the objective law of social development is whether it can increase the material interest of the laboring people. Innumerable facts have proved that whoever defends the material interest of the masses will, in the movement of the era, write a brilliant chapter; whoever violates and infringes upon the material interest of the masses will inevitably encounter the resistance of the masses and be discarded by history.

Due to the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, China's national economy remained at a standstill for a long time, even reaching the brink of collapse. They launched attacks on the people's material interest and vigorously created a small feudal and fascist court on the foundation of

the people's hunger and cold. Comrade Mao Tsetung's directive on learning the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, stabilizing and uniting, and promoting the national economy, issued on the eve of the Fourth National People's Congress, profoundly reflected the common desire of the people of the whole country. Our Premier Chou En-lai labored and toiled for the people's welfare. At the Fourth National People's Congress he proposed the great ideal of the four modernizations in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives. In 1975, under the mandate of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping took charge of the daily routine of the central government, vigorously implemented Chairman Mao's three directives, carried out rectifications of all items of work of the economic and other units, and, under the situation of the improving national economy, began preparations to readjust the wages of the staff and workers and concretely improve the life of the masses. At this moment the "gang of four" launched an insane counterattack. They opposed Comrade Chou En-lai, falsely implicated Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, negated the achievements of 1975 in toto, attacked the implementation of Chairman Mao's three directives as promoting a "revisionist outline," vigorously criticized the so-called "theory of production force only," seriously sabotaged the excellent situation and cruelly trampled upon the people's strong desire to develop production and raise the level of material and cultural life. However, the development of events was contrary to the wishes of the counterrevolutionary lunatics. The more they opposed Comrade Chou En-lai, who sought the interest of the people, the more the people built a majestic and permanent shrine in their hearts for their own premier. The more they falsely implicated Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, who sought the interest of the people, the more the people respected and loved him. The struggles and competitions on the stage of China's history in 1975 and the spring and summer of 1976 further educated and mobilized the people. The people did not forgive the "gang of four," who infringed upon their material interest time and time again. In the spring of 1976, wreaths, tears and the sad yet majestic "Internationale" in mourning for Premier Chou spread throughout the great land of China and symbolized the Chinese people's confidence in defending the party, the socialist system and their own interest and merged into a powerful wave to bury the "gang of four." The "gang of four's" downfall had long been predestined. It was the choice of the people.

IV. The Proletarian Dictatorship Is the Means of Realizing the Economic Interest of the Masses

The fundamental economic interest of the masses can only be satisfied by means of a political revolution whereby the proletarian dictatorship replaces the bourgeois dictatorship. The proletarian dictatorship, as the political power of the proletariat, is the means of the proletariat for realizing the economic interest.

We know that the proletariat's takeover of state political power and its firm establishment of the socialist system do not signify the end of the

class struggle. The class struggle continues under the new situation. At this time, abroad, there is the threat of imperialist aggression and subversion; domestically, there are the resistance and sabotage of the overthrown exploiting class and new bourgeois elements. Such international and domestic class struggles permeate the economic, political and cultural realms. They still deploy around the economic interests of the various classes. The proletariat wishes to defend the socialist public ownership system, while the exploiting class wishes to restore the capitalist, and even the semicolonial and semifeudal, private ownership system. This is where the heart of all the struggles lies.

Lenin pointed out after the October Revolution: "In the final analysis, the domestic and foreign policies of our country are determined by the economic interest and position of the ruling class of our country. This principle is the foundation of the entire world philosophy of the Marxist." ("Report on Foreign Policy at the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Moscow Soviet Joint Meeting," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 339) The proletarian dictatorship is the integration of dictatorship over the enemies and democracy for the people. The proletariat must resist the subversive and aggressive activities of the external enemies of the state; it must oppress the reactionary classes, the reactionary factions, the exploiters who resist the socialist revolution and the saboteurs of socialist construction inside the state. Just why must such dictatorship be enforced? "The goal of dictatorship is to protect the entire people in their pursuit of peaceful labor and build China into a socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture." ("On Correctly Handling Contradictions Among the People") When we say democracy for the people, this means, on the one hand, guaranteeing the maximum development of the people's socialist positivity and, on the other, enabling the state, on the foundation of democracy, to gather the correct opinions of the masses in order to adjust to the objective demands of the socialist planned economy. In the realm of the superstructure, both dictatorship and democracy serve the socialist economic foundation and the full development of the production force under socialist conditions. In other words, both serve the interest of the proletariat and the broad masses of laboring people.

In regard to the tasks of the proletariat after gaining the political power of the state and the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship, Marx and Engels once wrote as follows: "The proletariat will utilize its political control to seize, step by step, all the capital of the bourgeoisie, concentrate all the production tools in the hands of the state, i.e., the proletariat which has been organized into the ruling class, and increase the total volume of the production force as fast as possible." ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) Lenin also said: "In any socialist revolution, when the proletariat's task of seizing political power has been completed, and with the general and basic completion of the task of depriving the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, the fundamental task of

creating a social economic system superior to the capitalist society must necessarily be promoted to the foremost position; this fundamental task is to raise the rate of labor production." ("Soviet Political Power and the Current Task," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 235) The socialist system can create a rate of labor production far superior to that of capitalism. For this very reason, and only by so doing, it will be able to win final victory in the struggle against capitalism and "guarantee the prosperous and ever more ample material life of all members of society." (Engels, "Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 322)

People do not produce for the sake of production. Stalin proposed, when criticizing Yaroshenko: "Guaranteeing the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the entire society is the goal of socialist production; making socialist production continuously increase and continuously perfect itself is the means of reaching this goal." ("The Issue of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," p 62)

Whether to admit that the proletarian dictatorship is the means of realizing the economic interest of the masses was one of the issues disrupted most by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Lin Piao said: "All class struggles are political struggles, politics, and, in the final analysis, political power." So long as it holds political power, "the proletariat will have everything." The "gang of four" proposed the so-called "total dictatorship" and ranted that our party's concern for the life of the masses was "inducing the people to follow the capitalist path" and making them "discard the determination to pursue the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." Their basic viewpoint was to fundamentally abolish the task of the proletarian dictatorship to develop social production and realize the economic interest of the masses, while essentially turning it into the "power of suppression" in the hands of the exploiting class over the people.

We have some comrades who do not know that the communists only have the obligation to work diligently for the purpose of increasing the people's material interest and prospering the people's life, but no reason to fear such increase and prosperity. They are filled with worries, trudge along with difficulty, shoulder unknowingly the spiritual shackles imposed on them by the "gang of four," and even now are fearful of firmly implementing, or are even unwilling to implement, the various economic policies formulated by the central government. When the masses increase their income slightly by their own labor, though still far from being prosperous, these comrades begin to worry and fear that prosperity will lead to "capitalism." In another aspect, they do not conduct affairs according to objective economic laws, nor do they respect the initiative of the enterprises or the self-governing rights of the communes and brigades, but issue blind orders, creating waste in manpower, material and money. If this goes on, whether they represent the interests of the masses or damage them will become a question.

Then there are also those who, subjectively, also hope that the state will increase its reserve and accelerate the speed of construction. However, they do not understand that, in socialist construction, reserve and consumption constitute an issue reflecting the relationships among the state, the collective and the individual. They do not correctly handle this issue according to the objective laws of economic development. They one-sidedly stress an increase in reserve, overlook consumption, refuse to feel a true concern for and to solve the issue of the people's material interest, or even resort to the means of reducing consumption in order to increase the reserve. According to their method, production may be forced to rise and reserve to increase for a time. Later on, as the socialist positivity of the laborers encounters a setback, they will have to drop, reducing the reserve and the speed of construction. On the contrary, if, with the development of production and the continuous improvement of the labor production rate, consumption is continuously increased and the people's livelihood improved, and reserve and construction are arranged accordingly, even though the reserve accumulation and construction may be relatively slow for a short period, the continuous improvement of the people's livelihood on the foundation of production development will be favorable to developing the positivity of the laborers. In the long run it will truly benefit the development of production construction and the increase in reserve. When discussing the issue of the distribution of the agricultural cooperative, Comrade Mao Tsetung said: "On the distribution issue, we must give consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. The relationship among the tax revenue of the state, the reserve of the cooperative and the individual income of the peasant must be properly handled, and constant attention must be given to the readjustment of the contradictions. The state must have reserve and the cooperative must also have reserve, but they must not be excessive. We must, wherever possible, enable the peasant, in normal years, to increase his individual income year after year with the increase in production." ("On Correctly Handling Contradictions Among the People") He also said: "Consideration must be given to both the state and the plant, both the state and the worker, both the plant and the worker, both the state and the cooperative, both the state and the peasant, and both the cooperative and the peasant; it must not be limited to only one side. Giving consideration to either side alone will be detrimental to socialism and to the proletarian dictatorship." ("On the Ten Great Relationships") We must firmly implement such principles when handling the relationships among the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and between reserve and consumption.

Currently, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the entire party and the people of the entire country are struggling for the realization of the four modernizations. The four modernizations are a revolutionary movement of an even larger scale and more far-reaching significance than any revolutionary movement led by our party so far. Exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and purging

their remnant poison, and overcoming the resistance and sabotage of domestic and foreign class enemies, while, at the same time, changing the production relationship and the superstructure in many aspects, and reforming the aspects of the economic system, political system and ideological gestalt which impede the development of the production force are all historical tasks which must be accomplished in this revolution. This revolution will produce a profound change in all aspects of social life and greatly hasten the process of the complete extermination of capitalism and the bourgeoisie in this land of China. It is a great class struggle whereby socialism will defeat capitalism and the proletariat will subjugate the bourgeoisie, as well as a great economic struggle with the goal of transforming China's backwardness and realizing the material interest of the masses.

To realize the four modernizations, the party's lines, policies and measures must assure the unity of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, the unity of the current and long-range interests of the masses, the unity of the individual and collective interests of the masses, and the continuous and joint growth of such interests in the process of realizing the four modernizations. Whether the lines, policies and measures are correct can only be tested by whether they can, in practice, gain interest for the people.

The four modernizations are not something conferred by some god, emperor or savior, but a great revolution with the goal of realizing the interests of the masses and pursued by their common effort. Only when the masses truly perform their responsibilities as the masters of the socialist popular and collective ownership economy, and only when their rights as such masters are first guaranteed in the aspect of their material interest, will they emanate an enduring and gigantic socialist positivity. "Let the masses recognize their own interest, unite, and struggle for their own interest." ("Talk With the Editorial Personnel of CHIN-SUI JIH-PAO") This is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations.

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ON SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 36-42

[Article by Shih Pu [4258 0944]]

[Text] The Chinese people are striving hard to realize the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou in building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century. With the gradual realization of the four modernizations, our country's productive forces will swiftly develop, and socialization of production will inevitably be raised. A new problem which requires conscientious study and exploration arises as to how to understand socialization of production and how to keep abreast of the new situation in which the level of socialization of production is continuously raised, so as to readjust without delay the production relations and the superstructure, reform the methods of management of industrial and agricultural enterprises and the management system of the national economy and accelerate the pace of economic development.

I

Any production is social production. This refers to the production relations that are inevitably formed when people carry out production. It still does not refer to socialized production. Socialized production emerged just recently.

The transformation from individual small production to socialized mass production is a giant leap in the history of mankind's social economic development. It began when the capitalist system went on the historical stage. In "Anti-Duhring," Engels once described the process of this transformation: The bourgeoisie transformed those limited means of production into social means of production, which could be used only by a body of men as a whole. And, like the means of production, production itself changed from a series of individual operations into a series of social acts, and the products from the products of individuals into social products. Socialization of production brought about a powerful social productive force. This is the decisive strength by which the

capitalist system triumphed over the feudal system. Capitalist production organized planned division of labor and practiced socialized labor inside individual factories. Compared with products manufactured by dispersed small producers, the products it manufactured involved less labor and higher competitive strength on the markets. As a result, in the competition "individual production was vanquished in one field after another; social production revolutionized the whole former mode of production." ("Anti-Duhring," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 310)

The basic tendency in the development of socialization of production is that social division of labor is becoming more and more minute, and the sphere of cooperation is becoming broader and broader. Capitalist production began in cooperative and workshop handicraft industries. At that time the increase in labor productivity depended primarily on division of labor and cooperation. After the appearance of machinery and large-scale industry, division of labor and cooperation developed still further on the basis of the new technology. Now capitalist industry not only expanded the division of labor in the various production departments, but also turned into specialized production the production of all kinds of products, even the production and technical operation of every part of a product. Many advanced capitalist countries have practiced specialization not only in products, but also in parts, in workmanship and in technical support. Specialization turns unitary and small-quantity production into large-quantity production, adopts highly efficient exclusive equipment and automatic production lines and adopts advanced technology and a scientific form of production organization, thereby raising labor productivity by a wide margin, reducing costs considerably, guaranteeing product quality and shortening the production period. This is an important reason production in some capitalist countries now rises more quickly.

The capitalist system created a powerful modern productive force. But the means of production are still owned by private individuals. The contradiction between socialization of production and capitalist private ownership is the basic contradiction in the capitalist system. It is the root cause of the periodic economic crises resulting from overproduction. Up until the stage of imperialism, in particular after World War II, the basic contradiction of capitalism did not change. On the contrary, it was intensified. Crises battered the capitalist world more frequently. Today, are not those countries in which the economy developed more swiftly made uneasy by problems such as the shrinking of the market, inflation, unemployment and under-capacity operation?

Economic crisis exposes the internal contradiction of the capitalist system. Although the bourgeoisie are reluctant to change the basis of the capitalist production relations, which is one of the capitalist ownership of means of production, to the extent possible they treat productive forces as social productive forces. This tendency is manifested primarily in the following ways:

1. Because of the shocking expansion of the scale of production, joint stock companies which individual capitalists are incapable of running appeared. This capital, which rests on a socialized mode of production and presupposes a social concentration of means of production and labor powers, is here directly endowed with the form of social capital (a capital directly associated with individuals) as distinguished from private capital, and its enterprises assume the form of social enterprises as distinguished from individual enterprises. Marx said: This "is the abolition of capital as private property within the boundaries of capitalist production itself." ("Capital," Vol 3, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 496)

2. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, forms of monopoly organizations such as cartels, syndicates and trusts appeared. Some of these monopoly organizations went beyond the national boundary and became worldwide organizations. Lenin held that the appearance of monopoly organizations showed that, on the basis of the capitalist ownership of means of production, the social production relations were undergoing changes. In refuting such terms as "interlocking" [chiao tso 4945 6934] which bourgeois economists played with in negating socialization, Lenin pointed out: "When a big enterprise assumes gigantic proportions, and, on the basis of exact computation of mass data, organizes according to plan the supply of primary raw materials to the extent of two-thirds or three-fourths of all that is necessary for tens of millions of people; when the raw materials are transported to the most suitable place of production (sometimes hundreds or thousands of miles away), in a systematic and organized manner; when a single center directs all the successive stages of work right up to the manufacture of numerous varieties of finished articles; when these products are distributed according to a single plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers (as in the case of the distribution of oil in America and Germany by the American 'oil trust')--then it becomes evident that we have socialization of production, and not mere 'interlocking'; that private economic relations and private property relations constitute a shell which is no longer suitable for its contents." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 844)

3. In bourgeois countries the nationalization of certain large-scale means of production and methods of transportation, coupled with private monopoly capital, brought about state monopoly capital. For instance, the railroad, which was of a large scale from its beginning, could in most cases only be run by the state. This was also the case with posts and telecommunications. Others, such as nuclear power, space operations and modern military industrial departments, would need the support of state investments. In the stage of capitalist monopoly, in particular after the two world wars, state monopoly capitalism developed in a big way in some capitalist countries. After World War II the number of nationalized enterprises increased in many countries. Statistics show that in 1968 the percentage of state-owned enterprises in the total

capital was 28 percent in Italy, 33.5 percent in France, 22.7 percent in West Germany and 17 percent in the United Kingdom.

4. In the past 20 years or so the scale of transnational companies became larger and larger. The early transnational companies appeared in the latter half of the 19th century. But they developed widely only after World War II. An investigation by a special group of the United Nations in 1973 showed that there were roughly 7,300 transnational companies throughout the world, 200 of which had subsidiary companies in 20 or more countries. One-third of these subsidiary companies were controlled by U.S. monopoly capitalists or financial groups. Together with the United Kingdom, France and West Germany, they controlled over three-quarters of the total. Transnational companies not only penetrated many countries of the Third World and controlled and plundered the important raw material resources there, but also infiltrated advanced industrial countries and accordingly set up subsidiary companies, manufactured parts separately, assembled parts into complete sets, launched large-scale production and seized high profits. This became socialized production on a world scale.

Socialization of production is the inevitable trend in the development of modern large-scale production. Its contradiction with capitalist private ownership cannot be resolved within the capitalist system. Engels pointed out: "This solution can only consist in the recognition in practice of the social nature of the modern productive forces, in bringing, therefore, the mode of production, appropriation and exchange into accord with the social character of the means of production. And this can only be brought about by society, openly and without deviation, taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control other than that of society itself." ("Anti-Duhring," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 318-319) This means that only through a proletarian revolution, when public ownership of means of production substitutes for private ownership of means of production, can this contradiction be solved. Thus, whether it is a joint stock company, or a monopoly organization, or capitalist nationalization, or state monopoly capitalism, or transnational company, it only shows that as socialization of production develops still further, its contradiction with capitalist private ownership will become more acute, and the substitution of capitalist private ownership of means of production by socialist public ownership of means of production will become unavoidable. They prepare the material conditions for socialism, but they are themselves definitely not socialism. On this question there are basic differences between ourselves and the bourgeois reformists. Reformists juggle the basic distinctions between socialism and capitalism and call all those forms socialism. Their attempt is to defend the capitalist system. Lenin pointed out long ago: "A completely planned nature is certainly what trusts did not have and cannot possibly have. Even though trusts may have plans, even though the capitalist bosses have considered beforehand a production scale on a national scale or an international scale, even though they have

regulated production in a planned manner, they are now still under the capitalist state. And even though it is a new stage, it is still undoubtedly capitalist. In the eyes of a true representative of the proletariat, the fact that this type of capitalism is 'approaching' socialism only proves that socialist revolution is approaching, is on the verge of easy realization, and is possible to realize without further delay, rather than proving that the reformist negation of socialism and attempt to dress up capitalism can be tolerated." ("The State and Revolution," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 229)

II

Socialist society set up a public ownership of means of production, eliminated the contradiction between socialization of production and capitalist private ownership and brought about a "social compatibility of the forms of production, ownership and exchange with the means of production." In this way it is possible to organize coordination between specialized trades in a conscious and planned way within the entire social sphere and to attain an even higher level of socialization than that of a capitalist society. This is an important mark of the superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist economic system.

Of course, possibility is not reality. The socialist revolution cannot freely choose any level of social productive forces. In order to realize socialization of production, every country has to proceed from its original level of productive forces. Old China was a semicolonial and semi-feudalist society. Although some capitalist large-scale production was set up in industry, technology was still extremely backward. Agriculture was basically one of individual peasant economy. On the whole, the level of socialization of production was very low. Since the liberation, after a 5-year planned construction, industrial and agricultural production developed in a big way, and the level of socialization of production rose considerably. But, compared with the world's advanced nations, we were still backward. Some of the links in our present production relations and the superstructure are still incompatible with the demand of the development of productive forces. For instance, production and exchange were primarily managed separately according to the administrative systems of departments and districts. Coordination between specialized trades among enterprises was not developed. The percentage of "large and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive" enterprises among the total number of enterprises was still large. Economic accounting and economic results were not carefully regarded in enterprise management. The thinking and forces of habit of small producers still restrained the vision of some comrades. In particular, the protracted interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused people's thinking, undermined the former effective management, left bad things uncorrected, added new and worse things and left economic management in a state of hocus-pocus. Great effort was needed to shake off the confused state and restore the correct state and to

eliminate their pernicious influence. All this hampered to various degrees the development of productive forces.

Fundamentally speaking, the realization of the four modernizations not only aims at establishing a powerful modern technological basis for social production, but also includes raising still further the level of socialization of production on this basis. Modernization brings about more minuteness in the social division of labor and a broader sphere of cooperation. The level of socialization of production will inevitably be raised. If the level of socialization of production is not raised, then it is impossible to speed up the realization of the four modernizations. We must recognize this inevitable trend and change the methods of management of the handicraft industry, the small peasant economy and the feudal office so as to suit the new trend and reshuffle industry in a planned and proportionate manner. In agricultural production we should correctly implement the policies of taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development, of making plans suited to local conditions and of carrying out appropriate concentration. We should strengthen cooperation between industry and agriculture and enable them to gradually mingle with each other. At the same time we should give full play to the role of the economic media and economic organizations. This is an even more arduous task than carrying out nationalization. After the October Revolution in Russia, in criticizing the fallacies of "left" communists such as Bukharin, Lenin pointed out that in carrying out confiscation the major quality of a politician was determination. In carrying out socialization, another quality is required for a politician, and that is "the ability to make accurate calculations and accurate distribution." This ability can only be acquired when one is good at learning and at conscientiously summing up experiences in practice.

The reshuffling of industry primarily involves the expansion and development of coordination between specialized trades. Chairman Hua pointed out: Machine-building industry "should be organized in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized departments. It should come under a unified plan, do a good job in the standardization, serialization and general utilization of its products, work hard to turn out high-grade machines and equipment and produce more and better sets of large, modern precision machinery." This principle is basically suitable for other industrial departments. Now the system under the First Ministry of Machine Building is reshuffling its industry in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades. It asks that the whole nation in 3 to 5 years, and Peking, Shanghai and Liaoning in 2 to 3 years, complete the reshuffling of the machine building industry in a planned and proportionate way. After the reshuffling it is necessary to set up various kinds of specialized production companies and general plants in accordance with the trades. Some companies should go beyond their own provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (for instance, the northwest region agricultural machine building company includes five provinces in northwest China). These specialized companies are economic

organizations that have an independent accounting. It is estimated that the reshuffling will further strengthen division of labor among enterprises, thereby favorably improving product design and product quality, reducing material and labor consumption, developing innovation and creativity in production processes, raising labor productivity and capital capacity, raising the specialized knowledge and working capacity of managerial personnel and further speeding up the development of the machine building industry.

The task of raising the level of socialization of production must be carried out. In the past 2 years, seven imported large-scale chemical fertilizer plants were built and put into production in our country. Because the cadres, technical personnel and workers conscientiously studied foreign advanced technology and managerial experiences, they were able to basically master operation techniques and production management in a relatively short period of time. Production was stable and in some cases even reached and surpassed the design capacity. In some factories the number of production workers was comparable to that abroad, and the factories were well managed, so the labor productivity of the production workers should not be lower than that abroad. But the number of total personnel was often several times more than that abroad, so their labor productivity was much lower. The reason more people were employed was: first, there were many workers handling repairs, because there were no specialized factories to supply parts and no specialized companies to handle repairs; and second, there were many managerial cadres, because management in an enterprise ranged from marketing and supply to transportation and even services for the livelihood of staff and workers. In view of this situation, it is urgently necessary to improve the industrial management system; do a good job in organizing specialized production of all kinds of accessories and parts and insuring supply; do a good job in organizing specialized companies in repairing equipment and in rendering services from door to door; and organize specialized companies for handling marketing and supply, transportation and services for the livelihood of staff and workers, so as to take over the tasks which are now shouldered by the enterprise itself. In short, it is necessary to do a good job in the socialization of production. Otherwise, it is difficult for labor productivity to reach the international advanced level. Comparing the level of labor productivity between plants engaged in the same line of production, we can see the effects of coordination between specialized trades. In producing 12-hp hand-guided tractors, Changchou Municipality carried out coordination between specialized trades. The annual labor productivity of each worker amounted to 40,000 yuan. In Chuchou Municipality, where "small and comprehensive" production was carried out, the corresponding labor productivity was only 4,900 yuan, one-eighth of that of Changchou.

The problem of practicing coordination between specialized trades and raising the level of socialization also exists in agricultural production. In accordance with the concrete situation in our country, we do

not need to establish single crop zones as some capitalist countries do. But it is still necessary to suitably concentrate the cultivation of certain crops. In fact, concentrated crop zones have already been established in accordance with the soil and climatic conditions in various places. These crop zones account for a great percentage of the acreage of some crops, particularly marketable crops. For instance, do we not have different concentrated zones for cotton, wheat, rice paddy, beans, sugarcane and beets? Taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development is a great plan in terms of the whole country. The situation is different as regards different districts. Forestry regions should take forestry as the key link, animal husbandry regions should take animal husbandry as the key link, fishery regions should take fishery as the key link and industrial crop regions should take industrial crops as the key link. Areas that are suitable for growing sugarcane should appropriately concentrate their efforts on growing sugarcane and should not be obliged to grow low-yield cotton. Regions that are suitable for growing rubber should appropriately concentrate their efforts on growing rubber and do not necessarily have to go after self-sufficiency in grain. In some regions the climate is suitable for growing rape. If it is more favorable for them to grow rape that meets the needs of the entire nation, then why should they not grow rape and let high-grain-output regions provide them with some grain? It is necessary to concentrate efforts in producing vegetables in the suburbs; otherwise we will not be able to meet the needs of the market in a planned and proportionate manner. The "gang of four" created the notion that "vegetable farmers do not eat marketable grain" and seriously undermined the production and supply of vegetables. Is not this consequence still present in some places today?

In the light of developments, the more modernized agricultural production is, the more necessary that it develop in the direction of specialization and socialization. At present, in some countries that have already carried out modernization in agriculture, the farmers only need to complete one stage or one part of the work in the entire agricultural production process. For instance, farmers engaged in cultivation only look after the crops in the fields. The nurturing of seeds, the supply of chemical fertilizers and farm chemicals and the transportation of crops are handled by specialized factories or companies. The case is the same with animal husbandry. Chicken farms are responsible for raising chickens and producing eggs. The hatching and transportation of chickens, the nurturing of chickens for breeding, the supply of chickenfeed and epidemic-prevention drugs and the installation and repair of chicken coops and other equipment are the responsibilities of different specialized companies. Some of the mechanized chicken farms and hog-raising farms which we have established have many employees. Also, labor productivity is low and costs are high. One reason is that these farms have to handle their own supply of feed, repair of equipment and procurement and transportation and have not practiced socialization of production. If this situation is not changed, it will be difficult to raise labor productivity

by a wide margin and to lower costs. How, then, can mechanized chicken rearing and hog raising develop on a wide scale?

Industry and agriculture are the two basic material production departments. On the basis of socialized mass production, the relationship between the two is becoming more and more intimate. Marx long ago pointed out that machinery and large-scale industry provided material prerequisites for a new and higher integration of industry and agriculture. Chairman Mao's theory concerning the people's commune also included the concept of the integration of industry and agriculture. We must realize not only the state's socialist industrialization but also the industrialization of the commune and turn the commune into a joint agricultural-industrial production organization. Today some provinces and regions have suitably transferred, in a planned and systematic way, some agricultural products processing industries from the city to the countryside, or have allowed commune and brigade enterprises in the countryside to shoulder a portion of the production of parts for city industrial enterprises. Practice proves that this is conducive to reducing the back-and-forth transportation of a large amount of raw materials, raising the rate of comprehensive utilization and realizing rationalization of production. Furthermore, it accumulates funds for agriculture, fosters a technical force, increases the income of commune members and helps minimize the differences between city and country and between workers and peasants. Since this is good, why don't we do it? Some socialist countries have scored positive experiences in establishing joint agricultural-industrial enterprises. We should learn from their experiences.

To meet the needs of socialization of industrial and agricultural production, commerce and service trades also face the problem of socialization. How a commodity passes from the place of production to the hands of the consumer should involve the formation of rational channels on the premises of geographical positions, transportation conditions and the relations between supply and demand. On the basis of these rational channels, it is possible to map our corresponding economic zones. Only by organizing commodity flow in accordance with these divided economic zones can we speed up the circulation of commodities, economize funds, reduce expenses in circulation and do a better job in serving production and serving consumers. Nevertheless, some regions are still organizing commodity flow not on the basis of economic zones but on the basis of administrative zones. This is an important reason why redundant transportation and opposite transportation appear and why detour, backward flow and overstocking of commodities appear in the circulation process. It affects the circulation of capital, increases expenses in circulation, increases the burden of consumers and is disadvantageous to the development of the entire national economy. This must be changed. Our service trades today are still relatively backward. The more advanced the social division of labor, the more work for service trades. Presently, in some industries, the proportion of personnel engaged in service trades in

comparison with more advanced countries is increasing daily. Although they appear to serve livelihood, service trades in reality also serve production. Take, for instance, the feeding of city residents. Now thousands of families have to worry about fuel, rice, oil and salt. How much labor is wasted in this? How much time is spent? If service trades realize socialization and fully supply convenient foodstuffs, they can utilize the labor thus saved in production and study. Is this not conducive to building a greater treasure?

III

Raising the level of socialization of production inevitably brings about a popular and profound change in the economic management system and enterprise management methods. At the same time it will change the styles of people's activities and thinking. It therefore cannot be smooth going. In our road of advance, we not only must triumph over the various kinds of resistance and sabotage of class enemies at home and abroad, but must also overcome the different manners of resistance that are engendered from old thinking, old forces of habit, and conservative tendencies of being content with things as they are and of being reluctant to bring about any changes within our ranks.

At present it is most important to carry out the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and eliminate the pernicious influence of the reactionary fallacies which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" spread. By pretending to be left while actually being right, the "gang of four" pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They criticized what was originally correct as though it was erroneous, confounded truth with falsehood, juggled black and white and confused people's thinking. They went rampant with metaphysics and resisted and opposed all scientific things belonging to the capitalist society but which were formed through socialized mass production. When they heard that it was necessary to learn some capitalist enterprise management methods, they attacked that as "capitalist restoration." When they heard that it was necessary to learn advanced foreign experiences, they attacked that as "slavish comprador philosophy" and the "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." The "gang of four" did not know anything about trusts. They did not determine whether they were capitalist or socialist; as long as the capitalist countries had such a thing as trusts, then that must be capitalist. They did not care whether it was right or wrong and used big sticks on everything. As a result, they overthrew many organizations that had already established coordination between specialized trades and aroused lingering fear in many people whenever the word "trusts" was mentioned. These fallacies caused widespread poisonous and harmful influences.

In regard to the capitalist production organ and management method, Marxists always make the following observations: first, they are the products of socialized mass production, and in this respect socialist

enterprises should make use of them; second, they are the products of the capitalist exploitation system, and in this respect socialist enterprises should not make use of them and should thoroughly negate them. On the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin said: "We must not fabricate any form of work organization but should adopt these existing forms of organization such as banks, syndicates, good factories, experimental stations and scientific academies from the capitalists. We must borrow the best experiences of the advanced countries." ("Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 315) Lenin made it so very clear. We should not fabricate any form of work organization but should make use of the organization of socialized mass production formed under the conditions of capitalism. We should not only make use of what we have at home but must learn from abroad. On this question our party acts entirely in accordance with the principle set forth by Lenin. Everyone knows that the bureaucratic capital of the old China had prepared adequate material conditions for our country's new democratic revolution. After the victory of our democratic revolution we immediately confiscated bureaucratic capital and established a powerful socialist state-run economy. In the course of confiscating the bureaucratic capital, one important experience was not to "smash" the technical organizations and production management systems of the original enterprises but to confiscate them as they were. Then, relying on the working class, we carried out democratic reforms and production reforms and established a production management system that suited socialist production. Why could we do that? It was because the bureaucratic capitalist enterprise was a socialized mass production organization. Not only its machines and equipment, but an extensive part of its technical organization and production management system were useful to a socialist enterprise. We were able to make use of all these to protect and develop social productive forces.

In enterprise management methods we should not refuse to learn from the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao once pointed out: "We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") This is a thoroughly materialist attitude. The Taylor system of management is a system by which the bourgeoisie exploit the blood and sweat of the workers. Under the capitalist system, this system meets with the strong opposition of the broad masses of workers. But Lenin did not reject it altogether. Lenin said: "The newest invention of capitalism in this respect--the Taylor system--has, like all other advanced things of capitalism, the two following aspects: on the one hand it is the most skillful cruel measure of bourgeois exploitation; and on the other it is a series of the most abundant scientific achievements involving the use of science to analyze the mechanical operation of men in labor, the reduction of excess operation procedures, the formulation of the most precise working methods and the practice of the most complete system of computation and supervision. The USSR must in all circumstances adopt all precious achievements in science and technology. How socialism is realized is determined by how

well the Soviet Government and Soviet management organ integrate the newest advanced things of capitalism." ("Current Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 511) See how much importance Lenin attached to integrating the socialist management system with the newest and advanced things of capitalism in order to serve socialism!

In realizing socialist modernization we should put our emphasis on self-reliance. Nevertheless, we should not practice a closed-door policy and be ignorant and arrogant and reject foreign science, technology and culture altogether and without analysis. On the contrary, we should conscientiously study advanced foreign science and technology as well as business management methods. Chairman Mao said: "We must firmly reject and criticize all the decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries. But this should in no way prevent us from learning the advanced sciences and technologies of capitalist countries and whatever is scientific in the management of their enterprises. In the industrially developed countries they run their enterprises with fewer people and greater efficiency and they know how to do business. All this should be learned well in accordance with our own principles so that our work can be improved." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Marx also said: "The bourgeois period in history was endowed with the mission of creating the material basis for the new world: On the one hand it should create world interchange on the basis of mutual dependence of all mankind and promote the tools for the purpose of this interchange; and on the other hand it should develop man's productive forces and turn material production into a domination over natural power with the help of science. Bourgeois industry and commerce are creating these material conditions for the new world, just as geological transformation created the surface of the earth." ("The Future of Britain's Rule in India," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 75) Marx regarded world interchange as the material basis for a new world. Why should we not make good use of this basis? The "gang of four," a bane to the country and people, opposed everything that was advantageous to socialism. They attacked the learning of foreign advanced things as "slavish comprador philosophy" and the "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." This fully showed that they were anti-Marxist fake leftists and real rightists.

To do a good job in socialization of production it is necessary to solve some ideological problems among the people. For instance, in industrial production and construction some comrades prefer "large and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive" factories. They "do not want to ask anything from anybody." They believe that a comprehensive factory is "dependable" and easy to manage and that it is more convenient to produce all kinds of products in their own locality. As a result, they fail to take into consideration the economic results. They are reluctant to break through the regional and trade boundaries in order to carry out coordination between specialized trades. These expressions are primarily a reflection of a small producer's thinking.

Chairman Hua recently called upon us to "further liberate our thinking, be more courageous, have more ideas and further accelerate our pace." Here the first thing is to liberate thinking. On the one hand, it is necessary to distinguish the right thinking, line and theory from the erroneous ones, so as to free ourselves from the mental shackles of the "gang of four." On the other hand, it is necessary to overcome old thinking, old forces of habits, and the conservative tendency of being content with things as they are and of being reluctant to change. In particular, it is necessary to overcome the small producer's mentality. In 1942, in calling upon us to have fewer and better troops and simpler administration, Chairman Mao pointed out: "But men's minds are liable to be fettered by circumstance and habit from which even revolutionaries cannot always escape. We created this enormous apparatus ourselves, little thinking that one day we ourselves would have to reduce it; and now that the time has come to do so, we feel reluctant and find it difficult." ("A Most Important Policy") Now we are facing the same problem. Our management system has been in use for so many years. Everyone is used to it. There will be difficulties here and there if we want to change it. However, no matter how difficult it is, we must reform it. This is because there are redundant organs and there are too many ranks. Also, efficiency is low. It has become an obstacle in the realization of the four modernizations. We must give prominence to the revolutionary spirit of the party in being extremely responsible to the people and wholeheartedly exert our efforts in revolution, in construction and in the realization of the four modernizations. We will overcome all difficulties and double our efforts in accomplishing whatever is advantageous to the realization of the four modernizations. We are determined to carry out reform in whatever is disadvantageous to the realization of the four modernizations.

Of course, at the same time we must conduct investigations and study, sum up experiences and conscientiously solve existing problems. For instance, why is it that some regions and enterprises are full of worries and afraid that coordination is unreliable? There is an actual problem involved here. In previous years, through the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the relations among enterprises in coordination were undermined and the material supply system was disrupted. As a result, production and exchange were plunged into a semianarchic state. If we do not thoroughly eradicate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," rectify economic work and change this state, how can they not be afraid? Thus, to solve actual problems we must strengthen planning and management over the national economy and carry out integration and balance well, in particular the balance between capital and material resources. We must set up a strict contract system for coordinating enterprises and see to it that every enterprise supplies the products and parts required by coordinating enterprises according to schedule and the specified quality and quantity. Violation of contract will involve making restitution for the economic losses of the suffering party. We must rationally solve problems of profit and taxation policies

and mobilize the enthusiasm of enterprises carrying out coordination on the basis of material profits. Financial and banking departments must promote production, strengthen supervision, guarantee and raise the capacity in the use of capital and strictly prohibit any violation of plan, violation of system and irrational spending. Only by properly solving these problems can we do a good job in socialization of production.

The problem of socialization of production involves the entire process of social reproduction and is very complicated. This article can only serve as a starting point for the study and exploration of this problem and as a way to rouse the attention of comrades.

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CSO: 4004

DO A GOOD JOB OF ORGANIZING COORDINATION BETWEEN SPECIALIZED TRADES,
SPEEDILY DEVELOP MACHINE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 43-47

[Article by Chou Tzu-chien [6650 1311 0256]]

[Text] On the new Long March of advancing toward the four modernizations of socialism, Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee are extremely concerned with the development of the machine building industry and instruct us to carry out a reorganization in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades. This is an important policy decision in realizing the general task of the new period and is the only road to the high-speed development of the machine building industry. We must unify thinking and understanding and, with a dauntless spirit, carry out work in a down-to-earth manner and accomplish the glorious and arduous task with which the party Central Committee has entrusted us.

I

Specialized production is a result of the social division of labor and is the inevitable trend in the development of socialized large-scale industry. With the appearance of the production of large-scale machinery and the development of commodity economy, the scale of production increases every day, division of labor becomes more and more minute and the degree of specialization in production becomes higher and higher. Marx said: "The application of machinery has expanded the division of labor within society and increased the number of specialized production departments and independent production spheres." ("Machinery. The Use of Natural Power and Science," in pamphlet form, p 5) Lenin also pointed out: "Separate the processing industry from the raw materials industry. Then further divide them into small departments, each department producing a specialized commodity product and exchanging it with other production departments. In this way the development of commodity economy causes an increase in the number of independent industrial departments. The trend of this development is: Not only the production of each product, but the production of every part of a product, will become a specialized industrial department; and not only the production of each product, but every

operation involving the manufacture of the product into an actual consumer product will become a specialized industrial development." ("The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 17) Today the trend in the development of modern large-scale industry is the daily increasing number of factories engaged in coordination between specialized trades and the gradual takeover of some all-round factories. Just as Lenin said, every part of a product and every operation are under specialized production.

Specialized production is an objective demand of the new technological development. Lenin said: "Technical progress must entail the specialization and socialization of different parts of production." ("On the So-called Market Question," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 85) This is absolutely true. In the last 20 to 30 years, modern science and technology have advanced by leaps and bounds. They not only brought about a series of newly established industrial departments, but also brought about extremely great changes in production organization. They demanded the swift promotion of the degree of specialized production. Take the machine building industry, for instance. With the popular use of automatic control techniques and computer techniques, many pieces of highly efficient automatic equipment and many automatic production lines appeared. This called for a corresponding expansion of production volume and the organization of specialized production. For instance, an automatic cold upsetting machine can produce 35,000 screws and screw caps every hour. A radial-controlled precision forging machine can forge 18,000 axles every year. One high-tension automatic molding line can manufacture 200-300 molds in 1 hour. If we do not organize specialized production, then we will not have a fixed volume of production and cannot give full play to the effectiveness of this advanced equipment. It is also economically unreasonable and wasteful. Thus, we can see that the adoption of new techniques will definitely promote further specialization in production. To realize specialization in production we should involve the production of single products, so as to enable the people to concentrate their efforts on studying the technique of producing this product, accumulate experience, promote technical innovation and technical revolution and raise the standard of production technique in this respect. Thus, the depth and breadth of specialization in production of a country is the mark of the level of that country's production technique.

Social production is a unified whole. Specialized production divides social production into independent production departments; then coordination joins these divided production departments into an organic whole. The two are mutually reciprocal. Specialized production is the basis of coordination. Coordination in turn is the inevitable condition for specialized production. With the development of specialized production, widespread coordination is inevitably called for. If coordination is not organized properly, specialized production cannot be consolidated and developed.

Organizing coordination between specialized trades can greatly raise labor productivity and economize the consumption of socially necessary labor time involved in the production of a single product. Marx once said: "The economy of time, along with the planned distribution of labor time among various branches of production, remains the first economic law on the basis of commercial production." ("Foundations of Critique of Political Economy," Vol 1, p 112) The further specialized production develops, the less is the consumption of labor time for each single product and the higher is the labor productivity. This is because specialized production is the result of the division of the production process into different phases and the division of a product into different parts. This division can raise the labor productivity in every part of an entire product. Also, the mutual coordination between various specialized factories in producing a certain product will create new productive forces. In a capitalist society, in order to obtain the greatest profit, the capitalists endeavored to develop specialized production swiftly, increase the scope of coordination daily and cross national boundaries. But because the means of production are under the auspices of capitalist private ownership and the entire social production is in a state of anarchy, coordination is carried out primarily inside the monopoly enterprises, and the competition between monopoly organizations is extremely acute. Under the socialist system, the development of the national economy in a planned manner replaces the capitalist competition and the state of anarchy in production. It is entirely possible for us to effectively organize coordination between specialized trades within the entire social framework. Of course, to change this possibility into a reality, to give full play to the superiority of socialist planned economy and to obtain the best economic results, great efforts will have to be made. We must continue to raise our economic management on the basis of summing up our own experiences and criticizing and absorbing foreign experiences.

II

It is more necessary and suitable for the machine building industry to organize coordination between specialized trades. This is determined by the characteristics of this industrial department. First, machine products are assembled from many parts and are therefore divisible in nature. A Liberation model automobile is made up of some 11,000 parts, and an all-purpose grinder is made up of some 1,900 parts. The production of these numerous parts and the processing of each part can be carried out by different enterprises. Secondly, to a certain extent some parts of machine products are universally usable. For instance, gears, hydraulic presses, and fasteners are needed by the automobile, tractor, lathe, and engineering machinery trades. This general utilization precisely forms the basis for breaking through trade barriers and for organizing specialized large-volume production. Thirdly, many parts of machine products have similar structures: for instance, the piston, piston ring, crankshaft and connecting rod of different kinds of generators. It is

possible to concentrate these parts which are of roughly similar size in one enterprise in order to carry out specialized production. Fourthly, although there are numerous parts in a machine product, in the production process most of them need to go through the stages of casting, forging, heat treatment and electroplating. These technologies are roughly similar and can be concentrated in a factory specialized in handling these technologies.

Reviewing the process of the development of the machine building industry in the world's advanced industrial countries, we can see that their specialized production generally experienced the following stages: In the beginning a factory produced all kinds of machinery for many different trades. Then some factories would produce lathes exclusively, while other factories would produce automobiles exclusively, and so forth. Later on, among factories that produced lathes, some would engage exclusively in producing machine beds, others in grinders, thereby realizing specialization in products. Still later on, from specialization in products they developed into specialization in parts production and specialization in technologies, when many factories coordinated in producing a product. At present, in an advanced industrial country, the form of specialized production organized on the basis of parts and technologies for products of large-volume production has been basically established.

In the early years after the founding of the nation, when the basis of our country's machine building industry was very weak, we set up a group of "all-round factories." At the time this was inevitable. But, an "all-round factory" is, after all, a backward form. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, as early as 1964 the machine building industry carried out some reorganizations in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades, and definite results were scored. In 1973 we again put forth the question of getting organized and carrying out technical reform. However, our proposal was cut short due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four." Some enterprises which were reorganized were forced to fall back on their old forms. As a result, the degree of specialization in production in our country's machine building industry was extremely low. Now, having toppled the "gang of four" and swept away the obstacle on our road of advance, we can implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in a better manner. We must follow the plan of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and actively and systematically launch the reorganization of the machine building industry in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades.

The machine building industry is the equipping department of the national economy. To realize the four modernizations before the end of the century it is necessary for the machine building industry to develop still more swiftly in order to meet the needs of every field. This is a glorious task entrusted to us by history and is a task which we must finish as we follow Chairman Hua on the new Long March.

A prominent question today that affects the high-speed development of the machine building industry is the backward production organization and management. The factories are "large and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive." In the machine building industry, 80 percent are "all-round factories" that are involved in casting, forging, processing of large, medium and small pieces, assembling, tool manufacturing and machinery repairs. A province, a municipality or even a district will have a system of its own and will run its own trades. Redundant planning and production are still widespread phenomena. Some of our comrades still believe that "all-round factories" can do anything, can be managed more smoothly and can be made use of more conveniently. They do not take into consideration costs and economic results. Whatever they lack they will try to supplement. The factories become more and more self-contained, while the condition of redundant production becomes more and more serious. Those that are suitable for organizing large-scale production can only engage in medium-scale production or even small-scale production. Those that are suitable for organizing group production can only engage in single-product, small-scale production. This seriously affects the adoption of advanced technologies, obstructs technical progress and involves high costs, great consumption, poor quality and low labor productivity. This condition is incompatible with the demand for the realization of the four modernizations and the high-speed development of the machine building industry. Now we have reached the stage when we must be determined to basically change this backward enterprise organization. Before the machine building industry lies the question of whether we truly want high speed or pretend to want high speed. Pretending to want high speed means to stick to traditional things and continue to follow the road of developing "all-round factories." Truly wanting high speed means to do a good job in reorganizing the machine building industry, organize in a down-to-earth manner the coordination between specialized trades in production and follow the one and only path of high-quality, high-level and high-speed development of the machine building industry.

III

Realizing coordination between specialized trades in production entails a major reorganization of our country's machine building industry. It inevitably involves a profound revolution in connection with production relations and the superstructure. Chairman Mao said: "Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The reformation of these incompatible parts will meet with difficulties and resistance. A sharp struggle exists. We must take the

exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key and overcome our difficulties with a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, solve our problems and be vanguards in carrying out coordination between specialized trades.

Organizing coordination between specialized trades should correspondingly improve the form of industrial management and organize all kinds of specialized production companies. In the past we have made attempts in this respect, with some success. But Lin Piao and the "gang of four" regarded the socialist companies in specialized production as capitalism and criticized them. Today some comrades still have lingering fears. A specialized production company is a form of managing production. Whether it is socialist or capitalist depends on what system it is related to. If it is related to the capitalist system of private ownership, then it is capitalist in nature. If it is related to the socialist system of public ownership, then it is socialist in nature. Although our company somewhat resembles that of the capitalist trust system, in nature it is altogether different. The capitalist trust system takes as its basis the capitalist private ownership of means of production and regards as its aim the seizure of monopolization of profits. Its internal planning intensifies competition in social production and a state of anarchy. Our specialized production company, however, takes as its basis the socialist system of public ownership and regards as its aim the fulfillment of the needs of society and the people. Its production activities are organized under the state unified planning. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" seized on the resemblance of the two in form, juggled the differences in essence between the two and criticized as capitalist what is socialist. Their aim was to confuse our country's industrial management and undermine the development of modern industry.

We should also make a concrete analysis of the capitalist trust system: On the one hand it is a monopoly league of capitalists and is an instrument of the bourgeoisie in exploiting the proletariat and in seizing the biggest profit. On the other hand it corresponds to the needs of socialized mass production and is a form of scientific management of production. We can borrow and learn from its scientific method of management. Lenin pointed out: "We, the party and the proletariat, have no other way of acquiring the ability to organize large-scale production on trust lines, as trusts are organized, except by acquiring it from first-class capitalist experts." ("Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty Bourgeois Mentality," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 555) Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao taught us: "We must firmly reject and criticize all the decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries. But this should in no way prevent us from learning the advanced science and technology of capitalist countries and whatever is scientific in the management of their enterprises." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Following the teachings of revolutionary teachers, we should, in organizing coordination between specialized trades in production, borrow foreign scientific methods of management. We should

establish some specialized companies in accordance with the characteristics of machine products and in accordance with the principle of unified leadership and management by different levels. This type of company is an economic organization and must practice independent economic accounting. The company should take into consideration the different situations of its subsidiary enterprises and practice unified management over supply, production, marketing, personnel, capital and materials, so as to achieve the goal of simplicity, unity, efficiency, economy and opposition to bureaucracy.

In organizing coordination between specialized trades we must rid ourselves of the mentality of small producers in doing business and establish the mentality of running socialist large-scale industry. The small producers mentality of doing business which has been passed down to us from several thousand years is a serious obstacle to organizing coordination between specialized trades. The prominent characteristic of small producers is self-sufficiency and self-containment. Comrades who embrace this mentality think about problems and do things by proceeding from the partial interest of their own unit or locality. They prefer to be "large and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive" and to "not have to ask anybody for anything." They are indifferent to adopting new technologies and to obtaining the greatest economic results. This kind of thinking is antagonistic to the demand for running socialist large-scale industry. Socialist large-scale industry calls for people to consider the problem by bearing in mind the overall situation, by being enthusiastic toward the adoption of new technologies, by taking into consideration economic results and by supporting coordination between specialized trades. If we do not rid ourselves of the small producers mentality of doing business and do not boycott departmentalism, we will not be able to advance in big strides in the coordination between specialized trades.

In organizing coordination between specialized trades we must conscientiously study objective economic laws and consciously apply them, so that when we formulate general and specific policies and management systems we not only can resolutely persevere in the socialist orientation of the enterprise, but also can strengthen business management in a better way and promote production. In coordination in the past, due to unreasonable price and taxation policies, taxes became more redundant as division of labor became more minute and the parts became more dispersed. Coupled with profits for the factories in coordination, the prices of products produced through coordination became very high. As a result, the more jobs the main machinery plant had, the higher were the costs. Two consequences ensued: One was that the profits of the main machinery plant were reduced, thereby blunting the enthusiasm of the main machinery plant in carrying out coordination between specialized trades. The other was that the prices of products were raised when they were finally completed by the main machinery plant. This way, one could not see the superiority in the organization of coordination between specialized trades. Neither of the above situations is favorable to the development of coordination

between specialized trades. Furthermore, due to the limitations imposed by the existing system of raw materials supply, some enterprises, which originally should have practiced large-volume production to satisfy not only the needs of their own locality but the needs of other localities, were unable to give full play to their roles as specialized enterprises. These questions point to the need to formulate rational price policies and taxation policies as well as to further improve the work of materials supply. In coordination between specialized trades there exist contradictions between the central and the locality, between the province and the prefecture, municipality and county, and between the main machinery plant and the parts factory. All of these require our having a correct policy and adopting a correct attitude. In handling the relationship between one enterprise and another we must attach importance to the application of the form of economic contract. Through the contract system we can establish a correspondingly stabilizing relationship between enterprises and enable them to do a good job in coordination.

In organizing coordination between specialized trades we must do a good job in standardization, serialization and general utilization of products. At present the machine models of our country's machine building industry are disorderly, and our level of "standardization, serialization and general utilization" is low, which create difficulties for specialized production. Without the "standardization, serialization and general utilization" of products there will be no specialization in production. When the level of "standardization, serialization and general utilization" is low, we cannot do a good job in specialization in production. This is a problem of law. To admit this law is easy. To consciously do things in accordance with this law is not so simple. In reorganizing the machine building industry the departmentalist mentality of "regarding myself as the main factor" and of only allowing "changes" which affect you and not me is a serious obstacle to the work of "standardization, serialization and general utilization." It must be overcome. Some 2,000 years ago Emperor Chin unified China and was able to carry out "one language for all," "one track system for all vehicles" and a unified system of weights and measures, thus changing the condition of "differences in language," "excessive vehicles and unsystematized tracks" and disunity in the system of weights and measures. Can we not even carry out the "standardization, serialization and general utilization" of a machine product today? We have a superior socialist system and have got rid of the interference of the "gang of four." It is entirely possible to do this work well. We must penetratingly carry out investigations and study, conscientiously sum up experiences and lessons, adopt practical methods, conscientiously carry out "standardization, serialization and general utilization," try our best to use as few kinds of products to satisfy the needs of every field and try our best to use parts that are generally usable in the assembling of different kinds of products.

Recently brilliant leader Chairman Hua wrote an inscription for the machine building industry: "Conscientiously learn from Taching, give

full play to the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of staffers and workers on the machine building industrial front, and make greater contributions to the realization of the four modernizations on the new Long March." Esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh also wrote an inscription: "Develop the machine building industry in a big way, bring forth more technological equipment for the various departments of the national economy, and strive to speedily build China into a modern, powerful socialist country." We will live up to the earnest hope of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, follow the revolutionary spirit of the people of Taching, seize the day, work hard, and, together with the local party committees, do a good job in the reorganization of the machine building industry; increase production, raise quality, lower cost, reduce consumption and enable the machine building industry to serve the high-speed development of the national economy.

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INVESTIGATION OF COORDINATION BETWEEN SPECIALIZED TRADES IN THE PRODUCTION OF HAND-GUIDED TRACTORS IN CHANGCHOU MUNICIPALITY

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[Article by Lin Nan [2651 0589] and Liu Fu-jung [0491 1788 2837]]

[Text] In 1965 Changchou Municipality began to reorganize its machine building industry in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades and formed a hand-guided tractor production chain. For over 10 years, by copying models, revising models and independently designing models, the municipality developed production in a big way. At first the Worker-Peasant Model 7 and Worker-Peasant Model 7A hand-guided tractors were produced. Since 1969 the East Wind Model 12 hand-guided tractor has been produced. Output in 1977 reached some 15,700 tractors, almost 23.9 times that of 1965 and over 3 times that of 1969.

<u>Year</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>
Total output (tractors)	20	630	2,125	3,900	6,600	8,250	14,000	15,700
By model:								
Model 7 and Model 7A	20	630	2,125	3,650	770			
East Wind Model 12				250	5,830	8,250	14,000	15,700

Compared with similar products produced at home, the East Wind Model 12 hand-guided tractor which Changchou produces is of high quality, low cost, light weight, simple structure and convenient handling, and high adaptability to different localities. Thus, it is welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Also, it is exported to some 30 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Why did the production of hand-guided tractor develop so very quickly, and why was the product of such high quality? One major reason was that the workers could proceed from the actual condition of their local machine

building industry and organize coordination between specialized trades in the production of hand-guided tractors in accordance with the objective law of the development of modern industry. Also, in developing production they continued to raise the level of coordination between specialized trades. As a result, they effectively pushed forward the tapping of potentials, innovation and reform of the enterprises and the raising of the level of factory management.

Persevere in the Road of Coordination Between Specialized Trades

In 1963, in accordance with the need of developing agricultural production, the relevant departments of the state and Kiangsu Province asked Changchou Municipality to produce hand-guided tractors. This municipality is a medium-sized municipality. Before liberation its industrial basis was very weak. After liberation its industry developed, but the total output value of the machine building industry still did not reach 10 percent of the municipality's total industrial output value. At that time most of the machine building factories were "small and comprehensive" factories with poor equipment, complicated production procedures and unclear orientation for development. Technologies were redundant, production was disharmonious and products were not assembled into complete sets. There were two opinions with regard to the promotion of hand-guided tractors. Some people proposed that they should act in accordance with old methods and ask the higher level to invest in the construction of an "all-round factory." Most comrades were opposed to this proposal. They held that, although Changchou Municipality had many small machine building factories which were poorly equipped, industrial production already had a definite base after the Great Leap Forward in 1958. By making full use of the existing industrial base and, in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized trades, by carrying out comprehensive planning with regard to the entire municipality's machine building industry and by carrying out rearrangements, reorganizations, and necessary supplementing and assembling in a planned and systematic way, it was possible to rapidly promote the production of hand-guided tractors. The comrades of Changchou Municipality put it well: "One table is small, but a few tables put together will make a stage."

Although the hand-guided tractor is not a high-precision product among modern industrial products, it is nevertheless an agricultural machine that pulls and pushes. Although its size is small, it has many parts. High precision in the processing of some parts is required. The motive part of the East Wind Model 12 hand-guided tractor is the Model S195-12 diesel engine. This diesel engine has 361 types of parts and 691 parts. Its base has 451 types of parts and 1,465 parts. If produced by a closed-door factory, it will have to be a "large and comprehensive" factory of a considerable scale to produce a complex product made up of so many parts. This requires not only more investment by the state but also a longer period of construction.

The Changchou municipal party committee did not adopt the proposal for building a new all-round factory. It persevered in the policy of self-reliance and of following the road of coordination between specialized trades. Through comprehensive planning, rearrangement and reorganization, it gradually established a hand-guided tractor production coordination line among some 10 factories in main machinery, subsidiary machinery, parts assembling and technological coordination. It symbolically termed this method, which corresponded to the objective law of developing socialized large-scale industry, the hand-guided tractor chain.

First it proceeded from the coordination of all activities of the nation as in a chess game and would not set up redundant points if the nation or Kiangsu Province had already established points for producing parts for assembling. For instance, the relevant departments of the state and province had already made unified arrangements for the production and supply of oil cocks, oil pumps, cylinder jackets and pistons by specialized factories. The parts which these specialized factories produced were of high quality and low cost. For instance, one piston ring which the Shanghai piston ring factory produced cost 1 chiao, and the quality was guaranteed. If the municipality were to produce that itself, it would cost more than 4 chiao, and the rate of waste products would be higher.

As for the question of parts for assembling which had to be solved within Changchou Municipality, the municipal party committee carried out unified planning and, in accordance with the principle of "full utilization and rational organization," carried out division of labor among specialized trades, coordination at fixed points and the setting up of a chain for assembling.

Within the machine building trade the main machinery plant is responsible for producing major parts and for equipping. Similar work types and equipment dispersed throughout factories were appropriately concentrated and reorganized, and a group of factories specializing in parts production and technologies were established.

The Changchou tractor plant and the Changchou diesel engine plant are the main machinery plants for producing hand-guided tractors. They were both originally all-round factories producing their own gears. The production of gears involved complicated technologies and required high skills. To continuously carry out production separately in the two factories not only achieved poor economic results but also affected the production of the main machine. To carry out chain production it was decided that the equipment and personnel of these two factories engaged in gear production would be removed and combined with the agricultural machinery repair plant to form a factory specializing in gear production.

There were some 100 people in the casting workshop of the Changchou tractor plant. But the workshop was old, and the equipment was poor and

failed to meet the needs of producing hand-guided tractors. The casting workshop of the Changchou diesel engine plant was large, and its equipment was comparatively better. But it lacked the labor force and could not make full use of the equipment. So these two casting workshops were combined to form a specialized casting workshop adjacent to the diesel engine plant. Both the Changchou tractor plant and the Changchou diesel engine plant had some small-size forging hammers. However, to produce hand-guided tractors in large quantities it was necessary to expand the workshop and enlarge the forging equipment. The Changchou forged welding factory had such equipment but could not make full use of it. So the forging equipment and personnel of the three factories were combined to form a specialized forge. Through similar methods the equipment and personnel dispersed in various factories producing nonferrous metal parts were combined into a specialized nonferrous metal casting factory.

Outside the machine building trade the municipal party committee broke through the boundaries of trades and made use of the equipment potentials and technical conditions of various trades and undertakings and carried out the relations of fixed points in production and scheduled coordination between every corner of every factory. For instance, the revolving plow would be produced by the steel casting factory, tires would be produced by the rubber shoes factory, and plastic parts would be produced by the plastic shoes factory.

After reorganizing over a period of only a little over 2 years and spending 2.48 million yuan, it established a capacity of producing 3,000 hand-guided tractors and 6,000 diesel engines annually without basically increasing the labor force. Compared with building a tractor plant on the same scale, this saved two-thirds of the investment, 1,000 members of the labor force and some 2 to 3 years.

After that, to meet the needs of the daily increasing production, Changchou Municipality on numerous occasions adopted the method of product distribution and parts dispersal to continuously raise the standard of specialization in production. It broke through the boundary of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership and gradually transferred a portion of the parts originally produced by the main machinery plant and the specialized assembling factories to the district-run collective-ownership factories. For instance, it combined several district-run groups in hardware production to shoulder the task of coordinating production of small parts for the tractor. It transferred the production of springs, which the Chiangnan machinery instruments plant was carrying out, to neighborhood production groups. With some assistance it set up factories specializing in springs production. It also turned over the assembly of some farm implements to the Weitung implements and instruments factory.

In the past few years, in order to support the development of commune-run industries, it also proposed breaking through the city-countryside boundary and transferred and dispersed some technically simpler products

and parts to the commune and brigade enterprises. For instance, it dispersed the plowing tail wheel to the Sanching farm machinery plant in Wuchin County and the revolving cultivator to the Hsinchia farm machinery plant in the suburbs.

Now there are 31 enterprises in the hand-guided tractor production chain. Of these, 2 are main machinery plants, 2 are subsidiary machinery plants, 11 are specialized parts factories, 4 are specialized technological plants and 12 are fixed-point coordinating factories. In accordance with division by economic status, 7 are enterprises of ownership by the whole people and 24 are collective-ownership enterprises. As of the end of last year the state had invested a total of some 10 million yuan in the Changchou hand-guided tractor production chain, newly added a fixed capital of some 21 million yuan and established a capacity of producing 20,000 hand-guided tractors and 40,000 diesel engines annually. From 1970 to 1977 the six factories of ownership by the whole people within the hand-guided tractor production chain turned over a total profit and revenue of 112,730,000 yuan, 10 times the state's investment.

To speed up the production of hand-guided tractors, the municipality planned to further develop coordination between specialized trades and to enable the existing enterprises to develop toward the orientation of becoming even more specialized. The major method it adopted was still the separation of parts, the separation of production processes, the development of specialization in parts production and technologies and the appropriate development of specialization in technical support.

Coordination Between Specialized Trades Raises the Level of Modernization in the Production Processes

Coordination between specialized trades is an advanced form of production organization. It reflects the objective need of the development of modern large-scale industry and is beneficial to raising technology, raising the level of modernization in the process of production and promoting the high-speed development of productive forces. The Changchou hand-guided tractor production chain integrated the development of coordination between specialized trades with technical reform. It gradually raised the level of modernization in the process of production, continuously raised labor productivity in the production of hand-guided tractors, continuously improved the quality of the product, continuously reduced the consumption of raw materials, continuously increased profits and made greater and greater contributions to the state. The following table shows the statistics of the several economic and technical indices of the Changchou tractor plant:

<u>Year</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>
Cost (in yuan per tractor)	3363.00	2550.10	2171.10	1927.05	1918.31
Profit (in 10,000 yuan)	-65.14	1.86	110.25	436.21	470.62
Labor productivity (tractors per person annually)	1.35	4.33	9.93	14.94	16.8

Lenin once pointed out: "Technical progress must entail the specialization of production of various parts." ("On the So-Called Market Question," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 84, 85) This elucidated the fact that technical progress calls for specialization in production; the development of specialization in turn creates conditions for technical progress.

Before Changchou Municipality organized the tractor production chain, the technical level of tractor production was very low. At that time the tractor plant and the diesel engine plant only had some common lathes and old equipment. The Changchou municipal party committee held that, in an age when scientific and technological developments were changing rapidly, it would be necessary to modernize the production medium in manufacturing tractors if it wanted to produce in large quantities tractors of a certain technological standard. To adopt a large-scale and high-efficiency production medium it would be necessary to take large-scale production as the prerequisite. Specialized production is the important factor for the realization of large-volume production. Thus, proceeding from the basis of the existing industry, the party committee developed coordination between specialized trades in a big way and made use of this advanced form of production organization to push the tapping of potentials, innovation and reform of enterprises, thus continuously raising the level of modernization in the process of production and high-speed development in production.

In the process of technical innovation and technical reform the Changchou tractor production chain persisted in the policy of independence and self-reliance. At the same time it paid attention to learning from the advanced experiences of other localities and other countries and regarded the adoption of advanced technologies as the main target of attack. It tried hard to make use of special equipment instead of common equipment, use the production line instead of single-machine production, employ more semiautomatic and automatic lathes and production lines and adopt advanced technologies.

After practicing specialized production, the masses of workers of the Changchou tractor plant concentrated their efforts on manufacturing major parts and meticulously studied and improved the structure of their products. Through continuous innovations and reforms in the past years, they manufactured on their own some 170 sets of special equipment, comprising 35 percent of the entire equipment capacity. They set up 11 mechanized and semiautomatic production streamlines. Now they are

building two workshops with automatic production lines. By elevating the standards of mechanization and automation they continue to raise product quality, which largely depends on technological equipment.

The target of attack for the Changchou diesel engine plant was clear. For over 10 years it realized some 2,600 items of technical innovation and successfully built with its own hands 300 sets of special equipment, comprising 54 percent of the factory's entire equipment capacity. It set up 10 mechanized production streamlines and 8 semiautomatic and automatic production streamlines. In addition to the adoption of mechanized, semi-automatic and automatic production streamlines, a large part of the processing of the major parts in the entire factory was done by special composite lathes. The condition of "one man per machine and one cut in every step" was changed. "Several cuts in every round, several surfaces in every milling procedure, several holes in every scalding procedure, and several eyes in every drilling procedure" were realized. Production increased by a wide margin. Output in 1977 was 13.44 times that of 1965, and the all-staff labor productivity increased 9.3 times.

Originally the technology of the casting workshop of this factory was extremely backward. Everything was operated by hand. Manual labor was tedious, and production capacity was very low. It was a weak link in the tractor production chain. After continuous reform the workshop set up three mechanized and semiautomatic model production streamlines and one semiautomatic molding line, manufactured over 130 sets of equipment of all kinds, adopted some 10 new technologies and techniques, and enabled the casting process to basically realize mechanization and semi-automation. Without increasing the number of workers, the shop increased the amount of casting in 1977 by 4 times that of 1965 and reached the level of producing 10,000 tons of qualified cast materials annually, thereby basically fulfilling the needs of diesel engine and tractor production. From now on, with the increase in the demand for cast materials and the raising of the standard of mechanization and automation in production, it is necessary to gradually build factories specializing in casting.

The factory specializing in assembling parts can more easily carry out technical reforms because the products are simpler and the quantities are large. Take the Changchou gear factory, for example. The factory specialized in producing gear for the S196 diesel engine and the East Wind Model 12 tractor. Because of the highly specialized nature of the work, the factory leaders were qualified to concentrate their efforts on studying the technique of producing gears and were able to score great achievements in the adoption of new technologies. They used electrocorrosion in place of the internal gear and sprocket wheel mechanical process, raising production capacity by 20 times. They used free chill pressing in place of gear shaving, raising capacity by 8 times. They used heat rolling gears in place of hobbing gears, increasing efficiency by 30 times. They actively experimented with and popularized the techniques of

high-precision casting and controllable heat treatment. After the adoption of these new techniques they raised the capacity of raw materials by a wide margin and lengthened the life of the gears.

Coordination between specialized trades is also beneficial to the collective ownership enterprises in launching technical reform. This is because, when it is included in the state plans, the collective-ownership enterprises begin to have a clear production orientation and a stable production output. The Changchou Changchiang welding factory is responsible for producing powdered metallic parts for the assembling of the tractor. The workers manufacture their own equipment and realize automation for every machine, thus enabling the annual production capacity of powdered metallic parts to reach 4 million pieces. Now they are building an automatic powdered metallic parts workshop that is controlled by computer.

Coordination between specialized trades is also beneficial to the use of social forces in helping small factories carry out technical reform. The Tungfang nonferrous metal casting factory in Changchou Municipality was originally organized from copper and aluminum casting groups of several factories. Its technical level of production was relatively low. In order to satisfy needs in the tractor production chain, and with the assistance of fraternal units, it continuously reformed old technologies and gradually shifted from the manual pouring method to the ring pouring method and developed machine casting, thus raising production efficiency. It raised output from 180 tons in 1968 to 1,500 tons in 1975. In addition to satisfying the production chain and the city, it could meet the needs of almost 40 units within and outside the province.

Readjust Some Links in Production Relations and the Superstructure and Promote the Development of Coordination Between Specialized Trades

The practice of the Changchou municipal hand-guided tractor production chain proves that coordination between specialized trades is a good form of organizing modern industrial production and is an inevitable trend in the development of modern industrial production. The transformation of "large and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive" forms of production organization into this form of coordination between specialized trades has promoted the development of productive forces and technical revolution and will inevitably involve the reform of the sphere of the superstructure and the relations of production.

In the course of organizing the hand-guided tractor production chain, Changchou Municipality frequently paid attention to readjusting the incompatible parts between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and productive forces. Its main emphasis was on solving problems in ideology and understanding. It readjusted the relations between enterprises, between trades and between the two types of ownership. It readjusted the policies, systems and

methods of economic management such as the price system. It improved enterprise management and continued to raise the level of promoting coordination between specialized trades.

1. In the course of organizing the hand-guided tractor production chain, Changchou Municipality often encountered ideological resistance, such as departmentalist thinking and the force of habit of the small producers' style of self-sufficiency. Some people held that the larger the number of items involved in coordination, the broader the sphere of coordination and the smaller the initiative of leading production. They felt that only an all-round factory which asked nothing from anybody would guarantee normal production. They had many worries about dispersing the production of parts. They were worried about not being able to turn out products on schedule and with guaranteed quality and quantity, and that this would affect a balanced production and the all-round completion of plans. Some people felt that the main machinery plant took all the credit while the parts factory had to suffer; they were reluctant to be in "supporting roles." The main machinery plants, on the other hand, were reluctant to send out their good equipment and personnel for fear that this would weaken their own strength, and so forth.

The Changchou municipal party committee held that coordination between specialized trades was indivisible. Specialization is the basis of coordination, and coordination is the condition for specialization. The higher the standard of specialized production, the closer and broader the relationship between factories in coordination. This calls for the staffers and workers, especially the leading cadres at various levels, of the enterprises to strengthen their viewpoint of the whole situation and give prominence to the communist style of work. Otherwise it is impossible to consolidate and develop coordination between specialized trades. Thus, the municipal party committee attached great importance to grasping political and ideological education, propagated coordination between specialized trades as the orientation for developing modern industry and educated the cadres to foster the idea of modern large-scale production, to overcome the narrowmindedness of departmentalism and small production and to continuously eradicate the ideological obstacles in practicing coordination between specialized trades. It called for the establishment of the new style that "all factories are of the same size, all hearts are in one place, the glory belongs to the collective and everyone help out with difficulties" within the production chain.

While doing a good job of ideological education, the municipal party committee also paid attention to solving actual problems in work and did a good job of linking work in the process of reorganization. For instance, in organizing the factory specializing in gear production it first prepared a considerable amount of gears in the main machinery plant. In the early stage of the building of the gear factory, the municipal machine building industrial bureau dispatched a strong work group to assist the factory in swiftly stabilizing technologies, passing technical

requirements and perfecting the production management system. In the half year after the plant was built, output increased four times and the waste products rate dropped from 20 percent to 5 percent. The cost of each set dropped from 470 yuan to 378 yuan. This example enabled many comrades to recognize the superiority of coordination between specialized trades and to get rid of their worries.

2. The development of coordination between specialized trades in production calls for the readjustment of the relationship between enterprises, in particular for the proper handling of the relationship between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership (which includes commune and brigade enterprises). The party committee's principle in handling the relationship between these two types of ownership enterprises is as follows: Let ownership by the whole people lead collective ownership, and let collective ownership help ownership by the whole people. They should support each other and should not engage in egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of materials. The main machinery plant will distribute to the collective ownership factories the parts to be produced but should provide machinery and technical equipment for the latter. The three methods of handling are: One, without changing the ownership of the properties, loan machines and equipment for a fee in accordance with the financial system; two, set a price for the machines or equipment and allow for payment by installments; and three, deliver machines or equipment for a price. The springs factory was formerly a production group run by the neighborhood to which it belonged. In the early stage of its founding, the Chiangnan machinery and implements plant and the diesel engine plant aided it with some machines and equipment, technical installations and funds, to a total of 170,000 yuan. With the development of production, the springs factory not only repaid the loans in 3 years but also owned fixed property totaling 169,000 yuan.

Changchou Municipality also paid attention to solving some actual problems in the process of coordination that affected the immediate interests among enterprises. It made appropriate readjustments and revisions of management systems, rules and regulations, and policies that were disadvantageous to the mobilization of the enthusiasm of the enterprises.

The items manufactured by the Changchou tractor plant itself comprised only 15 percent of the cost of the entire tractor; 85 percent stemmed from items from coordination and import. If the prices of parts produced by the assembling factories in the city were calculated in accordance with the prices fixed by the state, then the cost of the tractor would be considerably higher. To solve this problem the Changchou Municipality fixed prices for diesel engines, gears, forged pieces, copper and aluminum cast pieces and other parts to be adopted by internal coordination within the tractor production chain. Generally the prices were 10 to 20 percent lower than those of the state. Also, in accordance with the actual situation, it correspondingly readjusted the profit quota for the assembling factories. After the introduction of

specialized production, the volume of production of the assembling factories increased. So much so that, under the condition of low profits and high sales, the total profits of the various assembling factories and their contributions to the state still increased.

3. The development of coordination between specialized trades calls for the improvement of leading methods and the raising of the level of enterprise management.

The Changchou municipal hand-guided tractor production chain broke through the boundaries of district, trade, city and countryside. Within the sphere of the municipality alone, the production chain involved over 30 factories. With the development of production, the level of specialization still needs to be raised, the sphere of coordination still needs to be broadened, and the relationship between enterprises still needs to be made more intimate. We need to seek a new management method to strengthen centralized and unified management, give full play to the initiative of all the enterprises and enable them to coordinate in order to complete the state plans.

The production command over the Changchou municipal hand-guided tractor production chain is made up of special personnel assigned by the municipal machine building bureau to carry out concrete leadership and unified arrangements. The administrative relations remain unchanged for fixed-point coordinating factories, which are not machine building trades, within the production chain. But the supply, production and marketing of parts and products in hand-guided tractor production coordination are managed by the machine building bureau. In production command the frequently encountered problems are: Disharmony in the turnover of gears and forged pieces; disharmony in the progress of production in various assembling factories; overstockings in some cases; stoppage of work because of the delay in the supply of materials. As a result, the main machinery plant cannot start assembling because of insufficient parts. The technical standards are not unified; a product considered qualified by one factory will not be considered qualified by another factory. Thus, the task of arrangement by the production command aims primarily at strengthening a balance over the daily production plan, unifying technical requirements and quality control standards, organizing factories in technical cooperation and doing a good job of the transfer and supply of materials. At the same time, the production command goes deep into the various factories to carry out investigations and study, grasp key problems and solve contradictions. At present, in accordance with the needs of the development of coordination between specialized trades, it is actively creating conditions for and planning to set up a tractor industry company to gradually practice unification of people, capital and materials, and supply, production and marketing and to carry out unified accounting. Under the state unified planning it is establishing contract systems and economic responsibility systems, doing things strictly in accordance with objective economic laws and making full use of all kinds

of economic methods to promote the further development of coordination between specialized trades. At the same time, in order to raise the technological standard in tractor production and enable hand-guided tractor production to reach and surpass the world's advanced level, it is making plans to set up corresponding scientific research organs and schools to actively foster scientific and technological personnel for the manufacture of tractors.

9335

CSO: 4004

VIGOROUSLY RUN COMMUNE AND BRIGADE ENTERPRISES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 53-56

[Article by the Hunan Provincial Bureau of Commune and Brigade Enterprises]

[Text] Under the warm concern and concrete guidance of our wise leader Chairman Hua, the commune and brigade enterprises of Hunan are developing vigorously. Since 1970 their total output value has risen by an average of 30 percent annually. Today all the communes and 98 percent of the brigades in the province run a total of 137,000 enterprises of various kinds. In 1977 the enterprise output value constituted 28 percent of the total income of the three levels of the people's commune. The development of commune and brigade enterprises has effectively promoted agricultural production, reinforced the link between industry and agriculture, and brought closer the relationship between the worker and the peasant, and it is transforming the appearance of the rural village, manifesting the great hopes and future of the people's commune.

Our country is in a new historical era. The general task of this era is to realize the four modernizations. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy as well as of socialist modernization. How to develop agriculture at a high speed and mobilize the hundreds of millions of peasants to pursue industry, thereby greatly accelerating the progress of the four modernizations, is an urgent task confronting us. We must respond to the party Central Committee's appeal, liberate our thinking a little more, hasten our stride a little more, start from the practical, pay attention to investigation and study, eliminate the narrow vision and habits of small production, courageously break down the old barriers, create new methods, and travel on new paths. Meanwhile, vigorously running commune and brigade enterprises is a necessary path for the high-speed development of agriculture and early realization of the four modernizations.

The people's commune must pursue industry, and the peasant must engage in industry as well as agriculture. This is one of Chairman Mao's important guiding thoughts. The 20 years of practice of the commune movement have given us a new understanding of his thought.

In the past, every individual had his own occupation. The peasant tilled the land and the worker worked in a factory. This was considered an unalterable principle. Chairman Mao, with his Marxist foresight and lofty outlook, broke down this traditional concept. As early as at the beginning of the commune movement, Chairman Mao, in the "Resolution on a Number of Issues of the People's Commune" formulated under his personal sponsorship, pointed out clearly: "The people's commune must vigorously run industry." In the brilliant 7 May directive he again pointed out that the peasants, "when the conditions are present, must also collectively start some small plants." His directives were the concrete application of the idea that the peasants are the main force of the socialist revolution and construction on the issue of industrialization.

Ours is a large nation of 800 million people. The rural area is vast, and the absolute majority of the populace are peasants. To realize industrialization of the nation, the state naturally must create a large group of modern enterprises as the backbone. However, if we rely only on a small number of people to operate industry apart from the broad rural villages and the several hundred million peasants, without undertaking commune industrialization and without activating the positivity of the peasants by creating commune and brigade industries, not only will we be unable to realize industrialization, but the cities will develop abnormally, and the gap between the city and the village and between the worker and the peasant will grow ever wider. Meanwhile, we must realize that devoting the 300 million farm labor force to the production of food, as China is doing today, is incompatible with the requirements of the four modernizations. With the gradual realization of agricultural mechanization and modernization, the labor force for farming will greatly diminish. In regard to the surplus labor force, not only will the existing cities not be able to absorb it, but even if new cities are created, the problem will not be fundamentally solved. The only solution is to fully develop the superiority of the people's commune in being big and publicly owned, reinforcing the support rendered by urban industry to the rural villages, vigorously running commune and brigade industries by means of urban-rural cooperation, and following the path of commune industrialization.

Chairman Hua said that it would make a big difference when 800 million people pursued industry. In 1970, on discovering Tsaichiakang commune in our province, an advanced model in commune and brigade enterprises, Chairman Hua instructed us to look at Tsaichiakang and think of the entire province. If all the 3,000 or more communes in the province followed its example and created a million-yuan industrial output value annually, the province would have over 3 billion yuan, and if every production team assigned one or two members of its labor force to industry, the province would have 700,000 to 800,000 men. It would be a great strength. The development of commune and brigade enterprises in our province has fully proved the accuracy of Chairman Hua's wise theory. Take 1977 as an example: The coal output of commune and brigade

industries constituted one-third of the total output of the province; manganese ore, two-thirds; sulfur, one-half; and nonferrous ores such as lead and zinc, one-quarter; and nonmetallic ores such as barite, dolomite and gypsum and building materials such as bricks, tiles, lime, gravel and stone all occupied a large proportion, some as high as 70 or 80 percent. All these facts clearly tell us that commune and brigade industry is vast in area and large in volume and possesses a unique superiority. It is an indispensable aspect of state industrialization; therefore, state industrialization should include commune industrialization. If one thinks only of the industry of the whole people's ownership system once industrialization is mentioned, placing no importance on commune and brigade industry, this will obviously be extremely erroneous.

Vigorously running commune and brigade industry and realizing commune industrialization will not only hasten the progress of state industrialization but also accelerate agricultural mechanization and modernization and promote the high-speed development of agriculture.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "The fundamental path for agriculture is mechanization." Currently, China's agricultural production basically has not freed itself from manual labor, and the rate of labor production is very low. To meet the requirements of the four modernizations, improve agriculture and greatly raise the output of agricultural and subsidiary production, just having the spirit of hard work is not enough; mechanization must be rapidly realized. This calls for large amounts of money, equipment and technical strength. Take money, for instance: To realize agricultural mechanization in the province a sizable sum of money is required. Where does it come from? Relying on state investment is impossible, and relying on the reserve of agriculture itself is also limited. Once the commune and brigade industry becomes successful, such problems will be solved relatively easily.

As shown by large numbers of factual instances, whether to create commune and brigade industry, and whether to create it on a large or small scale, will have an extremely obvious influence on the development of agricultural production. Shaoyang and Shaotung counties in our province were subdivided from one county at the beginning of liberation, and the foundation of their agriculture was originally not inferior. In 1965, as the agricultural drainage and irrigation facilities of Shaoyang County were the best in the former Shaoyang Prefecture, its total grain output was 5 million catties more than that of Shaotung County. However, from 1970 on, Shaotung County vigorously operated commune and brigade enterprises, especially the many commune and brigade industries. The county's 1977 total output value for its commune and brigade enterprises reached more than 72 million yuan (more than 66 million yuan from industrial output), constituting 41.9 percent of the commune's three-level economy. It relied mainly on the reserves of commune and brigade enterprises to buy over 7,400 units of agricultural power equipment, including over 640 large

and medium tractors and over 150 agricultural motor vehicles, and to build 7 medium water reservoirs, guaranteeing a harvest regardless of flood or drought and a steady and high yield on 80 percent of the farmland. Meanwhile, Shaoyang County basically concentrated on agriculture, ignoring the development of commune and brigade enterprises. The 1977 total output value of its commune and brigade enterprises was only over 12 million yuan, constituting 15.7 percent of the commune's three-level economy. Due to the lack of funds, the two medium water conservation projects have not been completed, and the area that is guaranteed a good harvest regardless of flood or drought is only around 50 percent. The difference in the development level of commune and brigade enterprises resulted in a great difference in grain output. The total 1977 grain output of Shaotung County was over 120 million catties, averaging 242 catties per mou, more than that of Shaoyang County. Instances of this type are not rare in our province. They have effectively refuted the erroneous theory that "when grain output has not reached the planned level, one cannot think of developing commune and brigade enterprises." If we use the narrow vision of small production and the viewpoint of metaphysics to guide agricultural production and are unable to see the internal links between industry and agriculture and the tremendous promoting effect of industry on agriculture and to recognize the direction of development of the people's commune toward a combined economic organization of industry and agriculture, but simplistically grasp agriculture for the sake of agriculture alone, then not only will we fail to develop commune and brigade industry but, due to the lack of money, equipment and technology, agricultural mechanization will not be accomplished, and the high-speed development of agriculture will become merely empty words. If we sincerely wish to develop agriculture at a high speed and to mechanize it, we must vigorously develop commune and brigade enterprises.

"Integrate agriculture and industry and promote the gradual elimination of the opposition between the city and the village." ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) This was a strategic task proposed by Marx and Engels for the proletariat after it had seized political power. Our great leader Chairman Mao summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement, promptly discovered and affirmed the great creation of the Chinese people--the people's commune--and pointed out that the advantage of the people's commune is that it integrates the worker, peasant, soldier, student and merchant. By means of the people's commune we will not only realize the industrialization of agricultural production but also turn the commune into a combined economic center of industry and agriculture. With the creation and development of such an economic center, we will gradually realize the transition of the commune from the small to the large collective ownership system, and from the socialist collective to the socialist system of ownership by the whole people, and gradually solve the strategic issue of turning the peasants into workers. Therefore, the reason Chairman Mao proposed commune operation of industry and highly praised commune and brigade enterprises as the great hopes of the

people's commune was that it is the correct path for the final elimination of the gaps between the worker and the peasant and between the city and the village.

In view of the above, one can see that it is extremely significant for the commune to pursue both industry and agriculture, devoting itself not only to agriculture but also to industry. Let us discuss the present stage. With the commune running industry, it will be possible to fully unearth the financial and manpower potentials of the communes and brigades, requiring very little state investment, without increasing the state staff and worker norms and total wages and without consuming commodity grain, and to create large amounts of industrial products for the state; it will be possible to combine farming, forestry, livestock, subsidiary production and fishery with the processing industry, attaining the stage of obtaining raw materials locally, processing locally and partially marketing locally, thereby greatly economizing on transport costs and reducing losses in transit; it will be possible to fully utilize the remnant resources and all kinds of leftover materials which cannot be used by the large industries, supplying ever more assets to society; it will be possible to undertake the manufacture of large volumes of products farmed out by state industries, enable the latter to concentrate on advanced, precision and high-level products and products which are rare and in short supply, and benefit the reorganization of industry according to the principle of specialization cooperation. All these factors will greatly promote the development of the production force. On the foundation of production development, the two-level economy of the commune and brigade will grow ever stronger, and the material life of the commune members will gradually improve. In addition, the scientific and cultural levels of the broad masses of commune members will be raised, and all kinds of favorable conditions will be created for the rapid development of rural cultural, educational and health enterprises.

Commune and brigade enterprises are newborn things of socialism. Like all newborn things, they will inevitably encounter setbacks and the attack and opposition of class enemies and of opportunist headmen in the party. In 1961, when these newborn things first appeared, Liu Shao-chi slandered them as "the trouble bag of corruption and theft" and "the black den of the cadres' special privileges," and he attempted to chop them down completely and make the commune and brigade levels of the people's commune penniless. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" recklessly encouraged anarchism and advocated the free production, free pricing and free marketing of commune and brigade enterprises, resulting in the confusion of operation and management and inundation of capitalism. Though their means of sabotaging commune brigade enterprises were different, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had the same goal, which was to weaken and destroy the collective economy of the people's commune and destroy the material foundation of the proletarian dictatorship in order to create conditions

for the restoration of capitalism. Their crimes of sabotaging commune and brigade enterprises must be thoroughly liquidated. In regard to the capitalist tendencies and improper trends in the commune and brigade enterprises, we must firmly restrain and rectify them. We must not, because of the problems appearing in the development process of commune and brigade enterprises, "stop eating because of choking" and lose the courage to develop them vigorously.

Developing commune and brigade enterprises is a task with a rich content, involving a wide area and possessing a strong policy essence. The key to performing the task successfully is in reinforcing the party's guidance. When working in Hunan, Chairman Hua issued instructions time and again to place the issue of developing commune and brigade enterprises on the daily agenda of the party committee. As early as 1972, under Chairman Hua's advocacy, our province organized the Bureau of Commune and Brigade Enterprises and formulated a series of policies and measures for the development of such enterprises. In 1975 Chairman Hua personally proposed that a provincial committee secretary serve as the bureau chief. As proved by practice, to reinforce the party's leadership of commune and brigade enterprises we must constantly conduct education on the ideological-political line, straighten out the socialist direction of the enterprises and conscientiously handle the policies and planned management.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "On what base point do we rest our policy? We must rest it on the base point of our own strength, and it is called self-revitalization." We must firmly adhere to this policy when developing commune and brigade enterprises. In the process of creating commune and brigade enterprises, the provincial committee has always tackled the issue of whether to rely on the masses and self-revitalize or to turn the eyes upward and stretch the hands outward, raised it to the height of the struggle between the two lines, and repeatedly educated the cadres of all levels. By doing so, everyone has clearly realized that, in developing commune and brigade enterprises, one must neither simplistically rely on state support nor place the burden on the production teams, but must start out from reality, adjust to the locale, make use of the crude and the simple, and activate the commune membership masses to create the enterprises with their own hands. The masses are the true heroes. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of commune members have the clearest understanding of the needs of agricultural production and are most familiar with the situation of natural resources. In regard to the kinds of enterprises to be created and their feasibility and priority, they have the most right to speak out. According to the natural conditions of our province, which is 70 percent mountain, 10 percent water and 20 percent farmland, and other factors, the commune and brigade enterprises of our province began with planting and breeding and cultivation and gradually developed to the processing of farm and subsidiary products and other industries. We took one industry as the starting point, spread out to others and activated still others. Meanwhile, by adhering to the policy of self-revitalization, we were able to

mobilize and rely on the masses to overcome the various difficulties encountered in the process of development. In recent years the methods of "rolling snowball," "hen laying egg," plant leading plant, old plant leading new plant, big plant leading small plant, turning one plant into many, many plants helping one plant, and joint operation by communes, by brigades and by commune and brigade adopted in the various areas of our province were all created by the masses, thus effectively solving the shortages of money, equipment, technology, raw materials and materials and promoting the rapid development of the enterprises from few to many, from small to big and from indigenous to foreign.

When we stress the policy of self-revitalization, it does not mean that we reject the support of the various branches and fields. On the contrary, the provincial committee pays serious attention to the education of all the units on the principle of agriculture as the foundation and has continuously struggled against such erroneous tendencies as "strangling agriculture," "squeezing out agriculture" and "burying agriculture." This year it has formulated a series of concrete provisions, such as that agricultural and subsidiary products, in principle, are to be processed locally by the communes and brigades; the existing agricultural and subsidiary products processing plants operated by industrial and commercial units, except those with a relatively great influence on the national economy and those with relatively complicated equipment which the communes and brigades cannot handle for the time being, must all be systematically transferred to the communes and brigades within 1 or 2 years; urban industries must actively farm out the manufacture of their products to the communes and brigades, furnish the raw materials and materials, special equipment and technical training, and follow the system of linking up plant and commune and of contract teaching and learning; commune and brigade enterprises may comprehensively utilize the "three wastes" of state-operated enterprises without charge; the commune and brigade enterprises which have been taken over by provincial, regional, county and municipal units in recent years must be returned to the communes and brigades; except for those belonging to towns under counties (municipalities), all handicraft enterprises must be assigned to the people's communes as commune and brigade enterprises. In addition, it has gradually reformed the pricing, taxation and reward policies for the purpose of adjusting to the need of commune and brigade enterprises, thereby assuring the gradual completion of the work to support commune and brigade enterprises.

Many products manufactured by commune and brigade enterprises occupy an important position in the entire national economy. They are having an ever more important effect. We must adopt a positive attitude, conscientiously handle the work of planned management and, by means of all kinds of patterns, include the development of commune and brigade enterprises and their supply, production and marketing in the unified planning of the state or departments, so that the commune and brigade enterprises will have arrangements for their production, sources for their raw

materials and circulation for their products. It is wrong to feel that the commune and brigade enterprises are too hard to manage because they are too scattered, their products too miscellaneous, and their volumes too small, and that, therefore, it is too troublesome to include them in the plans. As a unit, a commune or brigade enterprise is small and its output low. But, taken as a whole, in view of the large number and wide area of these enterprises, their output is considerable and they play an important role in the national economy. If the commune and brigade enterprises, which occupy such an important position, are not included in state planning but left in a state of anarchy, then this will not only affect the development of the enterprises themselves and damage the positivity of the masses, but also inevitably destroy the balanced development of the entire national economy and hurt the socialist unified market.

How do we include the supply, production and marketing of commune and brigade enterprises in state planning? The methods followed by the areas in our province where the planned management work is relatively successful are as follows: 1) The equipment and resources for newly created items of commune and brigade enterprises and the products of existing enterprises whose production is normal, whose quality is stable, and which are needed by the state and the areas are included in provincial, regional or county planning, and the products are distributed and the raw materials and materials supplied by the province, region or county. 2) Commune and brigade enterprises creating products and parts farmed out by industries and enterprises belonging to the county level and above, and articles processed for or marketed by commercial, supply and marketing and foreign trade units are managed according to the branches and fields and, by contract, included in the plans of the units concerned. 3) In regard to products which are not included in the plans or which are above norm, the units in charge of the commune and brigade enterprises will, via the normal cooperative channels, organize resource exchanges and mutually balance the surpluses and shortages in order to supplement the inadequacies of state planning. While successfully handling planned management and financial management, implementing the principle of industrious and thrifty commune operation and democratic financial management, and gradually creating and making sound all kinds of regulations and systems, they activate the masses in technical innovation and technical revolution, continuously raise the labor production rate, and improve the quantity and quality of products. As proved by the facts, this insures that the sound development of commune and brigade enterprises will be solidly guaranteed.

6080

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CRITICIZING A REACTIONARY FORUM OF THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

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[Article by the mass criticism group of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee]

[Text] In August 1976, when our state was at the juncture of a decisive battle between a bright and a dark future, the "gang of four" went all out to stir up one evil counterrevolutionary wave after another. Radio Shanghai was then directly controlled by them and was holding a so-called broadcast forum entitled "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Period of Socialism." Professing to explain the theories of classes, class contradiction and class struggle during the socialist period, this forum openly tampered with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, wildly attacked a large group of leading comrades of the central and local levels and wantonly disparaged the socialist system and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China. This is further evidence of the "gang of four's" crime in preparing counterrevolutionary public opinion to usurp party and state power at all levels.

This broadcast forum was concocted by the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee--a vanguard of the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. It was another big poisonous weed following "Socialist Political Economy," "A Concise Dictionary of Philosophy" and "Lectures on Party History." Comprising eight lectures, this forum began on 31 August 1976. Five lectures had been broadcast by 16 October following the smashing of the "gang of four." The remaining three had been drafted but were not broadcast due to the fast development of the great struggle to smash the "gang of four."

The fact that the followers of the "gang of four" in Shanghai held such a broadcast forum at such a moment had a profound political background. In the spring of 1976 the "gang of four" quickened their pace of usurping party and state power. They put forward the counterrevolutionary political program which held that "veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders" to frenziedly attack and frame Comrade Teng

Hsiao-ping and a large group of the central leading comrades. They started all propaganda machines in their control singing the same tune, i.e., "There are bourgeoisie in the Communist Party." At the end of February of the same year, Ma Tien-shui, a follower of the "gang of four" in Shanghai who was directly instructed by Kuomintang secret agent Chang Chun-chiao, called a propaganda work forum which was attended by more than 120 people. At the forum he peddled the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary political program and brought up for discussion such questions as "For whose interests do the bourgeois democrats speak when they come to the period of socialist revolution?" and "What should the theoretical and literary and art circles do to reflect more deeply the socialist relations between classes?" He publicly spread the fallacies that "capitalist roaders are a class," "drawing a salary of 300 to 400 yuan means exploitation" and "bourgeois rights are the lifeblood of the bourgeoisie in the party." At the same time the ringleaders of the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee plotted that a pamphlet on the so-called bourgeoisie in the party be compiled, specifying that this pamphlet should convey the "essence" of the book "Socialist Political Economy" published in Shanghai and that reference should be made to the materials supplied by theoretical discussion meetings all over the country. Such "theoretical discussion meetings" were held in Liaoning and Peking in March and April. The "third theoretical discussion meeting in Peking Municipality" issued its material.

The "gang of four's" followers seemed to have hit the jackpot and collected all this material. After 6 months of intensive concoction they prepared a big poisonous weed entitled "Talking About the Bourgeoisie in the Party." After reading the draft, a ringleader of the writing group was elated, saying: "Though only a pamphlet, it has touched on some basic problems in socialist political economy." By August, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was seriously ill. Taking this opportunity, the "gang of four" stepped up their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities, changed the title of this pamphlet to "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Socialist Period" and used the broadcasting station to hastily peddle it in the name of a theoretical forum.

The "gang of four" deliberately attempted to pull down a large group of veteran cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to topple our party to attain their sinister goal of usurping party and state power. The publication of this poisonous weed "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Socialist Period" was an important part of this sinister scheme. The "gang of four" went everywhere in 1976 to peddle the fallacy that "there are bourgeoisie in the party." Chang Chun-chiao came forward first to yell that "in our party, and primarily in the Political Bureau, there are bourgeoisie as well as comprador bourgeoisie." Afterward he gave a direct order to the archringleader of the writing group: "In carrying out the socialist revolution there is a great deal of work to be done; in grasping class struggle there is also a great deal of work to be done. But if we do not systematically study the class relations in each

period, we shall either be unable to grasp the key link or we shall misapply a policy and make mistakes." Taking this hint, the writing group's ringleader on the one hand organized some people to investigate class relations and collect trifling information for use as factual data in their reversal of the relationship between the enemy and ourselves and in their fabrication of the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the party. On the other hand he tampered with and distorted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and fabricated a theoretical basis for the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the party. The pamphlet "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Socialist Period" was a hodgepodge running more than 60,000 characters and talking profusely about the so-called new change in class relations and so-called emergence of bourgeoisie in the party. It was representative of an evil wind. Analyzing this pamphlet will help us see what sort of stuff were the fallacies spread by the "gang of four" in this field.

1. They Babbled That the Emergence of the Bourgeoisie in the Party Is "the Most Fundamental Part" of the New Change in Class Relations During the Socialist Period

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of primary importance for all revolutions as well as for the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "gang of four" did their utmost to create chaos on this question. Making grand gestures, the first lecture of "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Socialist Period" began with the question of the target of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the pretext of a new change in class relations, it then insisted that the target of the revolution was "the bourgeoisie in the party." It said: "The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the party is the most important and most fundamental part of the change in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the reorganization of the bourgeois ranks." It was said that after the proletariat seized political power, particularly after the socialist transformation in the means of production was completed, all the "principal elements" and "main forces" of the bourgeoisie entered the party. The task of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat was to "go on making revolution against the bourgeoisie in the party." Otherwise "the revolution would miss its target, the proletarian revolutionaries would not be sober" and there would be "great danger." Whoever disagreed with this nonsense was a "revisionist."

However, a lie is always a lie and can never replace the truth. Only by making Marxist analysis and estimates can we draw practical, scientific conclusions on questions concerning the basic conditions of and changes in class relations during the socialist period and the target of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Change in anything results from internal contradictions. Chairman Mao pointed out in "On Contradiction": "The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this

fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is complete; but in a lengthy process the conditions unusually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages." In socialist society there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. In the lengthy process of development there naturally are changes in the conditions of various classes and in the relations between them. However, the major contradictions determining the nature of this society are the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and those between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, which includes the agents of the bourgeoisie in the party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road. In different periods of time, only the form of class struggle and the balance of class forces have undergone changes. In a deliberate attempt to distort the basic conditions of class relations during the socialist period and alter the target of the socialist revolution, the broadcast lecture disseminated the reactionary theory of change in class relations. It babbled that the "reorganization" during the socialist period would give rise to "bourgeoisie being in the party." This was a lie fabricated entirely to meet the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary needs.

The broadcast lecture advocated that the target of the revolution be sought from within the Communist Party. It also babbled that as a result of the change in class relations the bourgeoisie was divided into two, with one part outside the party and the other inside. It said: Before the proletariat seized political power, bourgeois agents who had sneaked into the proletarian political party were "only an appendix" to the entire bourgeoisie. "As a result of the change in class relations, the bourgeoisie in the party no longer showed itself as an appendix to the bourgeoisie outside the party" after the proletariat seized political power, but "acted as the patron of the bourgeoisie outside the party." With the deepening of the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie in the party showed itself in the party as the "force at the core" of the entire bourgeoisie. Thus, this lecture drew this conclusion: "The bourgeoisie have entered the Communist Party. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been demonstrated ever more penetratingly within the Communist Party."

This was a serious distortion of our party's history and the nature of the struggle within our party. As we all know, innerparty struggle has always been a reflection of social class struggle. The two-line struggle inside the proletarian political party is largely a struggle between right and wrong and between a proletarian and nonproletarian ideology.

Historical facts show that the overwhelming majority of our party's cadres are good or relatively good and can uphold the correct line and oppose the wrong one. In the course of violent struggle the vast majority of comrades, with the exception of a small number of people who stubbornly stick to their mistakes and refuse to correct them after repeated education, can correct their mistakes and continue to make progress. Criticizing and helping these comrades is to help them correct their mistakes, advance better along the correct line and continue to make revolution. They are the motive force of the revolution. How can they be regarded as the target of the revolution? Because class struggle is complicated, it is not strange that some renegades, secret agents, counterrevolutionaries, alien class elements, political degenerates, newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements may sneak into a proletarian political party. These hostile elements are ruthlessly expelled as soon as they are discovered. Is it possible to say that a particular class exists in the party because there is such a particular type of people? Certainly not. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, innerparty struggle will appear with new characteristics. Subsequent to the basic completion of the transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production and thanks to the winning of the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie finds it ever more difficult to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat from the outside and places its hope of restoration more and more on its agents who have sneaked into the Communist Party. Meanwhile, because the Communist Party is the ruling party, bourgeois agents may bring extraordinarily great danger to the socialist cause through the power they have usurped. The history of the past two decades or so has proven this point. Chairman Mao incisively analyzed the conditions and characteristics of the class struggle during the socialist period and made a number of statements on the problem of capitalist roaders, pointing out to us the correct orientation of struggle. By saying that the bourgeoisie was in the Communist Party, Chairman Mao meant there were party people in power who were taking the capitalist road. He did not mean there were bourgeoisie inside our party. Although capitalist roaders in the party can play a role which the counterrevolutionaries want to but cannot play openly, there are only a handful of bourgeois agents in the party. Moreover, among the capitalist roaders only a few are diehards, and the contradiction between them and us is one between the enemy and ourselves. The majority are willing to and can correct their mistakes; the contradiction between them and us is a contradiction among the people. As long as the supreme power of the party and the state is vested in the hands of leaders who adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line, it will be possible to continuously expose and expel the handful of capitalist roaders who have sneaked into the party. It will be basically impossible for them to "reorganize" themselves into a "bourgeoisie" class. When the struggle between the two lines in the party intensifies, there might indeed appear a bourgeois headquarters. However, one should not draw the conclusion that the "force at the core," the "main forces" and "commanders" of the bourgeoisie have all come into the Communist Party. Chairman Mao mentioned the concept of a headquarters

during the period of the cooperative transformation of agriculture. When exposing the Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih antiparty clique, he pointed out: "There are two headquarters in Peking: one is led by me, a headquarters which openly stirs up a wind and makes a fire; the other is led by other people, a headquarters which stirs up an evil wind and makes an evil fire and is like an underground current." Here Chairman Mao meant the conditions in which conspirators and careerists like Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih acted against the party, set up their own mountain stronghold, embarked on conspiracy, practiced splittism and issued orders in the interests of the bourgeoisie. He did not mean that a bourgeois headquarters had been set up within the party. The broadcast lecture babbled that the "force at the core" of the entire bourgeoisie emerged in the party after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production was completed. This was sheer fabrication.

As advocated by the broadcast lecture, this fallacy of a so-called new change in class relations embraced a malicious intention, i.e., on the pretext of opposing the capitalist roaders it actually attempted to put the label of "capitalist roader" on our party's cadres and all those cadres who did not suit the tastes of the "gang of four." It also incited the masses to topple them as they did the bourgeoisie. During the early stage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao said that "the current revolution is aimed at those among us who formerly participated in the revolution." The "gang of four" clamored more openly: "The targets of the current revolution are the democrats who fed themselves on chaff in the old society, were wounded in the war of resistance against Japan, carried guns during the liberation war and crossed the Yalu River to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea." They regarded the vast numbers of cadres as a thorn in their flesh and were anxious to eliminate them with one blow to attain their sinister aim of destroying our party, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and exercising their fascist dictatorship. This pamphlet concocted such a "theoretical basis" for this very purpose.

2. They Fabricated the Lie That the So-Called "Dual Character" of the Socialist Economic Base Is the "Soil" which Gives Rise to the Bourgeoisie in the Party

The third lecture of this pamphlet was entitled "The Economic Base Generating the Bourgeoisie in the Party." It began by fabricating the so-called "dual character" of the socialist economic base. It held that socialist property relations "embrace the features and special characteristics of both communist and capitalist property relations." This, it said, was a "crucial problem" concerning the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the party. It also said that the "gang of four" wanted to elucidate this problem according to the "materialist conception of history." How did they elucidate this problem? They said: The socialist economic base has a "dual character" because "under socialism the laborers combine with the means of production and are linked with bourgeois rights."

What are these bourgeois rights? The broadcast lecture said they are "the exercise of the function to lead and manage social production by the representatives chosen by the state or the laboring masses." This function can make "some people engage mainly in mental labor and others mainly in manual labor." As Engels said, "The law of division of labor is the base of class differentiation" and thus gives rise to the bourgeoisie in the party.

This is really marvelous logic: The socialist system of ownership has the features of both communism and capitalism; the socialist economy needs to be managed, but the managers become bourgeois once they engage in mental labor and supervise production. One may call your enterprise a communist enterprise or a capitalist enterprise as one wishes, or one may call you a manager of a socialist economy or a capitalist one. This logic was very convenient for the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. But this was very stupid logic.

Can the socialist economy readily turn into the capitalist system of ownership because it needs to be managed? Can the bourgeoisie come into being at any time because a difference exists between manual and mental labor in society? With the establishment of the socialist system the working people have become masters of the means of production and have shaken off the yoke of exploitation for the first time. They do not work to create surplus value for capitalists. They work for their own interests and the interests of the broad masses of people. This fact is as plain as daylight. Can one just quote a sentence from Engels and say that the socialist system of ownership gives rise to "bourgeoisie in the party"? Unfortunately not. Engels did say that "the law of division of labor is the base of class differentiation." He said this when analyzing the reasons for the emergence of classes in human society. Classes result from the development of production at certain stages. The development of production leads to division of labor in society and gives rise to private ownership of the means of production. It follows that some people divorce themselves from direct productive labor, possess the means of production and take advantage of this possession to exploit others. When the productive forces have fully developed, this situation will change and the existence of classes will become superfluous. Very obviously, Engels did not mean that classes can be differentiated according to the division of labor. Even in a capitalist society classes cannot be differentiated simply according to the difference between manual and mental labor. This is commonsense. Under our socialist system the division between manual and mental labor is based on the system of public ownership of the means of production. These kinds of labor are essentially different but are not basically opposed to each other. It is a shame to distort Engels' meaning, create confusion in theory and trumpet this distortion as a thesis in accord with the "materialist conception of history."

The broadcast lecture also said that the socialist commodity system is another factor giving rise to the bourgeoisie in the party. It babbled

that the socialist production of commodities is "value production," and bears the "nature of fetishism" and that "in the face of exchange value, people are often swayed by materials and the form of value." From this it drew the conclusion that "the bourgeoisie within the party stems from the commodity system and makes use of the commodity system to foster a new bourgeoisie."

Does this fallacy have something of the "materialist conception of history"? No. People who know a little about history will see that commodity production is an economic category with a long history. It appeared during the final stages of the primitive commune period. It existed in the slave, feudal and capitalist societies and still exists in today's socialist society. There are different kinds of commodity production under different social formations. One who really upholds the materialist conception of history must see the general character of commodity production in different periods of time and concretely analyze its special character at different stages. Socialist commodity production is commodity production under the system of public ownership and without the presence of capitalists. It is essentially different from any other kinds of commodity production in the past. The broadcast lecture totally obliterated the differences between socialist commodity production on the one hand and small commodity production and capitalist commodity production on the other. It described socialist commodity production as capitalist production without capitalists. How does the socialist commodity system give rise to "bourgeoisie within the party"? With affected seriousness, this pamphlet said that it is related to "a number of extensively existing value relations such as production value, cost, profits, etc." which are connected with the socialist commodity economy. It alleged that "in the final analysis these relations are relations of bourgeois rights." The existence of these relations "urges some leaders of the socialist economic departments and enterprises to adopt all possible means to gain greater total output value with smaller consumption of manpower. This means putting output value and profits in command...which thus give rise to the bourgeoisie within the party." It is very ridiculous to put the label of "bourgeois rights" on such economic categories as output value, profits and cost which are connected with the socialist commodity economy. Moreover, it is reactionary to interpret "adopting all possible means to gain greater total output value with smaller consumption of manpower" as putting output value and profits in command and as a factor giving rise to the bourgeoisie within the party. Under the socialist system such economic categories as output value, profits and costs are a lever for calculating and supervising production and distribution and are an economic means needed in managing the economy in accordance with economic laws. They are in the service of socialism. "Gaining greater total output value with smaller consumption of manpower" reflects the increase of labor productivity and the drop in production cost. This makes possible the creation of greater wealth for society with less manpower and time. This is needed by the normal development of socialist production. We may ask: If this means putting output value and

profits in command and gives rise to the bourgeoisie within the party, should we use more manpower and time to gain smaller total output value so we shall not put output value and profits in command and so the bourgeoisie will not emerge within the party? In that case there will basically be no surplus labor in society. We shall have to go back to primitive society, and the socialist cause will be destroyed at the roots. This is obviously a counterrevolutionary tune aimed at undermining our socialist economy.

The broadcast lecture vigorously trumpeted the "gang of four's" fallacy that "the difference in distribution is the difference between classes." They ridiculously interpreted the high grades and salaries of cadres as the "economic cause" of the emergence of the bourgeoisie within the party and equated our cadres' labor with the capitalists' exploiting activities. They said that our cadres' labor had "something in common" with the capitalists' exploiting activities and "should not be regarded as labor," and that "their wage income was a kind of unearned income acquired through exploitation" and by "sucking the blood of workers and peasants."

Only the "gang of four" were capable of putting the cadres who managed enterprises for the party and the state on a par with capitalists who made fortunes through exploitation. The wage income of the state's administrative cadres, except for those who work in enterprises, is paid by the social management funds. It is one of six deductions from the total output of a socialist society. In "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx clearly pointed out that to manage society and production it is necessary to deduct general managerial expenses which are unrelated to production, because although these expenses are not remunerations for direct production, they are absolutely necessary for maintaining reproduction in society. It is entirely necessary for the state to pay the cadres according to their rank and contributions. Exploitation exists only in a state like the Soviet Union, where the party and the state have completely changed their political color and the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois elements lord it over the people and appropriate surplus value in various forms and by various privileges. The broadcast lecture fabricated the fallacy that the difference in distribution means exploitation. Its aim was to use the frightening big hat of "pushing the revisionist line" at any time to label the vast numbers of cadres as "capitalists" and "the bourgeoisie within the party."

To put it bluntly, the "dual nature" of the socialist economic base giving rise to the bourgeoisie within the party, as advocated by the broadcast lecture, actually meant a "single nature," i.e., the socialist economic base was described as identical to capitalism. Members of the Communist Party of China led the people of the whole country to establish the socialist economic system by shedding their blood and laying down their lives. However, the broadcast lecture called this system the root cause of the emergence of the bourgeoisie and described it as worse than any other system. This is a counterrevolutionary wornout tune sung by

reactionaries at home and abroad to destroy the socialist economic base. It is indeed contemptible and ridiculous to crown this sort of fallacy with the "materialist conception of history."

3. They Fabricated the Lie That the So-Called "Dual Character" of the Socialist Superstructure Is the "Condition" and "Climate" Generating the Bourgeoisie Within the Party

To fabricate the theoretical basis for the emergence of the bourgeoisie within the party, the broadcast lectures also made malicious remarks about the superstructure of socialism, saying that a socialist state also has a "dual character": on the one hand, it is as good as a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the other, it is bad because it still has to "protect bourgeois rights." They held that "this dual character of a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat is precisely a concentrated expression of the dual character of the socialist economic base." They alleged that it was very bad for the proletarian state to function as a protector of bourgeois rights. In doing so the state created the condition for the emergence of the bourgeoisie within the party. They then repeatedly disparaged the proletarian state power as a bureaucratic organ where "the functions and bad customs of the bourgeois political power exist," "a place where bourgeois elements within the party gather together and conduct activities."

Marxism holds that the state is a special power organ used to suppress the violence of certain classes. All states are the same as far as this point is concerned. However, state powers that are built on different social bases are entirely different in nature. A socialist state is a machine the proletariat uses to suppress the bourgeoisie; it means the dictatorship of the majority over the minority. A capitalist state is a machine which the bourgeoisie uses to suppress the proletariat; it means the dictatorship of the minority over the majority. A discussion on the nature of a state can never part from this basic principle. To prove their reactionary viewpoint, the broadcast lecture quoted Lenin as saying in "The State and Revolution" that to protect bourgeois rights "a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie" might be retained in the lower phase of communist society. In this article Lenin very clearly said that a proletarian state was not a state in its original meaning and that there was a difference between the protection of bourgeois rights in this state and the protection of bourgeois rights in a bourgeois state. A bourgeois state first of all protects capitalist private ownership, while a proletarian state wipes out bourgeois rights in the ownership of the means of production. During the socialist period, social productive forces have not developed to a high stage, the three major differences between town and country, workers and peasants and mental and manual labor have not been wiped out, and the people have not yet mentally or morally reached the communist standard. Therefore, some bourgeois rights should be retained in the distribution of consumer goods for individuals. A special organ of power such as a state is needed to

protect them. On the basis of public ownership of the means of production, the protection of equality in labor and in distribution means the protection of the consumers' bourgeois rights of distribution according to the amount of work done. This is a function of the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This kind of protection and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat are not opposed to each other but are in harmony. In the historical period of socialism, before people have learned to work for their society without any specified rights, it is impossible to carry out production without relying on the state as an instrument. Only by protecting these rights will it be possible to protect the enthusiasm of the broad masses of people for production and protect the development of social productive forces. In addition, only by doing so will it be possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to gain an ever stronger material foundation with each passing day. Otherwise, productive forces will be destroyed and the socialist economic base undermined. The exploiters, who make gains without having to do any work, will come back, and there will be the danger of a capitalist restoration. The broadcast lectures set the proletarian dictatorship against the protection of bourgeois rights and said that the latter is the condition which gives rise to the bourgeoisie within the party. This was obviously a fallacy aimed at undermining the socialist economic base.

The broadcast lectures went further by labeling the protection of bourgeois rights as the revisionist line and took it as an indication of the presence of bourgeoisie within the party. They said: "The revisionist line stems from the economic base of bourgeois rights and, in turn, protects and expands bourgeois rights, thereby bringing about a great danger." They argued that pushing this line was "the most essential political characteristic of the bourgeoisie within the party!" On this basis it is possible to recognize "the bourgeoisie within the party."

Protecting bourgeois rights means pushing the revisionist line. Those pushing the revisionist line are the bourgeoisie within the party. This was a formula which the "gang of four" elatedly used to purge our party's cadres. It was also a clever device they invented.

Line falls into the category of ideology. All correct lines follow objective laws and operate according to objective realities. All wrong lines are objectionable because they run counter to objective realities and the law of social development. Marxists should never chart their own line according to conjecture and imagination. In the present historical period of socialism the protection of bourgeois rights in consumer goods distribution is dictated, not by wishful thinking, but rather by objective economic conditions. As Lenin pointed out: "Marx did not arbitrarily force a tiny bit of 'bourgeois' rights into communism. Instead, he just grasped some things from capitalism that were economically and politically unavoidable in society." The broadcast lectures sometimes admitted that bourgeois rights could not be completely wiped out during

the socialist period and sometimes described the protection of bourgeois rights as a "revisionist line" which was beyond forgiveness. According to this self-contradictory logic, it would be impermissible to protect bourgeois rights in consumer goods distribution. Only the "gang of four's" way of robbing by force or by trickery and their advocacy that "money can do nothing to me" were regarded as the correct line. Using the protection of bourgeois rights as the criterion for distinguishing between different lines and between people of different classes, these broadcast lectures harbored a thoroughly evil intention by spreading these fallacies. They openly said that although our cadres "did not possess the means of production and did not directly exploit the hired workers" they would "actually slide into the bog of the bourgeoisie" and become "the bourgeoisie within the party," i.e., the targets of the revolution if they should advance along the so-called revisionist line. Without any evidence and simply by using a "revisionist" hat they could easily label large groups of cadres as "pure capitalist roaders," "tender-hearted capitalist roaders" and "capitalist roaders who carry Kuomintang bullets"--in short, as the bourgeoisie within the party. This was what the "gang of four" wanted to do to topple the broad masses of revolutionary cadres. The broadcast lectures repeatedly attacked the entire superstructure of socialism as the "condition" and "climate" generating the bourgeoisie within the party. They wildly clamored for "occupying and transforming the entire superstructure in the course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party." This precisely betrayed the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary ambition to overthrow the socialist system and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. They Concocted the Theory of Development of the Bourgeoisie by "Three Stages" and Babbled That the Bourgeoisie Within the Party Was the "Final Stage" of the Development of the Bourgeoisie

After talking nonsense about the "basis" of the emergence of a bourgeoisie within the party, the broadcast lectures assumed the air of an academic overlord and dwelled largely on the "laws of history." They concocted the theory of development of the bourgeoisie by "three stages" and said that in human history the development of the bourgeoisie had to go through three stages--the free bourgeoisie, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie within the party. They said that the bourgeoisie within the party was "the final form" and "had to run its own course of generation, development and destruction." They also ranted that this theory was a "major development" of Marxism.

As we all know, the bourgeoisie, the last exploiting class in human history, has its own laws of generation, development and destruction, like any other class. When capitalism was still at the stage of free competition, Marx and Engels made a systematic, well-considered, scientific analysis of the laws of development of the capitalist class. Later, when capitalism had developed to the imperialist stage, Lenin made a number of incisive assertions, pointing out: Imperialism is the highest stage of

capitalism. It is monopoly, decadent and moribund capitalism and is the eve of the proletarian revolution. Having developed to the monopoly stage, capitalism has reached its final stage of destruction. The monopoly bourgeoisie appearing at this stage is the final form of the bourgeoisie. The broadcast lectures had an ulterior purpose and insisted that there was a bourgeoisie within the party after the monopoly bourgeoisie and that this was the final stage of the bourgeoisie. They openly sang a rival tune to Leninism.

The theory of "three stages" was a conjecture through and through. Marxism has always held that the existence of a class is related to a certain stage of the development of production and that any class in history is an outcome of a certain mode of production. Talking about the laws of generation, development and destruction of a class without linking them to the conditions of development of production and the change in the mode of production can only be idealist empty talk. The bourgeoisie is a product of the capitalist relations of production. Lenin's thesis on the monopoly bourgeoisie was exactly a scientific conclusion drawn after analyzing the development of capitalist production from free competition to monopoly. After seizing political power and winning the victory of the socialist revolution, the proletariat has established the socialist system of public ownership and a mode of production entirely different from capitalism. The emergence of this brandnew form of economy has created a decisive condition for the complete elimination of classes. In a socialist state like ours, capitalism is at the stage of being wiped out. How is it possible for the bourgeoisie to develop to a new stage when it has lost its ruling position politically and has been economically deprived of the means of production? To turn a lie into truth, the broadcast lectures tried to confuse people and took the degeneration of the Soviet Union into revisionism as the new basis of the theory of the "three-stage" development of the bourgeoisie. In fact, this could not be of any use to them. In the Soviet Union, because of the all-round restoration of capitalism, the party has turned revisionist and the state has changed its political color. The Soviet Union has become social imperialism, which is "socialism in word, imperialism in deed." This is only a transient revival of the monopoly, decadent, moribund capitalism and a restoration of the monopoly bourgeoisie. How can this be taken as the third stage of the development of the bourgeoisie?

The broadcast lectures talked drivel and fabricated the theory of the "three-stage" development of the bourgeoisie to vilify large groups of our party's cadres, who played a backbone role in the development of the socialist cause, as "the bourgeoisie within the party." Dwelling on the pattern of the so-called "dual character," i.e., the socialist relations of production have communist factors as well as capitalist ones, the broadcast lectures repeatedly said that the bourgeoisie within the party would be "reborn" continuously in the course of socialist production and reproduction. They had the effrontery to interpret the socialist mode of production as the economic base for the survival and development of

the bourgeoisie, so that when socialism developed, the bourgeoisie would also develop, and any socialist revolution and construction would be a waste of efforts. They brazenly called this utterly ridiculous fallacy a "new development" of Marxism. This is an utmost vilification of Marxism!

In fabricating and wantonly advocating the "three-stage" theory, the broadcast lectures cherished an extremely wild ambition. They aimed at establishing "absolute theoretical authority" for the "gang of four." A follower of the "gang of four" in the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee once said: "The theoretical authority will surely change into organizational authority." This was the vital point of the "three-stage" theory.

The broadcast lectures presented some other arguments to fabricate the fallacy that there are bourgeoisie within the party. The above are the major ones. These major arguments alone betrayed the reactionary features of this pamphlet. The ringleaders of the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee spared no effort in fabricating the so-called "Chang Chun-chiao thinking." They did a great deal of work to concoct the several big poisonous weeds, namely, "Socialist Political Economy," "A Concise Dictionary of Philosophy" and "Lectures on Party History," in a frenzied attempt to completely tamper with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in political economy, philosophy and party history, create chaos in the theoretical field and usurp party and state power. "The Bourgeoisie in the Party During the Period of Socialism" was a big poisonous weed which tried to completely tamper with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It can be called a sinister example of the "gang of four's" wild opposition to scientific socialism.

A general review shows that this pamphlet made an all-round attack on and vilification of socialism's economic base and superstructure. Its malicious remarks and despicable intention make one's heart burst with anger. The bourgeois rightists wildly attacked the party in 1957 and put forward a sinister argument that "worms breed only when things have already started rotting," meaning that such bad things as bureaucracy, subjectivism and sectarianism were caused by the Communist Party and the socialist system. Two decades later the "gang of four" said that the force at the core of the bourgeoisie was a product of the socialist system. The "gang of four" often said that "there often are appalling resemblances in history." This can also be applied here. However, there is also something different. Rightists formerly launched open attacks on the socialist system and seldom from behind camouflage. The "gang of four" did not have this courage. They made oblique attacks, using some revolutionary phrases to hide their counterrevolutionary intentions and some ultra-"left" words to cover their ultrarightist essence. They unscrupulously tried to sling mud at socialism but wanted to evade punishment. From this point it can also be seen that with the victory of the socialist revolution and with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought being imprinted deeply in the minds of the people, the reactionaries are already in flight and have no alternative but to embark on the road of deceiving themselves and others.

REPUDIATING A FEW FALLACIES OF THE 'GANG OF FOUR' ON EDUCATION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 78 pp 66-72

[Article by Su Yang [5685 1135]]

[Text] In concocting the "two assessments" to besmirch the education front, the "gang of four"--Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan--described "education of the whole people," "giving first place to intellectual development," "education of genius," "the slavish comprador philosophy," "knowledge is private," "making one's own way," "studying in order to become an official" and "study is useless" as the "eight spiritual pillars" of the "dictatorship of the sinister line." They wrought havoc in the cause of education, completely denied that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had held the dominant position for those 17 years, opposed Chairman Mao's line on education and were against straightening out education in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Actually, anyone who has a little elementary knowledge of the history of the development of socialist education in China knows that, although the education revolution had experienced a lot of twists and turns in those 17 years due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, the fallacies of "the slavish comprador philosophy," "knowledge is private," "making one's own way" and "studying in order to become an official" had at that time already been criticized under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Their imputation of "education of the whole people," "giving first place to intellectual development" and "education of genius" to the education front in those 17 years was a sheer distortion of fact and was aimed at confusing theory. The theory that "study is useless" was actually a product of the gang's perverted acts on the education front. In fact, it was they themselves who advocated that study is useless. People may still remember clearly that it was none other than Lin Piao and the "gang of four" who came out into the open during the Cultural Revolution and frenziedly claimed that "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary" and "it is better to forget everything one has learned in school."

One who does not have truth in his hands will not have the support of the masses. Thus, the "gang of four" could only resort to intrigues and

conspiracies, reversal of facts and incrimination to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrow the socialist system. The notion of "eight spiritual pillars" was a sample of this type of dirty underhand tricks. For years they had been frenziedly peddling their fallacies through the mass media under their control to confuse people's thinking. Their pernicious influence must not be underestimated. Is it not true that even now some people on the education front still have lingering fear and misgivings and hesitate to take a stride forward for fear of "slipping back to the 17 years"? When the system of entrance examinations was restored and only the best students were selected, they murmured to themselves: Does this not mean promoting "education of the whole people" and discarding the class line? When students were told to concern themselves mainly with the study of scientific and cultural knowledge, they expressed doubt and said: Does it not mean "giving first place to intellectual development"? When key schools and courses were run to train "ace" students, they wondered: Is there any difference between this and "education of talent"? When it was advocated that everyone study assiduously and with determination, they thought: Does this not mean encouraging the practice of "making one's own way"? It can thus be seen that the numerous fallacies spread by the "gang of four" on the above-mentioned four issues have indeed bound the hands and feet of some people. This reminds us that on the education as well as other fronts it is necessary to deeply criticize the "gang of four," smash their spiritual shackles, eliminate their pernicious influence and rectify all their reversals of right and wrong, so that people will be able to think and act in accordance with the line of the 11th party congress and carry out the important directive concerning education work issued by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Only in this way can we further emancipate our minds, quicken our steps, train a greater number of better qualified people for the four modernizations and successfully fulfill the glorious task the new period has placed on us.

1. Concerning "Education of the Whole People"

"Education of the whole people" originally was a hypocritical slogan put forward by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists.

Marxists have always maintained that in a class society education has its class character and is a tool of class struggle. All ruling classes in history invariably used education to serve their class needs and to consolidate their rule. They even set the main points and targets of education in the interests of their own class. The thinking of the ruling class was the dominant thinking in schools. The exploited masses were deprived of their right to education. It was only in capitalist society that children of the laboring people were allowed to go to certain schools. This was due to the ceaseless struggle waged by the proletariat, as well as the great need for educated and skilled laborers following the development of capitalist material production. But even so, as Lenin remarked, "schools had in fact become tools of bourgeois

domination and were soaked through and through with the bourgeois idea of grades; their aim was to train docile flunkies and capable workers for the capitalists." ("Speech at the First All-Russian Congress on Education Work," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 69) It can thus be seen that the nature of education hinges mainly on the class interests it serves. Supraclass "education of the whole people" actually does not exist in a capitalist society. It was merely for the purpose of hoodwinking the laboring people that the Soviet revisionists advocated "education of the whole people" and did their utmost to conceal the essence of their bureaucratic, monopolistic and bourgeois rule. In the historical period of socialism, classes and class struggle still exist. Thus, education cannot but have its class character in this period.

After the seizure of political power the proletariat, which shoulders the great mission of liberating all mankind, is confronted with the important task of educating and remolding the entire society. Education in the past several thousand years has been a tool in the hands of the exploiting classes. Socialist education, however, is a tool in the hands of the working class. The change from being a tool of the exploiting classes to a tool of the working class is a qualitative leap in the history of the education of mankind, as well as a great revolution in education itself. Our proletarian revolutionary teachers always taught us that socialist education must be placed under the leadership of the party; it must serve proletarian politics, be combined with productive labor and bring up a generation of new people who are devoted to the proletarian revolutionary cause and are capable of building socialism and communism.

For 17 years after the founding of new China, under the leadership of the party and Chairman Mao, the cause of our education advanced steadily along the Marxist-Leninist line and amid struggles. As everyone knows, our party conducted a literacy campaign among the laboring people and vigorously popularized universal primary education by reforming the old schools and building new ones after liberation. It also adopted the method of making grants to insure to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and their children their right to go to schools, including colleges. The proportion of laboring people among college and middle and primary students grew from year to year. Following the deepening of the education revolution, Chairman Mao's education policy, which stipulated that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor" to "enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture," gradually gained universal adherence. Thanks to this policy we have raised the masses' scientific and cultural levels, quickly expanded the ranks of working class intellectuals and trained large numbers of outstanding people for socialist revolution and construction. All this is necessary for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, building socialism and preventing capitalist restoration; it is also necessary for constantly raising the material and cultural levels of society, gradually eliminating the three major differences

and enabling everyone to make all-round development in the future. All this is conclusive evidence of the vivid proletarian character of our socialist education. How can the label "education of the whole people" be applied to those 17 years?

The "gang of four" vainly attempted to make a big issue of college enrollment during those 17 years. They vilified the aim of cultural tests as one of "barring workers and peasants from college." With this as their pretext they attacked education during those years as "education of the whole people" which "discarded the class line." Their attempt proved futile. The "gang of four" also thought that the class origin of the accepted students represented the class character of socialist education. This shows how pitifully shallow was their theoretical understanding. To them the character of education is not determined chiefly by the class interests it serves but by the class origin of the students. According to this logic, we can say that the well-developed capitalist countries of today have "discarded the class line" because they also accept the children of the laboring people in their schools and, with the advance of modern technology, constantly give the workers technical reeducation. We can even negate the bourgeois character of education. Is this not preposterous in the extreme?

To insure the quality of students, political screening, physical checkups and cultural tests are carried out during enrollment. In the past we have basically adhered to the policy of selecting the best students after all-round moral, intellectual and physical appraisal. This is both necessary and correct. In the early postliberation period more of the offspring of the exploiting class were admitted to college because in the old society the overwhelming majority of the laboring people had been deprived of their right to education. This situation was unavoidable in the period of the changeover from the old society to the new. It was also a measure adopted by the state with a view to quickly bringing up qualified people in all fields and building socialism. In old China, under the corrupt rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the masses of young people and students were oppressed. Chairman Mao pointed out on several occasions: Because they have demands for revolution, they can accept our party's education and remolding and serve the proletarian cause. The offspring of the exploiting classes are not exploiters themselves. It has been our party's policy to "take one's family background into consideration, but not as the only factor, and to attach importance to one's political performance." Practice shows that, after studying in our schools, the overwhelming majority have acquitted themselves well and are still making contributions at their socialist posts. This is a great victory for our party's policy. To change the class composition of college students, our party and state have, since the early postliberation period, adopted all kinds of effective measures to admit to college large numbers of young revolutionary soldiers and young revolutionary staff and workers. One of these measures was the creation of workers and peasants accelerated middle schools. With the gradual popularization of primary

and secondary education, the percentage of worker-peasant college students grew steadily. Before the Cultural Revolution, 64.6 percent of college students came from families of workers and peasants. Together with those who came from families of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other laboring people, they made up over 90 percent of the student body. Only 9.4 percent of the students were from families of the exploiting class. In making the accusation that "the class line was discarded" in college enrollment in those 17 years, the "gang of four" not only ignored historical facts but revealed their hostility toward the traditional policies of our party.

As China entered the new historical period of socialist revolution and construction, wise leader Chairman Hua put forward this great call: "It is necessary to greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation." The education front is responsible for speeding up the cultivation of qualified people to fulfill the general task for the new period and translate Chairman Hua's call into reality. We must popularize 10-year education in the cities and 8-year education in the countryside, raise the education level of the workers to that of senior middle school graduates and step by step change the cultural backwardness of the countryside. Our universities and colleges must adhere to the principle of selecting the best students after all-round moral, intellectual and physical appraisal so as to train able people sooner and at a faster rate. In admitting the best, priority is given to children of workers, peasants, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other laboring people; they account for the overwhelming majority of the students admitted. Young people with undesirable family backgrounds will also be selected if they perform well politically and in their studies. This is an important policy of our party and has nothing to do with "education of the whole people." This policy is necessary for speeding up the realization of the four modernizations and completely conforms with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Some people today still think that the policy of selecting the best students is not in accord with the "class line" and equate it with "education of the whole people." Does this not show how deeply they are poisoned by the pernicious influence of the "gang of four"?

2. Concerning "Giving First Place to Intellectual Development"

The "gang of four" attacked pre-Cultural Revolution education as "giving first place to intellectual development." This was also a blatant slander.

We understand that it is the long-accumulated education experience of mankind which tells us that we must include moral, intellectual and physical development in education. With the advance of production, science and culture, the ruling classes of different times have different specific requirements regarding moral, intellectual and physical development. Nevertheless, informed thinkers and educators of past generations

all respected the fact that education should at least cover these aspects. The Marxist concepts of education critically inherited the progressive education theories of the past and summed up the long-accumulated education experience of mankind. The education policy which Chairman Mao formulated for our party even explicitly says that it is necessary to enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically. At the age of physical growth, young people and children should strive for a sound physical development. They must also establish communist values and workstyle and show heroism in the interests of the collective; these are for moral development in our times. Physical and moral development is linked with intellectual development, and both are connected with participation in labor. Therefore, the policy that education must be combined with productive labor cannot be changed. We believe that the moral, intellectual and physical aspects of development are inseparable and that none can be dispensed with.

Education in communist morality and the formation of the Marxist world outlook are closely related to the rising scientific and cultural levels of people who receive education. Furthermore, the study of scientific and cultural knowledge and the development of one's mental faculties, i.e., one's cognitive and creative abilities, cannot be cut off from a healthy body. In combining education with productive labor our aim is to achieve a higher level of moral, intellectual and physical development through this process, not to lower this level. After liberation, schools of all types and at all levels were urged by the party and state not only to disseminate scientific and cultural knowledge but also to insure the all-round development of the students. Political courses on Marxism-Leninism were included in the curriculum, and an ideological struggle was unfolded to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois. Students were taught to love their motherland, the people, labor and science, to observe discipline and to show concern for public property. Furthermore, measures were taken to strengthen the physique of the young people. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the tendency toward stressing intellectual development at the expense of moral and physical development among individual teachers was constantly being rectified. This was obvious to all.

The "gang of four's" perverted acts on the education front in the past few years show that their evil intention in attacking the raising of students' scientific and cultural levels under the guidance of a correct political orientation as "giving first place to intellectual development" was to oppose the principle that the students' main task is to study science and raise their educational level. As they did this, in order to bluff and deceive others, they also flaunted the banner asserting that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor" and bragged about "putting politics above everything else." As a result, teachers dared not teach and students dared not learn.

Should a school concern itself mainly with the dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge and, if it does, will it be "giving first place to intellectual development"? This question of right or wrong will affect education as a whole and therefore requires further clarification.

The dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge has always been an important task for all schools. To achieve constant progress, man must pass on to the next generation whatever knowledge has been accumulated through the ages. What is knowledge? Chairman Mao said: "Ever since class society came into being, the world has had only two kinds of knowledge: knowledge of the struggle for production and knowledge of the class struggle. Natural science and social science are the crystallizations of these two kinds of knowledge, and philosophy is the generalization and summation of the knowledge of nature and the knowledge of society." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") As history develops, knowledge accumulated by mankind is bound to grow richer and richer. Knowledge originates from practice. This is true of man's knowledge of the world as a whole. However, not every generation of people can acquire knowledge directly through practice, and it is also unnecessary. For every one of us, particularly young people and children, most knowledge can be acquired only through indirect means. Hence, the school plays a very important part in the dissemination of indirect knowledge. In fulfilling its teaching task a school must adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice and guide the students to take part in the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Through practice the students will be able to acquire more direct knowledge, deepen their understanding of indirect knowledge taught in books and turn their incomplete knowledge into relatively complete knowledge. However, this does not mean that the students should give up book learning in favor of social practice. On the contrary, schools are necessary because they can, within a relatively short period of time, systematically impart to the students the basic scientific and cultural knowledge and special skills that mankind has mastered at a given age. Today the scientific knowledge taught in our schools also includes Marxist teachings.

While attaching importance to the combination of education with productive labor and to moral and physical development, our proletarian revolutionary teachers also consistently set great store by intellectual development. With conditions as they were in capitalist society, Marx advocated that children and young workers be given intellectual, physical and technical training step by step according to their age. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin attached great importance to giving young people proletarian education in the moral, physical and technical fields. However, he also emphasized the importance of intellectual development. He repeatedly taught us: You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with the knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind. Chairman Mao also consistently set great store by intellectual development and the mastery of scientific and cultural knowledge. He pointed

out that the students' main task is to study. Schools should devote more time to the dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge through classroom teaching, so that the students can understand the objective law governing nature and society, develop their cognitive and creative abilities and lay a solid foundation for the formation of a communist world outlook. This is absolutely necessary for raising the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation, training a labor army that is well versed in modern science and technology, bringing up a huge contingent of working class intellectuals who are both Red and expert and building a great, powerful and modern socialist country. This is what serving proletarian politics means. Lenin pointed out long ago: "A communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country." ("The Tasks of the Youth League," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 357) Can we have any doubts about this?

The "gang of four's" arguments on the question of intellectual development were out-and-out counterrevolutionary. They vaunted: "Laborers with no culture are preferable"; "even if the whole nation becomes illiterate, it is a victory." They openly tampered with Chairman Mao's education policies and his instruction that the students' main task is to study, distorted the principle of integrating theory with practice and replaced the systematic teaching of scientific and cultural knowledge with participation in social struggle and simple productive labor. They even demanded that engineering students "always associate themselves with the sound of machines and with grease." Anyone who paid attention to intellectual development and to the study of science and culture was accused of "giving first place to intellectual development," "restoring the old order" and "taking the old path again." As a result, the quality of moral, intellectual and physical education in schools of all types and at all levels throughout the country dropped seriously. This caused a break in the training of qualified people on all fronts. Because of this, the needs of socialist revolution and construction could not be met, and achievement of the four modernizations was retarded. How can those people who still look upon the need for the school to take the dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge as its main task as "giving first place to intellectual development" forget this painful lesson? The masses of education workers should thoroughly smash the shackles imposed on us by the "gang of four" and boldly grasp the all-round moral, intellectual and physical development of the students.

3. Concerning "Education of Genius"

The "gang of four" also vilified the practices of teaching according to the students' ability, training topnotch people and running key schools during those 17 years as "education of genius." This was again aimed at creating confusion in theory.

The bourgeois adherents of the theory of "education of genius" maintained that geniuses were born gifted. They classified people into different

types: the genius, the mediocre and the incompetent. They vilified the children of the laboring people as having been born incompetent and advocated that "education of genius" should be taken as the central link of education. This a priori theory based on the concept "genius decides everything" is reactionary and serves the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Marxists do not deny man's intelligence and wisdom but simply give a scientific explanation of talent. It is idealist and a priori to ascribe all talents to natural endowment and to deny that talent falls into the category of knowledge. Man's talents grow incessantly in the struggle to know and change the world. Thus, education cannot but play an important part in the development of man's talents. However, Marxists also do not deny that man has natural endowments. Marx said: Man is "a dynamic natural existence endowed with natural strength and vitality. These exist in him as endowment, talent and desires." (see "Economics--Philosophical Manuscript," p 132) Chairman Mao also once said that geniuses were just wiser. Man's natural endowment only provides a possibility for the future development of his talent. The materialization of this possibility depends mainly on postnatal education and on the needs and conditions of social practice. In their comments on Raffaello, Marx and Engels said: "Whether people like Raffaello can develop their talent without difficulty depends entirely on need, and this kind of need is determined by the division of labor and the kind of education people receive according to their division of labor." ("German Ideology," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 459) It is clear that, if a person who has talent for painting does not have the right education because there is no such need in society and does not develop his talent through arduous practice, he cannot become even a commonplace painter. Only that which acknowledges the difference between man's quality and endowment but attributes the making of geniuses to postnatal social conditions, education and personal effort is a thoroughgoing dialectical-materialist theory of reflection.

It is precisely on the basis of this scientific understanding that we say that the principle of teaching according to the students' ability is absolutely correct. The socialist system has opened vast vistas for the masses to fully develop their talents. People of different natural endowments can have the chance to receive education and help from society and can fully develop their different talents through personal efforts. Of course, this advantage of the socialist system should be permitted to express itself through the principle of teaching according to the students' ability. We must combine popularization of education with the raising of educational standards. This is necessary in order to raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation and train all kinds of topnotch personnel for the four modernizations. Since it is still impossible for us to popularize higher education with our present financial and material resources and teaching force, the only way to train specialized personnel for the socialist cause is to select the best students for admission to colleges and specialized schools and give

them appropriate training. In selecting the best students, more attention is paid to the level of moral, intellectual and physical development attained through postnatal efforts than to natural endowment. Of course, for purposes of speeding up the development of the socialist cause and promoting and guiding the popularization of education with higher standards, it is better to have a greater number of outstanding topnotch personnel. Where the state's financial, material and other conditions permit, it is also better to have more key schools which are advantageous for the training of topnotch personnel. Our policy should be to gradually expand the number of key schools and encourage other schools to measure up to the key schools. In the meantime, all schools should adhere to the principle of teaching according to the students' ability so as to train a greater number of outstanding people of all trades and professions sooner and at a faster rate. This fully conforms with the basic interests of the proletariat and the laboring people.

The "gang of four" and Lin Piao originally were advocates of the theory of "genius" and used to work frantically to publicize the idea of "genius." After Chairman Mao sternly criticized the theory of "genius," the "gang of four" continued to preach this theory in all kinds of ways: for example, the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the principle of "giving prominence to three things." However, they used the big stick of "education of genius" to cripple the education front. Under the signboard of opposing the "education of genius," they denounced the practices of teaching according to the students' ability and training topnotch people, negated the key schools and even abolished examinations. What did this lead to? On the one hand, the quality of education deteriorated, and "people went to school whether or not they wished to learn." On the other hand, there was a great waste of talent, because many truly outstanding people could not get proper training. The masses noticed this long ago and felt distressed. Therefore, how can it be possible for the masses of comrades on the education front, including those who were once confused by the "gang of four" and still have lingering fear, to allow the inhibiting magic phrase "education of genius" to continue to threaten the people's education?

4. Concerning "Making One's Own Way"

The practice of "making one's own way" to fame and gain is a product of capitalist society. Of course we are strongly against such a practice. In fact, the road of "making one's own way" can lead to nowhere in our socialist society. In those 17 years, political and ideological work in schools, including the successive ideological and political campaigns and the frequent education in communist morality, were permeated with the spirit of opposing the practice of "making one's own way." This bourgeois trend of thought among certain teachers and students has always been criticized as the birthmark of the old society. Thanks to the party's education, the overwhelming majority of the teachers and students have continuously developed the factors for communist thinking in the course

of remolding their world outlook. The practice of loving the party, socialism, the people and the collective has grown into a general trend. The "gang of four" were again turning black into white when they leveled the charge of "making one's own way" against the entire education front during the pre-Cultural Revolution years.

Actually, the spearhead of their attack was not really directed against the bourgeois practice of "making one's own way" but against all those people who devoted themselves to study and worked hard at it. Anyone who studied hard to improve his knowledge and skills was immediately branded with the "white" label of "making one's own way." This, together with big sticks like "giving first place to intellectual development" and "knowledge is private" which the "gang of four" brandished everywhere, for years greatly dampened the enthusiasm of the masses of teachers and students for studying diligently and nearly brought about "the absence of knowledge." If we fail to distinguish between right and wrong and continue to let the "gang of four's" pernicious influence spread unchecked, we will bring great harm to our socialist cause and education work.

In our great revolutionary cause of achieving liberation for all mankind, we have always upheld collectivism and opposed individualism. However, Marxism does not deny the role of individuals but admits that "all history consists of the actions of individuals." ("The Economic Content of Narodism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 375) Without the combined efforts of numerous individuals, collective strength would be just a mere phrase. Marxism also holds that the role of each individual person is different. Despite the fact that the role of individuals is so small compared with the strength of the collective, individuals can make a greater contribution to the course of human history if they correctly understand the laws of the development of society and nature and consciously use these laws to guide their own actions.

To master the laws of the development of society and nature it is necessary to study diligently, assimilate the scientific knowledge of society and nature which has been verified by mankind through long years of practice, and further test and enrich this knowledge in practice. Marx said: "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the tiring climb up its steep paths have a chance of gaining its bright summits." ("Preface to the French Edition of 'Das Kapital,'" "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 26) Without exception, all our proletarian revolutionary teachers mastered profound and extensive knowledge through great mass struggles and unyielding personal efforts. As we all know, since the 1850's Marx had read 1,500 books on the history of economics, culture and technology in the British Museum just so he could write "Das Kapital." What stupendous efforts he made!

It can thus be seen that on the question of "making one's own way" the crux lies in the direction of development, the class interest one serves and the class viewpoint one uses in handling the relationship between the

individual and the collective. We are against "making one's own way" to personal fame and gain and serving the bourgeois. However, we encourage firm and indomitable efforts to work hard and scale the heights for the interests of the proletariat and the cause of socialism. If we understand this, we can see clearly how absurd it is for the "gang of four" to regard all personal efforts as bourgeois and negate everything indiscriminately.

Today the party and the people have taken necessary measures to vigorously develop education and raise the quality of education. In such an excellent situation we must encourage showing concern for the well-being of the collective, help each other and learn from each other. We must also encourage the masses of teachers and students to make unyielding efforts on their own. So long as they support the party and support socialism, all those who studied diligently and worked painstakingly to storm the citadels of science should be supported and encouraged. This was how they expressed their love for the party and for socialism; we should not regard their hard work as "making one's own way" to "becoming bourgeois experts." Only in this way can we hope to draw on all positive factors that can be drawn on, give full play to the intelligence and wisdom of the teachers and students and truly train a greater number of qualified people at a faster rate and sooner. We must not continue to gloss over things on this issue of right and wrong.

The "gang of four" were a bunch of extremely cunning counterrevolutionary doubledealers. From the above analysis we can see that their "two assessments" as well as their criticism of "education of the whole people," "giving first place to intellectual development," "education of genius" and "making one's own way" were all unbelievably "left." Behind all this, however, was an education line which could not have been farther to the right. They frantically strangled socialist education and pushed cultural autocracy and a policy of making people ignorant. In short, they turned education into a tool for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism to serve their evil scheme of usurping party and state power.

"We ask the god of plague: 'Where are you bound?' Paper barges aflame and candlelight illuminate the sky." Today, when we criticize the "gang of four," we must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon, tear off their mask and lay bare their lies, reduce to their original size these "gods of plague" who poisoned and menaced the education front for years and smash the spiritual shackles they imposed on us. We believe that in the struggle to deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four" the masses of education workers will definitely be able to correctly sum up the positive and negative experiences on the education front in the 29 years since the founding of new China, persist in taking practice as the sole criterion of truth, affirm everything which has been verified as correct by practice, rectify all errors which have been proven to be errors by practice, closely follow the strategic plans of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and advance boldly to speed up the development of socialist education in our country.

PERSEVERINGLY SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS, CORRECTLY JUDGE CASES

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[Article by the People's Law Court of Heng County, Kwangsi]

[Text] In recent years, under the direct leadership of the county party committee, we have resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policy and seriously discharged the duties of the people's court of law. We have achieved some results in energetically handling criminal cases. All cases handled have basically satisfied us with regard to clarification of facts, production of concrete evidence, determination of the nature of the cases, the administration of proper punishment and the passing of correct judgments by the court. Through judicial work we have struck a telling blow at the disruptive activities of counterrevolutionaries and criminal elements and at urban and rural capitalist forces, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, protected the people's interests and safeguarded the satisfactory progress of socialist revolution and construction.

The people's court of law is an important tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat and carries out judicial functions. Clarifying facts, verifying evidence and determining the nature of cases are the basic demands of a correct court judgment. To meet such demands we must insist on making investigations and studies and carry forward the party's fine style of seeking truth from facts. Prompted by a criminal aim to usurp party and state power and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" wantonly trampled upon the socialist legal system for a long time, vigorously promoted idealism and metaphysics and rabidly disrupted our party's fine traditions and style. Under the influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, some of our comrades subjectively reached conclusions in cases where the facts were not clear and the evidence inadequate. Without having made serious investigations and studies, they arbitrarily passed on their conclusions to higher authorities. As a result, the quality of judicial judgment was poor. Even wrong verdicts appeared. In handling a criminal case in 1975 the judicial workers found the relevant case file complete with necessary data and the defendants' confessions basically compatible

with evidence given by witnesses. Without hearing the case in a court of law and without making further investigations to verify relevant data, they suggested that the defendant be sentenced to death and summarily executed. They referred the case to the county for final approval. Later the defendant denied all the charges in a court trial. A thorough investigation made by us showed that this case was a frameup. Some people had extorted confessions from the defendant, and the relevant judicial workers had readily accepted the data supplied at its face value. This incident came as a big shock to us. We awoke to the fact that unclarified facts of a crime or false or unreliable data could lead to irregularities in law and policy enforcement and even to wrong verdicts. We drew a lesson from this. We kept trying to do away with interference from the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. We demanded that judicial workers go deep among the masses to make investigations and studies, clarify the facts of a crime in a down-to-earth spirit and base judicial work on respect for objective facts. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we led the judicial cadres and guards to review Chairman Mao's teachings, such as proceeding from reality, seeking truth from facts, putting stress on evidence and on investigation and study, and strictly forbidding extortion of confessions, the supply of wrong information and hasty acceptance of supplied data. Under our guidance they also studied Chairman Hua's instructions calling for "reliability of evidence upon which a conviction or judgment is based" and vigorously criticized the reactionary fallacy advocated by the "gang of four" of handling cases with "something to fall back upon" and "listening to what a person says, believing in what two people say and basing a conviction on what three people say." In trying to eliminate the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four," everyone further raised his consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In handling cases we stressed the need for investigation and study. Since 1976, cases which were investigated in the countryside have accounted for over 70 percent of the cases.

On the problem of seeking truth from facts, Chairman Mao pointed out that "facts" means everything that exists objectively, "truth" means the inherent relations in objective things or the law, and "seeking" calls for research. To handle cases in the spirit of seeking truth from facts requires that everyone bear the actual conditions of each case in mind and ascertain the inherent relations in all kinds of evidence and facts of a crime as an objective basis for judging someone guilty or not guilty and for judging the seriousness of one's offense. To this end we must not be guided by imagination or sentiment but by cold facts in getting full access to data and drawing correct conclusions from such data after careful analysis and study. Therefore, in verifying the facts of a case we must pay attention to the "six dos and six don'ts."

1. We must not look for certain facts to prove our "judgments," not have preconceptions and subjective hypotheses and not arbitrarily impose our judgments on actual conditions to fit our needs. Instead, we must insist

on drawing conclusions only after investigation and study and try to understand things as they really are. In no way may we use the shackles of presumption to change the original features of things.

2. We must not fall into the habit of just listening to or believing one side of a story. Instead we must listen not only to the opinions of the victim and his relatives but also to those of the masses and the statement of the defendant. We must listen not only to positive but also to negative views. We must seriously analyze various opinions and judge which of them are correct, reasonable and believable and which are unreasonable and unbelievable.

3. We must not take things as they are, confine ourselves to the superficiality of things or judge only from certain phenomena. Instead we must analyze and combine various conditions, determine which of the evidence and facts are inherently related to each other and which are unrelated, and distinguish the essential from the nonessential.

4. We must not believe what others say too readily, but rather lay stress on evidence. The defendant in every case must be given a court trial. Adequate attention must be paid to his statement or defense. We must seriously check whether his statement or defense is based on fact and whether there has been any overstatement or understatement. In no way can we accept everything he says on face value. Meanwhile, we must seriously weigh the evidence. If there is inadequate evidence, we must not close the case.

5. We must not just check on data that we consider necessary. We must also trace data and those accomplices who may have escaped our attention. We must follow any clue that may lead to something. We must not let go of any important criminal evidence or any accomplice involved.

6. Instead of just collecting evidence against the defendant, we must also gather evidence in his favor and pool all relevant data for an overall analysis. We must be able to support affirmation or negation with evidence.

Due to our adherence to the principle of the "six don'ts," we have been able to discover the actual conditions about every case and have a relatively clear idea of the nature of a case to try it properly. There was a case of murder for money. The original evidence consisted of just a piece of clothing picked up at the scene. During the trial the defendant confessed his crime of murder but did not tell the truth regarding location of the weapon. We thought that for lack of concrete evidence we could not convict him on the sole basis of his oral confession. Later a serious analysis of the defendant's story revealed contradictions. We exposed his bad thinking and educated him. We eventually made him reveal where he had hidden all the incriminating evidence, and we found the clothing which the defendant wore in committing the crime. The missing

part exactly matched the piece of cloth picked up at the scene. The murder knife also had the same features as described by the defendant. A check with the defendant and his relatives showed that all the property belonged to the suspected criminal. Thus, conclusive evidence against the defendant was obtained.

There was also a case of "arson and attempted murder." The defendant burned his own house and knifed a commune member who helped put out the fire. The defendant ran away but was caught by the masses. During the trial the defendant evaded the questions. During the investigation, people just reported the fact that he had committed arson and attempted murder but did not report what actually happened at the scene. Though some people knew that the defendant was mentally sick, they feared to cause him further trouble and stressed the serious consequences of his act in the hope that he might be sentenced to reform through labor. Through repeated investigations we found that the defendant was abnormal in speech and deeds. A medical checkup conformed that he was mentally deranged. With the approval of the county party committee and on the basis of properly handling ideological work among local cadres and residents, we set the defendant free and placed him in the custody of his relatives at home.

Adhering to what is correct means seeking truth from facts. Rectifying what is wrong also means seeking truth from facts. The guideline of "eliminating all that is reactionary and rectifying all that is wrong" formulated for us by Chairman Mao fully expresses the spirit of seeking truth from facts. We made an overall review last year of all cases handled in the past few years. As regards those properly handled cases with clearly established facts and properly determined natures, we adhered to principle and maintained the original verdicts. As for wrongly handled cases, we reversed part or all of the verdict as required. Those people who had been convicted as counterrevolutionaries because they opposed or resisted Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their flunkys and praised the leading comrades of the party Central Committee were investigated and exonerated. We resolutely tried to clear them of all framed charges. We also seriously handled the letters, visits and appeals from the people and carried out the party's policies in a down-to-earth spirit. Thus, the people's court played a still better role in dealing blows to the enemy and protecting the people.

Adhering to the materialist theory of reflection and understanding things as they really are in solving problems is a fundamental principle guiding our proper handling of judicial work. To adhere to this principle we must go deep among the masses, make investigations and studies and devote a large amount of painstaking work to analyzing, combining and judging data related to complicated cases. Several years ago, due to the interference of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," some of our comrades were ideologically confused for a time. They had a vague idea of the duties of the people's court but

lacked a keen sense of responsibility. Some thought that, since cases had been investigated and tried beforehand by public security organs, all the court needed to do was "sit down to a readymade meal" or go through the legal formalities. Therefore, cases were handled by giving cursory glances through case files, making short work of cases and going through the motions of referring to higher authorities. By penetratingly exposing and criticizing the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in sabotaging judicial work, we summed up positive and negative lessons and experiences since 1976. Everyone further realized that the people's court is an important part of the state machine and that the vesting of judicial power in us by the party and the people is a mark of great trust in us. We must foster the spirit of being fully responsible to the party and to the people, seriously live up to the duties of the people's court, correctly try every case and treat judicial work importantly. The handling of cases is by no means a matter of "sitting down to a readymade meal" and going through the legal formalities. Instead, we must seriously read through case files, investigate facts, verify evidence, determine the nature of cases and make correct judicial decisions. In no way can we free a bad person or wrong a good one. Only thus can we be worthy of the expectations of the party and the people.

On the basis of heightened awareness, we have strictly enforced the system of responsibility by having full-time people investigate cases, listen to defendants, verify facts and discuss the cases collectively, and by having the verdicts approved by the party committee. We have kept a tight grip on facts, evidence, the determination of the nature of cases and the administration of punishment as important factors. We have refused to refer a case to higher authorities when the facts were unclear, evidence was inadequate, the opinions of the cadres and masses had not been solicited, the legal formalities had not been completed and the required data was incomplete. After the settlement of each case we have asked ourselves whether we have fulfilled our duties and have nothing on our conscience. We have tried in every way to clarify what was unclear and have judged cases in a down-to-earth spirit. For instance, a criminal who had misappropriated proceeds from the sales of bus tickets burned the ticket stubs in an attempt to destroy the evidence. In trying this case the judicial workers went to the trouble of checking with the relevant personnel of the unit concerned. They worked on verifying the destroyed ticket stubs one by one. Only after obtaining reliable evidence did they make a correct judicial decision on the matter. Thanks to everyone's heightened sense of political responsibility, cases have been concluded not only quickly but also with increasingly good results.

To insist on seeking truth from facts in settling cases, we must not only have a solemn and serious attitude but also be guided strictly by principle. Chairman Mao always stressed that we must be prudent in handling men. This requires us to judge cases and pass sentences in line with objective reality and the party's principles. In no way can we let

external factors interfere with our decisions. But in making judgments people have been afraid to speak out in cases in which individual leaders had aired their opinions, despite the discovery during the trial of some discrepancies in the facts. They have feared being accused of "showing no respect for the leadership." In cases where the demands and opinions of a section of people were incompatible with the spirit of policy, people have been afraid to act persistently according to the party's principles for fear of being accused of "showing no faith in the masses." When the views of the relevant unit have clashed with those of the court, people have been afraid to adhere to principle for fear they might embarrass the party and spoil their relations with others. When the facts of a case have been found to be incompatible with the original charges, people have been afraid to set things right lest they be accused of "defending the criminal" and "wavering in one's stand." Under these circumstances we have been prone to the trend of preferring being "left" to being "right" and have not been able to settle cases in a down-to-earth spirit. To solve this problem we have seriously organized judicial cadres and guards since 1976, especially since the smashing of the "gang of four," to study Chairman Mao's teachings on strengthening the socialist legal system and to penetratingly expose and criticize the ultrarightist nature of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. We have led everyone in distinguishing between right and wrong in line and doing well in handling the following several relationships:

1. We must properly handle the relationship between acceptance of party committee leadership and adherence to the party's principle. The people's court functions under the absolute leadership of the party committee, and acceptance of party committee leadership is synonymous with adherence to party principle. When the opinions of individual leaders of the party committee are at odds with the facts of a given case, we must seriously adhere to party principle, take the initiative to report the case factually to the party committee and help the party committee obtain an overall idea of the facts of the case and make a correct decision in light of actual conditions. Thus, we can better put the court's functions under the leadership of the party committee and dialectically unify acceptance of party committee leadership and adherence to party principle.

2. We must correctly handle the relationship between accepting mass opinions and acting according to law. The mass line is our party's fundamental political and organizational line, as well as the fundamental line guiding the judgment of criminal cases. In trying cases we must follow the mass line. This is without a shadow of a doubt. But mass opinions vary. We must make an overall analysis of them, sift the essential from the nonessential, separate the true from the false and concentrate correct opinions. In no way can we act in every way as the masses say. We must humbly listen to and act upon correct mass opinions. Where mass opinions do not correspond with policy, we must patiently preach the party's policy and the law of the state, guiding the masses to follow the party's principle and making a case settlement that not only expresses the party's principle but also represents mass opinions.

3. We must correctly handle the relationship between the court and the relevant departments. In handling every case we must act in close cooperation with the relevant departments and fight on the same front. But in actual practice, different views often appear. In such cases we must take the initiative to consult with the relevant departments. We must set forth the relevant problems for joint discussion. Concerning those problems which remain unclear after discussion, we must jointly organize forces to make investigations and studies. Our aim is to clarify facts and achieve unanimous agreement. Where differing views remain after joint efforts, we must not impose our own opinions on the relevant departments. Instead we must refer the views collected from all quarters to the party committee and act on its instructions.

At the same time we have helped judicial cadres and police draw a clear line of distinction between withdrawing the charges in light of actual conditions and sheltering the culprit. Affirming or negating an original charge in light of actual conditions is a judicial worker's duty. Daring to do so is an expression of the purity of party spirit. This is fundamentally different from attempting to falsify documents, exonerate the guilty, make a crime appear less severe or purposely shelter bad people. To raise everyone's awareness of this problem in our handling of cases, we have fully promoted democracy, let everyone air his own views and fostered the style of daring to factually report conditions and adhering to party principles. We have also often praised those comrades who have shown a keen party spirit, dared to adhere to principles and seriously lived up to the duties of the people's court. Such an approach has effectively raised everyone's ideological consciousness and made "fears" in everyone's mind give way to "courage." A basic-level leading cadre faced six charges of corruption, speculation and manipulation, rape, tuning in to the enemy's radio broadcasts, sheltering bad people and victimizing good people. After an investigation we ascertained that he had surrendered all the money misappropriated or obtained through speculation and manipulation before action had been brought against him. Other charges were proven groundless. Though the cadres and the masses demanded his conviction of the six "crimes," we resisted interference from all kinds of erroneous ideas from the standpoint of party spirit and party policy, referred the facts of the case to the party committee and boldly suggested that he be excused from punishment. This had the approval of the party committee. We have come to realize that insisting on seeking truth from facts means daring to truthfully report facts. Despite opposition from 9 out of 10 people, factual reports and correct ideas must be believed and resolutely supported. False reports and erroneous views must be viewed with suspicion and boldly opposed, even if they are approved by 9 out of 10 people. Experience shows that only by so doing can we correctly handle cases and really win mass support.

To seek truth from facts in trying cases we must also help the judicial cadres raise their professional level. The facts of a case exist objectively. But to grasp these facts, determine their inherent relations and

correctly judge them we must have more than a burst of enthusiasm. This calls for judicial and professional knowledge and work skills. Problems of one kind or another appearing in the handling of cases have to do with the professional level of judicial cadres. New to the profession, certain comrades fail to discover problems while reading files, the main contradictions in investigations and the key points during trials. They also do not know how to act according to the judicial system and proper procedures. Therefore, even if they truly want to seek truth from facts, they cannot judge cases well. To raise the professional level of judicial cadres, in recent years we have consistently concentrated on studying policies, rules of law and judicial matters once or twice a month. We have also selected certain cadres for rotational training in political-legal schools. Meanwhile, we have adopted for the benefit of new cadres the method of passing on experiences, lending a helping hand and giving guidance. We let old cadres give lectures and recount experiences for their benefit and join them in making investigations, trying cases and analyzing typical cases. Old cadres also help new ones to become acquainted with judicial matters and gradually learn how to handle cases.

Due to a clear distinction between right and wrong and the proper handling of relationships in various fields, coupled with a heightened professional level, the efficiency and quality of judgments have continuously improved. The efficiency of criminal case judgments rose from 69.2 percent in 1974 to 94.4 percent in 1977. The quality of judgments in 1977 was also better than before. The cases referred to higher authorities for approval were not rejected. Nor were there any erroneous judgments or cases that were not investigated. This resulted from adhering to a down-to-earth spirit and making proper investigations and studies in handling cases.

HE WHO PLANS A SIEGE IS BESIEGED

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] He who plans a siege is besieged. This is an increasingly clear trend in the world today.

Competing with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, Soviet social imperialism is intensifying its preparations to encircle and outflank Western Europe. In the East it is also energetically trying to encircle Japan and China. In these efforts it has already intruded into and is encircling many countries in Asia, Africa and other areas. However, things have developed contrary to expectations. It has not only increased its contradictions with the United States, its rival contender for world hegemony, but has also developed more contradictions with the countries and people of all the areas it has invaded and encircled. It cannot avoid arousing the opposition of the countries and the people of all these areas. The struggle of the people of the countries throughout the world against the superpowers, especially Soviet social imperialism, is reaching an unprecedented level. Soviet social imperialism is being placed in an increasingly isolated position. In recent years it has relied upon its agents to promote its aggressive and expansionist aims in certain areas and has even resorted to despicable means of assassination and subversion. This shows that it is unpopular everywhere and is becoming politically isolated to an unprecedented degree.

The current of unity in the Third World against hegemony is rolling forward. There is an increasing trend in the Second World to line up against hegemony. Cooperation between the Third World and the Second World in the struggle against hegemony has developed. An international and anti-hegemony united front with the Third World as its mainstay is further developing. Its thrust is increasingly directed at Soviet hegemonism. The Soviet Union is planning the encirclement of others everywhere but has ended up increasingly encircled by people throughout the world. This is a feature of the current international situation.

Many newspapers and magazines throughout the world are commenting on this feature of the current international situation. The West German press wrote: "It seems that the Soviet Union has really succeeded in pursuing a policy of global aggression and is actually arousing the whole world against itself." "As far as the whole world is concerned, the Kremlin feels isolated." A French newspaper said: "People in Moscow have been driven mad by a feeling of being encircled."

This situation, in which the plotter of a siege is besieged, has indeed dealt a heavy blow to Soviet hegemonism. The Soviets have a premonition that if this situation is allowed to develop their global strategy for external expansion will suffer an even greater setback. Their fears are manifested in recent speeches and newspaper and magazine articles. They shout in fear, "Anti-Sovietism is increasingly threatening various parts of the world" in "an attempt to upset" the Soviet "position" and "internationally isolate the Soviet Union to the maximum." In this respect, "The work has entered its actual stage. This is a feature of the current situation."

The Soviet gentlemen's unease at such a situation is reflected especially in their recent hysterical anti-China cries. Chairman Hua's visit to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran and the conclusion of the peace and friendship treaty between China and Japan were warmly hailed by people throughout the world. The overwhelming majority of countries spoke favorably of these events. Only the Soviet Union let loose a torrent of abuse. Why should the Soviet Union oppose China's development of friendly relations with these countries? What right does the Soviet Union have to call the tune and forbid this or that country to have friendly relations with China? Why should an antihegemony article in the Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty have touched Moscow on a tender spot? What could these cries reveal other than the hideous features of Soviet hegemonism? Meanwhile, look at the press comment from certain countries: With Chairman Hua's visit, "success has become increasingly clear. Soviet rulers are also getting increasingly upset." "When the Kremlin gets angry, it becomes nervous." "The foreign policy and political strategy followed for many years by the Soviet leadership in isolating China have suffered a setback." "China and Japan have concluded a peace treaty which stipulates that neither of the two sides will seek hegemony in Asia. It further points out that other countries should also abandon hegemony. It is indeed a very good treaty. But the Soviet news agency TASS described this treaty is 'a threat to the Soviet Union.' It is very clear that the Russians, who are seeking hegemony throughout the world, feel as though they have been caught redhanded."

The Soviet propaganda machine cries that the present encirclement of the Soviet Union has been "brought about" by China. Honestly speaking, China is not capable of such work. She is not up to setting into motion that many countries and their people or to arousing all parts of the world to act against Soviet hegemonism. The present situation can be blamed on Soviet social imperialism's own policy of aggression and war.

Today the Third World countries' increasing unity in their resolute struggle against hegemony has become an irresistible historical trend. This is of the superpowers' and especially Soviet social imperialism's own making.

The focus of the Soviet-U.S. contest for world hegemony is Europe. To encircle Western Europe and threaten Japan, the Soviet Union wants to seize the Middle East, Africa, Asia and other areas. Many Third World countries will be their first victims. In recent years the Soviet Union has stepped up its aggression and expansion in the Third World. It has used agents like Cuba and Vietnam to do evil and commit open military aggression, to infiltrate for subversion and assassination and to sow dissension and stir up trouble. All the bloody crimes it has committed have gone down in history as marks of disgrace.

More and more Third World countries have gradually realized from their own experience that Soviet hegemonism is a ferocious enemy confronting them. Certain leaders of African and Arab countries which were once imposed upon by the Soviet Union are righteously condemning Soviet aggression and intervention in African and Arab countries. It is pointed out that such intervention "will inevitably turn Africa into an important area of conflict between the superpowers." The Soviet Union's aim is "to turn the countries in the area into their own satellites and bring them within their sphere of influence. Thus, they will be able to control petroleum resources and the international sea routes in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea." A Zaire newspaper wrote, "Almost no area in the world, especially in the Third World, has been free from Soviet harassment." A Cambodian radio commentary pointed out, "The expansionist Soviet Union, which is now directing Vietnam and Cuba to occupy countries one at a time, is pursuing a policy of step-by-step destruction." The sad experience of Cuba's being reduced to a satellite of Soviet social imperialism has made people see what the fate of a country caught in the net of Soviet hegemonism is like. People in Somalia have pointed out: "The Russians make a practice of exploitation, just as the old European colonialists did." "For those African countries that ask for Soviet help in times of need, this is a painful lesson. It is like jumping from the pan into the fire."

Despite differences in their social and political systems and despite constant changes in their internal situation and policies, the Third World countries cover a vast area and share fundamental contradictions with imperialism and hegemonism. The strengthening of Third World unity against hegemony is based on common interests and needs. Only when united can the Third World countries form a powerful anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antihegemonist force and deal hegemonic powers a heavy blow. Only when they are united can they effectively resist the aggression and subversion of hegemonism and avoid being reduced to being the battlefields and spheres of influence of the superpowers. Only thus can they maintain the independent development of their own countries.

In a vain attempt to drive a wedge between China and the Third World countries, the Soviet Union is trying its best to slanderously accuse China of imposing "big-power hegemonism" upon the Third World countries. This is the clumsy exercise of a thief crying "stop thief."

China is a developing socialist country and belongs to the Third World. The past shared experience of a long period of imperialist and colonialist oppression and the present common struggle against superpowers aggression and threats and a common effort in maintaining national independence and sovereignty and overcoming economic backwardness have closely bound China to other developing countries of the Third World. Socialist China's policy toward Third World countries is very clear. In the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and antihegemonist struggle, we and the Third World countries have responded to and supported each other. We have resolutely supported and strengthened the unity of the Third World countries in struggling against hegemony. In line with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, we have developed our relations with Third World countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We have never done anything to impair the sovereignty of the Third World countries. We have never acted from selfish motives or sought special privileges. Our aid to Third World countries has aimed at promoting the independent development of their national economies. We have never intervened in the internal affairs of the Third World countries. We think that the way these countries choose their own social and political systems is their own business. Socialist China's traditional practice along these lines is common knowledge.

It is the Soviet Union that tries to divide the Third World countries and create conflicts so it can fish in troubled waters. It is the Soviet Union that intervenes in the affairs of the Third World countries, carrying out all kinds of activities, from wars of aggression, infiltration and manipulation to subversion and assassination. It is the Soviet Union that uses "aid" and other means to ruthlessly exploit Third World countries, appropriates their military bases, strategic resources, and so on, and imposes the shackles of military alliances on them. It is the Soviet Union that takes acceptance or nonacceptance of its hegemonism as the only yardstick in classifying Third World countries into "progressive" or "reactionary" groups. Those who fall into line are regarded as "progressive," and those who do not are considered "reactionary." In a word, it is the Soviet Union that imposes superpower hegemonism and a new colonialism upon the Third World countries under the signboard of "socialism." The Third World countries now clearly see from reality that there is no such thing as "the Chinese threat" which the Soviet Union cries about. Instead, there does exist an ever-increasing threat from the Soviet Union.

Today the Second World's trend to aline against hegemony and the development of cooperation under given conditions between Third World and Second World countries in the struggle against hegemony is of the superpowers' and especially Soviet social imperialism's own making.

In Europe, which is the focus of the superpowers' contest, and on its periphery, the Soviet Union has surpassed the West in its military buildup. Posing an ever-increasing threat to Japan, the Soviet Union has occupied its northern area. From Angola and the Horn of Africa to the Arabian Peninsula and Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union has set up one base after another in an attempt to control and cut off supplies of petroleum and other strategic resources upon which Western Europe and Japan rely. Faced with such serious threats from the Soviet Union, the Second World countries cannot help but strengthen their alinement against hegemony. West European cooperation in economic, political and military fields is developing continuously. The West European Community is advancing in spite of obstacles.

To resist Soviet aggression and threats and protect the interests of the Second World countries, Western Europe, Japan and other countries of the Second World in recent years have improved their economic and political relations with the Third World countries of the Middle East, Africa and other areas. These Third World countries also increasingly feel that they can establish necessary cooperation with Western Europe and other Second World countries on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. This helps to drive the military forces of the Soviet Union and its agents out of Africa, the Middle East and other areas, to maintain the independence and safety of Third World countries, to protect them from the aggression and expansion of the two hegemonic powers and to strengthen the unity of antihegemonist forces, blunt the thrust of Soviet expansion and upset Soviet war plans.

The Soviet Union has vehemently attacked the international antihegemonist united front as an "imperialist alliance." Today, what represents the greatest imperialist force and the greatest neocolonialist force? It is none other than the two superpowers of the Soviet Union and the United States. As far as the general world strategic position is concerned, the Soviet Union is on the offensive and the United States is on the defensive. The force that constitutes precisely the biggest threat to world peace and security is Soviet social imperialism. To really oppose imperialism and colonialism we must first oppose the superpowers, especially Soviet social imperialism. To fully isolate and oppose the superpowers, especially Soviet social imperialism, why can the Third World not cooperate under given conditions with Second World countries that are subjected to the aggression and expansion of the superpowers and to the threat of war? This is the natural course of action to take.

Our socialist China's attitude toward Second World countries all along has been open and aboveboard. We think that the Second World countries are a force that can be rallied in the antihegemonist struggle. Our country and the Second World countries are faced with the common threat of superpowers, especially Soviet hegemonism. We hope that Second World countries will form a strong alliance, while they also hope that we will grow

strong. This is the basis for the development of relations between us. Not only in the political field but also in the area of economic and technical exchange, our relations with Second World countries have great prospects for development. Our support for the Second World countries' policy of alining against hegemony and resisting Soviet aggression and expansion does not mean that we support the relevant countries' efforts to subject the Third World to continued exploitation and control. We oppose such a colonialist policy. We support the Third World countries' efforts to hold talks and develop normal relations with the Second World countries on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. Our stand is entirely in line with the common interests of the people throughout the world in opposing world wars and safeguarding world peace.

Soviet revisionist gentlemen say threateningly that the formation of an international antihegemony united front means "thwarting the progress of detente" and "pushing mankind toward the brink of a world war." Yet facts speak louder than words. If this is portrayed as a case of "pushing mankind toward the brink of a world war," then the contest between the two hegemonic powers of the Soviet Union and the United States will be the source of a new world war. The Soviet Union in particular has become the most dangerous source of war. It is the chief plotter of a new world war. This is a fact for all the world to see. Only by rallying all possible forces and forming the most extensive international antihegemony united front with the Third World as its core, struggling with the superpowers, especially Soviet social imperialism, exposing the false impressions of "detente" created by them, upsetting their strategic plans and opposing their promotion of the policy of appeasement can we really delay the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace.

Soviet revisionist gentlemen have also bitterly denounced the formation of an international antihegemony united front as "anti-Sovietism." If this means opposition to the socialist Soviet Union created by Lenin, then such a charge fits no one better than it does these gentlemen. They are to blame for the tragic change the Soviet Union has undergone and for having reduced a socialist country, which was esteemed and cherished by people throughout the world, to a social imperialist country that is hated and opposed by people throughout the world. When it comes to opposition to Soviet social imperialism, they also have themselves to thank. They are really the teachers by negative example in the contemporary world. By these very acts--aggression, intervention, manipulation and subversion--they have educated the people of all countries, set them in motion and taught them how to use the international united front as a weapon against them. The more the Third World mixes with them, the more it will become more educated and more resolute in its opposition. We have once again reiterated socialist China's stand. As long as they refuse to change the policy of social imperialism, we will not stop our struggle against them. We firmly believe that, as long as they refuse to change their policy of aggression, intervention and manipulation

toward various countries of the world, the people of these countries will not stop their joint struggle against them.

The ever-growing expansion of the international antihegemony united front and the siege against the Soviet plotters bear full testimony to Chairman Mao's theory on the differentiation of the three worlds. Practice in international struggle over the past few years further shows that the Third World is a main anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antihegemonist force, that the Second World is a force in between that can be won over and rallied, and that the two hegemonic powers of the First World, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the common enemy of the people the world over, with Soviet social imperialism being the most dangerous enemy. Chairman Mao's theory on the differentiation of the three worlds and his guideline on the formation of the most extensive international united front are a scientific generalization of the objective reality of class struggle in the contemporary world, a reflection of the laws of historical development and an embodiment of the interests of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

They are therefore packed with great vitality and stimulate the progress of the antihegemony struggle of the people of the world.

There is a limit to everything. All hegemonists in history have tried to encircle others everywhere, only to create their own opposition, their own gravediggers and their own graves. Hegemonists that reach out everywhere will surely be universally cursed, the target of heavy sieges by the people of all countries. Failure is their ultimate fate. Did Hitler not court ruin by starting World War II? Is not the United States, which reached out to all parts of the world following World War II, declining sharply? Soviet social imperialism is now taking over U.S. imperialism's role and following in Hitler's footsteps. It has a great hunger for power. To vie with the United States for world hegemony, it wants to encircle the entire world. It is intensifying its expansionist offensive everywhere and thus putting its head in the noose everywhere. This is leading to the ever-growing expansion of the international antihegemony united front and earning the Soviet Union an ever more heavy pounding from the people throughout the world. The plotter of a siege will find himself besieged and ultimately defeated. This is the inevitable fate of Soviet social imperialism.

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