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SPEECH AT LITERATURE AND ART FORUM AND FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION MEETING  
(19 JUNE 1961)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 2-16

[Speech by Zhou Enlai]

[Text] Introduction

Currently we have some bad practices. Our work lacks a democratic style. To begin with, we demand that people emancipate their thinking, break away from fetishes and superstitions and dare to think, speak and act. However, many people do not dare. Of course, people still think, but they do not dare to speak and act. So, two dares are missing. Why do we have this situation? Chairman Mao advocated at the Nanning meeting in 1958 that people should dare to think, speak and act, and again at the second session of the Eighth National CCP Congress he proposed in a more formal way that, while daring to think, speak and act, people should base their thought, speech and action on reality and scientific foresight. However, not everybody can do this. It is inevitable that people will think, speak and act somehow off the mark. This is unimportant. So long as there is freedom of criticism, we will have the unity of opposites. If only one person were allowed to speak and all others forbidden to, wouldn't that be "rule by one lone voice"? How does "rule by one lone voice" happen? It has something to do with leadership. So we must form a democratic style. First of all, let me make this clear—what I'm going to say today can be reflected on, discussed, criticized, negated or affirmed by all. No one in this world speaks correctly 100% of the time. When people are mistaken, they speak incorrectly. But even when they are correct, they may say something inappropriate or go a bit too far. This calls for criticism. No one can say he is immune from making mistakes. I would like to advise you comrade writers that you not try to write your literary works too hurriedly. Great statesmen and artists are all deadly serious over revising their own works. Chairman Mao has constantly said that all the Marxist and Leninist works we read today were carefully reviewed and revised. Chairman Mao himself has done this. His writings are usually revised several times before publication. Therefore, we must make it a practice that people should be allowed to criticize and discuss our opinions.

I don't think all I said about literary and art work's "relying on two legs" in 1959 is correct by today's standard. Some of my statements may be a little too strong and others too weak. What displeases me is that I have received no reaction whatsoever to my speech--it obviously has been coldly shelved. I couldn't but feel a little displeased. This time you invited me to speak once more, and here I am. I'll feel pleased to unburden all my thoughts. However, it is impossible for all that I'm going to say to be correct. Some points may have to be discussed and criticized. My main intention is to invite all you comrades to discuss them.

To promote a democratic style and change the work style of literary circles, it is first necessary to change the cadres' work style. To change the cadres' work style, it is first necessary to change the leading cadres' work style. To change the leading cadres' work style, it is necessary to begin with myself and some others. I'm in constant contact with my friends in literary circles. If people are not allowed to doubt or discuss the views we put forward, then what's the point of having discussion? Our words are not officially approved by the party. And even if they were studied and approved by the party, criticism and differing opinions should still be allowed. Official edicts passed by the central working meeting still must be discussed and revised. Why can't people be allowed to discuss and revise my personal views? We must make it a practice. We all are discussing problems from the position of socialism, with a view to doing our work in the literary field well and implementing policy on literature and art well. Everyone has his own opinions on these aspects. Why can't they be discussed? I hope you record what I'm going to say today, take it home, discuss it and send me your opinions. However, if what you send is merely "fully agree," "fully support," "instructions are correct" and so on, I'll not touch it. This doesn't mean you are telling lies; it is meaningless to read such things. Write me if you have different views or questions for discussion.

A democratic style ought to begin with us--we must allow people to criticize and air different views. I only spent 2 days thinking about what I'm going to say today, and therefore it is not fully developed. Of course, portions of my speech concern the party's principles and policies and problems concerning class struggle. However, part of my speech is based on the problems you have reported to me. If my speech can be compared to a human being, it is only an embryo. Whether it can grow is not yet known. If you will offer your opinions, I may have a better speech next time. We must learn from Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao always goes over his views on a subject many times. We always hear him repeat the same formulations but with new refinements each time. He wants us to put forth our views and revises his own by absorbing ours. Chairman Mao's work style of upholding truth and correcting errors is something we should learn. If we want to learn from Chairman Mao, we should learn from this work style. In our work style we have to allow people to put forth different views before we can cultivate a good style. In short, socialist



freedom and ease of mind implies allowing people to voice different opinions based on different circumstances. Only thus can we have a political situation, as advocated by Chairman Mao, in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. It is my hope that such an atmosphere and effect will result from this meeting.

To begin with, we demanded that people emancipate their thinking and dare to think, speak and act. Yet, to the contrary, people's thinking has been shackled. Actually, people still think. They only dare not speak and act. People are not rocks. How can they not think? What we want now is to have them speak and act on what they think.

In the past there has been a common practice that when somebody speaks out on something we impose a pattern on him, seize on some fault and exaggerate it, dig up the root of his mistake, throw a label on him and use a big stick against him. First, there is the pattern, and people are forced to follow it in whatever they say. It is no good if they don't follow the imposed pattern. With a subjective pattern we then can seize on his fault on the basis of this pattern, proceeding purely from subjectivism, one-sidedness and metaphysics without making any investigation.

When we subjectively think he is a right deviationist, he is designated a right deviationist. The novel "Da Ji and Her Father," once believed to be "sentimentalist" [lacking in revolutionary spirit], has become a problem. Its author was denounced as a petty bourgeois sentimentalist. I wish to thank you comrades from Shanghai who suggested I read "Da Ji and Her Father." I have read it and have seen the movie based on it. This is a good piece of work, but there is the pattern: When the old man of Han nationality finds and regains custody of his daughter, this is said to be following "the theory of human nature." Comrades Zhao Dan and Huang Zhongying cried while watching the movie. I saw the movie yesterday and almost cried, too. Why didn't I shed tears? Because the director's tactics suppressed my feelings. For instance, when the daughter is about to part with the old man of Yi nationality, we are almost moved to tears. But on the screen the actress turns around and covers her face with both hands, not letting the audience see her cry. The audience's mind is so shackled that he doesn't let us cry even when we want to cry. This is not the way proletarian feelings are supposed to be! I heard that the director was apprehensive and worrying all the time until he was told by some comrades that it's good. The conductor just dares not go further at that juncture. This is not meant to criticize Comrade Wang Jiayi. There is the fixed pattern: "Father and daughter crying when reunited means following the theory of human nature." Therefore, the director dares not let them cry.

It's not good to frame everything with "the theory of human nature." As a matter of fact, the problem regarding the theory of human nature was

solved as early as 20 years ago. Chairman Mao said in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" that there is no human nature in the abstract and that in class society there is only human nature of a class character. Yet, people are still fixing patterns today. A pattern pre-determines everything. If something said does not fit that pattern, it is then given all kinds of labels such as "theory of human nature," "love of mankind," "sentimentalism" and so on and so forth.

The first step was to seize on others' faults, then label them ideologically and politically and use big sticks to attack them organizationally. All this was done on the basis of a fixed pattern and definition which is mistaken and does not accord with Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, action was also taken to investigate others. First, their past history was taken into account, and whatever they said was examined in that light. What could the people do about this? Second, their family background was fully investigated. We think that motives are always related to results and that we should not guess about people solely on the basis of their motives and neglect their performance. Therefore, we may take their past history into consideration, but the important thing is to see how they perform today; we may take their family background and social relations into consideration, but the important thing is to see how the people themselves act. While their past history and family background may be taken as points of reference, we must admit that they may have inherited some bad habits from the old society in which they were raised. However, they should be judged primarily by their performance today and not by their past history or family background. It is wrong to first set a fixed pattern, judge people by this pattern and then seize on their faults, put labels on them and use big sticks to attack them.

Marxism has its own fixed pattern. We have a big pattern, and we do not usually oppose setting up patterns. What a big pattern we must have to transform all of society and turn it into a proletarian class! Furthermore, we must also have a big pattern to transform the nature of something. The proletarian world outlook is the most scientific and the best outlook. Compared with this, all those different world outlooks of the past are very insignificant.

We and only we can transform the whole society and the whole world, and we have the greatest pattern for the future. It is wrong to reduce this big pattern into a small one, something metaphysical and subjective.

At the same time, we do not usually oppose seizing on others' faults. We must seize on serious faults which are politically reactionary in nature. For example, when the bourgeois rightists unleashed a ferocious attack in 1957 to oppose the party and socialism, we were forced to seize on their faults and launch a counterattack. We do not say that we should not study people's family background. As we have already noted, in studying people we must study their past history and family background only in connection with the people themselves, and the most important thing is

to see how the people perform today. While we must put rightist labels on those who are really rightists, we should not label people indiscriminately. The point at issue is the indiscriminate labeling of people. It is wrong to regard as poisonous weeds or evil trends all those mistakes in words and thinking or even those that are allowed in accordance with the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. We must be more cautious in using big sticks to attack people. Even if people have committed mistakes, they should be allowed to correct their mistakes if they are willing and given time to correct their mistakes; they should not be expelled from the party at will. This is not a meticulous way of doing things. What we should do is "observe and help." Therefore, I am not contending that it is unnecessary for the proletariat to have patterns, to seize on faults, to study past history and family background, even put labels on those who deserve labels or punish those who should be punished. This is not what I mean. What I mean is that this wrong and improper practice has become a trend at present--doing these improper things at the same time. Such a trend is not good, and we must now reverse this trend. However, we cannot settle those problems concerning big patterns and serious faults only by reversing this trend. For example, we must report to the party and let people know our past history and family background so that they can help us correct our mistakes. We cannot correct our mistakes by merely thinking about them. We must depend on people to correct our mistakes, for the dust will never be cleared away unless we use a broom. Therefore, we must stick to major principles. We can establish a correct trend only by doing away with unfavorable evil trends. Only in this way can we bring about a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. I hope that this meeting will fulfill our expectations. We as leaders should transform ourselves first and at the same time must advocate this correct practice.

What I have just said is by way of an introduction. I will discuss six questions now, and if there is sufficient time I will also touch on drama at the end.

## I. Material and Mental Production

Concepts governing material production can also be applied to mental production. For instance, mental production may be damaged due to overwork, sometimes even more so than in the case of material production. I said in 1959 that we must not press writers too hard for production. Of course, some writings must be completed by a certain deadline. A newspaper editorial is one example; it's something which must be completed in time so that our efforts can be coordinated in light of the constantly changing situation of international struggle.

However, even in such cases we still have a tradition--namely, we would rather publish a good editorial 1 day late than present a hastily written,

poor editorial. This is why foreigners always say that we are slow to express our views. If we can adhere to this tradition in the field of international struggle, why can't we do so in mental production for domestic affairs? Targets, plans, assurances of completion and repeated application of pressure--all these are annoying to mental producers.

I have said that I made a mistake in the literary and art field by encouraging the filming of many artistic documentaries. Artistic documentaries are worth filming, but we must not overdo it. We set the 1958 documentary production target at 80, but our subordinates ended up with 103. While there were good films among them, there were also rough, slipshod works which wasted our manpower and materials. In short, excessive demands are contrary to a concept of dialectical unity--achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results" is our overall goal, but we cannot demand this of every man. Take Comrade Zhang Shuihua, for example. He is accustomed to filming at a slower pace. We should give him enough time instead of pressuring him. Take poetry writing as another example. Among our leaders, Comrade Chen Yi likes to compose poetry and writes quickly. He is a prolific writer, a genius of quick artistic ability. Chairman Mao, on the other hand, is totally different. He will write a poem only when the idea, the theme is fully developed in his mind. His poems are few, but are magnificent in spirit and rich in poetic quality. Of course, Comrade Chen Yi's poems are also rich in poetic quality. We should not demand that Chairman Mao write one poem every day, nor should we unreasonably ask Comrade Chen Yi to write fewer. We cannot demand uniformity in mental production.

Nevertheless, when we add up the mental products of our whole nation, it becomes clear that our socialist culture is rich and colorful. In traditional Chinese paintings, for example, the "Exhibition of the New Look of the Motherland" sponsored by the traditional Chinese painters in Jiangsu is very rich in artistic creation. I do not mean to say that Jiangsu's traditional Chinese paintings are better, although I am a native of Jiangsu. I am saying that there are good traditional Chinese paintings everywhere in our country. In mental production, we cannot fix the production time or establish output quotas. We should examine our achievements in the context of our whole country while concentrating our efforts on creating better works. We must clarify this issue. If we set our targets too high or make our demands too stringent, we may restrain our mental production.

Some comrades have pointed out that there should be both mental and material compensation for certain writers. I support this view. Of course, how to make such compensation is an issue to be solved by the various departments concerned.

If you criticized someone for presenting an erroneous view and later found out that his view was correct and that he was very unhappy about

the criticism, shouldn't you conduct a reexamination? With regard to deductions made from the legitimate income a person received from his published works, shouldn't you return to him the income you deducted without authorization and in the name of "contributions"? Even if the deductions were authorized, it does not mean that they were appropriate.

Let's compare this with the peasants' income. A certain percentage of the grain harvested by peasants may be collected by the commune or brigade as reserves or sold to the state.

If the grain is sold, the income derived from the sale should be distributed to the peasants according to their earned workpoints, since it is the fruit of their labor. A writer's income should be treated in the same manner. Of course, different circumstances require different treatment. For instance, if a person writes during his working hours and thus affects his normal duties, he deserves different treatment. If his works are written during his spare time, his income should not be deducted. Some people reportedly have said that they can't return the deducted income because there are no records to show whose income was deducted and given to the public. These words of some leaders are excuses for their refusal to make the refunds. However, those who had income deducted are not stupid. Therefore, it is necessary to make refunds. The amount of the refunds can be decided by the people.

Another issue concerns the requisitioning of writers' houses. Shouldn't they be returned to their owners?

Some problems also exist with regard to making readjustments, consolidating, reinforcing and raising standards in various departments of literature and art. In the past, efforts were overdone in this respect and were thus incompatible with the spirit of consolidation and raising standards. With the expansion of cultural and educational contingents and organizations, various problems--those in other fields as well as those in the fields of education and culture--should be solved by implementing the principle of making readjustments, consolidating, reinforcing and raising standards. We ask that cultural and educational departments of the central authorities map out plans and have local comrades discuss them so that the practice of overdoing them is avoided. Reports still indicate that some localities are not willing to restrain themselves.

I think that everything should be done by proceeding from the actual situation and that one situation should be distinguished from another. One situation may represent the desires and voluntary actions of the masses, while another situation may reflect the desire of the leadership. If the masses like and are willing to maintain a mobile drama troupe, then with the masses' support this drama troupe can perform in various communes and production brigades. This kind of troupe should be allowed to remain. We allow a system of collective ownership, so why should we insist that all troupes belong to all the people? Naturally, when we permit the

existence of collectively owned troupes we should also prevent old influences from staging a comeback. We should not allow the head of a drama troupe to draw the highest salary. The troupe's work is a form of mental labor. Lead actors and those who display remarkable artistic ability should get higher wages according to the principle of "more work, more pay." We must allow the masses to cooperatively run drama troupes under the guidance of local party committees and cultural administrative departments. This is one type of troupe set up to fulfill the masses' needs and serve them. There is another type of drama troupe which leading organs from various departments of the central authorities and leading organs from various prefectures and counties insist on running in order to serve a handful of people. We should interfere in this matter and not allow them to remain. To allow the existence of these troupes means giving cadres special privileges. The main purpose of a drama troupe is to serve the masses. Although it can give some exclusive performances, a limit should be placed on them. A plan should be formulated by the cultural departments under the guidance of the Propaganda Department of the party committee. The number of people who are engaged solely in mental production while totally divorcing themselves from material production should not be too numerous. As for spare-time troupes run by the masses, they should be allowed to exist, since the operation of such troupes does not affect regular production and work. We rely mainly on spare-time activities to propagate culture.

In short, we have discovered some work problems during the past 3 years with regard to making readjustments, consolidating, reinforcing and raising standards. Mental production is no exception. Therefore, we must also do some planning in this area.

## II. Class Struggle and the United Front

I would like to explain the ups and downs of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The party pointed out at the second plenary session of its Seventh CCP Central Committee that two-line struggle will exist in the course of socialist revolution and construction. After liberation, the struggle against the "three evils" and "five evils" proved this point. In the period right after agricultural cooperation, with fierce and widespread force we raised a big fanfare as we entered the socialist stage. We neglected class struggle to a certain extent, possibly because we believed that we had scored great achievements in transforming the old society. Predicting the emergence of this problem, Chairman Mao publicized his talk "On the Ten Major Relationships" in 1956, including the relationship between revolution and counterrevolution and the united front issue. In 1957 he publicized his talk "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and elucidated the issues even more clearly. As Chairman Mao expected, the rightists launched a fierce attack. This proved that, during the period of socialist revolution and construction, struggles are sometimes sharp, although the scale of class struggle may be smaller.

Whenever we have difficulties, shortcomings and weak points, our class enemies will launch a fanatic attack. But we cannot ignore the united front, refuse to conduct analyses of the bourgeoisie and waver or over-emphasize one thing and neglect another in handling contradictions among the people.

Class struggle includes political and ideological struggle and the struggle against habitual forces of the old society.

As for political struggle, we should resolutely oppose those who are hostile toward socialism and struggle against the rightists' frenzied attacks. Last year some counterrevolutionary elements in certain rural areas usurped the local leadership and attempted to restore capitalism. Some had been engaged in disruptive activities--either overt or covert, according to the situation--and had been awaiting an opportunity to stage a frenzied comeback. Of course, this situation only exists in certain small areas. Because people's government has been consolidated throughout the nation, those counterrevolutionaries cannot create a lot of trouble. This kind of class struggle is characteristic of the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. Therefore, we must be vigilant; otherwise we will be deceived. Although the number of counterrevolutionaries is very small, they exist in various fields. We on the people's side should be vigilant at all times, especially when we encounter difficulties or make mistakes.

Ideological struggle is a long-term struggle. As writers and artists engaged in mental production, we must pay special attention to ideological problems and ways of thinking. Eliminating the old ideology and ways of thinking is a long-term task. We come from the old society and were educated in the old school. Even young people today are influenced by their families and remnants of the old ideology. Therefore, old ways of thinking and work styles exist to a greater or lesser degree in our minds.

Ideology is the harbinger of a new society, but we cannot eradicate all the remnants of the old ideology until we have laid a solid foundation for new ways of thinking. Remolding a person's world outlook takes time and cannot be done hurriedly. This applies particularly to workers in natural sciences. Take doctors, for example. I once met a physician whose technical skill was first rate. He served socialism, but in his mind he still believed in God. This didn't interfere with his efforts to build the socialist society.

In our homes some old people also believe in ghosts and God. But they still can be citizens of a socialist society. This situation should be allowed; we cannot force them to change. Some old people will never change even until death but will carry superstitions to their coffins. However, while they are alive they still can serve socialism. Their thinking often influences their work style. Because they believe in God they must go to church and pray before they start their meal. Some comrades don't like these old ways and want to struggle against these

people. This has caused unnecessary tension and uneasiness in our society.

Of course, it will be harmful if teachers and writers use these old ways to educate the young people or portray them in theatrical performances.

It is not easy to ask people to completely remold their thinking. But what about ourselves? Do we so clearly understand dialectic materialism? Don't we harbor old ways of thinking in our own minds? It would be hard to claim that we don't. We, too, must constantly remold our thinking. Aren't all our shortcomings and mistakes caused by idealism and metaphysics? But does that mean our party is not a Marxist one or that our cadres are not Marxists? People always have shortcomings. Our party is a great, glorious and correct party. But as for us as individuals, we are still not mature and not completely Marxist. If this is true of communists, how can one blame ordinary nonparty friends? We should be more modest; then we can be of more help to others.

Ideological transformation is a long-term process. The new society is derived from the old society, and we cannot expect the transformation to be completed in a short period of time.

As for force of habit, this was formed by the feudal and bourgeois classes in the old society. We became accustomed to it when we were young and hardly notice that it is wrong. For example, whenever our leading comrades visit places, the masses are halted in order to make way for these leading comrades. It is difficult to treat others as equals. Some people always want to treat you as very special. I don't oppose necessary caution, but why should leaders be separated from the masses when they sit together? I think this is a kind of habit from feudal society. It sometimes emerges unconsciously. Many habits exist in China. For instance, beating people in the rural areas is a kind of habitual force. This was a remnant of the old society, but some people still use this method in treating the masses. Even in plays, scenes of beating people with flat pieces of bamboo still occur. The play "Fifteen Strings of Coins" is very good. The beating scene is not shown on stage.

With regard to counterrevolutionary elements, Chairman Mao always emphatically opposed torture: We have to educate counterrevolutionaries, not torture them. Then how can we apply this method to the people? However, habits often go unnoticed, and beating still exists. I have recently noticed that many plays have been banned because they have been judged in accordance with habit. For example, some people believe that "Qin Xianglian" should also be banned. This is ridiculous! This play criticizes the evil activities of Chen Shimei, who wanted to kill his wife and son. Why should this play be banned? How is it related to divorce and remarriage? This attitude has been influenced by feudal thinking.



In many plays which touch upon the question of the relationship between men and women, men are always pardonable. I don't agree with this. At this point we still have not changed the habit of considering men as the center of society. Don't think cadres have gotten rid of this feudal thinking. Isn't this feudal thinking? When we discuss right and wrong, people can agree with what we say. But when we do things, we are influenced by habit. Please don't think that habitual forces can be totally eliminated in our generation.

We may be able to create some new habits in the 21st century, but within this century we shouldn't expect to eliminate all habitual forces. This issue is related to the question of class struggle. We sometimes say something wrong or say erroneous things in a joking manner. This is very common. But if we had to consider all these things as serious political matters and wage struggle against them, then no one would be able to live. Therefore, we must distinguish between political matters, ideological matters and habitual forces and mustn't struggle against everything without knowing the nature of the question.

Some habits have been formed over a long period of time and cannot be changed quickly. Moreover, without establishing new ways of thinking, old habitual forces cannot be eliminated. It is just as Chairman Mao said: Dust won't go away without using a broom. In short, we should make specific analyses about class struggle and not confuse our vigilance against counterrevolutionaries with the transformation of people's thinking. Otherwise, we will not be able to create a political situation in which there exists both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness-- a situation described by Chairman Mao.

Ideological transformation is a long-term task. This transformation should be based on unity; we should achieve new unity based on the new situation derived from this transformation. We shouldn't be afraid to hear the word "transformation." Transformation involves a change from non-Marxist thinking and from habitual forces. If a Communist Party member thinks he has completed his own transformation and needn't become transformed further, then he is not a good communist. I have always said that transformation will never end, even until death. But although one's transformation is never completed, a person can become a little better than before. Transformation is a good thing, not bad. It is aimed at promoting unity and at helping us struggle against counterrevolutionaries.

We should achieve great unity among people throughout the country, except for class enemies. Whether or not some people support idealism and old habits is a matter among the people themselves--people with whom we should unite. A socialist society, the transitional period from capitalism to communism, is a fairly long period. Some people estimate this period to be 4 years and 80 days--that is, 13 years from 1949. In my opinion, it will take several sets of 13 years or even longer. It is hard to "tell our fortune" at present.

The purpose of ideological transformation is to help us develop our cause, do a better job in literary and art work, and promote the unity of literary and art workers. It is not for the purpose of making everyone tense, as if one had to see "all of one's five sons pass the civil service examination" as in former times. We should carry out transformation smoothly. Chairman Mao has said that all ideological transformation and study should be conducted smoothly and discussed fearlessly. This meeting will discuss the question of leadership, the building of literary and art contingents and the policy of "adjusting, consolidating, reinforcing and raising the level of literary and art work." All these questions cannot be solved at one meeting. When you return to your respective units, you should discuss them calmly and shouldn't be impatient or set a fixed pattern. Ideological transformation should be conducted over a long period of time, with patience and ease of mind.

We should carry out class struggle on the one hand and consolidate the united front on the other. The party and other democratic parties and groups and democratic personages form the united front. This formula applies not only to the period of democratic revolution but also to the period of socialist revolution and construction. Comrade Li Wei-han has written an article on this subject, so I won't discuss it further here.

For some time it seemed unnecessary to pay attention to the question of intellectuals as we did in 1956. No. That principle still applies to today's situation. Because we have been busy for the past 3 years, we have overlooked the matter and talked less about it. Now, following the struggle against the rightists and the 3-year Great Leap Forward, we understand it better. We had both easy and difficult experiences during the 3 years of the Great Leap Forward. Now we should promote greater unity with greater confidence. The united front should be further expanded and mustn't be reduced or overlooked. We must reaffirm this point. In order to better develop our economy and culture we should heighten our political vigilance against class enemies at home and abroad and also expand and strengthen our internal unity.

### III. Whom To Serve

The question of whom to serve is a political criterion which is applied to all types of literature and art. Chairman Mao pointed out that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is our political criterion. Serving the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as the working people and the masses under the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only political criterion for literature and art. However, political criterion is not everything. In addition, there must be artistic criterion--the question of how to serve. This service is rendered through literature and art. The forms of literature and art are many and varied and should not be uniform. Literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as proletarian politics. As to how they are presented, the forms are many

and varied. As Comrade Zhou Yang said in his report, literature and art have forms such as literature, drama, music, fine arts, dancing, film, quyi [ballad singing and storytelling] and photography. More forms could be listed if the classifications were more detailed. For instance, a large repertoire of operas and quyi exists.

Literature and art should serve politics through imagery, for one can express his thoughts only in terms of images. In musical or other artistic languages, ideas are also expressed via imagery. There would be no literature and art without imagery. If that were the case, would politics be served?

Slogans are not literature or art. Take my speech today, for instance; it cannot be called art but only rambling words. Such being the case, to have literature and art serve the people well, writers and artists should go among the masses to be tested in practice. With regard to the question of whether or not the imagery is sound and preferred by the masses, this imagery should not be taken as final simply because it is approved by the leadership. Today, however, this question is determined by the leadership rather than by the masses. Whether an artistic work is good or bad should be determined by the masses, not the leadership. If an artistic work contains erroneous political views contrary to socialism, of course we should speak out and not let them spread unchecked. But such works are few in number.

I read some things about Sichuan opera. In this regard, a vice minister of culture said that Sichuan opera is backward, thus offending the people in the province. At that time a comrade replied that the question of whether or not Sichuan opera is backward should be answered or determined by the 70 million people of that province. In my opinion, that comrade was very brave and made a good reply. Some theatrical works are preferred by the masses. If you say you don't like them, who do you think you are? People in Shanghai like pingtan [Suzhou storytelling], Huai opera and Shaoxing opera. Why should they have to be approved by people in Beijing?

Leaders have their own likes and tastes--some like opera while others appreciate paintings or antiques. What does it matter? After attending an opera we can say it is good. However, it is not necessarily good, and our comments are not dependable. Since everyone has his own likes and tastes, how can our comments be considered as criteria?

Artistic works should be approved by the people. As long as people like them, they are valuable. A theatrical work should be allowed to exist and be staged provided it is not an antiparty or antisocialist work. Artists should face the people, not only the leadership. Does this mean advocating opposition to the leadership? No, it does not. The leadership has the right to present political views and call for putting politics in command. In putting politics in command, we should pay attention

mainly to whether an artistic work is a fragrant flower or a poisonous weed or to whether or not it opposes the party and socialism. We should direct our political sensitivities toward this end. As for the artistic aspect, we know very little about it.

Since we know little and have said very little about the artistic aspect, we should not interfere too much in this area. All comrades present here hold leading positions. While I hope that you interfere less, I do not at all mean that you should not assume responsibility. First of all, you should assume responsibility; secondly, you should interfere less. Assuming responsibility primarily means that politically you do not let poisonous weeds and revisionism take their course. However, you must distinguish things clearly and not describe everything as revisionist.

Some people have asked me: Are the educational and recreational roles of literature and art united? They comprise a dialectical unity. The masses want to enjoy these pastimes and relax by watching opera and cinema; you should provide education and amusement through the presentation of typical images. Of course, the presentations should have greater variety and not always be confined to the struggle theme. Comrade Zhu De has said: "I have fought battles all my life; I would like to enjoy some films that show no fighting." If people see fighting films day after day, they will no longer enjoy them but will go to see Hong Kong movies instead. This only shows that the Motion Picture Bureau has not done its work well. On the other hand, it isn't good if not a single fighting film is available, because this will make the youth lose their fighting spirit. There should be a general, set ratio between the number of films with modern themes and historical films. As for topics, it is entirely permissible for writers to choose them freely. In ancient times there was no such thing as socialism, but the fine traditions of the Chinese people existed. As a result, people created many of their ideal characters, such as Wu Song, Mu Guiying and so forth; numerous fairy tales also were created. All these can be written into scripts, but we must establish a ratio. This ratio should vary in different areas and among different types of operas. Some stage plays are suitable only for expressing human feeling, while others with fighting scenes can only be performed occasionally. For example, in Shaoxing opera all performers are female; therefore, it would be very easy for them to perform "The Dream of the Red Chamber." It would also be fine for them to present "Zhuí Yu" [6620 7625], but it would be difficult for them to play in "Si Zhou Cheng" [3128 1558 1004], which involves martial arts fighting. Shaoxing opera originated from "Pai Tu Ban" [2143 4648 2647] [a kind of castanets] in Chengxian County. It later absorbed some other features from the Shaoxing troupe. At the very beginning Shaoxing opera included male performers or was staged with an all-male cast. Later it used an all-female cast. Now it may be staged with both male and female performers at the same time or with an all-female cast.

Because different types of operas exist, in planning an opera it is necessary to consider the needs of the masses, the occasion and local conditions. Take films, for example. Decisions on what films are more suitable for the countryside and factories should be based on merit. But all films must always serve to balance life by praising labor as an honor on the one hand and, on the other, presenting lighthearted topics and films that express one's feelings. We must remind youth about the joys and sorrows of the revolution and how hard it was to achieve socialism. We must stage more operas and plays that depict the hardships of our revolutionary struggle, so that the youth will not forget their bitter past. There should also be a general ratio with regard to topics for creation. The Ministry of Culture should do a lot of work in this area. However, it should not exercise coercion and commandism or interfere too much with the choice of topics. According to some comrades from Shanghai, a few writers who were totally unfamiliar with the work of the party committee leadership were arbitrarily asked to write about party committee leadership. What happened was that they could not do it, despite the fact that they were lectured daily about the importance of putting the party committee in command. Since this was the case, it would have been better for them to write something more suited to their abilities. The original idea was to let each do his best so as to let 100 flowers bloom, but the result was that a single flower bloomed, with everything being bound within a political framework. A letter about quyi written by Comrade Chen Yun is reasonable. He is physically weak and tired and needs to relax in another kind of environment. By enjoying pingtan he can do more work for the party. Pingtan is also artistic and plays an educational role. One person can play many different roles.

In the past I did not understand pingtan. Now I think it is better than the singing to the accompaniment of drumbeating which prevails in northern China. Actually, each has its own merits. But I prefer the quyi of the north, because it is hard for me to understand the balladry of pingtan, which is sung with a Suzhou accent. Therefore, I am not as enthusiastic about it as is Comrade Chen Yun. Yet one cannot insist that I be as enthusiastic as him. Nor can anyone say that I do not approve of pingtan. Everyone takes what he likes! When one watches an opera or a movie, one picks what one likes. For example, I like to read prose and short stories. I have no time to read long novels. Sometimes I like to watch operas and movies that don't require much thinking, so that I can relax. But it does not mean I still do a great deal of thinking and make suggestions. Actually, this is unnecessary. From now on I have to liberate myself. After all, there are many experts around. Are we affected by dramas we have seen? Yes, we are definitely affected by them. I have seen both the novel and the movie "Da Ji and Her Father." Each has its own merits. The novel is more manly and straightforward, demonstrating the characteristics of the people of Yi nationality, but it is unpolished and unrefined. The movie is better than the novel. But at the end the characters in the film dare not cry at a time they should cry out. They are restricted from doing so, perhaps for fear of being accused of being immoderate. Our

proletariat has its own human nature. Why should we worry about anything? It is true that there is a kind of pressure that is creating confusion about interpretations of the "theory of human nature," "love of mankind," "humanitarianism" and "utilitarianism." All these issues were addressed by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." We are not opposed to utilitarianism in general. We uphold utilitarianism, humanity, friendship and the humanitarianism of the proletariat. Current practice is to view an issue from an idealistic point of view instead of viewing it from a proletarian standpoint and conducting class analysis. If one replaces culture with politics, there will be no culture at all. What would be the use?

Also, we must study the economic base in carrying out cultural work. Just as Comrade Zhou Yang has said: Ideology must be in the vanguard, but the upsurge in cultural development must occur after the upsurge in economic development. Cultural development must not be without bounds. Too many cultural activities are taking place in colleges and institutions of higher learning, far exceeding the level of economic development. This affects the foundation and undermines production. Some say that culture serves production. Results prove just the opposite. Actually, production serves culture; culture is developed for the purpose of propagating culture. Culture is eliminated in the last analysis.

As to the question of raising standards and popularization, popularization means developing mass spare-time activities and raising standards on this basis. Now we are overdoing it by carrying out too many cultural activities and overexpanding our cultural contingents. The use of manpower has affected production. Therefore, we must shorten our battleline and implement the eight-character principle of making readjustments, consolidating, reinforcing and raising standards. Only in this way will it be possible to better serve socialism, the worker-peasant-soldier masses and proletarian politics.

#### IV. The Law of Literature and Art

Like industrial and agricultural production, the development of literature and art is also governed by objective laws. Because literature and art involve mental production, they are more complicated and more difficult to grasp. Comrade Zhou Yang has said that the main characteristic of literature and art is its reflection of life through thoughts transmitted via imagery. Chairman Mao said that the life reflected in works of literature and art ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal and, therefore, more universal than actual, everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters from real life, help the masses push history forward, and achieve its goal of serving politics. At present I think the following problems in this respect should be resolved:

## 1. Quantity and Quality

In the past few years a great number of literary and art works have been produced, but they have been of poor quality. Contingents of literary and art workers have been greatly expanded, but their levels are not high. The same theatrical programs are performed everywhere, with the scope of themes being very limited. The same subject matter is used in all localities, resulting in a general resemblance among works, with only slight differences. When the same thing is extolled with identical words, the quality deteriorates. Notwithstanding the fact that at present the quantity of literary and art works still falls short of the need for popularization, the main thing for us to do now is not to achieve increased quantity but to enhance quality.

Improvement of quality is a task that involves meticulous efforts; it is impossible to demand quick results. Not everyone can create successful works, nor can we expect to find them every day. Not very many outstanding authors or works exist in a feudal or capitalist society. We will certainly surpass them. But we should not expect that "everyone can write poems and everyone can paint"; it is wrong to raise the slogan calling for a Guo Moruo in each county. The development of quantity and quality is a dialectical relationship in that quantity invariably exceeds quality. Good works are always relatively few in number, but at present too few works are of high quality.

Literature and art calls for a dialectical combination of the mind and art. Creation of a good work requires preparation. "Socialism Is Fine" is a good song, but the lyrics are too simple. There was a song during the great revolution entitled "Overthrow the Big Powers." It had only eight lines of verse, which read: "Overthrow the big powers, overthrow the big powers, eliminate the warlords, eliminate the warlords; the national revolution will succeed, the national revolution will succeed; let's all sing cheerfully, let's all sing cheerfully." This song's lyrics were even simpler. They were like posters and slogans. But that was written in 1924. Now 37 years have elapsed, and if we still kept to simple terms like these, it wouldn't be right.

The person who wrote the lyrics for "Socialism Is Fine" mustn't be anxious. I am not blaming that writer. This was all the result of the leadership pushing for quick results, so the work naturally could only be a hurried composition. The current song, "Water in the Honghu Lake, Wave Upon Wave," is more appealing to the masses. This is because it is not only revolutionary in content but sentimental and of higher quality as well. This reflects the criticism of the masses, the choice of the masses. What we should do now is allow more time for writers to produce their works and not rush them too much. Theatrical troupes should also refrain from staging too many shows, so that there will be a proper balance between work and leisure for the actors.

## 2. Raw Materials and Processing

Before actual, everyday life can be turned into a work of art, it invariably must go through a certain process. After a writer obtains the raw materials, he must process them before they're transformed into his work. We should now lay greater stress on the aspect of processing. Therefore, we must allow writers more time. The opera "Female Generals of the Yang Family" would probably be better if it had been adapted by Comrade Mai Lanfang.

## 3. Ideology and Professional Work

Ideology is very important. It serves as a guide. We must strengthen ideological study. You are "spiritual engineers"; thus, your ideological level should be higher than that of others. Without raising one's ideological level, one cannot turn out fine work. But in addition to raising one's ideological level, one must also be well versed in professional work; otherwise one cannot properly express one's thoughts. When one only knows politics but is unskilled in professional work, one's work will be of the poster and slogan style, without feelings and sentiments. People who know only politics but are unskilled in professional work should find other work, such as propaganda work. They cannot become artists. But, of course, even propaganda work must be colorful and vivid.

To attain proficiency one needs basic training. An artist must possess profound knowledge and a sense of morality. This calls for training; otherwise one can become neither an artist nor a critic. My speech today can only be regarded as casual comments, not a critique. Therefore, one must accumulate experience, train one's ability, practice continuously and be tested by the masses and practice. When our performing art troupes visited foreign countries, their people were very envious of the fact that our country treasures and fosters its artists. Our country offers a wide prospect for artists. This is one of the advantages of our socialist system. The more other people admire us, the harder we must work to raise our level and improve our professional skill. Therefore, we must accumulate experience, train our ability and pay more attention to attaining proficiency. Today people dare not talk about experience, talent or professional skill, for anyone who dares to talk about professional skill is charged with harboring bourgeois ideas. This is obviously wrong.

Regarding Red and expert, theory and history, and culture and doctrine, we must not overemphasize one thing to the neglect of another. These were problems which Comrade Zhou Yang talked about at a meeting on the editing and selection of liberal arts teaching material for institutes of higher learning. At present the slogan "Following the Road of Becoming Bourgeois Specialists" is prevalent. But this slogan is not our invention.



Comrade Nie Rongzhen insisted that I again talk about this question. What is being "white"? A person who wholeheartedly devotes himself to serve socialism cannot be called white although he may have spent little time in political study. Only those people who hoist the white flag to oppose socialism should be called "white." For instance, if a surgical doctor who is very skilled in his profession and has cured many patients is accused of "following the road of becoming bourgeois specialists" merely because that doctor has little interest in political study, isn't that ridiculous? Again, if there is a person who knows little about politics but wholeheartedly devotes himself to serving socialism and has succeeded in launching a guided missile in 2 years, thus making a great contribution to the state, and there is another person who talks daily about politics but has failed to launch a guided missile in 5 years, which of these two persons would you cast your vote of approval for? I would cast mine for the former. As for the latter, I would ask him to become a political instructor. He is not qualified to work in the guided missile department and will only "cause trouble" in it.

Chairman Mao said that we do not indiscriminately oppose utilitarianism. We favor proletarian utilitarianism. Of the two persons mentioned above, the former is of benefit to us and contributes to the worldwide victory of the socialist cause. Empty talk about politics without practice in revolutionary utilitarianism is useless. Of course, I approve of studying politics. But we must also strive to attain professional skill. Time for professional research should not be used for political study.

#### 4. Criticism and Discussion

We should allow others to criticize our literary and art works. The freedom to publish a work should be accompanied by the freedom to criticize it, while the freedom to criticize a work should be accompanied by the freedom to discuss the criticism. While we advocate criticism, we must also let a hundred schools of thought contend and encourage free discussion. It is permissible to have contradictory views and plead one's case within the socialist framework. If we allow criticism while denying freedom of discussion, we will be encouraging irresponsible criticism.

#### V. Heritage and Creation

Chairman Mao has said that we should lay more stress on the present than on the past. We believe that each generation is better than the past. The development of history has shown that the present is always better than the past. However, there was always something good in the past which is worthy of being inherited. This is why Chairman Mao asks us to inherit our outstanding cultural heritage, critically absorb all that is beneficial, "take the essence and discard the dross" and develop it to make it more brilliant. In this way our cultural heritage will become more brilliant when we reach the communist society.

Between what is our own and what is foreign, we Chinese must depend mainly on our own. However, we cannot exclude foreign things and adopt a closed-door policy.

If we do so, we will become people who uphold the restoration of ancient ways. We must absorb what is good from foreign countries and make it part of our own culture. Our nation has always been good at absorbing the outstanding culture of other nations. We have absorbed Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, Mongolian, Japanese as well as West European culture. However, we must "depend on our own." We must first of all learn what we have. In learning from foreign countries we must absorb what we have learned and must not swallow it without thought.

The "Small Dagger Society" is a very good dance drama. When it was staged in Shanghai there were no ballet steps. However, they were later added when it was staged in Beijing. An example is the "Bow Dance," in which a woman stands over the body of a man. But how could there be such steps during the time of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom? They were apparently not in conformity with the historical background of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The "Baolian Lantern" also has such drawbacks. How can ancient Chinese mythology be staged in such a manner? Perhaps they found out something from historical research. Some of the instrumental music also has such shortcomings. People always like to add some Western mood to it, which makes it inharmonious.

In this respect I am perhaps a little more conservative. I advocate that we first understand our own nation and then absorb foreign things in order to make them part of our own culture through the process of assimilation. This assimilation should be a natural chemical process, not a physical one. It is different from "welding" something from the foreign countries to those of the Chinese.

Whether we learn from the ancient or from the foreign countries, our purpose is to enable us to create today, to incorporate what we have learned into our new creations. Originality is something which should always be treasured in literary and art creations. Maybe the ballet step in the "Bow Dance" of the "Small Dagger Society" is a new creation and should be allowed to "contend." But I hold that in absorbing ancient and foreign things and assimilating them into our own creations we should pay attention to the background of the times. In a subject on ancient times there cannot be women standing over a man's body. It is an entirely different matter when we write about a modern theme.

It was reported that in Anhui's "Hua Gu Deng" a woman stands on the shoulder of a man. But I remember that when I was young I saw people dancing like this. Actually it was not a woman but a man dressed like a woman who stood on the shoulder of another man. In the past no woman was allowed to stand on a man's shoulder. Of course, you can also rebut me. It is precisely to start a discussion that I have raised these issues.

## VI. Leadership

Over the past 3 years we have scored tremendous achievements. We have mainly made achievements; our shortcomings and mistakes have been secondary. But how shall we correct these shortcomings and mistakes? The crux of the question lies in the leadership, education and going deep among the masses. In short, we must conduct investigation and study. Chairman Mao's work method is investigation and study. To become a leader in investigation and study one must have the spirit of self-criticism, not the spirit of criticizing one's subordinates.

I was very pleased to hear a recent remark by Comrade Zhou Yang. He said that not only the united front work departments but also the propaganda departments should do united front work. This was well said. A propaganda department should always open its door wide to solicit ideas and enlist able persons. However, nonparty persons have stopped coming to the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee. This means that the door of the Propaganda Department is not wide open. United front work is not the work of the United Front Work Department alone, but the work of the whole party. Not only should the culture and propaganda departments do this work, but the Organization Department and many other departments as well.

Each year Chairman Mao meets with the venerable Zhang Shizhao to discuss education with him. I myself am doing ideological work on Pu Yi [Pu I]. Since we have released him, we should allow him to work and make a good accounting for himself. Reforming the last emperor of the Qing dynasty shows the superiority of our socialist system. Otherwise we would not have released him.

Correction of shortcomings and mistakes should start with the leadership. First of all, the leadership should conduct self-criticism and bear more responsibility. Problems always can be traced back to the leaders. I hope that after you return to your own units you will do likewise.

The leadership of literary and art organizations should also conduct self-criticism. If you do so, you will relieve a heavy burden. People will pay attention to the interests of the large group, not the small circles. They will not indiscriminately point out others' faults and then exaggerate them. They will not wantonly dig up the roots of others, label other people or wield the big stick. This will allow the vast numbers of literary and art workers to have ease of mind and become highly inspired, and it will make our socialist literature and art flourish more.

Things will not move only when we make self-criticism. In addition we should also go among the masses. Only thus can we know whether our views are correct. What should we do after going among the masses? We should carry out investigation and study. I want to say that we should make self-criticism, but you should not block the passage of information to us.

One should not think that his work is no one else's business or that "no one should be allowed to sleep soundly beside my bed." If such were the case, people would not be able to cooperate with one another.

It is good to make all problems known to the masses. Thus we can get help from others. What is wrong with this? In carrying out investigation and study we of course should not make it a burden on others. We should make preparations and work out outlines before doing so. Also, we should carry grain ration coupons with us and pay attention to practicing economy. In carrying out investigation and study we should seek truth from facts and not do it at will. We should affirm others' achievements and properly assess problems. Conditions vary in various areas and departments. The entire leadership has made mistakes in some localities, while only individual leading members have committed mistakes in others. The situation is very good in other localities. Therefore, we should seek truth from facts and deal with cases on their own merits.

What should we do all this for? It is aimed at educating cadres. Chairman Mao said that we had not paid enough attention to educating cadres in the 11 years while busying ourselves with construction. My purpose in talking so much today is also to explain this question clearly. It is necessary to make it a practice to encourage people to speak out. One should express his ideas conducive to socialism even though they differ from others' ideas. We should say all we know and without reserve.

We should not blame the speaker but be warned by his words. We should correct mistakes if we have committed them and guard against them if we have not. Only thus will it be possible to educate our cadres, to foster healthy practices and to develop socialist literature and art better. Only thus will we be able to have plenty of room to carry out activities.

## VII. Modern Drama

Finally, I would like to remark on the question of modern drama. Progress has been made in modern drama over the last few years. However, it is still a weak link as compared with other subjects. What is the reason for this? It is because of our failure to recognize basic laws and to conduct basic training, as if people could easily stage a modern drama so long as they know how to talk. Modern drama is a comprehensive art which includes scenarios, performance, stage scenery, lighting, property and so forth. What is most important is that the language used in modern drama must be artistic, because it is aimed at moving people by means of language. Comrades in modern drama circles wanted me to talk Chairman Mao into watching modern drama, and I told them: When you stage a modern drama in which you do not talk as ordinary people do, Chairman Mao will come to watch it.

Modern drama actors should be able not only to talk but also to sing and act. Therefore, the scope in basic training is broad. But no one is paying much attention now to basic training, and the basic laws governing modern drama arts are ignored.

The task of a modern drama troupe is arduous, since it gives nearly 365 performances a year. Everybody is so tired that there is simply no time to study the arts. As a result, modern drama is losing popularity. Modern drama actors must know other things in addition to the performing arts. They must also know something about musical instruments, chess, calligraphy and painting to become persons with a liberal education. One cannot act well in the play "Thunderstorm" if one is unfamiliar with life in feudal society and portrays the family in the drama as one in a capitalist society instead of one in a feudal society. No art can be refined without paying attention to laws, conducting basic training and mastering techniques. In my opinion, hard training is a necessity in the arts. Although I am talking about modern drama, what I say here is applicable to other sectors in the art field. Time is needed to conduct basic training. The Ministry of Culture must formulate a plan to assign a proper amount of time.

Since liberation we have trained many talented people. But we still don't have enough people from the point of view of development. Yang Qiuling has been called "little Mei Lanfang" in Hong Kong, but she is far from Mei Lanfang. She will eventually lose popularity if she is not given time to strengthen her training. In training people we must not train a person and later see this person lose popularity. When the state trains people it also must think about the "cost." Naturally, this does not mean that we must keep cost accounting in mind, but we should pay attention to this issue.

1. It is necessary to pay attention to the basic laws and strengthen basic training.

2. Modern drama actors must keep no audience in mind, but sometimes they must keep audiences in mind. The audience should be kept in mind as well as ignored. When the actors on the stage see thousands of eyes watching the performance, they feel nervous. Naturally they cannot perform well. Therefore, they must "look down on everybody." At present the area in which the audience is seated is kept dark so that the actors cannot see the audience. But this again creates an atmosphere in which actors tend to ignore the audience.

When actors say their lines on stage, we cannot hear them even if we prick up our ears. They have basically forgotten that the audience must hear what actors say and see what they perform. Therefore, the actors must keep the audience in mind.

3. It is necessary to scorn the stage and at the same time pay full attention to it. Scorning the stage means that actors must dare to play any character in a drama. They can play the role of a good or a bad person. Old actors can also play the role of young people. The women comrades who play the role of Waxia and Biejia in the drama "In the Name of Revolution" are quite old, but they do a good job of acting. But scorning the stage alone is no good. We must pay full attention to the stage. Although the stage is small in size, there are hundreds and thousands of people watching you. The audience can detect a slight slip by an actor. Therefore, we must combine our efforts in scorning something strategically but paying full attention to it tactically, as suggested by Chairman Mao.

4. Actors must objectively act like real characters and not subjectively and conscientiously. It is impossible to completely turn an actor into a character in the drama, as Stanislavskiy said. Actors can only act like real characters. But they must act subjectively and conscientiously. The actor who plays Wusong must act vividly like the real Wusong, and the actor who plays the role of Caocao must act vividly like the real Caocao. They should act like the real character, but they are not the real character. We must dialectically combine the two.

In short, all things have their objective laws. Art is no exception. We must conscientiously study and further explore the laws. Many experiences must be seriously summed up. It is hoped that after this meeting everyone will study the laws, but I also hope that they will not again create many conventions.

All these words I said today are not necessarily correct. I just set a target, and let all the people shoot at it; I just set up a living target, and let everyone shoot at it.

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REMEMBER THE PREMIER IN THE MOMENT OF GREAT CHANGE--IN MEMORY OF THE 81ST ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S BIRTH

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[Article by the Ministry of Finance]

[Text] This 5th of March marks the 81st anniversary of Comrade Zhou Enlai's birth.

Inspired by the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the whole party and people throughout the country are shifting the focus of work to socialist modernization. At this moment of historical change, we again deeply cherish the memory of our esteemed and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai, good premier and public servant of the people. Recalling the events of the past and going over again the earnest teachings of Premier Zhou on financial work, we feel a greater affinity for him. This has inspired us, under the guidance of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, to shift the focus of our work and score new successes on the road of the new Long March.

I

In 1949, with the founding of the People's Republic of China, the focus of work of the party shifted from the rural to the urban areas. The important task on the financial front at that time was how to fit in financial work with the new historical condition, follow the shift of focus of the work of the whole party and better serve socialist revolution and construction. At this turning point our esteemed and beloved premier Zhou sounded the call for us to shift the focus of finance from supply to construction.

The construction of our country began from a very backward economic and cultural starting point after the long period of revolutionary war. The Guomindang government left behind a mess of inflation, spiraling prices, chaotic trade and destitution. If this situation had not been changed, it would have been impossible to restore and develop the economy, shift finance work to construction and create the essential preconditions and

stable foundation. The imperialists predicted that although China was successful in the liberation war she could not overcome her financial and economic difficulties. In the face of difficulties, Premier Zhou, based on Chairman Mao's instruction regarding difficulties, methods and hopes, courageously and with the spirit of a proletarian revolutionary energetically supported the general and specific policies for stabilizing prices put forward by Comrade Chen Yun and let the Administrative Council pass a unified resolution for financial and economic work. With the support of people throughout the country, the situation of nearly balancing financial revenues and expenditures and increasing stable market prices soon appeared. Later, during the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, by adhering to the policy of "resisting along with stabilizing and constructing," prices remained stable. On 1 October 1950, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Premier Zhou declared: "Experiences over the past year have proved the bankruptcy of the imperialist prophets. As on the military and political fronts, the Chinese people have scored a victory on the economic front." Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, the young People's Republic of China not only restored Chinese national dignity in international struggles, but also created miracles in domestic construction that were the focus of world attention.

The great success of financial work objectively removed the obstacle to the change in financial work. However, the change in financial work from supply to construction was still a new subject. At that time the overwhelming majority of financial cadres were only familiar with finance on a supply basis to feed men and horses in the rural revolutionary base areas during the revolutionary war. They were not familiar with carrying out financial work during the period of construction. It was our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou who concretely and meticulously led us to study, practice and institute this great change.

Premier Zhou first set forth for us: We must unassumingly study the line of the party and its financial and economic policies, learn from comrades with experience and knowledge of economic construction as well as from workers and technicians and emulate the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union in building socialism under Stalin's leadership. With the instructions of Premier Zhou, the cadres developed the style of studying theory, policies and vocation. Everyone's ideology continued to improve, and as a result there was a gradual shift of focus corresponding to the work of the party.

In the process of the shift of financial work from supply to construction, the responsible comrades of the Central Financial Committee pointed out the need to gradually reduce the amount of agricultural tax (the peasants having made enormous contributions during the war years) and to increase the ratio of industrial and commercial taxes. In expenditures, the committee emphasized the need to gradually reduce the amount of administrative and national spending and increase the amount of economic construction



and cultural and educational spending. It also pointed out the need for strengthening tax collection work, allocating tax collection cadres and placing a county party committee member as director of the Tax Bureau. It said it would be better for the county party committee to have one less departmental director than to have no Tax Bureau director. Premier Zhou fully supported this view. As for key financial investments at that time, with a hundred tasks waiting to be done, the premier pointed out: "In the next 3 to 5 years we should concentrate on several key developments. These developments should contribute to the preparation of basic conditions such as capital, domestic markets and technology for industrialization. At the same time, national defense construction should receive an appropriate amount. Therefore, the emphasis of economic investments of the central people's government should be for conservancy, railroads and communications required primarily for the development of industry and agriculture; agriculture and textiles; and fuel, iron, steel and chemical industries required by all industries." This indicated to us the concrete path for implementing the general policy of "developing the economy and insuring supply." At the same time, the premier personally approved the transfer of cadres from all parts of the country, strengthened the financial organizations and set up banks so that the financial departments could gradually correspond organizationally to the requirements caused by the change in work.

Premier Zhou attached great importance to building a financial legal system so that there would be precedents to follow. According to incomplete statistics, more than 40 instructions, resolutions, rules and methods were promulgated in the name of the Administrative Council from 1950 to 1953. They included provisional ordinances on preliminary and final budgets, central treasury ordinances and rules for countrywide taxation. At that time, because of our lack of experience, these documents were all examined and revised by responsible leaders of the CCP Central Committee and by Premier Zhou in particular, who personally went over them word by word. The corrections made by Premier Zhou were the crystallization of his wisdom and labor. Here is an example. In 1950 the Ministry of Finance drafted a notice on tax reform on behalf of the Administrative Council and sent it to the premier for his opinion. After going through the draft, the premier sent for the comrade in charge of taxation in the Ministry of Finance and asked him if he could understand the notice. When he answered yes the premier said: It will not do if you alone understand. This notice must be presented to the people, and they must also understand it. Are you not asking me for my opinion? There are so many technical terms that even I do not understand it. He immediately asked the comrades to change the wording. The premier then examined and went over the words one by one and also made corrections in the punctuation before he approved the formal release. It was with such conscientiousness and thoroughness and such a spirit of high responsibility toward the people that our good premier directed us in drafting various documents, rules and regulations.

## II

The mass line is the basic line of the party. In financial work, Premier Zhou paid great attention to giving full play to the initiative of the central and local authorities, the enterprises and the workers.

In the early period of the founding of the People's Republic, the highly centralized financial policy of unified revenues and expenditures we implemented played a tremendous role in curbing inflation and stabilizing market prices. However, from the long-term view it was not conducive to giving play to the initiative of the localities and enterprises. At the National Financial Work Conference in the summer of 1953, Premier Zhou dealt especially with the question of paying attention to giving play to the initiative of the localities and masses and pointed out that the principle of centralized unity did not mean abolishing the flexibility of carrying out work in a manner suited to local conditions. In particular, it should not hinder but should give even more of a role to the initiative and creativity of the masses. After affirming the noteworthy results of financial unity, the premier criticized the excessive unity of the Ministry of Finance and the shortcomings of too rigid unity. He instructed us to practice the system of level-to-level budget planning under the unified budget planning of the state. Based on the premier's instruction, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was concurrently acting as minister of finance in 1954, he introduced six policies for financial management. These were: 1) budgetary allocations; 2) fixed responsibility and work; 3) retention of reserves and nontransfer of surpluses to a higher agency; 4) control of personnel organization; 5) seeking central approval for use of reserves; 6) strengthening financial supervision and suitably increasing the mobile financial resources and power of various localities and departments. In 1956, Premier Zhou put forth the need to clearly define the power of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to manage their plans, finances, enterprises, tasks, material resources and personnel to a certain extent, formulate concrete measures and rules for safeguarding the autonomous privileges of nationality autonomous areas and help the minority nationalities areas in the development of political, economic and cultural tasks. When the Second Five-Year Plan was about to begin, along with improving the industrial management and commercial management systems, the State Council drew up "rules for improving the financial management system." A salient feature in the reform of this system was that after determining the local revenues, expenditures and amount of distributions, apart from necessary readjustments due to unforeseen circumstances, no changes could be made for 3 years in order to increase the responsibility of the localities and keep the budget stable. Following that, to adjust to the different conditions and various periods and fully bring into play the initiative from the two sources, several changes were again made in the state financial management system. The premier also constantly taught the comrades of the Ministry of Finance that they must correctly handle relations between the hierarchy and the departments, respect the local party committees, listen more to their views and consult with the localities more often.

While putting the emphasis on giving play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities, Premier Zhou also attached great importance to giving play to the initiative of both the enterprise and the working people. He pointed out in 1956: To avoid hampering the initiative of a plant or a mine, it is always necessary to give them some leeway in their activities. To a certain extent we should give every plant a certain autonomy in the use of manpower and money. Based on the spirit of the premier's instruction, we practiced such systems as an incentive fund for enterprises and distribution and retention of profit above the norm. The premier also paid attention to giving play to the initiative of enterprises and industrial, financial and accounting personnel. When examining and signing the "Trial Provisions for the Functions and Powers of Accounting Personnel" in 1963, he noticed that some of the accounting personnel were being attacked for upholding the system, and he instructed: Can we consider placing all the financial and accounting ranks under the Ministry of Finance? The regulation of the person in charge of accounting comes from a higher agency and was formulated in accordance with the premier's instruction.

### III

After the change to financial construction, Premier Zhou always taught that we must correctly handle relations between production and livelihood and between the long-term and the immediate interests of the people. We must gradually improve the livelihood of the people on the basis of developing production. He pointed out: Developing production and insuring demands are basic economic principles of socialism. "Gradually improving the people's material and cultural life is our regular and basic task."

In the early period of the founding of the People's Republic, apart from the taking over of all military and administrative personnel and government functionaries and teachers from the Guomindang and providing them with a livelihood, work also had to be immediately carried out to supply grain for emergency aid and provide relief for the unemployed workers and intellectuals. Later, following the revival and development of the national economy, China carried out wage reform and salary adjustments and practiced such socialist welfare measures as labor insurance and public clinics. All these were studied and discussed, written into law and put into practice under the premier's personal supervision. In the latter part of the fifties, when Beijing was carrying out "10 major constructions," Premier Zhou instructed: Attention must be paid to solving the problem of housing. He felt that the Beijing municipal building plan for residential construction in that particular year was too small and should be increased by another 200,000 cubic meters in 8 months' time. He said: We must build houses even if it means going without scientific and technical and art museums. When the Tiananmen Square project was under construction, Premier Zhou on many occasions gave instructions on the need to show concern for housing dislocated

families and instructed the departments concerned to allocate special funds to build houses for those forced to move. Premier Zhou personally traveled by public vehicles to familiarize himself with the transportation problems of workers going to and from work and personally visited department stores to learn about market supplies. He also climbed to the top of the Beihai White Tower on a cold windy day for a panoramic view of the city, studied the condition of fumes and smoke in the capital and issued instructions to the comrades of Beijing Municipality to show concern for the physical well-being of the masses and to make a success of environmental protection work in the capital.

The premier was even more concerned about the production and livelihood of the peasants. Almost every spring he would ask the Ministry of Finance to give him a report on the arrangements for agricultural investments and for spring crop failure and livelihood in the rural areas. Agricultural taxes are directly shouldered by the peasants. Premier Zhou gave us instructions on how to correctly implement the policies of the party regarding agricultural tax work. In April 1952, because of the many unreasonable levies and surcharges made by villages (towns), Premier Zhou stipulated that beginning with the summer tax collection onward we must follow the principle of "surveying land and fixing production quotas, taxing in accordance with fixed rates, consolidating the progressive tax and absolutely doing away with surcharges." In 1953 he proposed that agricultural taxes not be increased for the next 3 years. In 1958 and 1959, because of high requisitions coupled with "equalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of things," the burden of the peasants again increased. Later, when the policy of "readjust, consolidate, reinforce and raise standards" was implemented, compensation was paid realistically in accordance with the premier's instructions, and the rate of agricultural tax was greatly reduced. Later some of the comrades noticed the recovery and development of the rural economy and felt that the past reduction in agricultural taxes was too much and erroneously advocated that they be increased. When the premier received the report, he said decisively: Put this on record today. So long as I live there will be no increase in agricultural taxes. Even after I am gone you also cannot do to the peasants as you wish. This solemn attitude of esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou regarding the peasants' burden deeply educated us. Up to 1970 Premier Zhou still called for not transferring the burden of the state onto the peasants and also insisted on including these words in the report of the Agricultural Conference for the Northern Districts. In the same year, when Premier Zhou learned that people in parts of north Shaanxi were having a difficult time, he said with a heavy heart: The people of north Shaanxi used to feed us. I feel very bad about the people in some places having a difficult time more than 20 years after the nation's liberation. Premier Zhou personally called a meeting to study how to change the features of north Shaanxi and on many occasions instructed us to pay attention to and support the construction of Yanan and other old revolutionary base areas.

Premier Zhou's concern for the livelihood of the people was manifested in many areas. Once the premier bought a theater ticket and had it sent to the responsible comrade of the Ministry of Finance, inviting him to attend a southern opera. He also arranged for the comrade to meet the leader of the theatrical troupe after the performance to acquaint himself with the problems of the troupe. The reason was that the entertainment tax we collected was not based on the profit of the troupe. When the troupe performed in Beijing, attendance was low, receipts were poor, the livelihood of the performers was in difficulty and they asked for tax relief. Premier Zhou was informed about the problem. The premier did not simply order the Ministry of Finance to grant tax relief but wanted us to understand thoroughly the basic problems so that we could take a hand in the work. This incident deeply touched us. It explained not only the deep concern of Premier Zhou for the livelihood of the theatrical, literary and art workers, but also the superior leadership of the premier and his work style of going deep into reality for investigation and study. He not only obtained tax relief for the troupe, but also enabled the comrade engaged in financial work to heartily agree and learn another lesson in showing concern for the livelihood of the masses and forging close ties with the people.

#### IV

Financial work must not only vigorously promote the development of economic construction, but also pay attention to improving the livelihood of the people. This requires the strengthening of an integral equilibrium, so that a suitable proportion is maintained between accumulations and expenditures and between productive construction and the people's livelihood. Premier Zhou strongly emphasized the importance of integral equilibrium. He said: "In the development of future construction, many new problems will be encountered, and new contradictions and imbalances will appear. However, so long as we correctly understand and deal with these contradictions and carry out integral equilibrium, we will be able to continue solving these contradictions and achieving new balance from imbalance, and there will be a planned, proportionate and high-speed development in our national economy." He strongly pointed out: The higher the speed of development of the economy, the more we must pay attention to achieving an integral equilibrium. This teaching of the premier is still a motto we must firmly bear in mind in the new Long March in our financial work.

Premier Zhou attached great importance to the role of financial planning in the integral equilibrium of the whole national economic planning. He said: "The scale of national construction is determined primarily by how much capital we can accumulate and how we make the distribution." "If we accumulate more capital and distribute it properly, the speed of enlarged social reproduction will be faster, and all departments of the national economy will be able to develop proportionately." "Economy created by planning is the greatest economy, and waste created by planning is the

greatest waste." He correctly criticized the mentality of some of the comrades in blindly opposing "financial restrictions." He said: Subjectively laying down a "financial restriction" to restrict economic development without taking into consideration the requirements of its development is wrong, and such "financial restrictions" should be opposed. However, if financial planning conforms with the actual conditions of economic development and embodies the correct relations between accumulations and expenditures and between key-point constructions and all-round arrangements, then such financial planning should be strictly implemented and definitely should not be blindly opposed as "financial restrictions." In the arrangement of financial planning, Premier Zhou placed special emphasis on the balance between accumulation and expenditure and on finance, credit and material resources. He said: "During the distribution and redistribution of national income, it is necessary to maintain a suitable proportion between expenditure and accumulation. If the amount of expenditure is too small, it will hinder improvements in the livelihood of the people. If the amount of accumulation is too small, it will reduce the speed of enlarged social reproduction. Both conditions are unfavorable for the people." He also said: "It is necessary to take into consideration the balance between the scale of construction and the supply of materials." "It is also wrong to pay attention only to the requirements of construction and come up with overambitious allocations and investment plans without considering financial possibilities and whether or not the installations, equipment and technical forces can be supplied." The premier applied Chairman Mao's military thinking to construction and taught us: If we can fight, we fight. If we cannot fight, we run away. Applied to construction, it means: If we can carry out, we carry out. If we cannot carry out, we must not do it. If we insist on construction without the necessary conditions, we will end up suspending work while waiting for materials, and there can be no planning. If we cannot go forward, we must put it off for the time being, and we must not insist on going ahead. We must concentrate a superior force and produce significant results in what we set out to do. I remember once, when the planning conference and financial conference were about to be concluded, the construction and financial plans still could not be tied together. Instead of blaming us, the premier carried out a self-examination. He also suggested that we list those capital construction projects which we were not able to complete as provisional projects and finish them when conditions were favorable.

The premier used not only theory but also practical experience to teach us the importance of integral equilibrium in maintaining high speed and proportionate development. In 1956, during the high point of socialist transformation, vigorous steps were taken for national economic planning, and tremendous achievements were scored in various areas. However, some problems also appeared. With the increase in capital construction investments and farm loans, the number of workers and the wages of the workers also increased. This created tension in the supply of materials, and we had to draw on reserve stocks. As a result, Premier Zhou proceeded from

reality and called on us to distinguish our priorities and not to do everything at once. He also told us to cautiously and carefully use the good years to make up for the bad ones, leave some leeway and carry out integral equilibrium properly. When preparing the national economic plan and state budget for 1957, after careful study and discussion, he decisively cut back the 1957 budget expenditures a bit, reduced some capital construction spending to offset the balance of 1956, and maintained the stable development of the national economy. In 1958 and 1959, while affirming the achievements of the Great Leap Forward, Premier Zhou pointed out: "Disharmony has appeared in individual links of the national economy. It shows that our organs in charge of planning and economic work are still not good at making a success of integral equilibrium during the Great Leap Forward in the national economy. We must sum up experiences in these areas, remember this lesson and translate the unfavorable factors into favorable ones." During the 3 years of economic difficulties, Premier Zhou personally directed us to implement the policy of "readjusting, consolidating, reinforcing and raising standards," hold back capital construction to correspond with the condition of our country's financial and material resources, and send the large number of peasants drawn to the urban areas back to the countryside to strengthen the agricultural front. In industry he also stressed the need to fill in and even up and link into sets. By 1963 we had quickly surmounted the difficulties. This enabled the national economy to return once more to the road of normal development.

Premier Zhou was never afraid of hard work and often personally supervised the discussion of economic and financial planning. When discussing plans, he would invariably ask if there were comrades from the Ministry of Finance present and call on them to express their views. Later he proposed that comrades from the bank be present and said that the bank was a good barometer. During the discussion he encouraged the comrades of all sectors to express their views freely, fully expose contradictions and then make a success of integral equilibrium on this basis. Once, when planning and financial problems were discussed at the State Council, questions were raised by everyone from all sectors. Premier Zhou delightedly said: In the past there were only struggles over financial indexes, but no all-out crossing of swords. Now balanced considerations from every sector will enable everyone to have a thorough understanding. This is progress. Planning should be flexible, and there should be guard rails and leeway to achieve an integral equilibrium.

There is a common saying: "Without being a housekeeper, one will not know the price of firewood and rice." As a housekeeper in charge of everything, the premier was profoundly aware of the problems of financial work. Once at a dinner reception for a foreign visitor, the premier introduced two leading comrades of the Ministry of Finance to the foreign guest. The guest said: "You are in the vortex of the struggle." The premier said: "Yes, it is very difficult, for they are always subjected to encirclements and attacks." Every time problems were discussed, the

premier encouraged the comrades of the Ministry of Finance to speak out boldly. At times, when we were too carried away and said the wrong thing, the premier would smile. When we said the right thing, even though it was only slightly useful or reasonable, the premier always nodded his head to express support. He never interrupted us and always let us finish what we had to say. As a result, when making a report or arguing a point before the premier, one did not feel any pressure. At times, when some of the comrades made inappropriate censure of financial work, the premier would always stand on the side of finance. For example, a responsible comrade of the provincial party committee censured the too rigid control of the finance office and said that the provincial party committee did not even have the right to build a latrine. The premier asked: Did you not build many tall buildings? When the premier discussed problems with responsible comrades of various localities and departments, and when the problems involved finance work, he would invariably send for comrades of the Ministry of Finance to be present. The premier never wrote memos lightly or made promises to give a certain amount of money to any locality or department. Even when it was very necessary, he would invariably say: It is very necessary to study this with the Ministry of Finance. Even when the expenditure had already been approved by the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee, the premier would still insist on getting the opinion of the Ministry of Finance. For example, in the serious flood of 1963 in Hubei, Chairman Mao instructed us to do a good job in providing relief so that the people "will have food and clothing and will not lose weight." The premier went with Comrade Xiannian to Tianjin to study arrangements for providing relief, and they decided to allocate 400 million yuan. Comrade Xiannian was at that time acting concurrently as minister of finance, and when he made a decision it would be resolutely implemented by the Ministry of Finance. However, the premier still sent for the vice minister in charge of the Ministry of Finance and made us agree to the allocation and also guarantee that this sum of money would be used properly until the demands of Chairman Mao had been met.

## V

After entering the cities from the rural areas, our party won nationwide power. The financial revenues and expenditures of the state increased yearly. Premier Zhou constantly reminded us: The family is large and the business is big. We must not give up the tradition of hard work and simple living. We must shift finance from supply to construction and adhere to Chairman Mao's policy of building up our country through frugality and thrift. He said: "This means not only to frugally use manpower and financial and material resources, but also to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology." The premier strongly stressed investigating economic results and running various enterprises with greater, faster, better and more economical results. He called on us to practice strict economy and oppose waste in all departments, especially in departments of production. The people of the whole country should struggle to effectively use all the construction capital.



Premier Zhou was greatly pained by the enormous losses incurred because some departments and units failed to attach importance to the economic use of capital and financial management. In 1954, in the report on the work of the government delivered at the First National People's Congress, the premier named and criticized units in which waste had appeared in construction work and proposed: "For the sake of accumulating state capital and eliminating waste, all state-run enterprises and construction units must completely fulfill and strive to overfulfill the targets of the state, implement the economic accounting system, set up a strict austerity system and strive to lower costs." "We will not tolerate any violations of economic, labor and financial discipline, damage to public properties and waste of state funds." During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went in for formalism in a big way and indiscriminately distributed quotation books and badges. Premier Zhou said angrily: Chairman Mao called for "practicing economy in carrying out revolution." Now waste is very great. Many cadres have more than a hundred badges and many copies of quotations. This is inconsistent with the thinking of Chairman Mao. I don't approve of making badges bigger and bigger. I propose a movement to turn in badges and quotations. The premier also said: Now preparations are underway to make big badges and produce a sea of red booklets as a dedication to the Ninth CCP Congress. This style is bourgeois revisionism. The premier also requested that the people not hold celebrations, beat gongs and drums, set off firecrackers or put up couplets on setting up revolutionary committees. He also instructed the Ministry of Finance not to approve this kind of expense.

Premier Zhou also attached special importance to the frugal use of foreign exchange. He patiently explained: Careful consideration is always paid to approving an item of foreign exchange. When the premier saw in a document that some person traveling abroad had wasted the foreign exchange of the state, he immediately wrote: Personnel traveling abroad must not consider themselves on a sightseeing tour or spend money freely and waste the foreign exchange of the state. When receiving foreign visitors, Premier Zhou also said to them: I hope that when you come across instances of our delegations, regardless of whether they are economic, cultural, medical or scientific and technical delegations, spending money freely or going in for ostentation and waste while in your country, you will criticize them. If they do not listen, you must report to our

Premier Zhou was himself a shining model of industry, plain living and hard struggle who strictly pursued the financial system. After the founding of the People's Republic, some of the comrades proposed building a government building and also had a scale model prepared. Premier Zhou firmly objected. He said: We must implement Chairman Mao's instruction of building up the country through industry and thrift. There will be no building of a government building during my tenure as premier. After moving to the city, Premier Zhou lived in an old building. His garments were always patched and repatched. His meals were also very simple.

Everywhere he went he always paid for his own meals, drinks and other expenses. He also bought his own tickets for shows. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou selflessly dedicated the energy of his whole life to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation and the cause of communism. Moreover, his own life was simple, for this was how he shared the destiny of the Chinese people.

For 20 years and more, Premier Zhou's teachings and concern for financial work covered many areas. This is the valuable spiritual treasure he left us. Today the whole party is engaged in realizing the shift of emphasis of work. This shift is vastly different from the past shift of finance from supply to construction. We must study new conditions and solve new problems. However, the teachings of the premier are still of great significance to us. "In history there was a premier whose merits and virtue have no peer. Where are the records of his achievements? They are in 800 million hearts in China." The brilliant image of our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou will always stand imposingly on the financial front and forever live in our hearts. His teachings, etched in our minds, will never be forgotten. We must, under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, strive to make a success of financial work to correspond with the shift of emphasis of the party's work and struggle to realize the behests of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and NPC Chairman Zhu by building China into a strong, modern socialist country.

THE PROBLEM OF FEEDING AND CLOTHING 800 MILLION PEOPLE WAS NOT FORGOTTEN FOR A MOMENT--RECALLING PREMIER ZHOU'S GREAT CONCERN FOR BUILDING SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

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[Article by the writing group of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Forestry, the General Bureau of Land Reclamation and the General Bureau of Aquatic Products]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Enlai, a great Marxist, a close comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Zedong and the people's good premier, made indelible contributions in devoting his whole life's energy to the Chinese people's cause of emancipation and to building our country into a modern, powerful socialist state. With the focus of our party's work now shifted to socialist modernization, we cherish the memory of our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou all the more and remember how he showed deep concern for agricultural production while taking the whole situation into account and being busy with a myriad of everyday affairs.

China has a population of several hundred million people. Enormous arduous efforts are required to build agriculture and the national economy on the basis of the bad situation left behind by the old society characterized by frequent disasters, desolation and poverty in the countryside. Exerting his utmost efforts, Premier Zhou organized and led the work in this respect. After the founding of the new China, he constantly and firmly grasped the problem of developing the productive forces in agriculture. No interference or setback could even slightly affect his firm determination. During the initial period after the founding of the new China, Premier Zhou assisted Chairman Mao in launching the agrarian reform and the socialist transformation in agriculture. At the same time, he made efforts to resume and develop the productive forces in agriculture, thus creating favorable conditions for accomplishing the movement for agricultural cooperation. Following completion of the movements for agricultural cooperation and people's communes, he worked arduously day and night to shift the focus of the party's work to technical revolution at an early date. Just after the 3 years of temporary difficulties and during the years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused

serious trouble, Premier Zhou, on behalf of the party Central Committee, put forward at the third and fourth NPC the great goal of marching toward the four modernizations. His extremely brilliant thinking and rich revolutionary practice in developing agriculture inspire us to march forward bravely to modernize our socialist agriculture as quickly as possible.

#### Giving Priority To Meeting Urgent Needs in Agriculture

While leading the cause of socialist construction in our country, Premier Zhou constantly put agriculture in a very important position. He always bore in mind the crucial problems met in the course of agricultural development. He personally grasped many problems and settled them. In handling urgent tasks, he always took the right opportunity and made resolute decisions. As a result, he was able to solve problems.

We can never forget the great deal of work the premier did in leading the work of preventing locust disasters and preventing and curing rinderpest in cattle, wheat rust and other diseases injurious to farm crops.

Our country has a history of several thousand years of locust disasters. A locust disaster always resulted in vast areas of land being left destitute and serious calamity to the people. After liberation, the premier showed great concern about this problem and demanded that locusts be exterminated without fail. He decided that the state appropriate special funds to help all localities launch a mass movement to wipe out locusts. In 1951, he approved the use of aerial spraying to wipe out locusts in Huanghua County, Hebei Province, which was one of the places where locusts originated and multiplied. This locust extermination method was later extended to north Jiangsu, north Anhui, Shandong and Henan. During the summer and autumn when locusts thrived, the premier often instructed the agricultural departments to send some special teams to areas plagued by locusts to direct the extermination work. He listened to reports himself and promptly solved many urgent problems. Thanks to his concern and guidance, the problem of locust disasters, which had existed in our country for several thousand years, basically came under control and did not become serious again.

Rinderpest in cattle is a disease left behind from the old society as a result of reactionary rule and wartime destruction. During the initial period after liberation, a serious situation occurred in which large herds of cattle died from rinderpest. Premier Zhou promptly signed a resolution on preventing animal diseases. Teams to prevent animal diseases were organized, veterinary experts were called together and the masses mobilized to jointly hold activities on preventing animal diseases and to fight a battle of annihilation to wipe out rinderpest in cattle. When the agricultural departments met urgent problems which could not be solved immediately, the premier looked into them and eventually settled them. When rinderpest occurred in Qinghai at the end of 1949, some veterinary biological drugs had to be rushed from Beijing.

At that time, railroad and highway transport was in a very poor condition. It usually took a couple of weeks or more than a month to send something from Beijing to Qinghai. The agricultural department concerned reported the matter to the premier, who immediately instructed that the drugs be packed and the couriers ready to go to the destination by army plane. On another occasion, the relevant department purchased a large herd of cattle from northeast China for the Gu-er-bang [0657 3643 6721] Festival observed by Moslems. However, rinderpest was discovered and transportation of this herd of cattle came to a halt at Shanhaiguan. The general office of the State Council called a meeting of the departments dealing with agriculture, commerce and nationalities affairs to study the situation, which posed two major problems: If transportation of the herd of cattle was allowed to continue, it would be a serious menace to north China's draft cattle, which constituted half or the family assets of the peasants there. In addition, if the herd of cattle was not transported to Beijing, the Gu-er-bang Festival would be affected, which would affect national unity. It was difficult to make a decision. The meeting sought advice from the premier, who immediately gave this instruction: Sick cattle must not be allowed to pass beyond Shanhaiguan; emergency measures should be taken to purchase cattle in north China where there is no rinderpest. The premier solved this problem practically and properly. He also instructed the Ministry of Agriculture to make a report on the emergence of rinderpest over the entire country and on the measures to prevent and cure it. This report was approved by the State Council and circulated throughout the country to strengthen preventive work. Thanks to the premier's kind concern, rinderpest was exterminated in a few years.

Wheat rust has resulted in serious damage to our country's wheat production. When wheat rust was prevalent over vast areas in 1950, wheat output was reduced by more than 10 billion catties. The premier paid close attention to this. On the one hand, he instructed the Finance and Economic Commission to reduce or write off the taxes the disaster areas paid in summer grain. On the other hand, he called a meeting to form a committee for the prevention of wheat rust and to actively carry out the prevention and cure of wheat rust. When wheat rust recurred again in 1964, the premier instructed that a battle of annihilation be fought to exterminate it the same way that the battle to wipe out cancer, which killed people, was being waged. He called on agricultural departments to use all possible means to prevent and cure wheat rust. He charged some responsible cadres to command the battle in areas where wheat rust was prevalent and asked them to report to him daily on the battle situation. At the same time, he personally called on some agroscientists, trying to learn about what caused wheat rust and the techniques to prevent and cure it. He encouraged them to go on observing and studying this plant disease to improve their work and score better results in preventing and curing it and to attain the goal of finally controlling it and eradicating its menace in the shortest possible time. Cooperation in conducting scientific research on preventing and curing wheat rust was organized in accordance with the premier's instructions, and vigorous efforts were made to breed

and popularize the rust-resistant strains of wheat. The next year, the State Council approved and circulated a plan for a nationwide campaign to wipe out wheat rust. Thanks to the premier's concern, our country achieved great results in preventing and curing wheat rust. In the past decade or so, in northwest China, north China and northeast China where wheat rust had been serious, the diseases caused by stripe rust and stem rust have basically come under control, insuring the development of wheat production.

When he went on inspection tours throughout the country, the premier always bore agriculture in mind. When he visited a place, he always inquired into the local farming conditions and tried to discover and solve problems. He never forgot to do so even if his stay was very short. The premier was making an inspection tour in south China in 1964 when Chairman Mao asked him to return to Beijing immediately for discussions. While changing from train to plane at Xuzhou, he had some 10 minutes free, during which he asked the comrades of the prefectural committee responsible for agriculture to come see him at the airport. He asked about the arrangements for growing grain, cotton and oil-bearing crops, adding: I asked you to come here to make sure that you would grasp agriculture well.

#### Striving for an All-Round Development in Agriculture

Premier Zhou seriously carried out Chairman Mao's policy of making all-round development by attaching importance simultaneously to agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry and taking grain as the key link. He laid particular emphasis on the all-round development of agriculture. He pointed out many times: In developing agricultural production, it is necessary to do a good job in growing grain and raising cotton. Besides, it is necessary to do a good job in growing oil-bearing crops and various cash crops including hemp, silk, tea leaf, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruits and medicinal herbs. Meanwhile, animal husbandry, aquatic production and forestry must also be developed. The premier said so and took the lead in doing so.

Premier Zhou constantly grasped the grain problem firmly. To increase grain output by a big margin, the premier upheld Chairman Mao's policy of concentrating forces to fight a battle of annihilation. He fought this battle in one place after another. He made efforts not only to transform grain deficient areas but also to develop the areas where commodity grains were produced. The broad masses of agricultural workers will never forget the extremely painstaking efforts Premier Zhou made to "change the transportation of grain from south to north."

The population and amount of cultivated land in the region comprising Hebei, Shandong, Henan, north Jiangsu and north Anhui, which is situated in the river valley of the Huang, Hwai and Hai rivers, represent a quarter of China's total population and over a quarter of the cultivated

land area. The areas suffered frequent natural disasters and had low grain output in the past, which left them in serious need of grain. After liberation, Chairman Mao showed constant concern for the agricultural development of these areas and issued a series of instructions on harnessing the Huang, Huai and Hai rivers. Premier Zhou placed emphasis on constructing water conservancy projects in light of frequent drought and flooding in these areas. He personally presided over the planning and key measures decided upon regarding many major projects. He visited construction sites many times, getting together with the masses, making investigations, presiding over many meetings and personally drafting some documents.

Chairman Mao put forward the strategic task of "changing the situation of transporting grain from south to north" in 1964. Premier Zhou made overall arrangements for changing the outlook of these areas. While continuing to grasp the work of harnessing the Huang, Huai and Hai rivers, he called a meeting of eight provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in 1966 to resist drought. At this meeting, he analyzed the situation at home and abroad, pointing out: Strategically, the grain deficiency problem in these areas must be solved very quickly because time will not wait for us. We cannot go slowly. We must work quickly. We must grasp the problems every year and several times a year until we have met the basic demands of getting prepared for war and disaster: First, we must have enough grain for our own consumption; second, every production team must have surplus grain; third, the state must have grain in reserve; and fourth, the peasants' income must reach the country's average level. Acting on the premier's instructions, the State Council set up the antidrought office and organized eight antidrought work groups in the eight provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The premier took charge of the Hebei provincial antidrought group and appointed Vice Premiers Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian and Tan Zhenlin respectively to be leaders of the antidrought group of Liaoning, Henan and Shanxi provinces. Soon after the meeting, he personally went to Hebei to give concrete guidance. In light of the fact that Hebei Province was plagued by drought in the spring and floods in the autumn, he put forward the policy of building water conservancy projects to "overcome both drought and flood," thus pointing out the correct direction of farmland capital construction. Under Premier Zhou's concrete leadership, grain-deficient Hebei, Shandong and Henan and north Jiangsu and north Anhui greatly increased their abilities to fight floods. Their irrigated acreage doubled and their agricultural production went through a big change. All this was a gratifying step in changing the situation in which grain was transported from south to north.

For many years, Premier Zhou personally grasped cotton growing and set a concrete and inspiring example for agricultural workers in developing agriculture in an all-round manner. Before liberation, raw cotton, cotton yarn and cotton cloth ranked first in our country's imports. Cotton production developed greatly after liberation. Total cotton

output now is four times greater than that during the initial period after liberation. This is of vital significance in meeting needs in people's daily lives, the national economy and national defense. When new China was founded, the premier personally participated in the concrete work of importing fine-strain cotton and chemical fertilizers, preventing and curing cotton diseases and popularizing advanced skills in growing cotton. He solved many concrete problems, thereby quickly ending the extreme backwardness in cotton production. He firmly supported agricultural departments in their just demands. When he went on an inspection tour of Shijiazhuang in 1959, the premier called on responsible Ministry of Agriculture comrades who were attending a meeting on cotton production there, asking them about the actual conditions. When he learned that the goal of increasing cotton output would be impossible to reach unless some urgently needed chemical fertilizer was imported, he immediately issued this instruction: You ring up the State Council immediately and tell them that I want to import a batch of chemical fertilizer quickly and that they may use the state's gold if there is not enough foreign exchange. The premier's strong support for agriculture deeply moved the agricultural workers. Premier Zhou took a still firmer grasp of cotton growing during the period of 3 years of temporary difficulties. At a 1962 national meeting of county level cadres in major cotton producing areas, he told the representatives: When you go back to where you work, you must tell the county committee first secretary that at the central level it is not only a few vice premiers but also the premier who is grasping cotton production. The premier afterward grasped cotton production several times every year and called and presided over annual national meetings on cotton growing. He had interviews with representatives to the meetings and model cotton growers, learned about the actual conditions and gave important instructions. He persisted in doing so and kept cotton growing in good order even during the serious situation in 1967 when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went in for an all-round civil war, wanted to overthrow everything and madly carried out interference and sabotage. The premier was seriously ill in 1973, and yet wanted to interview the cotton meeting representatives for the last time.

While showing concern for state farms, Premier Zhou also expressed his idea of all-round development of agriculture. He attached great importance to the development of land reclamation and state farms. Acting on the plan drawn by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, he actively organized and commanded as far back as the 1950's the exploration of China's southwestern, northeastern and southern borders. He pointed out many times that land reclamation was a big job requiring a contingent of excellent workers and staff members. He said we must learn from both Dazhai and Daqing, display the Nanniwan spirit, learn from the PLA's honorable traditions, cement unity among nationalities, give scope to the superiority of the system of whole-people ownership, adopt appropriate measures to build state farms into commodity grain, industrial material or animal product bases so the state could be



provided with more farm and animal products and other important materials and so that more could be contributed toward building and reinforcing the borders.

Our country's rubber planting developed under Premier Zhou's direct leadership. A rubber planting experiment was conducted on Hainan Island in 1951, for which the premier looked into all matters ranging from development plans, construction funds and management quotas to imports of mechanical equipment. He also organized Zhu Kezhen and other specialists to make on-the-spot investigations. The Ministry of Land Reclamation called some meetings on rubber production, processing and planting and organized relevant scientific research. The premier listened to briefings many times and joined the participants in summing up experiences on developing rubber planting in our country. He suggested technical measures to grow rubber trees by "digging big holes, applying abundant fertilizer, building terraced fields, planting trees to form shelter belts and growing mulch crops." Premier Zhou inspected Hainan Island and Xishuangbanna in 1960 and 1961. On Xilian farm, Hainan Island, the premier excitedly said: We have our own rubber trees. We must produce more and better rubber because our country needs rubber badly! On Jinghong farm in Xishuangbanna, the premier told the workers and staff members: Our country does not have many places suitable for rubber planting. Xishuangbanna has good soil and a good climate. You comrades have a heavy burden on your shoulders. You must build Xishuangbanna into a rubber production base as quickly as possible. Before leaving the farm, the premier turned back time and again and waved to all, saying: I shall come again to see you in 10 years.

The premier also paid close attention to the development of the farm-and-animal-product processing industry and the support-agriculture industry in areas where land reclamation was underway. Premier Zhou and Vice Premier Chen Yi inspected Shiheji reclamation area in Xinjiang in 1965 and were greatly delighted to see the development there. The premier also paid particular attention to the development of the farm-and-animal-product processing industry in this area. He suggested combining industry with agriculture and using industry to promote agriculture to improve the quality of industrial products, provide agriculture with more capital funds and quicken agricultural development. When the leading comrade of the Xinjiang production and construction corps proposed that production be expanded by relying primarily on the accumulations within the reclamation area and by adopting the "snowball" method, the premier gladly and immediately approved this proposal. Applying the method agreed to by the premier, the Xinjiang production and construction corps acquired more than half of its funds each year by relying on its accumulations.

#### Working for the Interests of Future Generations

Premier Zhou considered agricultural work from the angle of the long-term interests of future generations. He earnestly taught those engaged in

agriculture, forestry and aquatic production: We must have a long-term point of view in mind. We must think of the things in a decade or a few decades.... He admonished all comrades time and again: If mistakes are committed in agriculture, forestry and aquatic production, they cannot be remedied in a few years' time. If you have made mistakes in harnessing a river or if you have cut too many trees, the younger generation will talk about you. Incorrectly harnessing a river or cutting too many trees are what worry me most.

Premier Zhou showed deep concern for and exercised concrete leadership over forestry and aquatic production, setting an example for holding a long-term point of view in grasping agricultural work.

Premier Zhou attached great importance to afforestation, clearly pointing out: Afforestation is a matter of great importance for a hundred years. We must do it well. Afforestation work must be oriented toward the whole country and carried out by relying on the whole party and the whole people. Showing particular concern for the work of afforestation and conservation of water and soil in the loess highland in northwest China, he said: The loess highland is the cradle of our Chinese nation and the fountainhead of the Chinese culture. However, the forest has been destroyed there. We must restore the forests and develop afforestation. He added confidently: If we have firm determination like the foolish old man who moved mountains and if our future generations go on fighting, we can overcome soil and water losses over an area of 280,000 square kilometers in the Huang River basin. The premier went on an inspection tour of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Julin in June 1962. He repeatedly called for the protection of forests, pointing out that the issue was a major problem concerning the national economy and well-being of future generations. Seeing that trees had not been planted on Maoershan Mountain near Longjing in Yanbian, he cited examples to show the importance of afforestation. He instructed that efforts be made to plant and protect trees on mountain slopes. He was seriously ill when the 10th party congress held its second session in 1975. Since he still remembered the region's afforestation work, he specially summoned the responsible comrade of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture party committee and asked him: "How are the trees growing on Maoershan Mountain near Longjing?"

In light of the serious consequences resulting from mechanically copying the experience of the Soviet Union in cutting trees in vast areas without considering local conditions, as was done in northwest China's forested areas during the 1950's, Premier Zhou pointed out: This is like "eating food given us by our ancestors but doing evil to future generations." Bearing in mind the practical experience and special characteristics of our country's forestry, he demanded strenuous efforts to build a new-type socialist forest region where industry would be combined with agriculture and towns with the countryside, where favorable conditions would be created for production and people's living to insure that "more and

better trees would be planted and cut, the mountains would always be green and timber would always be available." In such a way, he pointed out the correct orientation for building our country's forest regions.

Premier Zhou showed special concern for protecting trees and preventing fires in forests. He once pointed out: Because forest fires take place every year, it is necessary to teach the broad masses to protect public property and to have common knowledge on how to prevent forest fires. Meanwhile, plans and measures should be drawn and necessary tools readied for preventing and putting out forest fires. He often read reports on forest fires himself. In the autumn of 1961, the Ministry of Forestry revealed in a brief report that the forest fire which had broken out in the forest region of the Greater Xingan Range, was worsening and spreading. Although it was past 2300 when the premier read this brief report, he immediately rang up the Ministry of Forestry and asked about the fire situation. An hour later, he told a deputy secretary general of the State Council to ring up the Ministry of Agriculture again and ask about the fire. Another thing we will never forget occurred. On 23 March 1974, when the premier was already very ill, he still finished reading a brief report on a forest fire and gave important instructions on protecting trees and preventing fires. Beyond our knowledge, however, this was the last time our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou gave any instructions on forestry work.

Premier Zhou showed great concern for the development of aquatic production. He always considered the work of aquatic production through the viewpoint of long-term construction and of the people's long-term interests. He stressed that the resources of aquatic production must be fully exploited and intensively protected simultaneously. He said: In my opinion, there is plenty of room for fishery to develop. The inland rivers and coastal waters have rich resources for aquatic production. It is not difficult to catch several million tons of fish. China should reap a bumper harvest of aquatic products. The premier gave instructions on many occasions, calling for vigorous efforts to develop marine fishing to attain and surpass advanced world levels as quickly as possible. The use of lights in seining which has been employed in our country's fishery in recent years was developed under Premier Zhou's direct leadership. The premier personally asked about the building of seiners with lights. He called fishery meetings in the coastal provinces and asked about the number of fishing vessels, the capacity of building fishing vessels and the number of fishing vessels to be built in each province or municipality. The use of seiners with lights filled the gap in China's marine fishing and promoted the building of fishing vessels and the use of advanced fishing equipment. With regard to the problem of fishing in the open seas, the premier stressed many times: While fishing in the open seas, we must pay attention to protecting marine resources. This benefits not only the Chinese people but the people of the world as well. Calling for development of marine fishing, the premier pointed out: There also is plenty of room to develop fresh water fishery. We should actively breed fresh water

fish in river and lakes. The premier laid emphasis on building water conservation projects in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions on saving fish, ships and timber and adopted measures to save fish. He also pointed out that in developing industry, attention should be paid to solving contamination problems and to protecting aquatic production resources in the interests of future generations.

#### Showing Deep Concern for the Material Interests of Peasants

Premier Zhou had infinitely deep class feelings for the peasants and showed very deep concern for their material interests. He constantly paid attention to proceeding from all directions to arouse their enthusiasm for socialism.

When the new China was founded, the premier stressed the need to gradually reduce the "scissors" difference between industrial and agricultural products. In the first year after the founding of the new China, a bumper harvest of summer grain was reaped. At that time, industrial products supplies were scarce and price differences between industrial and agricultural products had widened. Upon discovering this problem, the premier immediately instructed the relevant departments to readjust prices so the peasants would not be affected. The premier also paid close attention to continuously reducing burdens on the peasants very carefully and seriously. When he learned that tractor stations charged high fees for tilling the land for peasants, he said this problem should be solved immediately. In order not to delay his work, he made use of the time on his way to Tianjin and asked the Ministry of Agriculture comrade to come aboard the train. He analyzed the charges for tilling by tractor and worked out a method of lowering them. He personally decided to cut by 0.20 cents the amount charged for each mou of land to be tilled by tractor. Later, he also decided to lower the price of fuel oil for agricultural use. He was firmly determined to continuously reduce burdens on the peasants. During the period of 3 years of difficulties, agricultural tasks were reduced in accordance with the premier's instructions. When the national economy made a turn for the better, some comrades suggested increasing some agriculture taxes. The premier straightforwardly and resolutely said: You may put this on record today that as long as I live, you cannot increase agricultural taxes. Even after I die in the future, you cannot scheme against the peasants.

The premier was one with the masses. He always bore in mind the tough production conditions in the remote mountain regions, especially in the old revolutionary bases which had contributed greatly toward the revolution.

Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Zhou after liberation personally organized a central delegation which went to the old revolutionary bases in mountain regions to extend the regards of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to the people and to tell them the

vital significance of Chairman Mao's brilliant inscription "carry forward the revolutionary tradition and strive for still greater glory." After that, he instructed the relevant departments many times to call meetings to gradually explore and build up the mountain regions in light of local characteristics. He taught the comrades many times to go deep among the masses to learn about production and people's lives in the mountain regions, pointing out solemnly: All ministries should show concern for poor places and those supervised by junior cadres. They should go to see remote and poor places and not confine their scope just to those places that have favorable conditions.

The premier shed tears in 1970 when he learned that the people of some places in north Shaanxi were still living under great difficulties. He said: The people of Yanan nursed us so that we won countrywide victory and the whole world knew about Yanan. However, more than two decades after nationwide liberation, some people there still lead as miserable a life as they did before. We are responsible for doing concrete work. We have failed to live up to the expectation of the masses in the old liberated areas and to great leader Chairman Mao's expectation! After that, the premier asked about the work in north Shaanxi every year and called on the people of north Shaanxi to study Chairman Mao's 1949 "reply telegram" to the people of Yanan. He drew a plan and adopted concrete measures to change the outlook of north Shaanxi. He also instructed the various State Council ministries to charge some people with organizing manpower and material supplies to help build Yanan. Accompanying some foreign guests, the premier visited Yanan in June 1973 for the first time in 26 years. Despite his tight schedule, he spared some time during lunch to ask detail questions about production and people's lives in Yanan. He again felt ill at ease and said: Our ministries have not done enough for Yanan. In deep affection, he exhorted the responsible comrades of the prefectural party committee to strive to double Yanan's grain output in a few years. He added: By that time, I will come to see you if I remain premier.

The premier's concern for agricultural production in arid central Gansu Province was also an impressive lesson for everyone. The premier heard at a meeting in 1973 that Dingxi's grain output had dropped drastically and people were living in great hardships because of the serious drought which had continued for several years in a row. He said with a heavy heart: "I am very sorry to hear this, because we have not done our work well." He assumed responsibility on behalf of the department in charge of agriculture. The comrades at the meeting were moved to tears. At the meeting, the premier directed eight departments including those responsible for agriculture, forestry, water, power and commerce to form a work group. This group immediately set off to extend regards to the people and investigate the disaster conditions in Dingxi. It helped the local party organizations arrange the people's lives, carry out production and self-salvation activities and devise a plan to change the local outlook, develop production and strengthen the collective economy to bring about a

big change in Gansu's agriculture as quickly as possible. The premier particularly pointed out: It is necessary to organize the people in the calamity-stricken area to engage in diverse economic undertakings and develop light industry and handicrafts, so that commune members may earn more income. Although the premier was very ill the next year, he still bore in mind the people there and asked Comrade Hua Guofeng to hear the report on conditions in this area.

### Firmly Grasp the Technical Transformation of Agriculture

Premier Zhou was very concerned with the development of agricultural mechanization. In the early stages following the founding of the PRC, he attached importance to the production and popularization of newly designed plows and semimechanized farm implements. With this end in view, he presided over many meetings. Following the basic completion of the transformation of agricultural ownership, Premier Zhou acted on Chairman Mao's strategic policy decision and contributed immensely toward making the technical transformation of agriculture the central task in the development of farming.

When the Luoyang Tractor Plant, China's first plant for producing tractors on a big scale, became fully operational in 1959, Premier Zhou personally called at the plant to take a look at its functions. He listened attentively to summary reports and examined the workshops one by one. He asked the workers about their working and living conditions and about the time they spent in study. When the comrades who were showing the premier around passed over a workshop that was not properly ventilated, he asked them why he was not taken to that workshop. When told that the safety arrangements there had to be improved, he said disapprovingly: Are there not workers there? Have you people also been there? He then entered the workshop and greeted the workers. Premier Zhou's deep concern with mechanized farming and his close attention to details deeply educated and inspired the comrades who accompanied him to the plant.

Premier Zhou pointed out in 1962, after the national economy had experienced 3 difficult years: We must pay attention to releasing productive forces of agriculture. Since the introduction of agricultural cooperation which was aimed at increasing farm yields, we have not paid sufficient attention to the technical transformation of agriculture, which at this moment is the overriding task.

A national on-the-spot conference on agricultural mechanization was held in July 1966 in Hubei according to Chairman Mao's instructions. The meeting was attended by agricultural secretaries from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Since the Great Cultural Revolution had just begun, Premier Zhou was preoccupied with work. Yet he insisted on the delegates to the meeting being invited to Beijing to meet him. He received the delegates on 16 August and told them that Chairman Mao had proposed a plan in 1955 to basically achieve mechanized

farming in 25 years. He said this task had been delayed many years for lack of proper attention to its importance. "We must delay no longer. We must draw up plans and implement them." Premier Zhou asked Comrade Hua Guofeng in 1971 to convene the Second National Conference on Agricultural Mechanization. It marked an important step toward rapidly realizing our country's mechanized farming. However, as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," neither the spirit of the two meetings nor the conference documents, which had been submitted to the central authorities for discussion, were properly carried forward. Leading editorials prepared especially for the media were also suppressed. Premier Zhou was already sick by 1974. On the pretext of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, the "gang of four" once again stirred up counterrevolutionary moves to usurp party and state power. Despite these unfavorable conditions, Premier Zhou was still concerned with mechanized farming. Presiding over a meeting of the State Council, he reaffirmed the validity of the 1971 conference and urged implementation of the conference's spirit. He also approved the holding of another national conference on agricultural mechanization.

Premier Zhou indefatigably carried out Chairman Mao's instructions regarding the need that every county should have facilities for repairing and producing farm machinery. He saw to it that county level facilities should emphasize servicing rather than manufacturing. At the 1969 national conference on the establishment of plants for repairing and manufacturing farm machinery, he received every delegate from a dozen provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and asked for full details about operating conditions in their respective localities. He urged conference participants to dedicate themselves to China's farm mechanization program. It was the practice at that time for the state to allocate machine tools and materials every year to county-level farm machinery repair workshops. Premier Zhou was concerned with the allocation of workshop equipment and urged workshop operators to use the allocated tools and materials to serve agriculture, particularly in repairing and servicing defective farm machinery. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's important instructions and with Premier Zhou's concern, county-level farm machinery repair workshops mushroomed all over the country in 3 to 4 years to contribute significantly toward realizing our country's farm mechanization program.

#### Respect Science and Do Well in Study

In promoting agricultural modernization, Premier Zhou paid great attention to research and education in agricultural science and always stressed the need to conscientiously study this science in every way.

In September 1962, the premier attended a forum of agricultural scientists to discuss ways to step up research in agricultural science and strengthen the ranks of agrotechnicians. At this forum, the premier made an important speech and highly evaluated the role played by science and technology in agricultural development. He pointed out: It will not do to rely

solely on mass movements nor to combine mass efforts with science and technology. In the past, we have not paid enough attention to agricultural science nor done anything to enable scientists to play their parts fully. This was a hitch, even a mistake. The premier criticized the oversimplification of agricultural research institutions which had taken place some time before the forum and apologized to the old scientists for not providing them with sufficient research assistants. The premier pointed out: Scientific and technical cadres may be invited back or asked to return to the teams where they formerly belonged as you see fit. He stressed the need to strengthen and develop agricultural scientific research institutions, train a new generation of able people better and build up a mighty contingent of scientific and technical personnel. He demanded that the needs of scientific research institutions for equipment, instruments, trained personnel and new sites be regarded as matters of urgency and satisfactorily met. He humbly said: You are serving the people and we are serving you. Many old scientists were moved to tears by the premier's words. They all expressed that they would contribute toward socialist agriculture with utmost vigor and with every bit of their knowledge.

Premier Zhou always taught us to do well in study and learn from the masses and experts. To promote technical reform in agriculture, the premier put forward the idea of the three-in-one combination of leadership, experts and masses. He urged all people to study science and technology. He said that heads of ministries, departments and bureaus should also study because only then could they better perform their work. The premier encouraged us with his personal experience, saying: A conscious revolutionary must remold himself ideologically and acquire new knowledge as long as he lives. His fine work style of respecting science, his receptive mind and his breadth of vision are always worth learning from. Our country began to make vigorous efforts to develop the rubber industry in 1956. That year, a delegation of Overseas Chinese paid a visit to Hainan Island. After the visit, Mr Chen Jiageng made a number of suggestions on planting rubber trees. When the premier heard about this, he immediately sent a responsible Ministry of Agriculture comrade to ask Mr Chen's views. When Mr Chen was seriously ill, the premier paid him a visit and personally heard his opinions. These opinions were later referred to the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation. When the premier talked about the development of rubber production in 1966, he still said: Mr Chen Jiageng was a patriotic man who was deeply interested in growing rubber trees on Hainan Island. His repeated calls to keep rubber plantations clean, dig up all old tree roots and build wind belts to ward off typhoons are experiences we should learn. We must respect other people's experiences and set store by the opinions of old as well as poor and lower-middle peasants. In this way, we can avoid detours in our progress.

Premier Zhou attached great importance to mass creations. He correctly summarized the basic experiences of Dazhai and pointed out Dazhai's



shortcomings. He urged the Dazhai people to pay attention to water conservancy, tree-planting and pig raising and exhorted them to be modest and prudent, refrain from arrogance and rashness and forever go forward. In particular, he encouraged all localities to set up and popularize their own advanced typical examples. On more than one occasion, he said: Every province has its Dazhai and many counties have their own Dazhai's. They have not been fostered or popularized because we have not given them necessary attention and recommendations. Good things can be found everywhere and it is easier for the masses to learn experiences that are near at hand. In the fall of 1972, the premier was happy to read about rapid developments in soil improvement, water control and production in 18 different places in northern Shaanxi. When he learned that the party secretaries of the Yanan Prefectural CCP Committee and 15 of its subordinate county and municipal CCP committees were visiting Dazhai and Xiyang, he warmly said to the responsible comrade of Shaanxi Province who was then in Beijing: Instead of just visiting other places, you should popularize the 18 local examples as quickly as possible.

Premier Zhou also paid great attention to the agricultural development of other countries and to their new achievements in science and technology. He always stressed that we must learn from the advanced experiences of other countries. In 1962, we survived through 3 years of temporary difficulties and switched to a policy in the national economy of "readjustment, consolidation, reinforcing and raising standards." That year, Premier Zhou studied the course of agricultural development in some advanced Western countries and had a detailed discussion with Mr Kenzu Matsumura, former Japanese minister of agriculture and forestry, on agricultural development in Japan. The premier set great store by Japan's postwar experiences in developing agriculture and in solving food problems. He instructed our country's agricultural workers and scientists to study and learn from these experiences. The premier then pointed out: We are not doing very well in agriculture. Since China is a socialist country, we should be able to do a still better job than they. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, China's agriculture quickly recovered and developed. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleftist revisionist line and brandished big sticks like "the theory of productive forces" and "the slavish comprador philosophy" to sabotage revolution and production. As a result, the pace of agricultural production slowed down. In a 1973 note to a document on foreign methods of increasing grain production, the premier instructed the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to submit within a stated time a proposal based on the eight-point charter for agriculture. Afterward, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou endorsed the decision to speed up the production of chemical fertilizers and farm drugs and import some large equipment for producing chemical fertilizers in an effort to strengthen the material foundation of agricultural production.

We can never run out of things to say about our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou's concern for the development of socialist agriculture during the past 2 plus decades. Premier Zhou's brilliant practices of guiding China's agricultural development and his teachings and writings on agricultural work will always greatly inspire us to work with one heart and one mind amid hardships, go all out and do everything in our power to speed up the development of socialist agriculture and achieve agricultural modernization as quickly as possible.

WE MUST EMANCIPATE OUR MINDS AND BE THOROUGH IN DOING THEORETICAL WORK

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[Article by Guo Luoji [6753 5012 1015]]

[Text] The deepening of the movement to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has irresistibly emancipated thinking throughout the country.

Exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and distinguishing between right and wrong is a way of emancipating thinking. Distinguishing slightly between right and wrong is to slightly emancipate thinking. To do so continually is to continually emancipate thinking. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have faced the problem of having to clarify a large number of issues of right and wrong a few at a time. Sooner or later we have to face the problem of finding the criterion for determining issues of right and wrong. This involves elevating the particular to the general. Therefore, the criterion for testing truth can only be social practice. Once this basic Marxist point of view is reaffirmed, people's eyes are opened and they emancipate their thinking as they never did before. It is by no means accidental to the heated discussion of the issue that "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" has caused strong reactions. In the article "On the Characteristics of Marxism in the Development of History," Lenin said: As a result of changes in specific social and political conditions and changing tasks, "the different aspects of Marxist theory must be separately given positions of prime importance." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 398) It is exactly this situation following the smashing of the "gang of four" and the task of modernization that have raised the issue that "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" to a position of importance. Moreover, the attitude of discussing this issue is also that of facing the situation following the smashing of the "gang of four" and achieving modernization. Since the criterion of truth is practice, we must, on the basis of testing practice, more consciously clear up issues of right and wrong with regard to all problems. This is another example of deepening the general and proceeding to the particular. If we adhere to this criterion of practice, we shall have no difficulty in correctly

solving problems regarding ways to determine policies and measures, absorb advanced experience, evaluate works of literature and art, screen cadres, handle outstanding cases and so forth. This is the way to adhere to the criterion of practice, that is, to put all subjective ideas, regardless of their origin, to the test of practice.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," measures to eliminate chaos and restore order have often been resisted by people who have invoked Chairman Mao's authority and argued that only what he said counted. Some people even misinterpreted his instructions by saying that what he had not said must not be implemented. In short, all past measures must not be changed, and our future course of action must be based on his instructions. As a result, what Chairman Mao put down in writing or said must not be changed at all, and even mistakes in spelling must be left unchanged. Everything must be based on his sayings, and no change should be made in anything that he had read or annotated. In his report to the 11th party congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng affirmed the need to comprehensively and accurately grasp Mao Zedong Thought as a system. This is opposed to the criterion set by the quotations from Chairman Mao. In discussing the issue that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, the participants vehemently attacked the criterion set by quotations from Chairman Mao. Some people called for "cutting down the flag." The arguments, pro or con, centered on the correct assessment of Chairman Mao as the great leader and on truly holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. This calls for probing, studying, discussing and finding an answer. If this problem is not solved, practice as the criterion will not be carried out, and the emancipation of thinking will be stalled at the halfway mark.

## I

There have been increasing arguments over the issue of how to view the leader of a proletarian political party. Revisionists have resorted to two approaches. One is to oppose authority and overthrow the leader and then support a new "leader" mouthing nonsense. When Khrushchev came to power, he did this to downgrade Stalin, only to find himself defamed before the people of the world. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used another tactic. They took advantage of public disgust with Khrushchev to make authority absolute and to deify the leader. By "establishing" and idolizing the leader, they invoked the leader's prestige and made it serve their own purpose. In the name of establishing another person, they in fact established themselves. They flaunted another person's banner so that they could direct and mobilize everything. Lin Biao, the "gang of four," Chen Boda and that adviser of the central Cultural Revolution group deified themselves by deifying the leader and became a new "holy family." These two approaches differed from each other but served the same purpose. Essentially they aimed at vilifying the leader of the proletarian political party and thus opened the way for the appearance of revisionist leadership.

Marxist political parties and Marxists view proletarian leaders scientifically. This means that they apply historical materialism in explaining the rise of leaders and their roles in history. Marxists within the CCP ranks have firmly struggled against the tendency to deify the leader. As early as 1949 Comrade Zhou Enlai said succinctly: "Our leader arises from the people, is close to them and to the land and soil of China." Comrade Zhou Enlai urged us to learn from Comrade Mao Zedong and advance in the direction indicated by his banner. He also said: "We must not regard Mao Zedong as mysterious." "If we do this...will Mao Zedong not become an isolated deity?" ("Learn From Mao Zedong") In his report on the revision of the party rules and regulations at the eighth party congress held in 1956, Comrade Deng Xiaoping fully explained the leader's role in the political party and also opposed deifying him. He said: "Our party has always maintained that it is impossible for any political party and any person not to have any shortcomings or mistakes...and because of this, our party has also rejected deifying the individual." The eighth party congress reiterated the Central Committee's decisions and prohibited the public from celebrating the leader's birthdays or using his name to identify a place, street or enterprise. The eighth party congress also banned sending messages paying tribute to the leader or reporting on successful efforts and discouraged exaggerating the leader's role in works of literature and art. It called upon the whole party to "continue to implement the Central Committee policy of opposing giving prominence to the individual and lauding personal contributions." To avoid making Stalin's mistake, the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," written after an enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee Politburo, explicitly pointed out: "We Marxist-Leninists have always denied 'supreme beings' who never make mistakes, big or small."

For more than 10 years Lin Biao and the "gang of four" completely repudiated the policy of not giving prominence to the individual adopted by the eighth party congress and rejected the article that was critical of idolatry. They took advantage of the Great Cultural Revolution to launch a sweeping movement aimed at "creating deities" and making Mao Zedong "an isolated god." At that time they also invoked a new type of religious ceremony to transform science into theology, quotations from Mao Zedong into scripture and fighters into their disciples.

How did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turn Mao into a god? 4

First, they whittled down the leadership of a proletarian political party into one person and elevated him above the party and the masses. The leader was exempted from the supervision of the party and the masses, while the party and the masses had to be "boundlessly devoted" to him.

Secondly, they made the supreme leader an innate "genius" by referring to him as a "great genius" who appeared in the world only once every few hundred years and in China only once every few thousand years. Because

of his unlimited power of observation, he was able to "perceive everything." What he said was unquestionably correct, so "every sentence is the truth." His thought was considered unsurpassed and regarded as the "acme."

Thirdly, they attributed the cause of the party and that of the masses to a single "genius," who was responsible for founding the CCP, the PLA and the PRC. It was this "genius" who made all achievements possible.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" thus transformed the leader of a proletarian political party into a supreme being, an omnipotent god who could create everything!

Why did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turn a human being into a god?

According to enlightenment philosophers in 18th century France, religious superstition became prevalent because the "fools" met a "swindler." The "swindler" concocted a pack of lies, and the "fools" believed in them. This was how the gods came about. This explanation may be dismissed as superficial and shallow, because they did not realize that religious superstition, whether worship of objects or idols, owed its existence to certain social, historical and class origins. What had made swindlers like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" so powerful in China was of course related to China's social and historical conditions. The fact is that the superstitious practice of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caught on because many people were prone to superstitious beliefs. Marx said: "Men make their history themselves, without their knowledge or desire, and under conditions of their own choice. However, history is made as a result of direct conflicts with conditions acquired and inherited from the past. All the traditions of the dead pester the living like bad dreams." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 603) We want to make socialist history, but it is impossible for us to make history under conditions of our own choice. What historical conditions, then, will we face? What traditions will be pestering our minds? Our country has a history of several thousand years of feudal society. The feudal system once gave us a splendid old civilization, but it also left behind many retrogressive things, with reverence for the emperor a very bad traditional practice. The emperor was regarded as an agent of God and was called the "true son of heaven." A combination of divine power and imperial prerogative thus effectively strengthened despotic feudal rule. Political power in China was often given a theological connotation. This was true in the case of imperial power, as it was in the case of the leaders of peasant uprisings. To deify the feudal rulers, peasant leaders also had to be treated in the same way, that is, given a theological connotation. Although the 1911 Revolution brought down the emperor, it did nothing to remove feudal vestiges. It was the CCP that led the Chinese people in conducting anti-imperialist and antifeudal movements. The feudal system of land ownership was abolished, but it was impossible to eliminate feudal concepts overnight. When Lin Biao and the "gang of

four" called for establishing the "absolute authority," shouting "long live" and "a long life," were they not pestered by the feudal tradition and practices of worshiping the emperor? This was how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deified the leader and advocated superstitious beliefs. After exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we must study the conditions which made it possible for them to conduct their activities and dig up their base of operations.

Since feudal traditions existed in the past, why is it that the "god-creating" movement, which did not appear within the party before the 1960's, appeared in the 1960's and 1970's? However, this movement can only be explained in terms of the objective environment, not in terms of its ideological tradition. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created an environment which required the presence of divine beings. They stirred up a full-scale civil war, overthrew everything and incited widespread disorder and chaos. This caused panic among the people and made them insecure. Lenin affirmed that materialists were fearful of the worst, saying: "Modern religion is rooted in fear of the blind forces of capital." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 379) Here we have fear of another type of misdirected force. When people feel impotent before blind social forces and unsure of their own destiny, they will respond to the idea of accepting a savior. At that time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" harbored the evil intention of provoking ill feelings on the one hand, while on the other hand people were anxious to get themselves out of the impasse. This caused them to believe in religion instead of having faith in the leader. Many people found it difficult to logically explain their experiences in the Great Cultural Revolution except to blame their misfortunes on destiny. Since they were unable to restrain the forces that affected them, they had to admit the force of supernatural power. While some people were not so superstitious, they were unable to overcome their fear of being branded as "counterrevolutionary." This is because the new religious cult of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was also based on political power. We have now changed all this, and in the current situation of stability and order people can once again control their own destiny. This benefits the deepening of the criticism of the "god-creating" movement initiated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

In the history of the PRC, was it inevitable for the "god-creating" movement that appeared at certain times to bring great misfortune to the peoples? It was inevitable for the representatives of tradition to appear when feudal traditions held sway. However, it was certainly possible to avoid occurrences in which people went on rampages and caused great disorder throughout the land. But it was equally untenable for people to ascribe everything to absolutely irresistible forces. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "The bourgeois Republican Council in France even now has royalist representatives." These royalists have not plunged France into great disorder. According to a fairy tale, once the devil is released from captivity in a bottle, he will run amuck, and

nothing can be done to bring him under control. Conspirators and careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who conceal themselves in the CCP are like bottled demons. When they are set free under certain conditions, they will run amuck and cause harm to the people. After the bitter experiences of these great mishaps, we must study how the bottled-up demons can escape and what steps have to be taken to keep them in the bottle. Both aspects reflect the same problem concerning the important issue of socialist democracy and legality. A socialist society should have a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy. However, for a long time China was without adequate socialist democracy and a sound legal system. During the Great Cultural Revolution the members of the so-called proletarian headquarters were above criticism, and any reference to any member of that headquarters was considered an outrage, and the offender was charged with "mounting vicious attacks" and even branded as "counterrevolutionary." When the members of the proletarian headquarters became conspirators or careerists, nothing could be done about them, and the people had to wait for them to unmask themselves. There was nothing the people could do, such as invoking socialist democracy and legality, against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," because socialist democracy must be practiced by the people under party leadership to protect themselves. The great "5 April" movement provided the masses with direct actions in striving for socialist democracy at a time when the "gang of four" was running amuck. By dealing a fatal blow to the "gang of four," it demonstrated the incomparable power of socialist democracy.

For more than a decade since the founding of the PRC, socialist democracy and legality have not developed as they should have. The "god-creating" movement initiated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in certain aspects reminded us of the folly, barbarism, darkness and terror of the Middle Ages. It is urgently necessary to solve the problems of democracy and legality, because this has been revealed by history and is the wish of the people.

## II

Only by eliminating theological authority can we foster the scientific authority of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The result of the "god-creating" movement of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was to make Mao Zedong an isolated god. Deifying Chairman Mao did not mean supporting, but harming him. To reverse the practice, we must dispel the fog of mysticism surrounding the question of the leader of a proletarian political party in the following ways:

### 1. Why is it necessary to have a leader?

A leader is necessary because authority is needed in a society where the members have their own free will. However, unity in action calls for unity in will. The power to command action and direct common efforts in social life means authority. It is the concentrated will of the masses and acts as a banner for rallying and commanding them.



Engels said: "Authority and self-government are relative things." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 553) However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made authority so absolute that they established only "absolute authority" without providing for self-government. They abolished and discouraged independent thinking, demanding only unconditional submission. What the "absolute authority" said was an "absolute order" and had to be "carried out to the letter." Moreover, what people "understand must be implemented, and what they do not understand must also be implemented." In their view, once they became the authorities, they would always be so under all circumstances and in all respects.

Making authority absolute underlined the method used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to "deify" the leader. While it is reasonable to stress the importance of authority, it is no longer reasonable if authority is made absolute. Since those who exercise authority are real people, if authority is made absolute, real people will then become abstract gods. This is particularly characteristic of the new religious superstition. In the old religious superstition it was always assumed that God existed before His existence was verified. The methods used in such verification were often effective in revealing their absurdity. In promoting their "god-creating" movement, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" proceeded from "reasonable" assumptions in terms of real people and preached fallacious theories to mislead people into accepting superstition. This resulted in more people becoming their victims. In "The Memoirs of Lenin," the author recalled that Lenin viewed the deification group in Russia as advocating a kind of "subtle religion." What Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated in China was an even "subtler" kind of religion.

## 2. How does the leader come into being?

Leaders arise from struggles waged by the masses. They do not proclaim themselves as leaders nor make themselves so by unnatural means. There is no such thing as being dropped from the sky. In waging struggle the masses need someone who has the power to command them, and this is how a leader comes into being. There is nothing mysterious about the rise of leaders.

Are the leaders a group of people or just single individuals? Lenin repeatedly referred to them as a group of people. He said: "In most conditions, and especially in modern civilized countries, the class is usually led by a political party. This is usually formed by those who have been chosen as leaders to assume the most important duties, persons who are influential and experienced and who can take over as a relatively stable group." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 197) He also said: "It is a long-term and difficult task to foster a group of experienced party leaders commanding very high prestige." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 505) However, the propaganda machine controlled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" swayed public opinion to accept the idea that the position of the leader could only be filled by one person; otherwise it

would smack of the reactionary "theory of many centers." This was merely to discredit other party leaders, so that only one leader would be theoretically deified. There are, in fact, many leading figures in any proletarian political party, though we must admit that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong were great leaders among a large number of leading figures in proletarian political parties.

Leaders arise from the struggles waged by the masses. They are chosen by the masses in their struggles and also remold themselves in the mass struggles, assimilating the masses' intelligence and conforming to their needs. Comrade Mao Zedong was able to establish his leading position in the party at the Zunyi meeting because he was discovered by the masses, who recognized him after he had conducted 13 years of struggle since the founding of the party. Comrade Mao never considered himself a born saint. He admitted he believed in ghosts and deities when he was young, studied Confucian classics, followed Kantian teachings and advocated anarchy. He said he studied Marxist works at a later period. Even after he became a Marxist he continued to remold himself. He made many revisions of the first article included in Volume I of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," entitled "Analysis of Classes in the Chinese Society." This shows that he had continually raised his understanding. The article originally appeared in REVOLUTION, a fortnightly, in December 1925. After it was revised by Comrade Mao Zedong, it was published in ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN on 13 March 1926. When this article was included in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," he had revised many sections, including a section on the problems of working-class leadership. This showed that Comrade Mao Zedong developed his thinking before he transformed his world outlook.

To admit that the leader arises from the struggle waged by the masses is to say that he is a human being. But to describe the leader as a "genius" descended from heaven is to make him an immortal on earth.

### 3. What role does the leader play?

Great leaders are the product of an era which faces great historical tasks and assigns leading figures to complete these tasks. These leading figures will play immense roles in trying to tackle these historical tasks. As with anybody else, even leading figures cannot go beyond their own historical settings. What they can do is determined by their understanding of historical conditions and the degree of their integration with the masses. Some leaders who have a firm grasp of their own historical conditions and keep in close touch with the masses of their own period will play a significant role. Otherwise, their contributions will be less significant. The same holds true if a leader understands historical conditions well and is close to the masses at a certain stage but does not fare so well at a different stage. Some leaders who were once in the vanguard of their time, propelling history forward, were out of step with their time during a changeover and were divorced from the masses. This also leads to historical tragedies deplored by the people. Therefore, we must

realistically appraise the role of leading figures in history and examine their merits and demerits on the basis of what they have done.

Is the concept of "one divides into two" applicable to leaders? Of course it is. Lenin viewed Marxist teachings as embodying an unadulterated world outlook that is uncompromisingly divorced from superstition. He used Marxism, which rejects superstitious beliefs, to deal with Marx, holding high the banner of Marx without blindly following him.

Both Marx and Engels made many miscalculations in assessing prevailing situations. Lenin said: "It is true that Marx and Engels made many mistakes in predicting that the revolutionary moment would come soon. They also miscalculated in hoping that the 1848 German revolution, for example, would be victorious and in believing that the German 'republic' would be quickly founded. They often made mistakes, such as in 1871." It was considered possible that Marx and Engels made mistakes because they were overly devoted to the revolution. That is why Lenin commented on the mistakes made by the two great revolutionary thinkers, saying: "Compared with the clumsy intelligence of the liberals in office, they are a thousand times nobler." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 12, p 362) However mistakes are mistakes. Lenin drew lessons from the mistakes made by Marx and Engels, so he was more precise than they in leading the Russian Revolution and in assessing the revolutionary moment.

Marxism evolved into Leninism after it was verified by practice under new historical conditions. Lenin applied the concept of "one divides into two" in analyzing the scientific system of Marxism. By discarding irrelevant and unscientific explanations, changing outdated views and replacing old conclusions with new ones, he achieved the task of developing Marxism.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, applying the concept of "one divides into two" to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin was not considered very dangerous. However, doing this to Chairman Mao would brand someone as an "active counterrevolutionary." Why can we not apply the same principle to leaders who are just as great?

How did Comrade Mao Zedong view himself? At a party meeting in 1958 he said: A comrade said yesterday that one would not err if one followed a certain person. He was referring to me. This remark should be revised. One is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. If he is right, we follow him. If he is wrong, then we do not follow him. We must avoid being muddleheaded in following anybody.

Comrade Mao Zedong admitted to being right and being wrong and said that we must not conceal his shortcomings and mistakes. On the last day of central working conference held in Beijing on 12 June 1961, he talked about his own shortcomings and mistakes and asked that these be conveyed to the provinces. It was later known that many localities had not done this. At an enlarged central working conference held in January 1962,

Comrade Mao Zedong again said: "It is as if my mistakes could and should be kept hidden. Comrades, they must not be kept hidden. Of all the mistakes made by the Central Committee, I am responsible for those directly related to me, and I have a share of the responsibility for those not directly related to me, because I am its chairman." A prevailing trend in our country is that the mistakes made by the leader or at a higher level must not be known to the masses or to those at a lower level.

How should we correctly assess great leader Chairman Mao? One sentence will suffice: that is, we should use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Probably no one is free from mistakes." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Did this include Comrade Mao himself? He often urged people to apply the dialectical method of analysis. Would this apply to himself? Are the principles of proceeding from reality and "one divides into two" universally applicable? If it is said that Mao Zedong Thought is not applicable to Comrade Mao, then this theory is neither thorough nor convincing. If it is argued that Mao Zedong Thought is not applicable to Comrade Mao, then it will not convince people. To prohibit people from applying the principle of "one divides into two" to Comrade Mao and from mentioning his shortcomings and mistakes is to discredit Mao Zedong Thought and not to "hold high" Mao Zedong Thought.

Can we mention those shortcomings and mistakes Comrade Mao himself was not aware of? Can we rectify those shortcomings and mistakes he had not corrected? He always taught us to adhere to truth and mend our ways. Since Comrade Mao is no longer with us, it is impossible for him to correct his own shortcomings and mistakes. This requires us to carry out his wishes and to distinguish between right and wrong and mend our ways on the basis of practical experience. Applying Mao Zedong Thought in appraising Comrade Mao is to cherish great leader Chairman Mao and esteem him.

Integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution has evolved Mao Zedong Thought, which crystallizes the militant experience and collective wisdom of communists and the Chinese people. Comrade Mao was great because he knew how to synthesize the experience and wisdom of the masses and give them back to the masses so they could adhere to them. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific system for expressing objective truth, based on the principle of "one divides into two." Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought unifies absolute truth with relative truth. Comrade Mao's immense contribution to the Chinese people is imperishable, so it is not surprising that he had shortcomings and made mistakes. It would be wrong to avoid mentioning his shortcomings and mistakes because of his immense contributions. To disavow his immense contributions because of his shortcomings is also unjustified. Since erroneous things are at variance with the integration of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, they are not part of Mao Zedong Thought. As a result of the interference

and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people were forbidden to apply the principle of "one divides into two" to the leader. Applying Mao Zedong Thought in appraising Comrade Mao is to distinguish between right and wrong on this issue, achieve the thoroughness of Mao Zedong Thought as a system, safeguard its scientific authority and thus truly hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

### III

Since the masses are the masters of history, we should esteem them. The Chinese people cherished great leader Chairman Mao as a result of his having been tested in decades of revolutionary struggle and through their own experiences. This is because the leader represented the people for their sake. They cherished and supported him. The people's awareness provided the leader with conditions for displaying his prowess, and he led them in struggling for their own interests. Cherishing the leader was essentially safeguarding the people's interests. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the people's love for the leader to lead them astray and reverse the relationship between the people and their leader. Influenced by the superstitious beliefs of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution, someone issued this slogan: "Everything for Chairman Mao." When esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou Enlai received the representatives of the masses at the Great Hall of the People, he said: The slogan "Everything for Chairman Mao" is wrong. It should be "Everything for the people." How can we say "everything for Chairman Mao," since he is also for the people? These were plain words, but they had deep meaning. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated "loyalty" and "boundless devotion" from the people themselves. Cherishing the leader must not be based on superstition or paternalism. Rather, it should be based on scientific analysis and on the materialist concept of history.

Heeding what the leader says and what the masses say are in accord with each other. However, what the masses say counts, because the leader must champion their interests and listen to their views. Lenin said: "While a few people are endowed with outstanding intellectual qualities, the masses determine the course of history." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 635) Deifying the leader is to undermine the relationship between the people and their leader to the detriment of both.

Deifying the leader makes him and his theories contradict each other. Although the leader of a proletarian political party does not necessarily wield immense power, he is skilled in offering theories and using them to convince the masses. Commenting on Lenin's leading position, Stalin said: "To remain the leader of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian political party, he must be equipped with the power to theorize and with practical experience in organizing the proletarian movement." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 4, p 279) Once the leader is deified, there will be conflicts with the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Theoretically, we talk about proceeding from reality, but in actual conditions we must praise the leader. Theoretically, we stress the principle of "one divides into two," but in actual conditions we are forbidden to apply this principle to the leader. Theoretically, we speak of emancipating the masses as their own business, but actually we ascribe everything we have to the higher level. What Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did was to deify the leader and then apply fascist methods in mutilating and discarding the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must adhere to the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and oppose deifying the leader. Once deification is discarded, we shall restore the power of theory and heighten the prestige of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao once said: Thorough materialists have nothing to fear. They are afraid neither of the enemy nor of difficulties, nor are they afraid of having their theories verified by practice. It is because materialists have nothing to fear that their theories are thorough.

Deifying the leader makes the leader of a proletarian political party change his nature. The leader has been close to the masses and they respect and cherish him. However, once the leader is deified, he is alienated from the masses, and they can only keep him at arm's length.

Deifying the leader can lead to the opposite results, such as superstition and total distrust. If having faith in the leader is based on the myth of his infallibility, then the following inherent danger exists: Since infallible people do not exist, once a person makes mistakes he will cause such a big fuss that people will no longer trust their leader. This has actually occurred. Once Stalin was alleged to be absolutely correct. But when it was discovered that he still had shortcomings and mistakes, some people gave up in despair and lost their confidence in communism.

Deifying the leader means enslaving the masses. Lenin said, "The concept of divinity always means enslavement (the worse enslavement without a way out)." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 111) Exaggerating the role of the individual inevitably will result in reducing the role of the masses. Deifying the leader out of all proportion means that the masses will become insignificant. The leader's divine status will result in enslavement of the masses.

Another great harm in deifying the leader is that it engenders conspirators and careerists. Commenting on Lin Biao's attempt to "establish" someone, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To exorcise ghosts, Zhong Xun's assistance must be secured." Lin Biao, in fact, aimed at getting rid of those he did not like. He invoked Zhong Xun's divine power so he, too, could "exorcise ghosts." This was a very ruthless counterrevolutionary tactic. Anyone who opposed the "invoking" tactic was accused of "opposing Chairman Mao." Since people cherished Chairman Mao, to be considered to be "opposing Chairman Mao" was a painful experience. That is why those

who were against Lin Biao's tactic were apprehensive of its possible implications. Therefore, those who wished to avoid being charged with "opposing Chairman Mao" had no choice but to endorse Lin Biao's tactics of "holding high" and "following closely." By "invoking" Zhong Xun, Lin Biao alone was elevated to the position of being the "close comrade-in-arms." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also subtly "invoked" Comrade Mao Zedong by referring to his remarks and comments as "every sentence is the truth" and "every sentence must be carried out to the letter." They meant that only those sentences they had selected must be carried out to the letter, not those they had not selected. Consequently, people had to follow Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and what they wished to do. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that his comments could be used by both leftists and rightists to their own advantage. The rise and fall of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" thus educated the people and made them wiser. If they found some people singing praises of the leader and revering him as though he were a supreme being, they should watch these people and find out what they would do next. Those who harbor ulterior motives and aim at "invoking" somebody will sooner or later be exposed. These people are doomed to failure.

Those who oppose deifying the leader do this to cherish and safeguard him, while those who oppose superstition do so to promote science. However, criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for deifying the leader and fabricating superstitious beliefs serves only as an antidote to their perverted acts, not as a permanent cure. Feuerbach, a materialist philosopher, devoted himself to humanizing deities. Marx said of him: "He failed to take note of the fact that after he had finished this task he had not undertaken to do the main thing." What was the main task? It was to "transform the social basis for engendering religious superstition in revolutionary practice." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 4) From the chaos caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," revolutionaries must find practical steps to transform China and the world.

The great Chinese people have struggled so hard and suffered so much: the misfortunes caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" plunged our people into deep misery. All this is now over. We have begun the new Long March toward modernization. This moment reminds us of the line from a poem by Goethe: "If suffering is the source of happiness, why should we grieve over our suffering?"

The people have awakened from their suffering. They are standing up and shaking off the dust of history. Let us emancipate our thinking, face the future and march in big strides toward the four modernizations.

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## THE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY AND THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE PARTY

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[Article by Jin Wen [6855 3080]]

[Text] Without inner-party contradictions and without the struggles to resolve these contradictions, the party's life would come to an end. If inner-party struggle is separated from the purpose of achieving unity of the whole party, the party will be thrown into confusion and will be overthrown. This is a truth proved by practice. Exercising the power they usurped and adopting very brutal and abominable tactics, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" waged struggles indiscriminately inside the party, thereby disrupting the unity of the whole party, throwing the party into unrest, weakening its strength and bringing most grievous losses to the revolution and construction. This is an unforgettable lesson. How should a struggle be conducted within the party and what is the aim of this struggle?

### 1. Inner-Party Contradictions Should Not Be Resolved by "Ruthless Struggles and Merciless Blows"

Where there is a party there is a struggle within the party. The results of struggle vary with the methods and aims of the struggle. A review of our party's history shows that whenever a correct struggle is launched within the party, the party will be more united and will have ever-greater fighting strength; when a wrong struggle is launched within the party, the revolutionary cause will suffer setbacks and defeats.

A wrong struggle within the party took place during the period of the agrarian reform, and "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" increased when Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line predominated. As was pointed out in "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party": "In order to enforce their will, the proponents of the third 'left' line invariably and indiscriminately branded all party comrades who found the wrong line impracticable and who therefore expressed doubt, disagreement or dissatisfaction or did not actively support the wrong line or firmly carry it out. They tagged these comrades with such labels as 'right



opportunism,' 'the rich peasant line,' 'the Lo Ming Line,' 'the line of conciliation' and 'double-dealing,' waged 'ruthless struggles' against them and dealt them 'merciless blows,' and even conducted 'inner-party struggles' as if they were dealing with criminals and enemies." In many localities, because the ultraleft policy of suppressing counterrevolutionaries was entangled with the factionalist policy toward cadres, large groups of distinguished comrades were unjustly treated because of false charges. This stifled democracy, caused anomalies in the party and weakened its fighting strength. Doubtlessly this wrong "inner-party struggle" dampened the enthusiasm of the broad masses of party members and party cadres, destroyed the fighting power of the party and protected the rule of the wrong line. The danger of the "left" deviationist line led to the failure of the fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression."

During the Long March the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong replaced Wang Ming's "left" line. After that our party not only implemented the correct political and military lines but also upheld the correct method of inner-party struggle, thus continuously growing in size and strength and winning one victory after another. Comrade Mao Zedong said later: "The 'left' dogmatists resorted to the method of 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows' in inner-party struggle. It was the wrong method. In criticizing 'left' dogmatism, we did not use this old method, but adopted a new one, that is, one of starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle, and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. This was the method used in the rectification movement of 1942. Within a few years, by the time the Chinese Communist Party held its seventh national congress in 1945, unity was achieved throughout the party as anticipated, and consequently the people's revolution triumphed." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradiction Among the People") That is to say, the basic content of inner-party struggle is to "distinguish between right and wrong," the method is "criticism or struggle," and the aim is to "arrive at a new unity on a new basis." This kind of correct inner-party struggle means linking the distinction between right and wrong with whole party unity, linking inner-party struggle with whole party struggle against the enemy and basically negating the "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" advocated by the "left" line.

Unfortunately, for a considerably long period since the founding of new China, some anomalies have appeared in inner-party struggle. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" concocted "inner-party struggles," denouncing one group of comrades today and another group tomorrow. Their "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" really made one boil with fury. Wang Ming's "left" line aimed at "conducting 'inner-party struggles' as if it were dealing with criminals and enemies." But when they held sway, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" dealt crippling blows at and framed large numbers of party cadres and members by atrocious means never before adopted against the enemies. They

madly yelled that the Great Cultural Revolution meant "revolutionizing those who had participated in the revolution." They adopted all fascist means to deal fatal blows at large groups of revolutionary veteran cadres of our party. They instigated their followers to "drag out people at all levels," "drag out people at one level," "form ties between the higher and the lower levels" and "link up with the higher level and criticize the lower level." Almost none of the party cadres, from the leading comrades of the central authorities to the secretaries of basic-level party branches, was spared. Many ordinary party members who were innocent and had rendered meritorious services were involved. During the decade "ruthless struggles" were launched repeatedly in the name of "all-round seizure of power," "criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius" and "hitting back at the rightist wind to reverse verdicts," and one group of party cadres after another was "toppled." Many fine party cadres were wronged politically and tortured physically, their dignity was impaired, and they died unavenged. Initiated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the long-term "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" within the party not only deprived our party of many fine cadres, but also gave rise to serious confusion, continuous movements and ceaseless struggles inside the party. Living and working in this environment made the vast numbers of party nervous. Some people united and associated with one another only organizationally, but not ideologically. Some did not feel the warmth of the organization and the kind concern of other comrades. Instead, comrades of the same rank or different ranks took precautions against one another. Some comrades worked together but pushed the load onto others. When they made mistakes, they blamed each other and pushed the responsibility onto others. Moreover, some of them devoted a great deal of their energies to studying "tactics of attack" and "tactics of defense," so that they could contain one another and balance the power between them. The disruption and pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" seriously weakened our party for a long time and kept it from playing the role of a core.

These "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" inside the party will inevitably bring about grave consequences. Judging from the frequency of struggles waged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution, without counting the number of people "kicked in the pants" in each movement, and considering that only 5 percent of the people were "knocked down," the figures will be extremely astounding when the "areas of attack" in the movements are added together. If such ruthless struggles are allowed to continue, our party will be completely destroyed before long. For the sake of our party's survival and development, we must resolutely and completely rid our party life of these wrong "ruthless struggles and merciless blows."

## 2. Inner-Party Struggles Are By No Means Two-Line Struggles

Equating inner-party struggle with two-line struggle was one of the theoretical bases on which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" perpetrated

ruthless struggles. According to their theory, inner-party contradictions and struggles are "two-line struggles" without exception, and "two-line struggles" not only run through the party's history, but also are present in all spheres of party life. They held that "there are thousands of things to do, and each is linked with class struggle and the line," that every action of each party member or party cadre is linked with the "two-line struggle," everything he says or does has to pass through "analysis of the line," to be "graded by the line" and "linked with class struggle and the line" and that "once the line is wrong, everything else is wrong" and "once the line is correct, everything else is correct." In these circumstances people were frightened, felt they were in constant danger and feared that they would unconsciously touch a "high-tension wire" and tread on a "landmine" of class struggle.

Are inner-party struggles two-line struggles? No! Marxism never denies the existence of contradiction and two-line struggles inside the party. What are the inner-party contradictions which entail struggle and need to be resolved? Our party is a vanguard organization of the proletariat. Within this organization the most fundamental contradictions are those between the correct and the erroneous, between the advanced and the backward and between the proletarian ideology and the nonproletarian ideologies. These contradictions are present everywhere and emerge in various forms. They may occur among party members, between the higher and the lower levels and within the party. These contradictions and the struggles to resolve them are inner-party struggles but generally do not constitute the two-line struggle. The two-line struggle means the principled differences in the theory, program and action of a relatively perfect form, which the party Central Committee adopts to attain a certain goal of revolution or construction within a certain period of time and to solve major problems concerning the whole situation, such as assessing the basic situation, adopting strategic policies and drawing up major principles and policies. The two-line struggle is a part and not the whole of the inner-party struggle. It usually occurs at a turning point of the revolution and does not occur regularly. In the course of implementing the party's line, principles and policies, some party members and party cadres may have different opinions over some concrete problems and may deviate slightly in their work, thus giving rise to "left" or right tendencies for a while. This cannot be called a two-line struggle. We must strictly distinguish between these different situations.

Our party members may, at party meetings or through other democratic channels (such as writing letters and submitting reports to the higher levels), air their differing views on the party's line, policies and measures and criticize the party leaders. This is a requirement of democratic life within the party and is an indication of our party's prosperity and should not be regarded as a "two-line struggle." If these views and criticisms are described as "two-line struggle," as being "representative" of "the bourgeoisie" and "the Guomindang" or as "a

question of stand" or "capitalist roaders" and are knocked down by a stroke of the stick, not only will the comrades who uphold the truth and are open and aboveboard be damaged and their correct views and criticisms suppressed, but there will also be the abnormal phenomenon of "rule by the voice of one man alone" and the dull situation in which "ten thousand horses stand mute." The party members may air wrong views, but this is permitted so long as they do not violate party discipline and conduct nonorganizational activities. Of course, those who have done something wrong should be persuaded and educated and given appropriate criticism. History tells us that if the party's normal democratic life is mixed up with the two-line struggle, there will be undesirable consequences.

The party must adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line to lead the proletarian cause to victory. Should the "left" or right opportunist line emerge inside the leading body of the party, the whole party must resolutely fight against it. However, when we liquidate a wrong line we can see that only a small number of people instigates and consciously and persistently advocates a wrong line, and most of the people involved only carry it out. The wrong line is pushed from the top down. It is not only accompanied by demagogic propaganda but is also carried out by the lower levels under duress and on the strength of party organization and discipline. Those at the lower levels may easily accept this wrong line, carry it out in varying degrees and commit mistakes of one sort or another because they do not have a high level of understanding or because they have confidence in the party Central Committee and observe party discipline. Therefore, the responsibility for this wrong line lies with the higher levels, while those who carry it out are welcome to raise their understanding, rectify their thinking, correct their mistakes and perform their tasks actively. They will not be pardoned if they stick to their mistakes and refuse to correct them. In the past, some people might have made mistakes forbidden by party discipline and state laws and received suitable treatment. That is another question. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used to apply the "struggle between the two lines," divided party members and party cadres into two antagonistic halves and took them as beads on two different strings. This was a conspiratorial tactic to split the party. If we put the broad masses who carried out the wrong line on a par with the instigators and advocates of this wrong line, we obviously will make a mistake of enlarging the scope of two-line struggle and inevitably will impair the unity of the whole party.

We must heighten the Marxist-Leninist level of the whole party and do our best to avoid making "left" or rightist mistakes in line. Such mistakes will inevitably bring serious damage to the party's cause and the interests of the people. Even if our comrades have made mistakes in line, it does not mean that everything they have done is also wrong and that they are sentenced to death politically. In treating these comrades we must criticize their mistakes in line, point out the damage caused by these mistakes, analyze the causes of these mistakes and, meanwhile, confirm the good work

they have done for the party and give them the opportunity to correct their mistakes, serve the party and render meritorious service to make amends for their mistakes. Our party is merciless only in purging those who refuse to repent, continue to deteriorate and are incorrigible. Comrades who have not made mistakes in line are of course very valuable. But if one follows a correct line, it does not mean that everything one does is also correct and that one is free from defects and mistakes. In appraising a party member or a party cadre we must not apply a meta-physical attitude but must seek truth from facts, make a concrete analysis of merits and demerits and give due rewards and punishments. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" long advocated the theory that "when one takes a correct line, everything one does is also correct," and "when one takes a wrong line, everything one does is also wrong." This theory was basically incompatible with the whole history of a party member. Its essence was to apply the abominable tactics of the carrot and the stick to the broad masses of party members. That is to say, once you followed their "line," your soul would go to heaven and all your mistakes would be pardoned. If you did not follow their "line," then no matter what good you might have done for the party and the people, you would be given a label of "wrong line" and "counterrevolutionary revisionism," everything you had done would be negated and you would be condemned to hell. This was their abominable tactic of using big labels and iron sticks to fix people. This is also the tactic usually adopted by all "left" opportunists to protect the rule of their wrong line. These tactics are unacceptable to communists and incompatible with the correct line. Communists depend on truth. They convince others by reasoning and practice and do not intimidate comrades and suppress differing opinions by indiscriminately putting the label of "wrong line" on them. They do not gloat over and trample on others who have made mistakes of line. Instead, they stretch out their hands to pull those comrades back to the party's correct line. The correct unfolding of inner-party struggle aims at uniting comrades. Uniting one more man is always beneficial to the party's cause.

### 3. The Two-Line Struggle Is Not Life-and-Death Class Struggle

Putting two-line struggle on a par with class struggle is another theoretical basis on which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" launched ruthless struggles inside the party. According to their logic, all inner-party struggles are two-line struggles, and all two-line struggles are class struggles; therefore, "inner-party struggles are serious class struggles" and "struggles between the two antagonistic classes, that is to say, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." Struggles of this kind are like battles in which two sides charge at each other and bloodshed results.

Class struggle is a conflict between antagonistic classes over fundamental interests. It finds expression chiefly in struggle between oppression and resistance and between exploiters and the exploited. The two-line struggle inside our party is the struggle between right and wrong within the vanguard

force of the proletariat and is a contradiction or struggle between comrades. Obviously, it is impossible to equate the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie with the two-line struggle inside the proletarian political party. If an inner-party contradiction turns into a contradiction between antagonistic classes, and if the party is divided into two antagonistic blocs of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which are engaged in a life-and-death struggle, then the Communist Party will no longer be a communist party but an integration of antagonistic classes, and such a struggle will not be an inner-party struggle.

How should we approach the question that the two-line struggle inside the party is a reflection of social class struggle in the party? There is a reflection, but this is not a mechanical reflection such as that in a mirror. When there are two persons in front of a mirror, there will be the image of two persons in the mirror; when there are two antagonistic classes in society, there will be two antagonistic classes in the party. In a class society the failure or success of class struggle and the change in the policies and strategy of the antagonistic classes affect the emergence of the "left" or right opportunist line inside our party. Some party members brought with them petty-bourgeois and even feudal or bourgeois ideas when they joined the party, or they were imbued with some old ideas of the exploiting classes after they entered the party. When they instigate, advocate and carry out the wrong line, they are affected by these nonproletarian ideas. This kind of political and ideological influence is an indirect reflection of class struggle. It is the most common reflection. Apart from this, the antagonistic classes also adopt the method of "worming their way in and pulling people out" and foster their agents in the leading bloc of the Communist Party. These agents include renegades, enemy spies and alien class elements who have sneaked into the party or degenerates and bourgeois careerists and conspirators. While conducting other sabotage activities, these agents certainly will go all out to push the opportunist line and consciously cater to the needs of the exploiting classes. This is a direct reflection of class struggle, but it does not show itself in each struggle between the lines. In addition to the direct and indirect reflection of class struggle, an important cause of the wrong line in the party is the question of understanding, that is to say, the question of contradiction between subjective understanding and objective reality. Generally speaking, those who instigate and advocate the "left" and right opportunist line inside the party do so because they are subject to external political influence from antagonistic classes and internal influence of nonproletarian ideas and are misled by their wrong thinking. Their mistakes conform to the interests of the antagonistic classes. But they are not consciously representative of the antagonistic classes. The struggle against them is doubtlessly a severe struggle in principle but not a life-and-death struggle.

The two-line struggle is a struggle centering on the party's major principles and policies. The causes of a wrong line are very complicated. This line cannot be concocted willfully by a few people alone. Even if

the representatives of a wrong line consciously represent the antagonistic classes as mentioned above, before their political features are exposed or the nature of their contradiction has changed, they carry out activities of instigating or advocating the wrong line in the party. The broad masses of party members should generally struggle against them by the method of inner-party struggle. Only when they organize an antiparty clique, plot and launch a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and embark on a road of betraying the party and the country, and only when they have degenerated and their counterrevolutionary features have been exposed, will the struggle waged by the whole party against this handful of people become a life-and-death struggle. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were guilty not only because they wildly pushed a "left" line but also because they organized an antiparty conspiratorial clique and plotted a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat (some members of this clique were renegades and enemy agents) and directly participated in framing and murdering many innocent people during the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, the struggle of the whole party against them became a life-and-death struggle and went beyond the scope of inner-party struggle between the two lines. A two-line struggle is a matter of major importance in which the correct line must triumph, but it has never been a life-and-death struggle between classes. Inside our party the struggle between the two lines is called a struggle between antagonistic classes, a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. The "revolutionary line" and the "counterrevolutionary line" are used as a distinction, and an irreconcilable struggle is waged on this basis. This is the root cause of "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" inside the party.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also said that the class enemies in society had been hit severely several times and could no longer resist, the main arena of class struggle had been shifted from outside the party to inside the party, the two-line struggle inside the party was not just a struggle between classes, this kind of class struggle would become more and more violent and intense struggle would become more and more frequent. People cannot help asking: Even if the two-line struggle inside the party was entirely a direct reflection of class struggle in society, why was it that class struggle inside the party became more and more intense, while class struggle in society was subsiding? Obviously, this kind of ever more violent "class struggle" inside the party was fabricated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for the sole purpose of meeting their counterrevolutionary needs of usurping party and state power. To meet their counterrevolutionary needs in this respect, they went all out to advocate "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" inside the party. When their first attempt failed, they made a second, a third, a fourth and a fifth attempt, more frequently and more intensely, until they completely pulled down the party. As a matter of fact, judging by the trend of development, while classes in society are being eliminated gradually, class struggle will have a weaker, not stronger, influence on inner-party struggle. This can be easily understood.

Therefore, the two-line struggle inside the party is not a life-and-death struggle between antagonistic classes. Inside our party, when some people have charted and advocated a wrong line which leads the revolutionary cause to failure, the whole party has strong reasons to terminate its wrong leadership and relentlessly struggle against its wrong line. The right and wrong in matters of principle must not be mixed up. When we have gone astray, we must turn back to the correct road. But this kind of serious struggle does not mean dealing a fatal blow at the comrades who once followed a wrong line. Our principle is: "We must achieve the goal of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades."

#### 4. The Basic Criterion for Inner-Party Struggle Must Be Restored

The purpose of inner-party struggle is to strengthen unity within the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's correct line and to urge all party members to make concerted efforts to carry out the party's correct line and accomplish the party's tasks. Unity of the whole party is the aim of inner-party struggle; without discarding the wrong things, it will be impossible to achieve unity on a new basis. Without the desire for unity, we cannot wage a correct struggle within the party, and unity will become an empty word. "Unity-criticism-unity" is a correct method of inner-party struggle and is the basic criterion which we must uphold. In treating comrades who once followed a wrong line we must adopt the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient. We must lay stress on helping these comrades sum up experiences and lessons, unite and advance with them and not limit our efforts to finding out where the responsibility lies. In criticizing a mistake we must not spare anyone's sensibilities but must take organizational action prudently. We must patiently wait for the erring comrades to realize their mistakes, give them a chance to correct them and allow them to defend themselves. To realize our desire for unity we must treat them in all earnestness, with extreme patience and magnanimity. In conducting criticism and struggle we must be conscientious and careful, seek truth from facts and take appropriate measures. In this way we can certainly achieve great unity within the whole party.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, many party comrades were forced or tempted to split into two antagonistic groups which erroneously launched excessive struggles against each other. As a result, many good comrades were hurt. Now, while liquidating the wrong line we must clearly distinguish between right and wrong so that all comrades will understand one another, be on good terms again and be reconciled. Comrades who formerly made mistakes and fixed others should know that they were cheated and should feel guilty for their misdeeds, actively correct their mistakes and reverse the unjust, wrong verdicts and trumped-up cases. Comrades who were accused and suffered should analyze the situation which existed then and forgive other comrades who made mistakes and are willing to correct them. We should concentrate our hatred on Lin Biao and the "gang of four"



and, by applying the formula "unity-criticism-unity," properly and quickly solve the problems left behind from the protracted "civil war" and renew friendship.

We should adopt effective measures to insure that the basic criterion "unity-criticism-unity" may be persistently upheld in inner-party struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up this criterion for us. Why was it basically ignored in our party life during the past two decades? The crux lay in the fact that our party did not have a perfect, effective system governing democratic centralism. Our party regulations and discipline were not perfect and were not observed by all members. Not all party members from the central level to the local level (including responsible persons of party organizations) observed the party constitution and acted according to party regulations and discipline. This gave Lin Biao and the "gang of four" an opportunity to stir up trouble. Once they usurped power, they wantonly trampled on party regulations and discipline, threw overboard the correct method of inner-party struggle and replaced it with "ruthless struggles and merciless blows." Only when the perfect democratic centralism is fully guaranteed, party regulations and discipline fully protected, and sanctions imposed against those who went in for "ruthless struggles and merciless blows" will it be possible to insure that the correct method of inner-party struggle is applied and becomes a regular practice.

Contradictions and struggles between right and wrong, between advanced and backward and between proletarian ideology and nonproletarian ideologies often occur within the party. Therefore, in the party there should be normal democratic life and criticism and self-criticism should be conducted regularly, mistakes corrected promptly, backwardness eliminated, small producer's concepts wiped out and the viruses of feudalism and bourgeois ideas swept away. This should be done so that our party can maintain full vigor and vitality and the comrades will not enlarge ordinary mistakes into serious ones, develop partial "left" or right tendencies into a completely wrong line and turn internal problems into problems between ourselves and the enemy. For many years, and in many localities, there was either harmony or ruthless struggle in party life; a comrade was tolerated at ordinary times but had to face a general checkup when he had made a mistake; a leading comrade was eulogized at ordinary times but "pulled down" when he had trouble. This situation should be ended. Responsible comrades of party organizations at all levels should constantly prove themselves to be models in conducting criticism and self-criticism. Bravely making self-criticism is a good quality reflecting a comrade's loyalty to the party's cause, a fine tradition of correcting one's mistakes, improving one's work, developing democracy and working together with other comrades. This traditional style must be revived seriously and carried forward vigorously.

Severe party discipline is an important aspect which supplements criticism and self-criticism. A party has its regulations and a state its

laws. Without the prohibitive force of severe discipline, criticism and self-criticism cannot effectively overcome wrong ideas and actions. Without severe discipline, the party would be like a mob and would not be able to advance, there would be no guarantee for the implementation of its resolutions and, therefore, the party's unity and unification could not last long. Within our party it is necessary to intensify education in democracy and discipline. Party members must be models not only in developing proletarian democracy but also in observing discipline. They must create and consolidate a political situation both inside and outside the party in which there is both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. They must take the lead in protecting normal order in production, work and society.

At present there are tigers and wolves on our road of advance, and we are shouldering a heavy load. We need correct inner-party struggle. We need close party unity all the more. All party members must protect party unity as they protect their eyes. On the basis of whole-party unity they must cement unity between the party and the people and carry forward the nationwide political situation of stability and unity. With the unity of our party, government and people and by working hard with concerted efforts, we can smoothly overcome all temporary difficulties on our road of advance and march forward firmly and unswervingly to the destination in our great Long March toward the four modernizations.

## WE MUST DARE TO BREAK THROUGH FORBIDDEN ZONES IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

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[Article by Liu Shuzi [2692 2885 3320]]

[Text] Recently many comrades have been talking about how scientific research must smash the forbidden zones established by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the heart-stirring slogan "No forbidden zones in science" has been raised to inspire people to strive to seek truth. This slogan has at the same time, however, raised doubts among some people. We are aware that the argument about whether science has forbidden zones and how we ought to handle forbidden zones relates directly to the realization of the four modernizations and to important questions concerning the flourishing of science and culture, both of which have deep practical and theoretical importance that should go through a process of summation of experiences and free discussion in order to gain a correct awareness.

### The Close Relationship Between Forbidden Zones and Ignorance

Science is man's portrayal of the objective world that has been built on the foundation of the practical life of society as corrected from day to day. It is a systematic body of knowledge about the objective world. It has developed from, and continuously develops along with, the practical life of society. Therefore, any area of the objective world involved in the practical life of society must be inquired into and studied. The natural sciences and the social sciences have been continuously developed through the process of man's inquiry into the natural world and the societies of mankind. If forbidden zones exist in scientific study, this acknowledges the existence of areas in the objective world that may not be touched, may not be inquired into and may not be comprehended. This is agnosticism and obscurantism. Stalin said it well: "The reason science is called science is precisely because it recognizes no idols, does not fear overturning outmoded things and very carefully hearkens to the call of practice and experience. Were it not so, we simply could have no science. For example, there could be no astronomy and we would still believe in the unbearably stale hypothesis of an earth-centered

universe handed down by Ptolemy. Neither would there be any biology, and we would still superstitiously believe in the myth of God's creation of man. Nor would we have chemistry, and we would still believe in the crude prognostications of alchemy." ("Problems of Leninism," p 594)

Viewed historically, the establishment of forbidden zones in scientific knowledge has been connected with superstition, ignorance, idolatry and religious ideas. These phenomena appeared at an early time when mankind was in an era of ignorance and savagery. When primitive man depended on hunting and gathering as his principal means of livelihood, a belief in certain animals, or totem worship, grew up. For example, some primitive tribes worshiped the tortoise, believing that mankind had descended from tortoises and that the tortoise not only could not harm them but could protect them. Thus, for this tribe the tortoise was a totem, and the tortoise was a sacred object that could not be transgressed upon--a forbidden zone that permitted no encroachment. Should any member of the tribe harm or kill a tortoise, he would be considered to have committed a crime for which he would be punished. Even now some people still maintain remnants of totem worship, preserving a forbidden zone that cannot be blasphemed. For example, some Indians regard monkeys and cows as sacred animals which people must reverently nurture. In earliest times, forbidden zones were all related to this kind of totem worship. Later on, people's faith gradually passed from totem worship to all forms of religious worship, from polytheism to monotheistic Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. No matter whether it was primitive polytheism or the later monotheism of the world's three major religions, all had forbidden zones and all had countless rules and commandments. In Judaism the first of the "ten commandments" of Moses is, "I am the Lord they God; thou shalt have no other gods before me." Belief in any other gods was not permitted. In Europe during the era of the dark rule of the popes of Rome, scientific research was fiercely suppressed. The church would permit inquiry only into "how many angels could stand on the head of a pin" and this kind of totally meaningless and utterly nonsensical questions. Whoever propagated atheism or scientific thought was burned alive. At that time, each achievement in science had to go through a vicious struggle with the church in order to burst through its proscriptions, paying a price in blood. Our own China was also mired in a feudal society for a long time, during which the reactionary ruling class promoted an obscurantist policy, setting up prohibitions everywhere and a lot of taboos as well. Though feudal China did not have the blood-spattered rule that characterized papal rule in Europe, nevertheless, a body of feudalist thought that placed the way of Confucius and Mencius at its nucleus was used to manipulate the thinking of the people. Confucius was revered as a "sage" and as a "worthy for all ages." Prior to the "May Fourth" movement, the way of Confucius and Mencius was a forbidden zone brooking no criticism. Although during the period of the Three Kingdoms, Ji Kang of the Kingdom of Wei courageously spoke of "refuting Tang and Wu and slighting Zhou and Confucius," the authority of Confucius could not be shaken. Only in the Ming dynasty,

when Li Zhi expressed opposition to adopting the morality of Confucius and Mencius as one's personal morality, was a tempest in feudal thought created. But Li Zhi suffered persecution on this account. It was not until the "May Fourth" new cultural movement that the Confucian idol began to totter and the forbidden zone of the way of Confucius and Mencius was broken open.

In summary, many of the forbidden zones and taboos that have historically stood in opposition to science were an outgrowth of the extreme paucity of scientific knowledge in eras of ignorance. Conversely, these forbidden zones and taboos served as tools that reactionary rulers through generation after generation appropriated to promote obscurantism. Historically, whenever the exploiting class has been on the rise, it has advocated a breaking open of the forbidden zones in response to revolutionary needs, and it has preached a mind-emancipating philosophy of enlightenment, as, for example, the opposition of the resurgent capitalist class to the special privileges of feudalism and the struggle to destroy the rule of the church during the Renaissance and the French Revolution. But as soon as it is in decline, in order to maintain its positions of special privilege, it establishes new zones forbidden to science, promotes anew an obscurantist philosophy and advocates obscurantism. Such was the case with the monopoly capitalists after the closing years of the 19th century. There should be no forbidden zones in science. When forbidden zones exist, both the development of science and the progress of society are impeded. The destruction of forbidden zones is the inevitable demand of historical development.

How Did Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" Build Forbidden Zones?

By going all out for obscurantism and promoting an obscurantist policy, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created havoc in the garden of science and a profusion of forbidden zones. Except for certain scientific disciplines that were saved from bitter struggle under circumstances of extreme hardship, almost all vibrant and dynamic scientific inquiry and theoretical research was stopped by them. Philosophy should be a teaching that transmits wisdom to people, but at that time it became a rope for fettering people's thoughts. Practice first--the basic principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge--was obliterated. Whoever talked about it was violating the prohibitions. Philosophical research was not allowed to conduct any creative inquiry into philosophical problems in real life; at most it could only do a little quoting from authoritative works or verify and comment. Economics is a science that is closely related to national planning and the people's livelihood and should, as a matter of course, conduct large-scale research on productive forces, production relationships, scientific management, pricing, distribution according to work and such real issues. But these fields were labeled with such slogans as "the theory that only the production force counts," "let profit take command" and "material incentives" and were severely proscribed. Law is a study related to how better to uphold the socialist

legal system, to guarantee the fullest democratic rights for the proletariat and the broad working masses, and to conduct an effective dictatorship against a small handful of enemies who injure the people. It, too, was smashed to smithereens by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." To talk about the law became a violation of a prohibition, and research work on the law was completely stopped. The study of history, in the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," no longer proceeded from historical reality to the study of the rules of historical development, but was transformed into historical insinuations whereby the past was put into service as an accomplice. The great historical role of the masses of people was negated, and emperors, generals, ministers and even the most notorious despots in history, as well as their rapacious underlings, were elevated to an awesome position where only praise but no criticism was permitted. In the field of art and literature, dominated as it was by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," only one flower blossomed in the world of letters and a hundred flowers withered and fell. Conspiratorial literature and art and a bogus way of life were used, one in support of the other, while everyone contended with each other to be more "beautiful" and "elegant" than the abstract slogans. Under the labels of "eight sinister theories," "feudalist, capitalist and revisionist," and "big, foreign and ancient," a large amount of fine Chinese and foreign works of literary and artistic merit were prohibited, destroyed and almost blotted out of existence. Natural science was similarly wasted, and much scientific research was prohibited. The "gang of four" fiercely opposed basic theoretical research and scientific experimentation. For example, basic theories such as the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics were dubbed "concoctions by experts of the bourgeoisie," and if anyone did any research in them, he was then said to be "isolated from reality" or "worshiping foreigners." In their eyes a laboratory was a hereditary fiefdom of bourgeois intellectual aristocrats, and whoever went there to experiment was "isolated from reality." As a result, jokes grew up. One of them cautioned against speculation about the sex of unborn children for fear of being falsely accused of "valuing males but not females." Another one said that research on rich iron mines risked the accusation of "despising poverty while loving riches," etc., etc.

In order to establish forbidden zones, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" prescribed numerous "precepts" and "commandments." Opposing the use of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, they made "quotations" and "authority" the standard. For example, whenever a solution to any situation was required, they would bring out that revolutionary mentor, "the book," taken out of context, distorted and revised. Whatever was in "the book," whether or not it had anything to do with the actual situation and regardless of the serious consequences resulting from the pursuit of a given course, one would have to live up to every sentence of it. Whatever was not in "the book" was prohibited and could not be studied, no matter if it completely accorded with the fundamental principles of Marxism, and no matter if it personally benefited the masses in their millions and millions. No one dared call into question or express

a dissenting view on anything criticized as wrong during the Great Cultural Revolution, regardless of the justice or injustice of the original criticism or its consequences. To do otherwise was a "backlash to restore the old regime," "reversal of verdicts" or "capitulation." Anything done during the Great Cultural Revolution at the instigation of top authorities, or anything top authorities had approved for action, could not be changed to reflect reality, even though practice had demonstrated that it was wrong. Even in unjust cases, wrong cases or false cases, verdicts could not be reversed in light of new knowledge about the true situation. If it was "done wrong then it was done wrong," and the victims had to bear their injustice forever. If a person in authority expressed an attitude or point of view on any academic question, theoretical question or ideological question, his words were considered very precious indeed. They could neither be questioned nor criticized, and to undertake further inquiries was out of the question.

All manner of forbidden zones and commandments such as these totally contravened Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They bottled up science, ossified people's brains, stifled criticisms and suggestions, smothered democracy, strangled national vitality, brought extremely great calamities to the real work on our country's various battlefronts, and inflicted an unprecedented catastrophe on our theoretical research work.

During any particular historical period in socialist China, it would seem incomprehensible that a situation could develop in which the multitude would be struck dumb while a thicket of forbidden zones proliferated. In fact, however, this is not strange at all. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were an extremely corrupt, counterrevolutionary black gang and the general representatives of all reactionary interests. They were steeped in iniquity, insatiably avaricious, and involved in a desperate class confrontation with the broad masses of people. Occupying this extremely isolated position, this counterrevolutionary black gang could carry on only through trickery, and only by keeping the people ignorant, unknowing, and powerless were they able to continue the slaughter. Consequently, they intensely feared the political consciousness of the masses of people and intensely feared the scientific inquiry of the masses of people into all manner of questions raised through revolutionary practice. It was precisely this kind of reactionary and decrepit class nature that made them inevitably trust in obscurantism and an obscurantist philosophy that inevitably led to the establishment of layer upon layer of forbidden zones for science, the proclamation of layer upon layer of prohibitions, and the institution of layer upon layer of precepts.

Science is the mortal enemy of religion, superstition and blind obedience. Every achievement of science strikes at religious faith. Where science is proscribed, religion and superstition get in power and play the tyrant. In the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," these contemporary obscurantists, the fate of science was limited in that people could either maintain the truth of science and prepare themselves for ultimate

destruction or sudden repression should they intrude upon the class interests of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; or they could be like people who individually sell their souls, turn a blind eye to science, abandon the scientific spirit, submit to counterrevolutionary requirements, and become accomplices in wrongdoing. As a result, science was no longer science; it became a bogus science or a modern mythology disguised in the garb of science.

#### Science Best Accords With the Interests and Aspirations of the Proletariat

The attitude of the proletariat toward science is completely different. The proletariat is the most revolutionary class in all human history; only when all mankind has been liberated can one liberate himself. The interests of the proletariat and the objective tendency of historical development are one, and they are one with the demands of science. For this reason, the proletariat greatly believes in science and greatly respects science. The proletariat has no need to restrict science in order to protect its own class interests. On the contrary, "the more unrestrained and unselfish science is, the more it accords with the interests and aspirations of the workers." (Engels: "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 254) For the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, as for Communist Party members, who are sworn to lifelong struggle for communism, the constant elevation of the material and cultural level of the broad masses of people and the construction of a boundlessly wonderful socialist society is the only thought and purpose. To carry out revolution, to engage in construction, and to develop science and culture are all methods to this end. Their objectives need not be concealed and they have no need to restrict science or truth. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, in connection with a criticism of "left" opportunism in our party, that "for the proletariat the sharpest and most effective weapon is a serious and militant scientific attitude. The Communist Party lives by the truth of Marxism-Leninism, by seeking truth from facts, by science, and not by intimidating people." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") Any resort to deception, concealment of the real situation, distortion of facts, gain obtained through trickery, as well as the perversion of science in order to gain some unspeakably despicable purpose, the faking of science, and the restraint of science, are all incompatible with the class nature of the proletariat and the exalted ideals of communists.

The principle for handling science by communists is very clear. What needs attention is that, aside from Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there are still within our ranks a group of comrades who do not acknowledge this principle. They just believe that some questions may not be inquired into. They more or less believe in the "reasonableness" of the forbidden zones and the prohibitions we have enumerated above. For example, those who have misspoken or have committed misdeeds or who were more or less involved with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" always fear that the sharp



point of science will touch them personally, just as Ah Q, who had sores on his head, feared others might knock off his hat. One person who followed the "gang of four" and did evil things but who has since repented said, "The overthrow of the 'two assessments' was like robbing our ancestors' graves. What we have been doing for the past few years has been nothing less than overthrowing the 'two assessments.'" Consequently, before he had begun to repent, he naturally wanted to protect the forbidden zone of the "two assessments" and would not let people conduct criticism. This is the psychology of people of this sort.

Marxism is science. It correctly reflects objective reality. It has been produced from practice and in practice has continuously stood the test of scientific truth. It has provided the proletariat with a complete world outlook and methodology. It is precisely because of this that Marxism desires that people regard it as a science. That is to say, it desires that people study it, use it, examine it from all angles, test it, and develop it. Marxism not only wants to make existing principles more precise and more concrete on the basis of all the scientific advances that have been made in the fields of nature, human society, and human thought, but also wants to put forward new principles to strengthen its own content and change its own form. It also wants to revise its own separate conclusions on the basis of new scientific advances and to answer new questions resulting from practice. Inasmuch as Marxism is a scientific truth that requires constant development and will inevitably constantly develop, it will never stop at any given level. It will be constantly involved in the process of studying new scientific questions and investigating new laws. It positively will not permit any field of human endeavor to be proclaimed a forbidden zone into which science may not intrude, and it will serve as a sharp ideological weapon for those who want to destroy forbidden zones and conduct inquiries. It has not written finis to truth, but has rather opened a boundlessly wide road for truth.

#### Liberate Thinking, Break Through Forbidden Zones

With the smashing of the "gang of four," science has been liberated and a springtime for science has arrived. Now science is facing both the glorious task of how better to serve the acceleration of the four modernizations and the great mission of how better to raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese race. Many things need to be done for the vigorous strengthening of scientific research to meet new conditions and the requirements of new tasks. One urgent and basic current problem is to smash even further the cage that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" slipped over the heads of people. As "The Internationale" says in one place, "let ideology break through prisons" to truly free people from the layer upon layer of forbidden zones that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" established, to develop courageously creative research into all problems that social practice has shown to be intimately related to the future of the party, the nation, and the people.

In order to liberate thinking, break through forbidden zones, and develop creative theoretical research, the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" must be thoroughly implemented. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in an over-simple manner." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") That is to say, there should be no resort to the method of administrative decrees or the organizational principle of the minority submitting to the majority, and even less the use of high-handed tactics of suppression and dictatorship to settle questions of right and wrong in artistic and scientific work. Now that the "gang of four" has been smashed, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the "double hundred" policy is being thoroughly implemented and a dynamic political situation is being formed. But the remnant poison and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cannot be completely eradicated at once. In some places, some leaders, because of lingering fears, still establish forbidden zones and issue prohibitions. This must be said to constitute an impediment to scientific research. These circumstances raise, on the one hand, questions about how to resolve the liberation of the thinking of leaders in those places, and, on the other hand, place new and even greater demands upon our theoretical workers. This is what Comrade Mao Zedong meant when he said, "Grasp truth, sweep away all obstacles." At present, the hearts of not a few comrades are filled with lingering fears, fearing the wolf ahead of them and the tiger at their rear. Some comrades have asked how it is possible to say that "because my heart is filled with lingering fears, I cannot carry out struggle," and this kind of talk. How can it be that by saying every day that one's heart is filled with lingering fears all kinds of hindrances will automatically be eradicated? Our theoretical workers should, on the basis of striving to obtain real ability and learning in Marxism, and with the greatest revolutionary courage, find the most advantageous and effective methods to smash all manner and forms of forbidden zones in thinking and forbidden zones in theory, to clear away conscientiously some erroneous slogans and expressions that have been passed down over the past 10 or 20 years, and continuously over a long period of time face reality and make arduous efforts to study and inquire in order to advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Our motherland has historically had many great statesmen, thinkers, theoreticians, scientists, and an even larger number of nameless heroes. They faced the strong and the cruel without fear and pursued truth without fear of sacrifice, causing us to revere them to this very day. How can we harbor lingering fears because old influences temporarily still exist?

Marx was a great revolutionary in history as well as a courageous thinker. Marx saw clearly that his teachings would arouse the ire of all the exploiting classes, but he was not afraid in the slightest. In the "preface" to "Critique on Political Economy," which he wrote in January 1859,

he said, "My proposals, no matter how others may criticize them and no matter how ill they suit the selfish prejudices of the ruling class, are the result of many years of earnest inquiry. But at the gateway to science, just as at the gateway to hell, such a demand as the following must be raised: 'Here all hesitation must be eradicated; here timidity and overcautiousness will be of no avail.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 85) If we are to be the successors to revolutionary leaders who initiated great undertakings like Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong, we should have this kind of courage, too. To defend Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, this kind of courage will be needed. The real use of the principle of making practice the sole test of truth in analyzing and studying real problems, and the putting into practice of this basic principle requires this kind of courage even more. Only in this way can Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought be continuously advanced. To keep this revolutionary science fresh, only through implementation of the new Long March of the four modernizations can we employ theoretical work in advance of reality to study and clarify the new problems and the new things in real life to make the contributions we should make.

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SEEK PEACE BY PREVENTING AGGRESSION WITH COUNTERATTACK FOR SELF-DEFENSE

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[Commentator's article]

[Text] The Chinese troops were compelled to counterattack in self-defense because of the serious armed encroachments incessantly perpetrated by the Vietnamese authorities against China and to stop their incursions and defend the border areas. This righteous action has the firm support of the whole Chinese people, as well as the sympathy and support of all countries and people who love peace and uphold justice.

It is patently clear to the whole world that, based on their ultra-national chauvinist stand, the Vietnamese authorities have escalated their anti-China activities over the years. Even during the war of the Vietnamese people against imperialism, when the Chinese people were making great sacrifices by skimping on food and clothing to support Vietnam, the Vietnamese authorities were blustering about "northern aggression," fanning national hatred by making distorted interpretations of historical events, obliquely attacking socialist new China and taking the opportunity to seize Chinese territory. The masses of Overseas Chinese living in Vietnam and Vietnamese people of Chinese descent, who fought shoulder to shoulder with and worked alongside the Vietnamese people and made contributions to the Vietnamese revolution and construction, have been tragically persecuted, plundered and driven out of the country by the Vietnamese authorities. People in the Guangxi and Yunnan border areas adjoining Vietnam have established a profound friendship with the Vietnamese people in the course of their protracted struggle. They have risked their lives to hide and protect the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms, given them rice in times of natural disaster, sent enormous amounts of material by train to support them and used their own medical equipment and supplies to treat many wounded and sick Vietnamese. Now the Vietnamese invaders have opened fire on them with their rifles and guns, planted mines, destroyed villages, attacked communications lines, plundered property and disrupted production. In the last 6 months they have made 700 armed provocations and incursions into China's border areas and killed or wounded over 300 border defense personnel and civilians. Not long ago the Vietnamese authorities frenziedly carried out war mobilization in the country, openly named China

as the "main enemy" and agitated for a war against China "on any scale." At the same time they set in motion their propaganda machinery and resorted to every trick to spread rumors and lies and confound right and wrong to accuse China of "invading Vietnam" and hoodwink the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world. Such perfidy and ungratefulness displayed by the Vietnamese authorities toward a friendly neighbor has rarely been seen in the international arena.

After the unification of the country, the Vietnamese authorities, relying on the strength of a formidable army and the backing of the Soviet hegemonists, stepped up their anti-China activities. They are wholly bent on annexing Laos and Kampuchea, setting up an "Indochina federation" and dominating Southeast Asia. This coincides precisely with the interests of the Soviet hegemonists, who are actively expanding toward Southeast Asia. They regard China, which consistently supports the national independence of all countries and firmly upholds Asian peace and world peace, as a great obstacle to their plan of aggression. As a result, the Soviet Union has continued to strengthen "all-round cooperation" with Vietnam and gives the Vietnamese authorities material and moral support. The Vietnamese authorities have unremittently carried out incursions and provocations against China, nibbled away at Chinese territory and deliberately tried to create a perpetual state of tension along the Chinese border so that China can have no normalcy, peace or tranquillity to carry out socialist modernization.

The Chinese people ardently love peace. Today they are energetically working to build a modern socialist country and need, more than ever, a peaceful international environment. The Chinese Government and people have all along exercised forbearance and restraint in the face of the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China provocations and hostile actions. Even after Vietnamese invaders repeatedly made incursions into our territory and killed our people, we still gave only warnings, but never counter-attacked. The Vietnamese authorities are not unaware of the sincerity of the Chinese people's desire for peace. They have chosen to regard this as a sign of weakness and an invitation to their unscrupulous conduct.

We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. The Chinese frontier forces counterattacked the Vietnamese invaders only when the situation became intolerable and there was no other alternative. Our action is just. Not only did Vietnam start this conflict, but China acted purely in self-defense. We do not want a single inch of Vietnamese soil. After hitting back at the aggressors as far as is necessary, our frontier forces will return to strictly guarding the frontiers of the motherland. Our aim is to protect our sovereignty. We seek a peaceful and stable border.

There is a historic precedent to help us explain today's incident. Not long after World War I, just as the people of all countries in Europe were looking forward to recuperating from the war and living in peace,

the reactionary ruler of Poland, with the backing and encouragement of imperialist powers, launched an aggressive war against Soviet Russia in 1920 and occupied the city of Kiev. Led by Lenin, the Soviet state launched a counterattack to recover the lost land, dealt a telling blow to the aggressive plan of Poland and the imperialist powers and secured a relatively long period of peace on the western border of the Soviet state.

The lesson of countless experiences in world history has taught us that aggressors will not lay down the sword on their own accord. Only by giving them the sanctions they deserve and hitting back at their aggressive activities can peace be secured. To adopt an attitude of helplessness before aggression will only whet the appetite of the aggressors, encourage them to take bolder actions and fan higher the flame of aggressive war. Not only will this cause the country and people being invaded to suffer greater sacrifices, but it will also bring greater catastrophe to the country and people under the aggressors. In recent years, with the instigation of Soviet socialist imperialism, these two thugs, Cuba and Vietnam, have created a series of disturbances and armed conflicts in many parts of Africa and Asia and greatly damaged the peace and security of these areas. No sooner has one incident subsided than another takes its place, and new crises continue to occur. This is one lesson that we must learn. China's counterattack in self-defense has thrown back the attacks of the Vietnamese invaders. This is conducive to restoring peace and tranquillity to the border areas of the two countries, as well as safeguarding peace and stability in the Southeast Asian, Asian and Pacific areas. In fact, this conforms not only with the interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, but also with the wishes of all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

For a long time the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have had a profound friendship through their common struggle against imperialism. The Chinese people have always highly valued this friendship, bonded in blood by the peoples of the two countries. This development in the relationship between China and Vietnam of today is entirely the work of the Vietnamese authorities. We have all along advocated solving the differences between the two countries through peaceful consultations. Today we still ardently hope that the border between China and Vietnam will again become peaceful and tranquil. We believe that this also is the strong desire of the Vietnamese people. Despite the fact that the Vietnamese authorities have already gone very far on the anti-Chinese road and have committed a series of serious crimes of aggression against the Chinese people, the Chinese people are still willing to look ahead. The proposal of the Chinese Government for a fair and reasonable settlement of the dispute between the two countries through peaceful negotiations has fully reflected the sincerity of the Chinese people. Anti-China sentiment will not do them any good. We advise the Vietnamese authorities to clearly understand the situation, stop their aggressions and provocations against China, sit down at the negotiation table and discuss constructive measures that can insure peace along the border between the two countries. The Chinese people are waiting and watching.

## AN EXAMINATION INTO THE PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION

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[Article by Gao Shangquan [7559 1424 0356]]

[Text] Agricultural modernization is something new in our country. Our views on agricultural modernization differ. In my opinion, to understand agricultural modernization we must first clarify its goals and its content. Its goals are to fully and rationally use natural resources to produce the maximum amount of goods with the minimum amount of manpower and material resources; raise the productivity of agricultural labor and its commodity rate in a big way; and turn our country into an advanced, high-yielding state to satisfy the ever-growing needs of the national economy and the people's livelihood. The content of agricultural modernization should cover such fields as productivity, production relations and the superstructure. Its three important aspects are: 1) The modernization of the means of agricultural production, which mainly calls for modern techniques of production, instead of manual operations, and mechanization, electrification and the introduction of irrigation facilities; 2) the modernization of agricultural production skills, which calls for applying advanced science and technology, improving agronomy, bettering the strains of crops, domestic animals and fowl, and so forth; 3) the modernization of agricultural production organization and management, which calls for specialization and socialization. Agricultural modernization is a relative concept. Its content is constantly changing. Simply put, it means using contemporary advanced science and technology and modern equipment to equip agriculture and using modern scientific means to manage agriculture. The following are my views on these problems.

### I

Modernizing the techniques of agricultural production is an important part of agricultural modernization. Agricultural modernization chiefly means basing agriculture on modern technology, so that the productivity of agricultural labor is raised in a big way. To raise the productivity of labor calls for each worker to cultivate more land and for each mou of land to produce more. What should we rely on to raise the productivity of

labor in a big way? We should rely chiefly on modern production tools and on scientific and technical forces. The second team of the No 5 branch of the Heilongjiang Friendship Farm used advanced farm machinery in the seventies to enable one worker to cultivate around 1,000 mou, with a grain output of 200,000 catties. This fully shows that introducing advanced technology and equipment is an important factor in raising the productivity of labor. Changes in the U.S. productivity of labor in the process of modernizing agriculture also bears this out. A century ago U.S. agriculture was generally self-sufficient. Its production tools were very simple, and plows pulled by draft animals were its main source of power. At that time each worker accounted for an annual grain output of 12,000 catties. His production in 1 year could support 5.6 persons. By 1940 agricultural mechanization had basically been achieved, with a shift from animals to mechanization. The ratio of draft animals to mechanization on the farm declined to 7 percent. Each farm worker accounted for an annual grain output of 20,000 catties and could support 10.7 persons. Now the United States has achieved a high degree of overall mechanization in its crop planting and livestock breeding. In 1977 each farm worker averaged an output of 147,000 catties of grain, 12,000 catties of meat, 27,000 catties of milk and 1,850 catties of eggs. His annual output value reached more than \$23,000. The farm products he produced in a year could support 56 persons.

The fundamental answer for agricultural development lies in mechanization. Agricultural mechanization is the center of agricultural modernization. As for what should be given priority in mechanization and which area should be given priority, we must take local factors into consideration and proceed from reality. We must start where the needs of agricultural production are most keenly felt, where an increase in production can be most obvious and where a reduction in labor intensity is most effective. We cannot follow a set pattern in every case. For instance, Heilongjiang in northeast China, with its flat terrain, must immediately mechanize cultivation and reaping to solve such contradictions as a wide area with a small population and a labor shortage.

The second team of the No 5 branch of the Friendship Farm introduced large-sized agricultural machines from abroad and found their performance satisfactory and their efficiency high after testing them. A large-sized tractor equipped with plows can work 150 mou in 8 hours. If equipped for sowing, it can handle 1,200 mou in 8 hours. Last year it took only 5 days to sow more than 5,700 mou to corn. These large-sized farm machines are well equipped, powerful and capable of working on a wide stretch of land at high speed. They answer well the purpose of seizing the hour to grow or reap crops. They allow very high productivity of agricultural labor. But these large-sized farm machines are not fit for paddy fields in heavily populated south China, where there is little land. There is a problem of adjusting to local conditions. All areas must take their own features and conditions into consideration, stress the key points and concentrate forces on tackling the main contradictions whose solution is



very important in increasing production. For Hubei Province on the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, drought and floods are the main contradictions that hamper the effort to increase agricultural production and income. With due regard to regional features, this province treated the solution of the problem of water as the key point and vigorously promoted farmland capital construction and the mechanization of drainage and irrigation facilities. Last year this province had no rain for more than 200 consecutive days, and over 50 percent of its crops were affected by drought. To resist drought and achieve a bumper harvest, the province carried out more than 460 large and medium-sized water-lifting projects and put into operation diesel engines with a total of over 2.6 million horsepower and electric motors totaling more than 600,000 kilowatts. Over 20,000 million cubic feet of water were brought to large tracts of dry farmland. A relatively satisfactory harvest was reaped in a year of serious drought. These two cases fully show that only by gearing measures to local features and laying hold of key points can we achieve mechanization quickly and satisfactorily.

In the past few years certain areas have used many more farm machines, but without raising labor productivity very much or reducing the number of oxen used in farming. As a result, "a big noise is made with all three drums rolling at the same time," and the costs of all three are passed on in the price of agricultural produce. Included in agricultural costs are not only such items as chemical fertilizers, insecticides, machine depreciation, repairs and maintenance, oil consumption, workpoints, management, and so forth, but also fodder for oxen and workpoints for those keeping and harnessing oxen. This adds to agricultural production costs and bites into the income of communes, brigades and peasants. If this problem is not solved properly, it will inevitably dampen the peasants' enthusiasm for mechanization and interfere with the development of production. If the peasants can increase income by using oxen instead of machines and using manpower instead of oxen, then how can the construction effort be modernized, and how can the development of productive forces be stimulated? Such a situation may be traced to many underlying factors, such as lack of farm machine parts and oil supplies or repairs failing to catch up. It may also be attributed to the failure to find proper employment for those workers who could have been spared for sideline production with the introduction of farm machines, as well as to the failure to find the right kind of farm machines or tools or to the use of poor-quality machines or tools. Agricultural mechanization involves many interrelated links. If one link is mechanized and another is handled manually, then we cannot obtain good results or save labor. To raise labor productivity in a big way and emancipate large numbers of workers from manual labor we must achieve overall mechanization. To achieve overall mechanization we must do a good job of zoning and specialization in regard to agricultural production, shatter the idea of small-peasant economy and reform improper management systems. We must also solve three problems: 1) Various farm machines and tools must serve the purpose, be of good quality and be used in the proper way; 2) various links must be properly coordinated, machine

parts and oil must be supplied, and their use, maintenance and management must catch up accordingly; 3) proper outlets must be found for surplus labor. Of course, a process is involved in solving these problems. If we do not pay attention to solving these problems, the results of agricultural mechanization will not be good, and this will not satisfy the peasants.

To improve the economic results of agricultural mechanization we must concentrate forces to mechanize one plot of land after another. At present our country still has a great shortage of funds, equipment and raw and other materials and must direct its limited resources to areas where they are most urgently needed and where the quickest results can be achieved. National investments in agriculture must be directed mainly at building a number of modern bases such as agriculture, forestry, stock-breeding, sideline production and fisheries. In making farm machines we must seek specialization and mass production, do a good job of standardizing and serializing products and generalizing their use and continuously improve their quality and lower their costs. In allocating farm machines we must lay stress on key points instead of scattering supplies over too many points. We must guarantee the supply of parts to make a set of farm tools complete and supply additional parts for maintenance and repairs. By concentrating on one area and making complete sets of equipment available, we can give full play to the role of agricultural mechanization, raise labor productivity in a big way and make it possible for an area to grow prosperous and provide large supplies of commodity grain, nonstaple foodstuffs and raw materials for cities.

## II

To modernize agriculture we must not only have modern equipment but also use modern agricultural science and technology to control the growing conditions of crops and animals, raise labor productivity and increase production in agriculture and livestock breeding.

Seeds and stock animals are important means of agricultural production and livestock breeding. To cultivate and popularize the fine strains of crops, animals and fowl and raise the level of improving strains is an urgent task in modernizing agriculture. Many countries in the world have attached great importance to improving seed strains. Mexico's short-stalk wheat and the Philippines' variety of rice have accounted for large increases in grain output in certain areas of the world. Italy has seven agricultural scientific research units devoted to studying and testing hybrid seeds and over 40 large-sized modern factories to process selected seed strains. In corn production, almost 100 percent of the seed is hybrid, and this has brought about a marked increase in per-unit output level. The average per-mou corn output was raised from 580 catties in 1970 to 876 catties in 1977 to lead the world. For the selected variety of corn, the introduction of single-breed hole-sowing allows a sprouting rate of around 95 percent. This also requires less time to thin seedlings and

saves seed. In the past each mou required 3.3 catties of seed. Now only 1.5 catties are required with the use of the selected variety. Denmark has produced a fine species of pigs that has two more pairs of ribs than ordinary pigs. Such pigs contain mostly lean meat lined with traces of fat and are good for making hams to meet market needs. France has bred a variety of beef cattle which ranks among the well-known fine species in the world. Such a variety is marked by a heavy, well-fleshed body, stocky build and thin skin. It has been exported to more than 70 countries. It takes 15 mou of grassland to raise a bovine or produce around 600 catties of beef a year. Now, for some countries with well-developed agriculture, output value of livestock breeding has surpassed that of crop planting. The growth of livestock breeding has led to a change in food consumption, with meats generally accounting for two-thirds of the diet and grain only one-third. Our country has a vast pastoral area and has 3,300 million mou of available grassland. The rich natural resources of the pastoral area are good for raising a variety of animals. There is a great potential in livestock breeding. In 1977 output value of livestock breeding accounted for only 13.9 percent of total agricultural output value, and per capita mean consumption averaged only a dozen catties a year. We must strengthen the construction effort to modernize livestock breeding and adopt the most advanced science and technology to improve the strains of animals, put livestock breeding on a scientific basis and develop livestock breeding as quickly as possible.

To modernize agriculture we must make an overall scientific analysis of soil and other natural conditions and make a general survey centering on soil. This lays a basis for scientific farming and high and steady yields. This is also a fundamental part of agricultural modernization. By applying scientific techniques to a general soil survey, we can determine different soil conditions and other natural conditions, decide whether we should develop agriculture, forestry or livestock breeding and determine the crops to grow, the kind of fertilizer to use and the irrigation and farming methods to be applied to best suit agricultural mechanization. By scientifically analyzing the soil we can make soil the determining factor in planting crops, applying manure, irrigating, taking appropriate measures to cope with problems and acting on the basis of objective laws. This will yield good results. The Chuandou Brigade of the Chunkou Commune in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, had much dark soil in its fields. It applied manure and used fine seed strains but did not achieve the expected results. After a test it was discovered that the dark soil was not fertile silt but was the result of a ferrous reaction due to a rising water level. Therefore, by lowering the water level and applying additional phosphate fertilizer the brigade raised its average grain output from 820-odd catties to more than 1,060 catties. Certain areas know nothing about the fertility, acidity and alkalinity of soil and apply manure blindly. This wastes manure, raises costs, upsets the ecological balance and reduces production. According to tests conducted by the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Zhejiang and Jiangxi, when ammonium sulphur is raised from 40 to 60 catties per mou, a rice yield of around 530 catties is achieved.

When the amount of ammonium sulphur is raised to 80 catties, the rice yield drops to around 500 catties. When 50 catties of potassium fertilizer is added on this basis, the average output can reach 775 catties, some 270 catties more than if only nitrogenous fertilizer is used. This means that only by properly applying nitrogenous, phosphate and potassium fertilizers can we achieve the best results in increasing production. The trend in the development of fertilizers is toward compound or compost manure. This is closely related to contemporary industrial development and is also a result of the development of plant physiology, biochemistry and other sciences and their application to agricultural techniques.

Adapting agricultural techniques and mechanization is an important problem that must be solved in agricultural modernization. Agricultural mechanization must be adapted to the needs of agricultural techniques. Such agricultural skills as farming methods, seed selection and crop growing must also be adapted to mechanization. This is to establish technical methods for cultivation and crop growing adapted to mechanization which give full play to the role of agricultural mechanization and raise labor productivity. Some countries with modern agriculture pay great attention to the problem of adjusting agronomy and seeds to mechanization. For instance, the United States has developed a variety of corn that has ears about 1 meter off the ground, and all the plants reach the same height. This facilitates mechanized reaping. One machine can harvest 90-100 mou. The second team of the No 5 branch of the Friendship Farm introduced advanced farm machines but did not pay attention to revising agricultural operations at the outset. Changes in seed strains were not worked out in time. The team used two varieties of corn. The plants grew unevenly, their ears were not in the same position and they did not mature at the same time. The incidence of disease was high. Only 50-60 mou could be reaped by machine in 1 hour. This seriously hampered the effort to raise labor productivity. Now agricultural techniques in some areas have changed too fast for farm machines to catch up. Take rice transplanting, for instance. At first we introduced row spacing, then changed to spacing between wide and narrow rows and then promoted transplanting young seedlings with mud at the roots. We have recently developed single plant hybrid rice. All this has made it difficult to adapt transplanting machines. People just do not know what kind of transplanting machine they should buy. The effort to produce and promote standard transplanting machines has suffered. Japan has developed a whole set of high-yield and steady-yield cultivation techniques for rice production, chiefly by using fine seed strains, growing seedlings in a nursery and mechanizing transplanting. It has solved the difficult problem of machines uprooting seedlings and has stimulated the rapid development of mechanized rice production. By growing plants in a nursery we can have trim, neat seedlings ready for mechanized transplanting. We can thus not only advance the rice-transplanting season but also improve the quality of transplanting. In only 7 years Japan expanded the area of mechanized transplanting from 30 percent in 1970 to over 80 percent in 1977. Some countries have also paid attention to

altering the growth patterns and characteristics of certain crops and produced crops like sorghum with shorter stalks than rice plants to meet the demands of mechanization.

### III

Specialization and socialization in agricultural production represents an important organizational form for modern agriculture. It is also a natural trend in the high-speed development of agriculture. Agricultural modernization calls for modernizing the means of production and production techniques as well as modernizing production organization and management. Advanced agricultural productive forces are a prerequisite for modern organization and management. Modern organization and management provide the necessary conditions for the full development of advanced productive forces. Therefore, without specialization and socialization in agriculture we cannot achieve agricultural modernization. The process of agricultural modernization is also one of achieving specialization and socialization in agriculture. The development of specialization and socialization is closely related to scientific and technological progress. "Technical progress will naturally lead to specialization and socialization in various sectors of production." ("On the So-Called Market," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol I, p 85)

Agricultural modernization calls for ever more work classifications and wider cooperation. An increased level of agricultural modernization in a certain sense means an increased level of specialization and socialization. The United States, France and other countries with well-developed agriculture have gone through the process of specialization and socialization, with their main efforts directed in the following three areas: First, regional specialization or zoning--the United States has established "corn belts," "wheat belts," "cotton belts," and so forth. For example, the state of Iowa in the central part of the country is devoted to growing corn, because its favorable natural conditions allow a high per-mou output. The state's corn output accounts for one-fifth of the country's total. Gearing crop-growing plans to local conditions allows the full utilization of natural conditions and resources. Second, farm specialization--crops grown or animals raised on the farm have gradually progressed from variety to specialization, with operations divided into numerous categories. Such specialized operations allow the full utilization of machines and equipment, facilitate the use of modern science and technology and help raise production efficiency and lower costs. Third, operational specialization or industrial specialization--with the social division of labor and the development of commodity production, many kinds of work originally done on the farm have been gradually passed on to other enterprises. The farm relies on the seed company to develop, select and treat seeds. The processing, storing and transportation of grain are left to specialized companies. Enterprises that sell fertilizers and insecticides, study soil, and apply manure pay attention to the different demands and farm conditions. The young animals, fowl and fodder required

by stockbreeding farms are provided by specialized companies or processing factories. Hinton's ability to cultivate 1,600-1,700 mou and produce an annual grain output of 1.5 million catties was the result of specialization and socialization. His own work constitutes a link in socialized agricultural production.

The present level of socialization of our agricultural production is still very low. Take, for example, the second team of the No 5 branch of the Heilongjiang Friendship Farm, which is equipped with modern techniques. There is an incompatibility between socialized production and modern equipment. Once a train arrived with 100 tons of chemical fertilizer. All 20 people had to go help haul the goods. This interrupted normal production activity. If socialized production fails to catch up and we must worry about everything--from hauling chemical fertilizer to selecting seed strains and looking for machine parts--then we cannot fully use advanced techniques and equipment, and the effort to raise labor productivity will suffer. We must energetically develop various kinds of public service trades and gradually establish various specialized companies in such fields as seeds, insecticides, fodder, disease prevention, farm machine repairs and maintenance, butchering, transportation, and so forth.

To solve the problem of meat and egg supplies for various major cities, many areas in our country have established a number of mechanized chicken-raising and pig-breeding farms. But socialized production has not been brought into line. We must catch up in the use of formula fodder. Material supplies, especially vitamin additives and phosphorous fodder, have not been insured. All this has greatly hampered the production of chickens and pigs. Some countries with well-developed agriculture have paid great attention to mixing fodder that contains all kinds of nutrients. Understanding the nourishment needs of animals and fowl in their different stages of growth, they mix fodder according to a scientific formula, so that the minimum amount of fodder can produce maximum results. Fodder is generally handled by specialized companies or factories. U.S. fodder processing has become a specialized activity of 21 major industries. Its output has surpassed that of the farm machinery industry. Due to the high nutritive value of formula fodder, combined with scientific breeding, the feeding time for various animals and fowl is shortened, and a great increase in production is obtained. Modernized agriculture calls for using modern science and technology to breed fine species and operational methods to manage and popularize fine seed strains. To meet the needs of modernized mass agriculture we have established a seed company based on the experiences of foreign countries and our own practice. To achieve increased production we must gradually achieve specialized seed production, mechanized processing, standardized quality and designated areas for growing different seed varieties, alter the situation of storing seed separately which characterizes the small-peasant economy, closely integrate production, supply and sales of seed and carry out scientific management. Modernized agriculture is a kind of socialized mass agriculture. Without the cooperation

of flourishing public service trades, agricultural modernization cannot be achieved.

To establish integrated agricultural and industrial complexes and achieve the integration of agriculture, industry and commerce is a direction being taken by many countries in developing agricultural production and is an important measure. Integrating agriculture, industry and commerce means organically integrating production, processing and sales involved in agriculture and livestock breeding into a single undertaking on the basis of specialized production. This is a new organizational method for agricultural production.

Our country is very large. Natural conditions vary widely. We should learn from the experience of foreign countries in agricultural modernization while taking the conditions of our own country into consideration. We must correctly and thoroughly carry out the guideline of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development, and taking local features into consideration and seeking proper concentration." The forest areas should take forestry as their main effort, the pastoral areas should take stockbreeding, the fishing areas should take fisheries and the economic crop areas should take these crops. Failure to take different local conditions into consideration and a lack of proper concentration will not do. We will fall short of the demands of agricultural modernization, hamper the effort to use advanced technology and prevent the fullest development of the role of agricultural mechanization. Of course, over-concentration will not do, either. We do not have abundant grain. Communications, transportation and other conditions are relatively backward. Only by taking such measures as are suitable to local conditions and paying attention to proper concentration can we gradually achieve zoning and specialization.

At present we must concentrate forces on establishing a number of bases for commodity grain, economic crops, livestock breeding, fisheries and forestry. These bases must adopt advanced technology, machinery and equipment and modernized means of production and management methods and achieve a very high labor productivity and commodity rate. Apart from agriculture and livestock breeding, these bases must undertake to process agricultural and subsidiary products, develop commercial undertakings and gradually turn themselves into integrated agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises. This will surely lead to great development in such fields as grain, cotton, petroleum products, sugar, and livestock, aquatic and forest products. Take sugar, for example. In our country over a dozen provinces and regions now grow sugarcane, and over 20 provinces and regions grow beets. Production is scattered over many areas, and sugar output is very low. A great amount of foreign exchange is spent on sugar imports every year. Our country's area planted to sugarcane is larger than the combined total of France and Australia. But our sugar output is only one-third of theirs. The main reason is that they concentrate their crops in designated areas and rely on specialized and

mechanized production. By contrast, we plant sugarcane over scattered areas and rely on manual operations. Australia's sugarcane is concentrated in Queensland and other areas with high temperatures and plenty of rain. The output accounts for 93 percent of the total output. Australia integrates sugarcane harvesting, transportation and refining into an organic whole. Sugarcane is brought to refineries 8 hours after it is harvested. The refining rate is high. More than 4 million mou of sugarcane can yield over 3 million tons of sugar. Just 1 mou of sugarcane or so can produce 1 ton of sugar. France's sugar beets are concentrated chiefly in three northern provinces. Not only does it take care of its own needs, but it has about 2 million tons of sugar for export. Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian and Yunnan have plenty of rain, and their climate is suitable for sugarcane production. In 1977 the average per-mou sugarcane output in Guangdong Province was 18 percent higher than that of the whole country, while the average per-mou output of the Pearl River Delta, a sugarcane producing center, was 46 percent higher than that of Guangdong Province. It takes an average of 4 mou of sugarcane to produce 1 ton of sugar. It takes only 1.7 mou in the Pearl River Delta to produce 1 ton of sugar. Heilongjiang, Jilin, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and other areas are suitable for growing sugar beets. The Wanbaoshan Commune in Anda County, Heilongjiang, devoted 10,000 mou to growing sugar beets and achieved a per-mou yield of 4,000 catties. This is the highest national per-mou output from a large tract of area and is three times more than the per-mou output from scattered areas. This shows that as long as we take local conditions into consideration, concentrate on growing sugarcane and sugar beets properly, promote specialized and mechanized production well and build sugar-producing bases we can raise output considerably and completely solve the problem of sugar for domestic consumption.

To modernize agriculture we must energetically raise the productivity of agricultural labor. This will also serve to considerably reduce the number of persons engaged in farmwork. At present, in those countries that have achieved agricultural modernization, only 4 to 5 percent or even 2 percent of the population are engaged in farmwork. Out of a population of 800 million, our country has 300 million farmworkers. With the quickening of the pace of agricultural modernization in our country there will surely be a reduction in the number of persons engaged in farmwork. What is to be done about those excess farmworkers? In our country, unlike the capitalist countries, they cannot all head for major cities. One solution lies in following the road of industrializing communes and integrating agriculture, industry and commerce. For example, in areas suitable for growing sugar beets we should establish integrated agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises. A small sugar refinery handling 200 tons of beets a day requires only 20,000 or 30,000 mou to produce about 4,000 tons of sugar. This means an additional accumulation of over 1 million yuan for the state and an additional income of 2 million yuan for communes and brigades. In addition, the stalks and leaves of sugar beets can be used as fodder to raise 20,000 or 30,000 head of pigs or 5,000 head of cattle and thus produce large amounts of manure. Residue



from sugar refineries can take the place of grain used to produce various kinds of fermentative foods such as condiments, lemon acid, alcohol, sweet wine, and so forth. The establishment of such integrated agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises has many advantages: 1) Integration of production, processing and sales can reduce handling, save wear on agricultural and stockbreeding products, lower transportation charges and reduce the cost of products; 2) integration of agriculture and stockbreeding with processing insures the supply of raw and other materials and the sale of products and can stimulate the development of production; 3) it can help narrow the price gap between industrial and agricultural products, increasing the peasants' income and stimulating the development of the rural economy; 4) it can help solve the problem of employment for surplus rural workers and check the unlimited growth of the population of major and medium-sized cities.

Agricultural modernization is the fundamental method for the high-speed development of agriculture. To accomplish this great undertaking we must exert great efforts. Only through practice can we understand and grasp the laws of things and better carry out this undertaking.

## PUT AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND STOCKBREEDING ON AN EQUAL BASIS

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[Article by the Agricultural Office of the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee]

[Text]

I

Our province has a vast land area and abundant natural resources. It has more than 130 million mou of arable land, more than 100 million mou of reclaimable wasteland, more than 400 million mou of vast forests and more than 160 million mou of grassland. It has relatively good conditions for the development of large-scale socialist agriculture and the realization of the integration of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding. Since the founding of the PRC, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, considerable development has been made in agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, thus making definite contributions to the state. Practice has enabled us to understand that in the national economy, while agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding each have their respective positions and roles, they also support one another and are related to each other, thus constituting an inseparable organic whole. One important question in the advancement of agriculture is that of integrating agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding in accordance with the requirements of economic and natural laws.

Explaining the dialectical relationship and interdependence between agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, Comrade Mao Zedong advocated their equal development, because agriculture and forestry were as directly related to livestock breeding as livestock breeding was to agriculture and forestry. This concisely reflected the historical experience of prolonged human struggle with nature and indicated the bright prospects for integrating agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and developing large-scale socialist agriculture.

Whether agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding should be integrated and developed equally is not a simple question about arranging production. Instead, it is a fundamental problem of doing this according to economic and natural laws and of developing agriculture rapidly.

First, the proper integration of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding is necessary to develop the national economy in a planned and proportionate way. While agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, grain is by far the most important thing, because nothing can be done without it, particularly in developing agriculture. However, taking grain as the key factor does not mean promoting grain production at the expense of developing subsidiary agricultural production. Taking grain production as the key factor must complement the overall development of agriculture. This also applies to agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, which are important sectors of the national economy. If any one of them is not properly undertaken, economic imbalance will result. This may cause the problems of forestry and livestock breeding to develop into agriculture and industry problems and problems related to the people's daily needs.

Secondly, the proper integration of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding will make them compatible with bioecology. The force of nature is essential to the entire process of agricultural production. In the natural world the environment and plants are interrelated and interact on each other. They are independent of man's will. Running counter to this law will disrupt their balanced development, which will not only nullify anticipated economic benefits but also result in penalties by nature. This is because both the ecological and economic relationships between agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding are very close. Agriculture is the foundation of livestock breeding and provides manure and funds to promote agricultural development. Forestry improves the conditions of agricultural production and livestock breeding. The development of livestock breeding will promote agriculture, while forests protect the storage of grain. Therefore, in arranging for agricultural production, forestry and livestock breeding we must rationally and proportionately use the ecological conditions and correctly handle the relationships between using natural resources on the one hand and safeguarding and developing them on the other, so they will continually bring a boon to people and provide socialism with increasingly abundant material wealth.

Thirdly, the proper integration of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding will also contribute to the rapid modernization of agriculture. The modernization of agriculture aims at significantly increasing labor productivity. To achieve this, agriculture on the one hand must be equipped with advanced machinery, science and technology; on the other, agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding must be properly integrated to achieve high and stable yields in farm production. Only by properly integrating agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and operating them in a rational way is it possible to tap the potentials of natural resources, improve the ecological environment, change the basic conditions of agricultural production, increasingly prevent natural calamities and significantly raise the labor productivity of agriculture as a whole.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. In the development of our province's agriculture, many advanced and typical examples have proven that only by emphasizing the development of forestry and livestock breeding can we truly achieve agricultural production at high speed.

Forestry and agriculture are closely interrelated. Forests not only provide timber for national construction and people's livelihood but also play a very important role in safeguarding and promoting high and stable yields in agriculture and livestock breeding.

Forests can regulate the weather and create fine conditions for agricultural production and livestock breeding. Vast forests in the northern and northeastern mountainous regions of our province form a natural barrier against the cold from Siberia, providing sufficient rainfall for the central and southern regions of our province. This helps in developing agricultural production and livestock breeding. The relatively fine conditions for developing agricultural production and livestock breeding in our province, therefore, are attributable to our forests.

Forests can resist wind, protect the soil and safeguard the development of agricultural production and livestock breeding. Our province's Songjiang-Nongjiang region is not afforested. During the dry and windy seasons agricultural production is affected. To alter this situation, 90,000 kilometers of forests have been developed over 1.28 million mou of farmland since 1952 on the basis of unified state plans. This green belt protects more than 20 million mou of farmland from winds and other erosive effects. According to surveys conducted in Dailai and other counties, the afforested areas have been effective in reducing wind velocities and evaporation and in increasing soil moisture. This has promoted the growth of crops and increased per-mou yields. Although Fuyu County was twice lashed by typhoons in May 1976, the forest belt erected by the production brigade over the years protected more than 4,000 mou of farmland from havoc wrought by high-velocity winds. However, another production brigade in the same county, which had also afforested part of the farmland, failed to give proper attention to the forests. As a result, more than 1,800 mou of afforested fields were wiped out by the strong wind, with 750 mou of the land stripped for the second time.

Forests also provide timber and firewood for agricultural production and livestock breeding. They provide funds for realizing agricultural modernization. For example, Shangzhi is a mountainous county. However, the county party committee vigorously promoted afforestation by adhering to the policy of combining agriculture with forestry and livestock breeding. As a result, 75 percent of the county is now covered with forests, including 2.2 million mou of natural forests and a million mou of afforested lands. This averages a little over 3 mou of forest per peasant. This has surpassed the forestry requirements stipulated in the

"National Program for Agricultural Development." Since the development of forestry provides the state with reserve resources, a new forestry base is taking shape. Total forest resources at the county level in 1977 amounted to 10.18 million cubic meters. Incomes derived from forestry in recent years have provided funds for mechanizing farming in the amount of 3 million yuan and for laying more than 3,100 kilometers of power transmission lines. Forests have also yielded 400,000 pieces of wooden farm implements annually, 50 million catties of wicker and more than 4,000 cubic meters of firewood and charcoal. There are now 1,500 centers conducting diversified operations at the county, commune, brigade and production team levels. During the 6 years from 1972 to 1977, Shangzhi County delivered to the state 7,950,000 catties of honey, 7,580,000 catties of medicinal herbs, 158,000 pieces of hide, 130,000 catties of mushrooms and 26,000 catties of edible fungus. The total income from these undertakings amounted to 117 million yuan, with the income for 1977 accounting for 50 percent of the total income from agricultural and sideline production.

Livestock breeding is an important part of the national economy, playing an increasingly significant role in the current development of agriculture. Many of our province's advanced agricultural units have stressed the importance of livestock breeding in promoting agricultural production.

In the development of livestock breeding, natural resources and agricultural by-products such as vegetable stems and rootstocks should be used as fodder to turn trash into treasure and create wealth. When conditions for farming were unfavorable, the farmers of Yian County spared no efforts to raise pigs until everyone could keep one for himself. They succeeded because they planted green manure crops on fallow plots and collected vegetable stems and weeds during the summer and autumn seasons to be used as fodder. They also processed fallow crops, accumulating nearly 100 million catties of fodder to raise pigs.

Livestock breeding provides large quantities of fertilizer for agriculture. Organic fertilizer is better than chemical fertilizer, because livestock fed with this fodder yield manure which increases grain production. In this sense, livestock breeding is helpful to storing grain. A Wushang County production brigade, for example, has vigorously promoted pig raising since 1971, with the result that everyone kept a pig on every mou of farmland last year. With more pigs there was more manure for fertilizing the fields. Every year more than 10,000 catties of manure were applied to every mou of farmland, resulting in per-mou yields in excess of 1,000 catties of grain for 4 straight years. The per-mou yield last year was 1,367 catties, enabling each household to deliver 3,500 catties of marketable grain to the state.

The development of livestock breeding helps to increase the incomes of production teams and stimulate the growth of the collective economy of

the people's communes. It provides funds for the realization of agricultural modernization. Livestock breeding on the one hand provides people with meat, eggs and milk; on the other, the hides, furs and bones of domestic animals provide light industry with useful raw materials and the export trade with important commodities. The more livestock breeding is developed, the greater the income to the state, the collective and the individual and the faster the modernization of agriculture will proceed. A production brigade in Gannan County, for example, stressed equal development of agriculture and livestock breeding. After 8 years of hard work it achieved an average of 1.5 pigs, 3 sheep and 4 chickens for each person and 2 domestic animals for every household. Last year each household on the average delivered to the state 1.5 pigs, while the brigade contributed 11,600 catties of wool, along with 1,500 catties of eggs. The income from livestock breeding for the whole year amounted to 100,000 yuan, accounting for 30 percent of the brigade's total income. The average per-capita income from livestock breeding alone was 140 yuan, which provided sufficient funds for the mechanization of farming. This brigade now owns 5 large and medium-sized tractors, 12 hand-guided tractors, 68 major machine-powered farm implements and 76 small farm machines. Provided with 200 horsepower of irrigation and drainage machinery, each person on the average irrigated 6 mou of farmland and afforested another 5 mou. This made it possible for per-mou grain yield in 1978 to surpass the target set in the "National Program for Agricultural Development" for the rice-producing region south of the Yangtze River. The brigade has now amassed 1.6 million yuan, sufficient to sustain the annual per-capita income at 190 yuan. This fully demonstrates the superiority of large-scale socialist agriculture.

### III

To carry out the integration of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding it is imperative to take into account the different characteristics of agricultural, forestry, pastoral, part-agricultural and part-pastoral areas and to institute production principles with overall planning and rational distribution in accordance with local conditions.

In agricultural areas it is mandatory to persist in taking agriculture as the key link and vigorously develop grain production, thereby creating a new stage of high and stable yields to meet the need for increasing our province's total grain output by a large margin. Based on our efforts to raise per-unit output, we should develop arable land in a planned way, expand the acreage of arable land, pay attention to increasing output by raising the per-unit yield and by expanding sown areas, and speed up the construction of marketable grain, oil-bearing and sugar-yielding crop bases. To promote high and stable agriculture yields, agricultural areas should also proportionately develop forestry and livestock breeding. Past practices of stressing farming at the expense of forestry and livestock breeding must be reversed. For example, key grain producing areas in Suihua and Nongjiang have not been adequately afforested,

with the forest cover ratio now at only 2 to 6 percent and livestock breeding at 7 to 8 percent. Therefore, the proportionate development of forestry and livestock breeding should be vigorously promoted and integration of farming, forestry and livestock breeding properly undertaken in bean- and wheat-producing areas and maize-growing areas.

The development of forests to protect farmland is important for the development of forestry in agricultural areas and for improving conditions compatible with bioecology. Many years of practical experience show that our province's grain output is low mainly because of spring drought, low temperatures and frost. The wind has been particularly strong in the western part of the province, and spring drought has been serious. Loss of soil through erosion has become more and more serious. Therefore, it is impossible to produce high and stable yields under such conditions. This requires us to develop forests to protect farmland and conserve water and soil. This measure is indispensable as far as measures for other projects are concerned. Moreover, shortages of fuel, fodder and fertilizer are particularly serious in many farming areas in our province. Vegetable stalks are used as firewood, with about 100 million catties of maize stalks used as firewood throughout the province every year. This is sufficient to produce 300 million catties of fine-quality organic fertilizer. The vigorous development of forests is one way of providing the masses with the firewood they need.

In developing livestock breeding in agricultural areas it is necessary to emphasize hog and cattle raising. Attention must also be given to raising pigs collectively by encouraging commune members to raise pigs and by setting up, on a priority basis, 16 county-level pig-raising bases. Efforts must be made to encourage more than 50 counties in agricultural areas to raise more pigs by continually raising the scientific level of hog raising, so that everyone will have one pig by 1980. Cattle raised in agricultural areas amount to half the cattle raised throughout the province. Efforts must therefore be made to improve cattle stock and speed up cattle raising to provide the state with more meat and milk. Attention must also be paid to raising deer and bees and establishing sheep-raising bases in semimountainous areas in 10 agricultural counties in the eastern part of the province. Emphasis must be laid on the simultaneous development of farming and livestock breeding.

In afforested areas we must take afforestation as the key link and strengthen cultivation of forest resources. The afforested areas comprise 36.5 percent of our province's total area. Total timber output in this area accounts for more than 40 percent of that in the country. The main problem in forestry production has been its uneven development in afforested areas, as seen particularly in the stripping of the land of trees in the south and in the rapid maturing of trees in the north. With reafforestation out of step with denudation, the agricultural and livestock breeding resources in the afforested areas have thus far not been fully tapped. Our province's basic tasks in forestry are: 1) To

strengthen afforestation in order to give full play to the role of forests in helping develop agricultural production and in controlling pollution; and 2) to increase timber production as well as forest resources. In this regard the main problem is to plant more trees and protect our vast forest resources. To provide the state with large quantities of timber for socialist construction we must change the erroneous practice of denuding afforested areas at the expense of reafforestation and implement the policy of taking afforestation as the key link. We must carry out Comrade Zhou Enlai's last wish with regard to afforestation and combine denudation with reafforestation in a rational way so there will be more afforested areas than denuded ones. We must speed up the reafforestation program so that all denuded areas will be afforested by 1980. We must aim to afforest 4 million mou of land every year, an increase of 60 percent over the present figure. We must adjust the distribution of production by stabilizing production in afforested areas in the south and by speeding up the development of forests in the north. Rational operation can thus be rapidly achieved.

Afforested areas provide fertile land and abundant forest resources. They also provide favorable conditions for developing farming and livestock breeding as well as sideline production. In accordance with unified planning, we must establish a new countryside for integrating farming, forestry and livestock breeding. This means that by 1985 we shall be able to reclaim 7 million mou of afforested wasteland for cultivation purposes and primarily establish cattle and sheep raising bases in the grasslands. These efforts will develop livestock breeding and improve the living conditions of those working in the afforested areas. We must also use timber, forest products and mineral resources in the afforested areas to operate small factories, develop multipurpose utilization and set up bases for indigenous products. These and other products should serve national construction and be made available to urban and rural markets and the export trade. Service trades in the afforested areas should be improved to facilitate production and provide convenience to those living and working in the forest areas.

Vast grasslands are located in pastoral and part-agricultural, part-pastoral areas. This will facilitate the development of livestock breeding, with cattle and sheep raising as the main occupation. In recent years we have vigorously improved the breeding of the common Chinese ox. We have also taken measures to implement our economic policy in this regard. As a result, the number of oxen in the province is increasing every year. Sheep breeding has also been improved. Failure to improve capital construction in the grasslands has posed the main problem in pastoral areas. As a result, the loss of livestock has been quite serious during natural disasters. A number of counties and banners in part-agricultural, part-pastoral areas have recklessly pursued farming at the expense of developing livestock breeding, thus causing havoc to the grasslands. Comrade Hua Guofeng has urged us to vigorously develop livestock breeding by keeping the grasslands in good condition. We must meet



the requirements of modernizing agriculture by speeding up the building of bases for livestock breeding while building bases for agriculture and forestry. Pastoral areas must take livestock breeding as the key link. With livestock breeding and production as the main occupation, they must also develop agriculture and forestry and operate diversified undertakings. In part-agricultural, part-pastoral areas it is necessary to develop farming and livestock breeding simultaneously to insure their all-round development. In pastoral areas and part-agricultural, part-pastoral areas, efforts must be made to solve problems with regard to fodder and fodder grass. At the same time we must set reasonable targets for the purchase of pastoral and agricultural products and devise measures to reward those who have fulfilled these targets in order to develop livestock breeding even better.

In short, different ways should be employed in different areas to integrate farming and livestock breeding. However, priority should be given to the main undertaking and attention paid to building professional bases well. At the same time natural resources should be used rationally, diversified economies developed and labor productivity raised by a large margin. Only in this way will it be possible to quickly build bases in our province for farming, forestry and livestock breeding.

## SOCIALISM AND THE PERSONAL INTERESTS OF WORKERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 66-69

[Article by Li Guangyuan [2621 0342 6678]]

[Text] A correct approach to the personal interests of workers is vital to efforts to engage tens of millions of people as masters in socialist modernization, fully develop their socialist enthusiasm and quicken the pace of the four modernizations.

Out of their sinister intention to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years deliberately created confusion and spread the fallacy that one who "works for public interests" should "wipe out private interests," and one who wants to "make revolution" should not talk about personal interests. They interpreted the personal interests of workers as a capitalist thing, thus confusing the people's thinking, disrupting the party's policies and seriously dampening the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. This brought great damage to production. As a result of this pernicious influence, some comrades are still afraid to talk about the personal interests of workers and do not make painstaking efforts to fight against bureaucracy, which ignores and even encroaches upon these personal interests.

What is meant by the personal interests of workers? In the Marxist view, interests reflect a certain economic relationship, and personal interests are determined by the individual's socioeconomic status. Marx said: "Personal interests of this kind are specified by society and can be achieved only by the means provided by society under the conditions it arranges, so that they are subjected to the reproduction of these conditions and means. They surely are personal interests. However, their content and form and the means by which they are realized are determined by the social conditions independent of all individuals." ("Outline of Critique of Political Economy (Draft)," Vol 1, p 92)

Therefore, we must first distinguish between personal interests of different classes in different historical stages. Bourgeois economists and moralists give wide publicity to abstract personal interests, rights and

freedoms transcending classes and history. They do so to cover up the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working people. We should make it clear that by personal interests we mean personal interests of socialist workers--workers, collective peasants and intellectuals. Second, the personal interests and the ways to acquire them are objectively determined and defined by society. Personal interests are not the individual's subjective wishes and needs and should not be regarded as anything which benefits the individual himself. Third, economic and political conditions of the socialist period determine the objective scope of personal interests and the ways to acquire them. In this sense, the most fundamental determining factor is the public ownership of the means of socialist production. Under these conditions, the main personal interests of socialist workers include participation in socialist collective labor; receiving payment for labor according to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to safeguard and constantly improve his material and cultural well-being; and developing his own physical and intellectual abilities. They differ completely from the personal interests of exploiters who take advantage of the private ownership of the means of production and exploit and plunder others to support their own lavish life. They also differ from the personal interests of individual producers who seek to amass wealth by taking advantage of their small private ownership and by going it alone.

What position, then, do the personal interests of workers take in the socialist system? That is, what are the relations between the personal interests and the collective interests (the state, the production units, and so forth may be regarded as "collectives" in different fields)?

In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels dwelt on the history of development of the relations between the individual and the collective. They pointed out: To the workers, the different "collectives" (the state, etc.) in a society under private ownership are "a mere fantasy" and are "shackles" in reality because their workers are enslaved and exploited. Only in a communist society can the workers have their own "real collective"; "under the conditions of a real collective, each of them can effect a union and gain freedom through it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 84) Under the socialist system, private ownership is supplanted by public ownership due to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a sense, the workers already have their own "real collective." Here the individual worker acquires his interests within and through the collective to which he belongs. The collective safeguards rather than rejects his personal interests.

Marx and Engels pointed out: Under public ownership the means of production are owned and controlled by "those who are united." Thanks to the establishment of public ownership, the proletarians and the workers change from being poor people who have little or nothing at all into rich people who collectively own the means of world production. In any form of public

ownership the means of production are always collectively owned by the workers. They are all masters of the means of production, so every one of them has all the rights of a master. Organizations and personnel who manage production for the workers are instruments and servants serving the workers' interests. They do not have the right to usurp these interests.

The substitution of capitalist private ownership by socialist public ownership has resulted in fundamental changes in all spheres of economic life. For instance, production is no longer aimed at providing profits for capitalists but at meeting the ever-growing needs of the workers, providing them with a plentiful and increasingly richer material life and enabling them to develop fully and freely and to utilize their physical and intellectual abilities.

The expansion of collective production is a prerequisite and basis for satisfying the workers' needs. When the workers' needs are satisfied and enhanced, production will be further promoted.

Labor is thus no longer work performed for somebody else's sake or an act of being exploited and enslaved; it is work performed for the sake of the worker himself. He works for himself as well as for his collective. Through labor he earns his living and fulfills a glorious social obligation. Products are no longer owned and distributed by exploiters but collectively by the workers.

The collective withholds a portion of the products to directly serve its interests. But this portion also serves the personal interests of the workers and will eventually be shared by the individual workers themselves. That portion directly distributed to the individual workers is to meet their individual needs. With the rise in their living, cultural and technical standards, the individual workers will perform more labor for the collective.

All this serves to illustrate how the individual and the collective under socialist public ownership share common interests and promote and transform each other's interests. This is the basic aspect by which socialism manifests its superiority. Therefore, communists--the people's cadres and servants of the working people--do not work for some abstract collective interests unrelated to the personal interests of the workers; such collective interests do not exist. To genuinely work for the collective interests of the workers it is necessary to work hard and earnestly in order to enhance the personal interests of the workers and to improve their livelihood by developing collective undertakings.

Bureaucrats who have been ignoring and willfully impinging on the personal interests of the workers actually do not recognize the workers as masters of the means of production. Nor do they regard the personal interests of the workers as a reflection of their rights as masters. They regard the

workers as their own subjects, thinking that they can give or take away these personal interests at will. This feudal, patriarchal attitude is a far cry from socialist principles.

Some comrades are really enthusiastic about socialist production and construction and collective interests. But when they see some workers and peasants increase their income and become richer than others, they begin to develop an irrational fear. They are said to be afraid that the collective may suffer, that some people may become superior to others and that capitalism may emerge.

Will an increase in the personal interests of the workers harm the collective? We answered this in principle earlier when we discussed the identity of individual and collective interests. As a matter of fact, an increase in a socialist worker's personal income shows that he has performed more labor and made a greater contribution to society. Furthermore, this increase in income accounts for only a small part of his extra contribution to society. If we stick to this principle and maintain a proper perspective, it should be safe to let a worker's personal income increase with his contribution to society. It will benefit both the individual and the collective.

Increasing the personal interests of the workers will invariably lead to differences among them. This is because the amount and quality of their labor differ and because conditions in their work units differ, such as in natural conditions and levels of management. Under such different conditions, equal amounts of labor will produce different results. Such differences are of course connected with the fruits of labor. Some people will be first to receive a larger income and live a better life. Such a situation will encourage or stimulate others to contribute more to the state. This is beneficial to both the worker and the collective, and there is nothing to be afraid of.

Some units always live to "have people eat the same rice from the same big cooking pot." The system of rewards is designed to correct the practice of egalitarianism. However, these units distribute bonuses equally among their members. They do not allow relatively rich production teams to increase the income of their members, no matter how much the latter have developed their production. Such a practice only serves to suppress the advanced and encourage the backward. If such a practice is allowed to continue, it will be impossible to push production forward; this benefits neither the collective nor the individual. This is really something to worry about.

Will increasing the personal interests of workers lead to capitalism? Socialist workers can improve their living standards only by participating in collective labor. The improvement of their living standards will reflect the prosperity of the socialist economy. Thus, this has nothing to do with capitalism. Commune members farm private plots and

engage in domestic sideline production on the condition that it does not affect the collective economy. Although this practice smacks of remnant individual economy, it is now part of the socialist collective economy. Commune members do not hire labor for the purpose of exploitation, nor do they engage in profiteering. Working under such conditions, they manage to slightly increase their income by doing more labor for society. How can this practice, which is in the interest of socialism, be described as capitalist?

As for some people who seek to promote their selfish interests by engaging in embezzlement and theft, bribing others or accepting bribes, engaging in profiteering or organizing underground contracting teams to carry out capitalist activities, these are absolutely not what we call the personal interests of the workers. Such activities must naturally be banned, since they are incompatible with socialism. What merits attention is that where the leaders take no heed of the personal interests of the masses, production decreases and the people live in hardship. Capitalism will find more room for itself there. This tells us by negative example that realistically solving the daily living problems of the masses is precisely an important aspect of the struggle to consolidate and develop the socialist economy and prevent capitalist activities.

Is there any contradiction between the interests of the individual worker and those of the collective? Yes, there is. When a large portion of a given amount of funds is used to improve the individual interests of the workers, the portion of the funds that can be used for collective purposes will naturally be reduced. This is the manifestation of a contradiction. However, it is not a contradiction between the interests of two antagonistic sides. The way to resolve this contradiction is not to let one side usurp the interests of the other, but to take both public and private interests into account and make proper arrangements for increasing both public and private interests. Collective interests should make allowance for individual interests, and the latter should be subordinate to the former. Individual interests should be subordinate to collective interests, because: 1) Collective interests are a prerequisite for individual ones. Workers cannot acquire and develop personal interests without the consolidation and development of the socialist economy under public ownership. Unless this condition is met, they will not be able to improve their living standards; 2) collective interests represent the interests of the whole, while each individual's or some individuals' personal interests represent the interests of a part. The interests of the whole include and represent those of all parts; 3) therefore, collective interests are superior to and more important than individual interests. Under some specific conditions, collective interests require the sacrifice of some individual interests, as far as the overall situation is concerned. Such a sacrifice is temporary and partial and is ultimately aimed at acquiring larger interests for the collective and all individuals. Hence, such a sacrifice is necessary and justified.

The improvement of living standards for individual workers depends on the development of production and the economic and political situation throughout the country; in other words, on the whole situation in the country. We discussed earlier how an appropriate portion of the fruits of labor should be used to increase the personal income of the workers. Whether or not that portion is appropriate should be judged in the light of the situation as a whole. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, our national economy, which was on the brink of collapse, has turned for the better and production has developed. On this basis, the state has already started a step-by-step improvement of the livelihood of the masses. However, there are many long-standing difficulties and problems to be solved and many things to be put in order. Our present production is characterized by recovery. Large amounts of funds are badly needed for large-scale modernization projects. Therefore, under present circumstances the material and financial resources which can be used to improve the people's livelihood are limited. With the development of modernization, material and financial resources which can be used to improve the people's livelihood will gradually increase. However, it should be noted that we are making efforts to achieve modernization in a very big and poor country. It is difficult to start new projects. It is therefore necessary for the people throughout the country to continue carrying forward the spirit of working with tenacity and diligence and to concentrate their energies on rapidly pushing forward production and construction. Therefore, for some time to come it will be impossible to improve the living standards of the workers quickly and considerably. In this situation it is all the more necessary for party and state cadres to show concern for the vital interests of the masses, to share weal and woe with them and to effectively solve problems which they have been unable to solve. Party and state cadres should strive to tackle more problems more effectively while using the same amount of material and financial resources.

We should step up our political and ideological work and propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's program, line and policies among the masses in order to mobilize the people in the hundreds of millions to work hard with one heart and one mind for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period. However, in doing political and ideological work we do not mean just "cultivating a friendship without considering the interests." Instead, we want to teach people to take a correct approach to their own interests and the relationship between their personal interests and the collective ones. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is to enable the masses to know their own interests and unite to fight for their own interests." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the SHANXI-SUIYUAN DAILY")

An important part of our political and ideological work should be to extensively publicize the identity of interests between the individual and the collective and to promote the socialist principle of combining

collective and individual interests. Here we must continue to wipe out the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in conducting fraudulent propaganda to supplant personal interests under the pretext of collective interests. We must also oppose the idea which advocates personal interests regardless of collective ones and the idea which puts personal interests above all others. These two kinds of ideas completely divorce collective interests from personal ones and put them in absolutely opposite positions. They are products of a private ownership society, where the personal interests of the workers and the interests of such "collectives" as the ruling classes and the state are really divorced from and antagonistic to each other. Socialism has overthrown the exploiting system and established a brandnew, harmonious social relationship between collective and personal interests. The exploiting classes do their utmost to distort and disparage this new relationship. The workers themselves also have to gradually understand this new relationship. Some people have not yet been emancipated from private ownership or may have seen certain remnant irrational practices in our society. For the time being they are unable to see that they themselves have already become masters of the collective and that their personal interests and the collective interests are in harmony with each other. For this reason they still regard the collective as an alien force. They may even regard their country and production units as they formerly did the old government and the capitalists. Patient education is needed to change this kind of thinking. The identity of interests between the collective and the individual should be effectively reflected in policy, plans, measures and the cadres' style of work. Workers should be treated as masters of the country. It is essential to link our concern for the masses' personal interests with the strengthening of political and ideological work. Only by so doing can we bring the might of the party's political work into full play and effectively raise the political consciousness of the masses, so they will actually regard collective interests and the fulfillment of the general task set by the party for the new period as their most important interests--as important as their lives--and, as masters of the country, will conscientiously take the initiative in devoting all their energies, wisdom and abilities to socialist modernization.



## CORRECTLY DEVELOP THE USE OF BONUSES

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[Article by Xia Jizhi [6328 4428 2535]]

[Text] Bonus is a form of labor remuneration embodying the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. The bonus system adopted on a trial basis since last year by numerous enterprises has proven effective in curbing the equalitarian practices resulting from disruptions by the "gang of four," encouraging the fulfillment and overfulfillment of production targets by staff and workers, improving the quality of products, economizing on the use of resources, cutting down production costs, as well as improving the livelihood of staff and workers commensurate with the development of production. According to reports from Beijing Municipality, 10 factories, including the Capital Iron and Steel Company, began last year to try out a bonus system with a sum of 438,518 yuan provided by the state for bonuses. Material rewards and improved management earned them an extra profit of 18.9 million yuan, and the bonuses paid by the state constituted only 2.32 percent of the extra profit. The No 3 Woolen Mill of Hohhot Municipality, Inner Mongolia, had been a losing enterprise since it was built in 1966 and began production in 1968. It lost 2 million yuan between 1974 and the first quarter of 1978. The deficit for the first quarter of 1978 alone was 200,000 yuan. But after the reorganization of its leadership and management, plus the introduction of a bonus system in April 1978, it began to show a profit by May and earned 130,000 yuan in profit by the following September. Examples like this abound in the country. What have we learned from the experience in using bonuses to achieve better economic results? The most important lesson is to conscientiously implement the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. Those units which did not do very well with the bonus system have yet to learn to make good use of this principle to encourage advanced job performance and enhance production. In addition to shortcomings in actual plant operations and improper rulings of superiors, the basic cause of their failure lies in lack of conscientious implementation of the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work.

To improve the administration of the bonus system and make it work more effectively, the following points must be noted:

1. Bonuses must be tied to the actual output of an enterprise. A general knowledge of Marxism attests that production determines distribution, and conversely, distribution affects production. We must apply this Marxist principle to our bonus system and must not tackle distribution independently of production. The amount of money for the payment of bonuses, like the given amount of money provided by the state for payment of other forms of wages, depends entirely on the quantity of the product we turn out (after necessary deductions). Unlike a time wage, a bonus is a supplementary remuneration of labor or a distribution of above-quota production. An enterprise which does not have above-quota production or has failed to meet its production target is not entitled to award bonuses. Consequently, an enterprise must overfulfill its state-assigned production quota before it can pay bonuses. The size of the bonus depends on the size of the above-quota production: the bigger the above-quota production, the bigger the bonus, the smaller the above-quota production, the smaller the bonus. The amount of bonuses paid by different enterprises varies with the above-quota production of each particular enterprise. Now, a uniform rate of bonuses is used irrespective of the amount of overfulfillment of state-assigned targets. This practice is an equalitarian tendency and should be corrected.

2. Bonuses must be based on the amount of labor contributed by staff and workers. Whether a worker is entitled to a bonus, and how much, depends again on how well and how much he produces. Otherwise, it is impossible to use bonuses to reward advanced performances. Inasmuch as bonuses are designed to reward workers for their above-quota production, regulations governing the awarding of bonuses must primarily take into consideration production quotas. The size of bonuses must be based on the size of the overfulfillment of a given labor quota or production quota; the bigger the overfulfillment, the bigger the bonus, the smaller the overfulfillment, the smaller the bonus. No bonus is awarded if a worker does not overproduce. Moreover, bonuses must not be used for anything not related to production. This means every enterprise must work out advanced and reasonable rating criteria to accurately reflect the amount of labor each contributes. Now, there are certain units which have rules for awarding bonuses not related to production. For example, there are rules requiring a worker who fails to attend political study classes three times to take a cut in bonus, rules denying a woman worker her bonus for failure to bear children on schedule, rules refusing a bonus to a worker who fights with his neighbors, etc. They do this because they do not understand what bonuses are for. They think bonuses are "omnipotent" and forget that they are only remunerations for labor. Consequently, they use bonuses to tackle problems not related to production. This is against the principle of to each according to his work, and it strips the bonus of its usefulness to production. Now there is also a serious equalitarian tendency. People no longer care how workers perform

or whether management is efficient. Many consider bonuses as a measure to solve problems of livelihood. As a result, everybody gets practically the same amount of bonuses. How can we expect this to encourage advanced performance? It should be pointed out that if this tendency cannot be overcome in time, there will be serious consequences. There are also units which award bonuses irrespective of performance just to make their workers happy. This means to dispense generosity at the expense of the state and is a waste of the limited state resources for socialist modernization. This is incorrect.

3. An enterprise must set up and perfect a management system before it institutes the bonus system. This requires efficient management and sound regulations to rate accurately the quantity and quality of performance by workers for the awarding of bonuses, including such measures as a fixed number of workers for a fixed number of positions, accurate records and statistical data, quality and quantity control, economic accounting, and positional responsibilities. If there were no production quotas, work time quotas, resources consumption quotas, and standards of quality and quantity, it would be impossible to calculate bonuses on the basis of labor performance. To make bonuses an effective means of rewarding advanced performances and enhancing production, quotas have to be revised periodically and kept at a reasonably advanced level. A fixed number of workers for a fixed number of positions, positional responsibilities, and economic accounting are the basics of good management and the prerequisites of an effective bonus system. Strict quality and quantity control is especially vital to the administration of bonuses. Unless all these problems are attended to, it will be very easy to pursue only quantity and neglect economic effectiveness.

4. Reward and punishment should be integrated. A worker who works well and overfulfills his production quota should be awarded bonuses to encourage him to work even better. Any worker whose faulty performance causes damage to production (damaging equipment, turning out too many rejects, wasting raw materials, causing accidents) should be punished and held liable for economic losses if the damage is serious. He will be denied bonuses and may have to take a cut in his time wage. In an extremely serious case, he can be demoted in grade. This is in keeping with the spirit of to each according to his work and more pay for more work. As for mistakes made during work, we always favor education, coupled with an appropriate penalty, including economic sanctions, as the main vehicle of correction. Reward without punishment is just as improper as punishment without reward. The integration of reward and punishment is what the staff and workers want. The great majority of them are conscientious hard workers, and the slovenly and slackers are only a small number. One who seriously neglects his duty should be educated as well punished, including with economic sanctions. This is needed to make him change and work better.

5. Material reward and ideological-political work must be integrated. To marshal workers' activism, both ideological-political work and material reward are needed. Ideological-political work is no substitute for material reward, just as material reward is no substitute for ideological-political work. But there are comrades who believe that "bonuses make one's job easier," that ideological-political work is not necessary as long as there is a bonus system. Actually, this will not do. It is not true that every unit will speed up production the moment it receives bonuses. As a matter of fact, the bountiful bonuses dispensed by some units have led to a big heap of conflicting opinions among the masses of staff and workers. What good can this do to production?! This explains that ideological-political work must never be relaxed just because a bonus system is in force. Furthermore, once a bonus system is in force, the staff and workers should be taught to develop a communist attitude toward work, learn to work wholeheartedly for the people and the country, and devote themselves to more penetrating ideological work in order to solve problems of ideology and understanding. This will help administer the bonus system more satisfactorily, strengthen the unity of staff and workers, and stimulate the development of production. Otherwise, the opposite effects can be produced. The following are symptoms of neglect of ideological-political work: The leadership of a certain unit, instead of criticizing and educating workers about the serious equalitarianism in the unit, showed a keen interest in awarding bonuses equally to make everybody happy. There are people in certain units who want bonuses for everything they do and even refuse to work unless they are awarded bonuses. Rather than correcting this undesirable practice, the leadership simply compromised basic principles to accommodate these unreasonable demands, thus encouraging individualism. There is another unit where the leadership clearly knows that a small number of people practice fraud to get more bonuses (resorting to such practices as "transferring work time," i.e., transferring the overtime of the current month to the following month; or, having failed to fulfill the fuel economy plan, gets gasoline from another driver, who has above-quota savings, in order to get a bonus). Instead of criticizing and correcting these practices, the leadership simply looks the other way. These practices reduce the efficacy of bonuses, affect the development of production, affect the unity of staff and workers, and cripple their activism. We should overcome and correct all these practices.

Lenin pointed out: "Man can only move directly from capitalism to socialism, i.e., move to public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to work." ("The Task of the Proletariat in the Revolution of Our Country," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 62) The problems we face in the administration of bonuses arose mainly from our failure to understand the implications and importance of guiding the bonus system toward embodying the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. At the same time, some comrades are still obsessed with equalitarianism. Consequently, to administer labor rewards effectively and make the bonus system a vehicle embodying the principle of

from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, encourage advanced performances, and enhance production, we must study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the policy of the party Central Committee. We must also criticize equalitarianism. It must be noted that equalitarianism is deeply rooted in our country's society, but the poisonous propaganda of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turned it into a national menace. More than a hundred years ago, Marx and Engels scathingly denounced the advocacy of "universal asceticism and crude equalitarianism." ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 281) Now we must further point out to the masses of staff and workers that equalitarianism "is a mere illusion of peasants and small proprietors." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party") It is very harmful to socialist modernization. At the same time, we must also conscientiously sum up our experiences, both positive and negative, and devise a better way to carry out the policy of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. Once this concept takes root in people's minds, the bonus system will work well to encourage advanced performances, promote production, and marshal the activism of the broad masses of staff and workers to speed up socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4004

CAN THE USE OF BONUSES 'ONLY GENERATE ENTHUSIASM FOR CAPITALISM'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 72-74

[Article by Lu Jianwu [0712 1696 2976] of the Dalian Rolling Stock Plant]

[Text] The "gang of four" totally repudiated and cooked up charges against material rewards, which embody the socialist principle of distribution according to work. In 1975 an article entitled "Let Politics Take Command and Criticize Material Incentives" appeared in issue No 5 of RED FLAG, which was then directly controlled by the "gang of four." In addition to putting a "revisionist" label on material rewards, the writer put forward the erroneous theory that "'the enthusiasm' generated by bonuses is only enthusiasm for capitalism." He stated positively that this kind of enthusiasm "favors the capitalists but does not favor the proletariat."

Is this actually true?

To convince people that the enthusiasm generated by bonuses "is only enthusiasm for capitalism," the article stated that material rewards used before the Great Cultural Revolution "had seriously corrupted workers' ideology, affected the solidarity of workers, and obstructed the development of revolution and production." But the history of our plant demonstrates that the use of material rewards has not "obstructed the development of revolution and production." Just the opposite, development of production is obstructed whenever equalitarianism takes the place of distribution according to work.

From 1949 to 1952 our plant carried out an incentive system of a collective piece-rate nature which effectively channeled political enthusiasm into production. Surmounting difficulties and working unselfishly, the workers, with simple and crude workshops and equipment, were able to recondition over 500 steam locomotives and over 7,300 freight cars and make more than 3,200 passenger cars and steam cranes. During these 4 years the total value of industrial production nearly doubled and the average annual rate of labor productivity increased by 34 percent, while the number of staff and workers decreased by an annual rate of 5.6 percent.

After the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, in addition to the original system of piece-rate wages, an incentive system was introduced to cover all workers paid by work time. This led to even greater enthusiasm and boundless creativity among the workers.

Piece-rate wages were deemed of no merit whatsoever when politics taking command was one-sidedly stressed in 1958 and afterward. Following the complete repudiation of the incentive system, everybody was paid the same "temporary wage" whether he had worked well or even worked at all. This gave rise to lax labor discipline and a slacking off at the job. The result was disastrous.

The "Seventy Articles for Industry" came out in 1961. This prompted factories, while strengthening ideological work, to adopt an integrated incentive system in competition and in production, and individual rewards for effecting economies, for quality and for innovation, in order to stimulate worker enthusiasm. At that time despite many difficulties, the factories were able to well fulfill the state plan.

All these facts vividly tell us that material incentives, put into practice by virtue of objective economic laws, should be rated a meritorious service rather than a crime.

The erroneous theory that the enthusiasm generated by bonuses "is only an enthusiasm for capitalism" just does not hold water. Bonuses are a supplementary form of labor remuneration embodying the principle of distribution according to work, a principle which encourages workers to contribute more to society and to work harder to enhance the development of production. It has nothing to do with the so-called generation of "enthusiasm for capitalism." First of all, bonuses are paid at a given rate by the state from surplus wealth produced by the staff and workers. Secondly, the beneficiaries are the working masses. Thirdly, the surplus production helps the state to build up a bigger inventory of supplies and improve the people's life. Take our plant, for example. The newly generated enthusiasm is in fact responsible for the production of more locomotives and trains. Doesn't this serve socialist modernization? It is ridiculous to label this socialist enthusiasm "capitalist" and to say that it "favors the capitalists but does not favor the proletariat"!

In a socialist society, where public ownership replaces private ownership of the means of production, the working class is the master of the state, with individual interests and collective and state interests in complete harmony. We can use material incentives to unite these interests in one organic whole so as to enable the workers to enjoy benefits from the ever-growing collective and state interests. This will make them more willing to develop collective and state enterprises. As long as material incentives are in force, we are likely to run into isolated cases of people haggling over every penny, even practicing fraud. This can be corrected by ideological work, criticism and education. Instead of

giving up for fear of minor problems, we must sum up our experiences all the time in order to find a way to handle work incentives more satisfactorily. The "gang of four" did not intend to curb capitalism. Just the opposite, they sabotaged the socialist principle of distribution, repressed the activism of the masses, and stifled the socialist economy simply in order to revive capitalism.

We fully evaluate the usefulness of material incentives but do not mean to downgrade or overlook the importance of ideological-political work. If our ideological work is sufficiently careful and penetrating enough to place the system of more rewards for more work on a solid ideological foundation, we will be able to more fully marshal the activism of the broad masses in socialist production.

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## IN GIVING AWARDS WE MUST ALSO OVERCOME EQUALITARIANISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 73-74

[Article by the Communications and Liaison Center of the Xiamen Municipal Revolutionary Committee]

[Text] How can we better carry out the party's distribution policy and speed up the development of production? The following represents what the party committee of the Xiamen Engineering Machinery Factory has learned from experience: keep in touch with production, tackle the practical first, allow differences in treatment, carry out the principle of distribution according to work, and work hard to overcome equalitarianism. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the factory won a new lease of life and also restored the material incentive system. However, owing to its lack of experience in distribution and its failure to make allowances for differences in production tasks, types of jobs, degrees of labor intensity, production links, and actual contributions by workers, and to varying degrees of a lingering tendency toward equalitarianism, production still could not be raised. In view of this lesson, and after studying Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings on this matter and the directives opposing equalitarianism in distribution issued by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the factory party committee realized that if distribution is not based on party policy there is no way to marshal the activism of the staff and workers no matter how much money there is for equalitarian awards. Equalitarianism contradicts the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. The masses must reject equalitarianism. The leadership must oppose even more resolutely methods of equalitarian distribution. Working on car loader production in the factory, the party committee began in April 1978 to follow five major distinctions in awarding supplementary overtime and overproduction rewards granted every month by superior authorities:

1. Distinguish heavy and light jobs. In view of the changing monthly production requirements and imbalance of tasks between different workshops, monthly supplementary awards for the entire factory are changed to give preferential treatment to workshops which have heavier production tasks and are key links in the fulfillment of production targets. To strike a

balance between preferred and other targets, the control figure (approximate amount) for the awards are turned over to all the workshops to be distributed, on the same principle, to work sections, teams, and individual machine units.

2. Distinguish different types of jobs. When it is difficult to evaluate the types of work done by individuals in a collective task, we go through "four determinations" (determination of volume of production, determination of quality of products, determination of amount of time spent, and determination of awards). When worktime quotas are assigned to individual workers, we conduct "three examinations" (examination of 8-hour jobs, examination of overtime jobs, and examination of volume of over-quota production). High quality over-quota production always qualifies for a given amount of award. Those doing support jobs, logistics staff and workers, and office cadres are given supplementary awards for actual overtime, which, however, must not exceed the average supplementary award given to workers on the first line of production. Supplementary awards for apprentices who are not yet qualified workers must not exceed two-thirds of the supplementary awards given to production workers.

3. Distinguish differences in amount of work. To insure satisfactory completion of state projects, the factory breaks down its production tasks into units of worktime. Different bases for monthly overtime schedules are devised according to different amounts of labor required to accomplish different types of work. One who achieves his worktime quota receives a given award. There are also different awards for overfulfillment of different quotas.

4. Distinguish production links. The factory and its workshops have decided to give higher awards to work sections, teams and individuals working overtime at key link divisions or jobs. This helps resolve problems affecting key links of the production process.

5. Distinguish big and small contributions. To encourage technological innovations, the factory party committee decided to give 170 yuan in bonuses and prizes to a team which produces 500-kg pneumatic pumps by hot forging. Instead of parceling them out in equal portions, the bonuses were based on the quality of the contributions. Once a superior organ gave a 15-yuan bonus to each member of "trustworthy" teams and groups in the factory. The No 1 Metalworking Shop, which received the award, did not pass the bonuses on to its workers in equal portions. Instead, they were awarded 20 yuan, 15 yuan, or 10 yuan according to the different quality of the contributions.

After the introduction of differential treatment and the overcoming of equalitarianism, the staff and workers began to understand what is meant by working and not working, working more and working less, working well and not working well. This contributed substantially to their socialist activism. By 1978 the factory was finally able to fulfill state-assigned

targets and cast off its record of backwardness over the past 7 or 8 years. It is no longer called a "longstanding, big, and difficult" problem. The state targets it received for the current year were achieved 29 days ahead of schedule. It has turned out over four times more car loaders than the highest level in its history, the level in 1977, with quality rated equal to the ministry standard and to the advanced level of other domestic factories in the same field. The average production cost of a car loader went down by 30,000 yuan, while profit climbed to an annual total of 2.09 million yuan, 7.7 times more than planned. It was able to surrender to its higher authorities 1.35 million yuan in profit, 8 times more than planned. Operating capital per 100 yuan of product went down from 85 yuan to 28.5 yuan. The product output and the labor productivity of staff and workers have reached the highest level ever. The total value of production in 1978 was 4.1 times that of 1976, 2.2 times that of 1977, and 54 percent over the target planned for the year.

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## THE PEOPLE ARE WITHOUT EXCEPTION EQUAL BEFORE THEIR OWN LAW

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 75-79

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]]

[Text] The "Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China" promulgated in 1954 provides: "When the people's court hears cases, all citizens, regardless of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social background, religious belief, educational level, assets, and length of residence, are, without exception, equal in the application of the law." Recently, the communique of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee also stressed: "The people must be guaranteed equality before their own law, and no one is permitted any special privilege above the law." Equality under socialist law is a fundamental principle of the socialist legal system. However, since the end of the 1950's it has become a target of criticism, considered a "bourgeois" thing. Just what is the distinction between this principle and the "equality of all before the law" put forward by the bourgeoisie? Does it contradict the class nature of the socialist legal system? What is the significance when we stress today that it must be firmly followed within the people? Today, when the building of China's revolutionary legal system has entered a new historical era, these are important questions requiring clarification.

The slogan of "equality of all before the law" was proposed in the early period of the bourgeois revolution against feudalism. After gaining political power, the bourgeoisie established it as an important principle of its legal system and affirmed it in law. The earliest record of this principle appeared in the 1789 "Declaration of Human Rights" in France. Article 6 of the declaration provides: "Whether providing protection or inflicting punishment, the law is the same for all people. Before the law, all citizens are equal." Subsequently, the constitution or constitutional document of all bourgeois countries contained the same provision. The law of feudal countries had, as its special characteristic, the overt maintenance of ranks and special privileges. It not only recognized the different feudal special privileges enjoyed by the landowner class according to land owned, official position, and rank of nobility, and

openly affirmed such inequalities among individuals as clan power, the authority of the husband, and the high and the low, the noble and the base, but also, by all sorts of multifarious provisions, such as the "eight discussions" and "official rights" in China's feudal code, lifted the royal relatives of feudal emperors and the officials of the ruling class beyond the restrictions of the law. The bourgeois proposal for "equality of all before the law" is a direct negation of the protection of rank and special privileges. Not only did it have the revolutionary effect of educating and mobilizing the people in the struggle to destroy feudal dictatorship, but also, as a fundamental principle in the bourgeois legal system subsequently, it was a great advance in the legal history of all mankind. However, the class nature and historical position of the bourgeois legal system determined its principle of "equality of all before the law." Compared with the feudal legal system, this principle is revolutionary and progressive. However, compared with the socialist legal system, it has its limitations and hypocrisies. The bourgeois legal system is founded on the capitalist production relationship. In a capitalist society, the existence of the system of private ownership of the means of production is the social source of all inequalities. The core of bourgeois law is the recognition of the sacredness and inviolability of the private ownership system. How can there be equality between a millionaire bourgeoisie and a penniless proletarian? Without economic equality, there can be no political equality, and equality before the law becomes an empty phrase. Therefore, in a capitalist society the bourgeoisie conceals economic and factual inequalities behind legal and formal equalities. Take the signing of an employment contract, for instance: The law provides that the contracting parties are "free" and "equal," but actually it conceals the relationship of exploiter and exploited between the capitalist and the worker. As the bourgeois principle of "equality of all before the law" is founded on the inequality of wealth, it is impossible for the great number of laboring people to enjoy equal rights under the law with the bourgeoisie. For example, bourgeois law provides for "equal voting rights," but at the same time there are restrictions based on length of residence, level of education, and even financial qualification. As for inequality between men and women and between races, it is even more commonplace. What deserves special attention is that, as the means of production are controlled by the property owners, the various equal rights enjoyed by citizens provided by law basically have no material guarantee. Therefore, the bourgeois principle of "equality of all before the law," as far as the laboring people are concerned, is merely a swindle.

The equality of all citizens before the law advocated by us is essentially different from the "equality of all before the law" in capitalist countries. The equality demanded by the proletariat boils down to the abolition of classes. The socialist legal system is built on the foundation of the socialist production relationship. In China, with the elimination of the system of private ownership of the means of production, of class exploitation, and of class oppression, the creation of the system of

public ownership of the means of production, and the introduction of the socialist principles of "those who do not work do not eat" and of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work," the social sources of all inequalities have been eliminated. Economic equality is inevitably reflected in political and cultural equality. Economic, political, and cultural equality inevitably calls for recognition and protection by law. The fact that our constitution and laws recognize the various kinds of equal rights of citizens conforms to the objective demands of the socialist production relationship on the superstructure. As determined by the socialist economic foundation, the principle of equality of citizens before the law advocated by us possesses three obvious characteristics: The unity of legal and economic equality; the authenticity of an ample material guarantee for the principle of equality in law; the extensiveness in content of equality in the application of law. All these are characteristics which cannot be found in the bourgeois "equality of all before the law." Therefore, we must never confuse the two as being one.

We feel that the principle of equality of citizens before the law does not contradict the class nature of law. Socialist law reflects the common will of the working class and the great number of people. When we formulated the constitution and the laws and decided what to protect, what to oppose, what to develop, what to eliminate, what is legal and what is illegal, we started from the interests of the great number of people and fully embodied the class nature of law. After formulating the laws, our judicial and procuratorial organs, when applying them, treat all citizens the same and insist that they are all equal in enjoying their proper rights and meeting their proper obligations; the rights and legitimate interests of each and every citizen are protected by law without exception, and the violations and crimes of any citizen receive the same sanctions provided by law. These are the fundamental conditions for maintaining the dignity of the socialist legal system and assuring the strict performance and observance of the constitution and law. It is completely compatible with the interests and desires of the proletariat and the great number of people and constitutes an effective blow to the handful of class enemies vainly attempting to sabotage the legal system. Not only is it not contradictory to the class nature of law, but it completely identifies with it.

By equality of all citizens before the law we mean that there is only one standard in the application of the law, and there can be no difference beyond the provisions of the law because of individuals; there can be no special privileges or discrimination because of different social backgrounds or other reasons. If we should find it necessary to have inequality in the application of the law, then we would have to have two sets of standards, applying one set to a part of the citizens and another set to another part. In fact, it is impossible and improper for there to be two sets of standards in our law. If the application of law should be unequal and there is no concrete provision in law, then our judicial

work personnel, when hearing a case, would handle it not in accordance with law but according to their own whims. Some people would not receive any protection of their civil rights under the law of our country, while others would decide haphazardly their own obligations, or fail to meet them. This would be fundamentally incompatible with the essential spirit and concrete provisions of our constitution and law.

The communique of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out that "the people must be guaranteed equality before their own law, and no one is permitted any special privilege above the law" in order to stress the extreme importance of the principle of equality of the people under the socialist legal system. It demands that our judicial and procuratorial organs follow the principle of equality for the entire people when applying the law, that everyone must, without exception, comply with the constitution and the law, that no one may place himself above the law, and that no one may have the special privilege of violating the constitution and the law without receiving punishment. Such extensive and authentic rights of equality bestowed by the state on the broad masses of people gives them a sense of being the masters of the state, raises their socialist awareness, stimulates their patriotic spirit, cultivates their collectivist thinking, and fosters their new ethics and trends. It has an important effect on uniting all those who can be united and on activating the positivity of all classes and strata, all nationalities, and the broad masses of people in all fields. Ours is a country where the people are the masters, with the only difference being in the division of labor in society, and there is no distinction between the high and the low, the noble and the base. If our judicial work personnel, when handling similar cases, show inequality in applying the law because of position or social background, being severe toward the masses and lenient toward the cadres, severe toward ordinary cadres and lenient toward leading cadres, or severe toward those with an unfavorable background and lenient toward those with a favorable background, they will make all sorts of unfair or wrong decisions. Owing to the poison of the reactionary ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some judicial personnel are afraid of being accused of having an "unstable class standpoint." As a result, they do not dare to follow the principle of judicial work that "facts are the basis; law is the criterion," and often mistakenly consider social background an important basis for determining punishment and handle severely the defendants with an unfavorable social background, placing all sorts of labels on them. By so doing they not only hurt the masses, lose the support of the people, and affect peace and unity, but also foster the idea of special privileges and illegal conduct in certain individuals with a favorable background and certain cadres, and they thus corrupt our cadre ranks. In the struggle to build a modern, powerful socialist country, if we are to give full play to the important function of the socialist legal system, we must establish the tremendous authority of the revolutionary socialist legal system so that there is always a law to be followed, it must be followed, its enforcement is strict, and its violation is investigated. If we permit a part of the

people to possess special privileges above the law, we will not be able to make everyone obey the law, the authority of the legal system will be damaged, and the revolutionary legal system will become an empty shell.

First under feudal dictatorship for several thousands of years, and then having a semifeudal and semicolonial society in modern times, China does not have a tradition of democracy and law, and it has only been a few decades since the creation of the socialist system; therefore, though the corpse of feudalism has been interred, its ideology, its idea of special privileges, and its concept of rank still emit a foul smell in our society. As aptly put by Comrade Xie Juezai, "Material feudalism has been swept aside, but spiritual feudalism still remains, not only in the minds of the peasants but also in the body of the cadres. Cadres with a good class status, when following an undemocratic style, may turn into bad cadres and new despots." Among the "gang of four" and those backbone elements participating in its counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities to usurp the party and seize power, besides those who were originally special agents and renegades, some of them were precisely such bad cadres and new despots. The "gang of four" squatted high above the people, ran amuck outside party discipline and state law, carried out in a big way a feudal fascist dictatorship, and cast the legal principle of equality of all citizens before the law to the winds. They wagged their tongues freely, accusing others of being "renegades," "special agents," "counterrevolutionaries," "capitalist roaders," and "reactionary academic authorities." Their words became "ironclad evidence"; any dissent was a "crime." They exercised special privileges before the laws of the state, showing off their arrogance, lording it over others, and going far beyond some feudal emperors. In political-legal work they promoted a fascist dictatorship and created large numbers of unjust, false, and wrong cases throughout the entire country. Undergoing this great disaster created by the rascally Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our party and our state and people suffered an extremely serious calamity. Hereafter we must mobilize the strength of the entire party, entire army, and entire people to wage ruthless and unrelenting struggles against any kind of special privileges.

Owing to the remnant poison of several thousands of years of feudalism and the influence of the reactionary ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the idea of special privileges and the concept of rank still exist in some people in our cadre ranks today. Some officials mutually protect one another, practicing favoritism, covering up wrongdoing, and minimizing or overlooking the violations and crimes of responsible cadres or their children. Some feel that the "will of the superior official" is above the law, making the words of the leaders "law" and the dissenting opinions "violations of law." They demand that the lower-level personnel and the masses consider their words as "precious words" to be followed to the letter, and censure or punish any violation. When hearing cases, instead of demanding loyalty to the law and the system, to the people's interest, and to the facts, they ask the judicial work personnel to be loyal to the personal will of the leaders. Instead of handing down verdicts and meting



out punishments according to law, they ask them to follow the personal will of the leaders. Others promote personal arbitrariness, ignore the laws of the state, arrest and detain at will, tie up and beat the masses, interrogate under torture and extort confessions, and recklessly trample on their civil rights, while the people have no right to criticize and expose their mistakes and crimes, and whoever does so faces imminent disaster. Still others abuse their power, violating the law and disrupting discipline. They either make elaborate displays and indulge in extravagance, recklessly dissipating state funds, or use public property for private purposes, eating and taking voraciously and embezzling public assets. We absolutely must not permit such phenomena to continue. We must treat all the people the same under the socialist law, and no one must be permitted to place himself beyond and above the law.

As shown by innumerable facts, the principle of equality of the people before their own law is an effective weapon to oppose the ideas, positions, and persons of special privilege. Firmly following it in theory and practice is not only the fundamental condition to make sound the revolutionary system, but also an important safeguard against the reappearance of rascals like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in China. What were the reasons that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" climbed so high, stayed in power so long, and committed so many crimes while the people could only feel anger inside themselves but did not dare to express themselves? Besides various other reasons, one must say that one important reason was the unsoundness of the legal system, permitting the existence of persons with special privileges, especially those in high positions. It is a lesson which must be conscientiously borne in mind by the revolutionary people.

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CSO: 4004

## STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, PUT AN END TO MERCENARY MARRIAGES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 79 pp 78-80

[Article by the Sichuan Provincial Women's Federation]

[Text] In recent years, mercenary, disguised mercenary, and arranged marriages have become somewhat prevalent in some areas. There are gifts for engagements and elaborate displays for weddings. Sometimes more than 10 sequences are required from engagement to wedding, such as gifts on meeting, gifts for festivals, gifts to thank the matchmaker, money to start out married life, money to put into the trunk, entertainment money, etc., totaling several hundred to 1,000 yuan. Such disguised mercenary marriages and the trend toward extravagance have created heavy spiritual and economic burdens for the masses, especially the young people, corrupting people's thinking like poison. A very few bad people seize the opportunity to swindle people out of their property and to trample on women, producing serious consequences and even causing the tragedies of family breakups and people's deaths. Deeply abhorring such practices, the broad masses demand that mercenary, disguised mercenary, and arranged marriages be firmly stopped.

Considering women as commodities, pursuing money and material things, and promoting mercenary marriages are the products of the private ownership society. After the new China abolished the feudal marriage system, a profound change occurred in marriage and family relationships. The marriage law promulgated by our country in 1950 provides: "The acquisition by anyone of property on the grounds of the marriage relationship is prohibited." Thus, mercenary marriages are outlawed, and the right to choose their own partners in marriage and the personal interests in marriage of young men and women are protected. Since the vigorous propaganda on and implementation of the marriage law, China has basically changed the phenomenon of mercenary marriages handed down by the old society. Why is it that, in recent years, the unhealthy trend of such marriages has again emerged in some areas? The general source of evil was Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their sabotage and interference seriously damaged not only the socialist economic construction but also the socialist legal system and socialist ethics and customs. They

opposed educating the young people with the socialist ideology on correctly handling the issues of love, marriage, and family and considered them "forbidden areas," prohibiting writers from portraying love and newspapers and publications from discussing the correct handling of the issues of marriage and love. They accused those who disobeyed their orders of harboring "bourgeois sentiment" and advocating the "supremacy of love," so that the young people could not get the proper guidance and aid on the issues of love and marriage. Some young people mistakenly consider that "if one does not grab enough before marriage, one cannot enjoy life after marriage" and that "one is not noble without spending money." Some parents mistakenly consider that "raising daughters in the past was unprofitable, but now we do not have to suffer a loss. It is only 'reasonable' and 'human nature' to accept marriage gifts." All such ideas are extremely harmful.

How should we regard "noble" and "base"? And the "reasonableness" of what class and the "human nature" of what kind of people when accepting marriage gifts? The different classes have entirely different views on this issue. The distinction of being noble or base, being high or low, is a special characteristic of the private ownership society. The exploiting class considers itself noble and the laboring people base, and the laboring women even more so. This is entirely a prejudice of the exploiting class. In the feudal society, starting from the idea of consolidating the feudal rank system, the ruling class, on the marriage issue, opposed inter-marriage between the families of scholars and common people, between the noble and the base. In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity and marriage and family relationships into brazen, cold, and ruthless monetary relationships. In the book "The Origin of the Family, the Private Ownership System, and the State," Engels pointed out: In a capitalist society "the form of mercenary marriages is vanishing, but its substance is spreading in an ever-wider sphere, and a price is placed on not just women but also men." Thus he ruthlessly revealed the essence of the capitalist system. The erroneous idea that "one is not noble without spending money" and "the more money spent, the higher one's value" is a reflection of the exploiting class' world philosophy. The proletariat finds the laborers valuable and the exploiters shameful, industry and thrift valuable and display and extravagance shameful, and loyal and sincere love valuable and the pursuit of money and material enjoyment shameful. The position of women is not determined by the amount of money spent on marriage but by their contributions to society. Happiness does not hinge on marriage gifts, but is created by one's diligence, by the development of the social production force, and by the realization of the four modernizations.

Is accepting marriage gifts "reasonable" and in accord with "human nature"? Such "reasonableness" and "human nature" contain a class nature. Receiving marriage gifts is an old custom handed down by the feudal system. In the feudal society the practice of marriage gifts made marriages mercenary. According to the "Book of Rites," "there is no meeting without

money," and "there is no contact without payment of money." Six different kinds of gifts were specified in the "Book of Rites." Elaborate banquets in conjunction with the six gifts were also promoted by the exploiting class. This indicates that accepting marriage gifts, making big displays, and extravagance were the conventions promoted by the exploiting class, which advocated "reasonableness" and "human nature," bringing great disasters and suffering to the great number of laboring people. In the old society, many people were forced to remain single because they were unable to afford to buy gifts, while others became sacrifices to mercenary marriages, even to the point of losing their lives. Conditions in the new society are fundamentally different from those in the past. We have abolished the old marriage system and created a new one. However, we must also realize that vestiges of the old society still linger, and the old ideas and old habits and customs formed through several thousands of years still remain in people's minds. Currently, the trend of marriage gifts, displays, and extravagance and the feudal, superstitious activities in connection with the wedding ceremony appearing in some areas are reflections of such old ideas and old habits and customs. This shows that eliminating the outdated practices on the marriage issue remains a long-term, arduous task. We must persevere in this task of destroying the old and creating the new, firmly establish the socialist marriage and family system, and make the new relationship a common practice.

What is the socialist concept of marriage and family? Marxism tells us: In a class society marriage and family are always linked with a definite social system. The kind of economic foundation and social system determines the marriage and family relationships. In a private ownership society marriage and family are founded on the private ownership economy, reflecting the interests and demands of the exploiting class, and the exploiters always use marriage as a means to expand their power. As ours is a socialist country, and the public ownership economy has replaced the private ownership economy, the family is basically no longer a production unit. However, it is still a consumption unit and a unit to produce and raise a reserve labor force. There are still plots and some subsidiary production among the member families of rural people's communes. The socialist economic foundation requires commensurate marriage and family relationships and the handling of the issues of love, marriage, and family according to socialist ideology. Therefore, only by building democratic and harmonious new families will we conform to the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual, satisfy the desires of the broad masses, and reinforce the unity of the masses. Thus, we must be courageous in destroying the old and establishing the new, change the customs and mores, attack the unhealthy trends and evil practices of feudalism and capitalism, and institute the proletarian marriage viewpoint and communist ethics and customs. Young men and women must build love on the foundation of laboring and working for the common revolutionary goal, not on the pursuit of money and material things; they must consciously resist the corruption of feudal and bourgeois ideas and take the lead in building democratic and harmonious new families.

The thorough solution of the marriage issue is closely linked with the level of economic development. Generally speaking, where the production level is low and the living conditions inferior, it is difficult for the position of independence of women to receive concrete economic protection, and contract and disguised contract marriages will easily appear. Therefore, we must not only strengthen the ideological and legal education of the masses and eliminate the old traditional concept of marriage, but also vigorously develop production, accelerate the four modernizations, continuously improve the economic and living conditions of the people, gradually reduce the gaps between worker and peasant, between city and village, and between manual and mental labor, establish the socialist marriage system, and lay a more solid economic foundation for safeguarding the equality of women with men in politics, economy, society, and family life.

Though mercenary, disguised mercenary, and arranged marriages are relatively more prominent in some areas, as long as the party committee strengthens its leadership, closely coordinating with all departments concerned and strengthening propaganda and education, the problem can be gradually solved. In Shifang County of our province the party committee, owing to its serious attention, gave full play to the role of all departments concerned, went all out to mobilize the masses, propagandized the advantages of establishing the new socialist customs, and pointed out the disadvantages of the old ideas and old habits and customs. Thus, the marriage and family problem was solved relatively well, the socialist initiative of the masses was activated, and the development of production was promoted. Currently, strengthening ideological education and checking the unhealthy trend of mercenary and disguised mercenary marriages and marriage extravagance and waste possess an important significance in activating the initiative of innumerable families and realizing the party's general task in the new era. Our women's federation must, under the leadership of the party committee, closely coordinate with the departments concerned, ruthlessly criticize the criminal activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in sabotaging the socialist legal system and socialist ethics and customs, vigorously create revolutionary public opinion in conjunction with the propaganda for the new constitution, actively propagandize the handling of marriage and family relationships according to the socialist ideology, help the masses improve their understanding, conscientiously implement the party's policies, and consciously obey the laws and decrees of the state. Meanwhile, we must also, in coordination with the judiciary, strictly distinguish the two categories of contradictions of different natures, deal unremitting blows to the handful of criminals who trample upon women, and conscientiously protect the legitimate rights of women. We also hope that parents will correctly treat and guide their children with regard to the issues of love and marriage, help them build a revolutionary, sound, and independent marriage relationship, and let them devote all their energy, wisdom, and talent to the four modernizations and offer their youth to the great new Long March!

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