

JPRS 73650

8 June 1979

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TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 4, 3 APRIL 1979

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE	1. REPORT NO. JPRS 73650	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG No. 4, 3 April 1979		5. Report Date 8 June 1979	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No. 11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
15. Supplementary Notes Translation of HUNG CH'I (RED FLAG), monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Beijing.		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) The report contains information on political, sociological and economic developments in the People's Republic of China, focusing on Mao Zedong Thought, and articles and speeches by members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.		14.	
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors People's Republic of China Political sciences Sociology Economics Culture (social sciences) Central Committee Chinese Communist Party Mao Zedong Propaganda b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms c. COSATI Field/Group 2, 5C, 5D, 5K			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 125
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

(See ANSI-Z39.18)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
(Formerly DA Form 10)
Department of Defense

8 June 1979

TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 4, 3 April 1979

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

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THE LOFTY PATRIOTIC SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 2-7

[Article by the theoretical group of Guangzhou PLA units]

[Text] The counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border is the triumph of patriotism and revolutionary heroism. In the face of the armed encroachments and provocations of the Vietnamese invaders, our border defense units in Yunnan and Guangxi, holding high the great patriotic banner, were forced to rise bravely to counterattack and, with the heroic spirit of overwhelming everything before them, give an impressive "display" of military might. During the fighting our border defense units in Guangxi destroyed the minefields and military installations that covered the border areas, broke through the famous "natural barrier" of Binh Manh, attacked Dong Dang and Cao Bang, captured the so-called "impregnable" stronghold of Lang Son, annihilated some regular and local units, including the self-styled "Heroic Regiment" of Vietnam, and taught the Vietnamese invaders a real lesson.

This counterattack in self-defense is of far-reaching significance in demonstrating our national and military strength, defending the sanctity of our motherland's frontier, upholding the dignity of the Chinese people and protecting the four modernizations. At the same time, it is also of far-reaching significance in training the units and strengthening their construction. This battle has destroyed the myths of the "third military power in the world" and the "invincibility" claimed by the Vietnamese authorities, dampened the arrogance and outrageous behavior of this Cuba of the East and stimulated the antihegemonist struggle of the peoples of the world. Today, in celebrating the victory with the whole army and people throughout the country, we extend lofty regards to the commanders and fighters who took part in the action and to the people of various nationalities who supported the front in the border areas.

I

What is the source of the strength that made the units which took part in the action heroic in battle and enabled them to become all-conquering,

impregnable and invincible? It is the boundless love of the masses of commanders and fighters for the socialist motherland and their strong determination to protect the four modernizations.

China has a brilliant history, a magnificent culture and a glorious tradition of loving freedom and defying brute force. In the last century, under reactionary rule, our motherland suffered endlessly from imperialist aggression, insults and humiliation. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the Chinese people pressed on constantly, shed blood and made sacrifices, drove out the imperialists, overthrew the three great mountains which weighed on the backs of the Chinese people and founded new China. China, particularly new China, is lovely. Our country has set up a superior socialist system in which the working people are the masters of their own affairs and the wisdom, talent and enthusiasm of the people can be brought into play. In less than 30 years we have completed the course which took many capitalist countries more than half a century to cover and have initially established an independent and more complete national economic system. At present, under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we are shifting the emphasis of the party's work to modernization and making a flying leap to build China into a strong, modern socialist country within the present century. This is the behest of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai, as well as the urgent desire of the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country. The Chinese people are concentrating their efforts on economic construction, and they greatly need a situation of stability and unity, a peaceful international environment and a stable border.

However, at the instigation and with the support of Soviet social imperialism, the Vietnamese regional hegemonists increasingly escalated their armed incursions into China. They invaded our territory, destroyed our villages and killed our border inhabitants, thereby permanently disrupting the tranquillity of the vast Chinese border areas and impairing China's sovereignty and national integrity. In the face of this serious situation, what should a PLA fighter do? Looking back on the history and conditions of the relationship between China and Vietnam, the border defense fighters of Guangxi used the facts they heard and saw to denounce the anti-China atrocities of the Vietnamese authorities and indignantly said: "The invasion of Chinese territory by the Vietnamese authorities has driven the border inhabitants from their homes, their farms and their schools. How can we tolerate this?" "The countless provocations of the Vietnamese authorities have jeopardized the safety of the motherland and undermined our 'four modernizations.' How can we ignore this?" The fighters made a solemn pledge to the motherland: Defending the frontier and the motherland is the glorious and sacred responsibility of our revolutionary fighters. We can lose our heads and our blood, but we cannot lose a single inch of the motherland!

The warm love of the border units for the socialist motherland and their patriotic spirit of supreme sacrifice for the motherland are inspiring. The commanders and fighters of the units which took part in the action vied with each other to apply for active duty and to achieve outstanding results for their regiments, battalions and companies. They all requested to be sent to where the fighting was most intense and dangerous. Although many veteran fighters who had fought in many places in the country were in their fifties, they still insisted on being sent to the front. They are always at the head of their men in battle and have fully displayed the noble quality of old heroes. Many of the young fighters who had only recently joined the army were given intensive prebattle training. In the fighting they fought bravely and stubbornly and are indeed worthy of the younger generation brought up under the red flag. Some of the cadres had returned home to get married. After receiving the telegram ordering them to report back to their units, they immediately left their families the next morning to go to war. What kind of spirit is this that will cause young people to leave the morning after their wedding night? It is the spirit of patriotism. The discharge of some of the cadres had already been approved, and some of the commanders and fighters were still convalescing in the hospital, but the moment they learned about the battle to throw back the Vietnamese invaders they resolutely asked to be sent to the front, saying, "I must go." What kind of style is this "I must go"? It is the style of patriotism.

There is an overflow of such patriotic enthusiasm in the urban and rural areas of the border. The party, government, army and people everywhere on the frontline of the Guangxi border share a common hatred of the enemy. They are united as one, and under the slogan of "Everything for the front, everything for victory" they actively give support and encouragement to the units taking part in the action. The masses of militiamen have also actively supported the front and made important contributions. They are always available on call and are able to fight well in battle. They have cooperated with the units in tracking down enemy remnants and dealing blows to spies. They have served as interpreters, medical corpsmen, stretcher bearers, ammunition porters and provision carriers. They have repaired roads and bridges, stood guard, gone on patrols and guarded the extended communication lines. The people in the border areas have vied with each other to show concern for the PLA. They have fed the wounded, donated blood and done everything possible to support the front. Workers on the industrial and communication fronts have increased production and practiced economy movements and worked around the clock to speed up the flow of military supplies. Workers on the industrial and financial front have sent the best vegetables, fruits and canned food to the front. To save the wounded, even old gray-haired professors of the medical school worked night and day without leaving the operating table. The units have also received letters and telegrams from all parts of the country solicitously extending regards to the heroic fighters and requesting permission to enlist and take part in the action. The fiancée of a platoon leader in her letter to him said: "I hope that you will display fearless

heroism in battle, be at the forefront in storming the enemy's position and be a true communist and a fighter of the people." The oldest son (a militiaman) of a production team leader was killed at the front while rescuing the wounded. This production team leader in his letter to the head of the unit said: "My oldest son has given his life for the country. If the enemy dares to invade us again, I am ready to send my second and third sons to battle stations to defend the motherland." How earnest and stirring are these letters filled with patriotic warmth.

Marxism holds that the socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the basic interests of the people, and the interests of the state and the individual are closely linked. Under the new historical condition of socialism, patriotism can be brought into full play. In the initial period of the founding of the People's Republic, our army and people whipped up a patriotic upsurge of a mass nature. Loving the motherland, people, labor and science and cherishing and protecting national public property became the new values of society which effectively promote the patriotic production drive. Practice has proved that holding high the banner of patriotism, uniting with all those forces that can be united with and bringing into play all positive factors will produce an infinitely powerful force that can promote the vigorous advance of all our undertakings. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sabotaged production and construction, ravaged science, buried cadres and people, truncated history, practiced national nihilism and trampled patriotism underfoot. They undermined the state and are the black sheep of the nation. Raising high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has removed the "four pests," eliminated chaos and restored order. The ideological and political line has been corrected, policies have conformed with objective reality, unjust, trumped-up and wrong cases have been rectified, democracy is being brought into play and the legal system is gradually being strengthened. A new situation of political stability and unity and flourishing economic construction has appeared in which people see a splendid future. With this situation, the new patriotic upsurge appearing in the whole party, the whole army and the whole country is entirely consistent with historical development.

II

In the counterattack in self-defense battle, giving play to revolutionary heroism has become a vivid characteristic displayed by the units taking part in the action. This kind of revolutionary heroism is established on the basis of revolutionary ideology and is closely linked with patriotism. This kind of revolutionary heroism is the embodiment of proletarian political foresight and complete revolutionary spirit and is an enormous spiritual force triumphing over all enemies and difficulties. This is the development of the fine tradition of our army in the new historical period.

Closely combining education on the current situation and preparations against war, the units taking part in the action have studied the glorious traditions of our army, the heroic feats of their own unit and the revolutionary practice of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. By "learning from their predecessors and comparing with oneself" they have developed a "destroy the enemy and win merits" drive, spurred their will to struggle and strengthened their confidence in daring to fight and being certain of victory. Bearing in mind the mandate of the motherland and kinsmen and harboring inveterate hatred toward the enemy, the masses of commanders and fighters have rushed to the battlefield. "Vigorously punishing the invaders, avenging our village kinsmen, winning honor for the motherland and achieving merits for the people" have become resounding slogans of the masses of commanders and fighters.

This kind of patriotism and revolutionary heroism is manifested in the heroic and determined style of fighting of the commanders and fighters and their revolutionary spirit of heroic sacrifice. The Sino-Vietnamese border is mountainous, thickly forested and full of caves. The Vietnamese authorities have long since taken advantage of the terrain to construct many field works and pillboxes hidden behind the trees. The caves have been turned into bunkers, and the trails bristle with stockades and are laid with mines. The Vietnamese authorities thought that by relying on these permanent defenses they could venture forth to invade our frontier, and that failing that they could fall back on them to stop the counterattack of our army. It was in such unfavorable terrain and concentrated firepower that our army stormed the enemy's positions and destroyed them. Shouting "Advance for the motherland and victory!" they relentlessly mounted a fierce attack, cut deep into the enemy like a sharp knife, cut off and encircled the enemy units and destroyed them one by one. In holding actions, despite the frenzied counterattack organized by the enemy under the cover of artillery, all our commanders and fighters were able to hold their ground and keep the line proudly intact. Many combat heroes, meritorious combat heroes and heroic collectives have appeared among the commanders and fighters who courageously destroyed the enemy. Among them are national combat hero and deputy divisional commander Li Wanyu, who led a battalion of shock troops to capture Dong Dang and Lang Son; company leader Xia Zhuyu, who, charging in front, led his company to destroy 214 enemy troops; deputy company leader Jiang Fengsheng, who, leading a company of shock troops, advanced deep behind the enemy's line for 6 days and nights without rest; deputy squad leader Hou Manhou, who destroyed 4 enemy bunkers in succession in a single battle; Yang Chaofen, who through his ingenuity and courage blew up an enemy fortification with a bangalore torpedo on the third try after two unsuccessful attempts; He Xuegao, who, when surrounded by the enemy, pulled the pin of a grenade in a determined effort to die with the enemy but was wounded instead; Wu Jianguo, who grappled with an enemy soldier and in the end rolled off a 200-meter precipice; Liang Shisheng, who bravely removed mines and destroyed pillboxes and won merit in battle twice; the 7th

Company of a certain regiment, which took a high ground behind the enemy's line, held off 13 counterattacks and destroyed 473 enemy troops; and the 4th Company of a certain regiment, which bravely extracted "nails" and destroyed "moles" and in a little over a day destroyed 34 bunkers and blockhouses. When clearing a passage for the attack, the units encountered minefields covered by crossfire. To clear a passage as quickly as possible, deputy battalion commander Huang Quanguo used a pole to sweep the mines, and platoon leader Huang Xiru used his foot to step on the mine. When the enemy's bunkers, covered by rocks and trees, made detection of the target difficult for our artillery, deputy squad leader Wang Shijiang cleverly moved himself to the left of the bunker and used his body to indicate the position of the target. In this way our artillery was able to destroy three bunkers in succession and provide cover for the speedy capture of the high ground by our infantry. They are the living models of Huang Jiguang, Yang Gensi and Lo Guangxie and exemplify heroic sacrifice in the manner of the five heroes of the Langya Mountains. In the counterattack in self-defense, numerous heroes have appeared. They are the loveliest of the younger generation brought up and nurtured by the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong Thought and are worthy of being the fine children of the Chinese nation.

This kind of patriotism and revolutionary heroism is manifested by the ability of the commanders and fighters to withstand hardships and battle fatigue and by their firm and unshakable will. The region of North Vietnam is hilly, densely forested and full of ravines. The trails are narrow and the terrain very difficult. The commanders and fighters of our breakthrough unit entrusted with taking the high ground had to rely on their legs to make their way through the dense jungle grass by following a tortuous path, and sometimes the path even disappeared. In the course of pursuing and attacking or waiting in ambush, some went 2 days and nights without food and water. When thirsty they simply chewed on a handful of grass. The commanders and fighters with a single vigorous effort completed their breakthrough, reached their designated position on schedule, gained control of a vital point deep within the enemy's territory and guaranteed the complete annihilation of the enemy holding the high ground by our main force. The battle for Lang Son took place during cold weather. There was a heavy drizzle, and the uniforms of the commanders were wet and covered with mud. They said jokingly: "We have the muddy look on top and the wet look underneath. How smart!" The commanders and fighters dried out their uniforms with their body heat, triumphed over the spring cold and won a victory in the battle. In the bitter fighting some of the comrades lost contact with their own companies. They formed themselves into combat teams and continued to engage the enemy. Some ran out of food and ammunition and were encircled. They escaped from encirclement at night and ignored their hunger and pain for several days and nights. When they could no longer walk, they crawled and finally made their way back to the motherland. Regardless of the enemy they engaged or the difficulty they encountered, the border defense fighters were always fully confident of victory, because right was on

their side. The more bitter the fighting and the more difficult the conditions, the greater the revolutionary optimism they displayed. They are indeed worthy of being the hardcore of the revolution.

This kind of patriotism and revolutionary heroism is manifested in the boundless spirit of creativity of the commanders and fighters on the battlefield. Conditions on the battlefield are complicated and always changing. The enemy is crafty and full of wiles, and the commanders and fighters must rack their brains, devise means and rely on the wisdom and strength of the masses to defeat the enemy and win victory. After the capture of Dong Dang by our units, the enemy troops split into groups and concealed themselves in the caves and dense grass to continue their stubborn resistance. The commanders and fighters said: "You have adopted the tactics of bandits, but we have tactics for suppressing bandits." Since the enemy changed his tactics, we also changed ours. We sent groups after the enemy troops, chased them into the caves, encircled them and mopped them up hill by hill, cave by cave and forest by forest. Employing this set of tactics, two of our companies destroyed three bunkers on high ground 386, killed 66 enemy troops and captured 6 without losing a single man. We promptly summed up our experiences in the light of the enemy's characteristics and became more precise and accurate in fighting. Deputy political instructor Lu Kuiquan was leading an ammunition and first aid group to the front when he discovered an enemy bunker. He wanted to destroy it but did not have a suitable weapon. Taking off his coat, he soaked it in gasoline. He then made his way unseen to the bunker, ignited the coat and tossed it in. He also attached a detonator to a shell and threw it in. The explosion of the shell combined with the flames destroyed the bunker and killed a squad of enemy soldiers inside. Such heroic feats have informed the people that once the patriotic fever of the people has been sparked it will give rise to boundless wisdom and strength, and there is no stronghold that cannot be captured and no enemy that cannot be defeated.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "This army is powerful because all its members have a discipline based on political consciousness; they have come together and do not fight for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique but for the interests of the broad masses and the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." ("On Coalition Government") In the counterattack in self-defense the masses of commanders and fighters put into practice with their lives and blood the pledge of "Everything for the motherland." They are fighters who have combined theory with practice, and their words and actions are in accord. Confronted with the most arduous and dangerous fighting task, who will be the bayonet? When one must run the risk of sweeping mines, who will sweep the mines? When the enemy is concentrating his fire, who will lead the charge? At such critical junctures our commanders and fighters are always rushing to the front. They do not fear death and are unswerving in maintaining righteousness. They have truly succeeded in "offering their lives

to the country, and there is nothing they cannot do!" They have manifested the lofty quality of being brave in making sacrifices for the party, the motherland and socialism. They have manifested the lofty quality of placing public interests above private ones, showing greater concern for the state, the people, comrades-in-arms and the collective than for the individual, and disregarding dangers and fearing no sacrifice for the honor of the motherland and the dignity of the people. They have manifested the heroic spirit of obeying commands and orders, resolutely fulfilling fighting tasks, moving fearlessly ahead, overcoming all enemies and remaining implacable to the end. The heroic figures in the counterattack in self-defense have set examples for us. Let us emulate the attitude of the heroes, take the road of the heroes and perform feats in the manner of the heroes so that revolutionary heroism will shine forth in greater splendor.

III

Comrade Mao Zedong long ago pointed out: "We are at once internationalists and patriots, and our slogan is, 'Fight to defend the motherland against aggressors.'" ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") This counterattack in self-defense is for the sake of safeguarding the border of the motherland and opposing aggression. Our righteous revolutionary war is a dynamic manifestation of lofty patriotism and internationalism closely combined with patriotism.

Nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the commanders and fighters of our army are proletarian fighters who cherish the motherland and pay attention to world affairs. The units engaged in this action have looked upon this counterattack in self-defense in the light of the global strategy against hegemonism. When the Vietnamese authorities invaded Kampuchea, unfolded anti-China activities and kept on provoking China-Vietnam border incidents, they pointed out that all these activities were a part of the Soviet global strategy. Believing that it could rule supreme in Southeast Asia, the Cuba of the East set up an "Indochina federation" and pushed a policy of southward expansion in the service of the "Asian security system" rigged up by the Soviet Union. Today Vietnam has become the source of instability in Southeast Asia. We have shouldered not only the mandate of the people of the motherland but also the mandate of the peoples of Asia and the world. The success of this battle will upset the global strategy of the Soviet Union, and this is our inescapable internationalist obligation. Facts have shown people that, so long as they heighten indomitable revolutionary spirit, hegemonists can be smashed and opposed. So long as we rely on our own efforts, unite with all those who can be united with and are not afraid of and are good at struggle, we shall be able to defeat the conspiracy of the hegemonists and keep on winning victories. However, compromises and concessions will only make the hegemonists greedier and bring disaster on our heads. So long as peoples throughout the world unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against hegemonism, we will be able to postpone the outbreak of a world war and maintain world peace and stability.

At present the Vietnamese authorities are also trumpeting a kind of so-called "patriotism." However, what they are agitating is precisely the "patriotism" of the Japanese invaders and Hitler in former years and is actually hegemonism and national expansionism. In the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence, many of the comrades in our units, together with the people of the whole country, adopted diverse ways and means to give enormous support to the Vietnamese people. We have always considered giving aid to the Vietnamese people our inescapable internationalist obligation. Our border defense units and the people of the whole country have always protected and treasured peace and stability on the Chinese-Vietnamese border and friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people. The commanders and fighters taking part in the action are extremely aware that the sabotage of the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, the frenzied anti-China activities and the wanton invasion of our border are being carried out by the Vietnamese authorities and are in opposition to the wishes of the Vietnamese people. The ingratitude and perverted actions of the Vietnamese authorities have not only damaged the interests of the Chinese people but also brought serious disaster to the Vietnamese people. The commanders and fighters have conscientiously drawn a clear distinction between the Vietnamese authorities and the Vietnamese people, between the Vietnamese authorities and the Vietnamese party, government and army personnel in general, and between the reactionary officers and men of the Vietnamese Army stubbornly following the Vietnamese authorities and the Vietnamese armed personnel willing to lay down their arms. We will resolutely punish the Vietnamese authorities and their faithful jackals and teach them a brutal lesson. We will show the Vietnamese people concern and love and leniently treat the Vietnamese armed personnel who lay down their arms. In the course of the counterattack in self-defense the commanders and fighters of our border defense units have strictly enforced the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention. They prefer to sleep in the open than to enter the houses of the people. The food captured from the Vietnamese Government and troops is distributed on the spot to the Vietnamese people. Women and children and the old, feeble and infirm are given rice, firewood, medical treatment, medicine and careful attention. Houses that have not been locked are properly locked up. All these are the concentrated expressions of the profound friendship of the commanders and fighters of our army for the Vietnamese people and a shining example of the internationalist spirit. This internationalist spirit of the Chinese Army has been highly praised by the Vietnamese people. They said: "The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are linked heart to heart, and this cannot be prevented by the Vietnamese authorities." In our counterattack in self-defense it is definitely no accident that the Vietnamese people on the border actively acted as our messengers and guides, carried our ammunition and tended our wounded. Basically, this battle was also completely consistent with the long-term interests of the Vietnamese people.

At present, in accordance with the order of the Chinese Government, our border defense units have entirely withdrawn to the Chinese border and are firmly guarding the border of the motherland. If the Vietnamese authorities no longer carry out armed provocations and encroachments against our border, then it can be expected that the Sino-Vietnamese border will become a peaceful and stable border. If in future the Vietnamese authorities continue their armed provocations and encroachments against our border, then, in accordance with the principle "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack," our border defense units will resolutely counterattack with redoubled intensity.

The People's Liberation Army led by the Chinese Communist Party is always a fighting force. Defending the motherland and the border is the long-term fighting task of our army. We must closely and indivisibly integrate socialist modernization with the defense of this kind of construction. The attitude of being engrossed in construction and going in for the "four modernizations" behind closed doors without paying attention to political changes in the world is inconsistent with objective reality. We must not have any illusions about the hegemonists. We warmly love the socialist motherland and must be prepared at all times to fight in her defense.

Let us raise high the banner of patriotism and revolutionary heroism, rally closely round the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng and advance proudly and confidently.

CSO: 4004

REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM WILL SHINE FOREVER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 8-11

[Article by the theoretical group of the Political Department of Beijing PLA units]

[Text] The counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border, the focus of world attention, has ended triumphantly. The masses of commanders and fighters of our PLA units and militiamen participating in the action and civilian workers supporting the front have fought bravely in safeguarding the socialist modernization effort. They have dealt a telling blow to the greedy and ungrateful Vietnamese aggressors. The undaunted revolutionary heroism they displayed in fighting has struck fear into the enemy, earned them a good reputation, radiated light everywhere and won them the respect of the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. Their outstanding performance has educated us in revolutionary heroism.

Revolutionary heroism is a prerequisite for victory in the proletarian revolution and a worthy quality that every revolutionary must have. Lenin pointed out: "There has never been and cannot possibly be a revolution which can be protected against a long-term and arduous struggle, a struggle perhaps marked by great sacrifices." ("First All-Russian Congress of Social Education") The proletarian revolution is the most thorough and penetrating revolution in human history. It calls for burying all systems of exploitation, eliminating all exploiting classes and establishing a new society on the foundation of a shattered old world. This revolution will naturally be more arduous than any before in history. It will naturally encounter the stubborn resistance of all reactionary forces and run into numerous obstacles and hazards. Therefore, this revolution requires that every revolutionary persist in carrying forward revolutionary heroism. At a time when a revolutionary force is not strong enough, he must see a bright future ahead and be filled with confidence. Faced with a powerful enemy, he must remain calm, unruffled and full of dignity. He must not let every setback or obstacle deter him from fighting doggedly. Only in this way can a revolutionary cause be crowned with victory. Only in this way can everyone involved in this cause be worthy of the name of a revolutionary.

Revolutionary heroism is our army's fine tradition and our magic weapon in overcoming every obstacle and defeating the enemy. Our party has traditionally paid great attention to cultivating and promoting revolutionary heroism. In different historical periods, Comrade Mao Zedong time and again taught the whole party and the whole army to carry forward revolutionary heroism. He pointed out: "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as one man remains, he will fight on." ("On Coalition Government") For over half a century our PLA units, influenced by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and tempered in the fires of struggle, have produced myriads of earthshaking and inspiring heroic figures and established the glorious tradition of revolutionary heroism that distinguishes it from all past army units. The history of our party and our army shows that every victory of our revolution is inseparable from revolutionary heroism and is a result of its practice.

After the failure of the first revolutionary civil war, our revolutionary predecessors remained firm and unyielding in a situation in which overhanging murky clouds threatened to reduce everything to shambles. They crawled to their feet, wiped the bloodstains from their bodies and buried their fallen comrades. Undaunted, they kept on fighting. On the 25,000-li Long March they encountered a thousand and one obstacles and hazards. Overhead, many enemy reconnaissance planes dropped bombs. On the ground they were intercepted, encircled and pursued by several hundred thousand enemy troops. Displaying the heroic spirit of "thinking nothing of a thousand and one mountains and streams," our Red Army climbed over snow-covered mountains, trudged across grasslands and overcame every obstacle that stood in its way--performing miracles not known since the world began. They turned the tide in the Chinese revolution. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, the Chinese Communist Party and the army units and the people it led also bravely faced the ferocious Japanese aggressors and the 8 million troops of Chiang Kai-shek. They defeated the enemies, bravely fought a prolonged war and were undeterred by any hardship. For several decades, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party and army displayed the undaunted spirit of revolutionary heroism. Only by doing so did they turn disadvantage into advantage, a passive state of mind into a positive one, a weak country into a strong one and at last overthrew the three big mountains and scored a victory in the Chinese revolution. The history of the Chinese revolution can be claimed as a magnificent paean to revolutionary heroism.

A very important factor leading to a great victory in the counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border is that the commanders and fighters of the PLA units participating in the action have inherited our army's fine traditions and carried forward revolutionary heroism.

Our troops dared to look the threatening enemy in the face and were confident of winning. The Vietnamese authorities claimed to be the "third power in the world" with "an invincible army" which "always emerges the victor." They were eager to go to war and were full of vainglory. To support its lackey, Soviet social imperialism made an ostentatious display of military power before us and bragged and bluffed. Our heroes do not believe in the unorthodox and have nothing to fear. They defied big and small hegemonists. Showing the heroic spirit best illustrated by the saying "Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards; wild bears never daunt the brave," they carried all before them and beat the daylight out of such regular enemy army units as the "A-1 Division," the "Heroic Division," the "Flying Tiger Regiment," and so forth. They sent enemy troops running in all directions and exploded the Vietnamese renegades' myth about "an invincible army."

Our troops are undeterred by any obstacle. They show a strength of will that overcomes all obstacles. The zone of operations in this battle was an easy one to defend but difficult to capture because of towering mountains, dense forests, heavy mist, numerous streams, deep valleys, few or no access roads and a great profusion of mountain caves. In addition, the Vietnamese renegades had for many years taken pains to build fortifications. The border area was crisscrossed by trenches and tunnels. Forts and fortifications were everywhere. The Vietnamese authorities bragged that this was an "impregnable" defense line. All this inspired not the least fear in our heroes. They were not deterred by a thousand and one obstacles and hazards. Even if the mountains were studded with blades and the trees bristled with swords, they would not hesitate to charge forward. They were as brave as they were good at fighting. They acted according to circumstances, geared every movement to an enemy movement and adopted flexible tactics, alternating between blasting fortifications and tunneling through "like mice." Under the attack of our powerful, heroic fighters, the so-called "impregnable" defense line collapsed instantly.

Our troops fought selflessly and thought nothing of their own lives. They unhesitatingly sacrificed themselves for the revolution. Our heroes put the safety of the motherland above everything. Some comrades over 50 years old led the way and charged forward. Some army units went without food and water for several days and nights but kept on fighting bravely with unflagging enthusiasm. Some fighters died blasting forts with cases of explosives strapped to their bodies. Some walked over the enemy's minefields, clearing them to pave the way for the advance of our army units. In this battle there emerged many individuals like Dong Cunrui, Huang Jiguang, Yang Gensi and heroes like "the five heroes of the Langya Mountains." They gave their own blood and their lives to achieve a great victory in the counterattack in self-defense. They are the most cherished ones of the new era and the glory and the pride of the people of the motherland.

Such revolutionary heroism displayed by the brave fighters in the counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border is the cherished spiritual wealth of the party and people and a great driving force behind our advance on the new Long March. Resisting enemy invasion and safeguarding the four-modernizations effort calls for such a spirit. Overcoming difficulties and speeding up the four-modernizations effort also calls for such a spirit. Achieving the four modernizations is a great revolution--a revolution calling on us to overcome poverty and backwardness. It is also a big war--a war on the natural world to achieve a higher output. On the new Long March there will also be such obstacles as "snow-covered mountains," "grasslands," "daduhe" and "lazikou" standing in our way. There will also be many "forts and fortifications" and "unknown highlands" for us to capture. Without revolutionary heroism, socialist modernization cannot be achieved.

When we learn from the heroes we must have the courage to defy all difficulties and be confident in the success of the four modernizations as the heroes did. Inviolable confidence is the prerequisite for the generation of great force and for victory. Only when we are confident that we are bound to win can we pluck up our revolutionary spirit and fight for the realization of the four modernizations. At present, some comrades who dream of and look forward to the four modernizations do not have the confidence that we can succeed in this endeavor. The reason they give is that the economic base of our country is weak, our science and technology is backward and the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" have left us with heaps of problems and difficulties. They think the four modernizations are something "out of reach," like white clouds in the blue sky. We admit that these difficulties do objectively exist. Can we ever make revolution without running into difficulties? Lenin once sharply warned us: "He who is afraid of difficulties in socialist construction, is cowed by difficulties or starts to feel pessimistic and panicky in the face of difficulties is not a socialist." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 176) Would the Chinese people who defy death be intimidated by difficulties? These comrades are wrong, because they have not looked at the essence of problems in a relatively comprehensive way. They see only the difficulties but not the bright side, magnify the difficulties and think of difficulties in terms of absolutes. The proletariat faces difficulties squarely because it wants to overcome them; it admits its backwardness because it wants to change this backward state and catch up with the advanced. Every difficulty can turn into victory under given conditions. Nothing is hard in this world if one dares to scale the heights. To us communists there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome. What we have before us are merely difficulties on the road of advance. Having eliminated the chief cause of our difficulties, that is, the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we have removed the biggest obstacle to the four modernizations. Since we have the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the superior socialist system and millions and millions of bright and hard-working people, we firmly believe we can achieve the four modernizations.

When we learn from the heroes we must have the courage to think and act and boldly make innovations in work as the heroes did. Since the four modernizations are great undertakings never previously attempted by our predecessors, we not only must have absolute confidence and tremendous drive for work but also must emancipate our minds, turn on the machines, think independently, be brave in practice, be bold enough to break paths where none have gone before and do things never previously attempted, and be able to incessantly study new circumstances, explore new questions and do creative work. Some of our comrades lack this spirit. They tend to one-sidedly emphasize unfavorable factors which objectively exist. They only wait for, rely on and demand support and do not show any initiative in work. They are filled with misgivings and fear and dare not move an inch before the forbidden areas set up by the "gang of four." When they work they merely follow the beaten track and copy others without showing any creativity. They are tied hand and foot by lingering fears, misgivings and taboos. All they have in mind are "difficulties" and "fear," and all they seek are "security" and "peace" for themselves. They are routine plodders who eat their fill and sit dozing in their offices all day long. Should not these comrades feel shaken up when they compare themselves with the noble ideas and moving deeds of the heroes? "Man must constantly sum up experiences and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing." This spirit is particularly essential in our endeavor to achieve the four modernizations. If we do not have this spirit but instead do everything as instructed and as written in the books and always follow the footsteps of others, how can we achieve the four modernizations?

When we learn from the heroes we must put revolutionary interests above everything else and boldly contribute all we have to the four modernizations as the heroes did. The four modernizations are our goal of struggle. The realization of this cause demands that each and every one of us work hard and selflessly, pay a price and even lay down our lives. Some of our comrades do understand that the four modernizations demand hard work, but they always hope that others will do the work for them so they can enjoy the fruits of the toil. They talk eloquently about the four modernizations but make all kinds of excuses when they are asked to toil for this cause. They are unwilling to go to places where life is difficult or to bear the brunt of the work. They only hope to make revolution comfortably. They think of personal and even posthumous affairs instead of public and important matters, one-sidedly demand a better personal life without considering the need to develop production and one-sidedly seek personal interests at the expense of state and collective interests. Should not these comrades feel ashamed before the heroes? If the heroes can defy death to defend the achievements of the four modernizations, why can we not cast aside personal interests and work for the four modernizations? What reason have we got to think about personal gains and losses? Those who think about no one but themselves should take the noble ideas and brilliant deeds of the heroes as a mirror, seriously examine their own mind, rid themselves of the dust of individualism, bolster their

revolutionary spirit, catch up with the advance of the times and contribute all they have to the four modernizations. When people work with one heart and one mind they can even move Mount Tai. Provided that all of us take the future and destiny of the motherland to heart, put revolutionary interests above all else, keep the whole situation in mind and work hard with one heart and one mind, we can definitely translate our ideals into beautiful reality.

Since revolutionary heroism is so important to our revolutionary cause and so indispensable to every revolutionary, we would like to know where it comes from. Revolutionary heroism is not innate in the mind; it does not drop from the sky and is not a sudden impulse. Instead, it is a flower nurtured by the rain and dew of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the fruit of long years of training and education by the party. Our warriors have demonstrated boundless loyalty to the motherland and the people. What they embody is the revolutionary heroism to fight for the interests of the masses and the whole nation, rather than the individualistic heroism to fight for the personal interests of a few people or a few narrow cliques. Only a revolutionary who has boundless love for the people can bitterly hate the enemy and boldly and doggedly fight those enemies who have jeopardized the lives of the people. Luo Zhenghe, a hero who was awarded the Order of Merit, First Class, in the counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border, rightly pointed out: "I cherish the happiness of the people of various nationalities who live along the banks of the Lancang River in my native village, and I hate those aggressors who bullied the Chinese people. I am willing to give up everything to defend the motherland." It is precisely this kind of love and hatred that gave him and his comrades-in-arms the force of a thunderbolt when they hit the enemy. Furthermore, only when a revolutionary wholeheartedly works for the prosperity of the motherland and the happiness of the people will he have a high sense of responsibility in political matters and the confidence to overcome all difficulties. Only the selfless can be fearless. If our comrades will give priority to meeting the urgent needs of the state, think what the people think and consider the four modernizations as their task, no enemy can ever intimidate them and no difficulty can ever stop them.

The spirit of revolutionary heroism also comes from the meticulous analysis of objective things and their disciplinary sciences. Our revolutionary heroism is definitely not random, reckless work but is based on dialectical materialism. It is like dealing with snakes and other things. We are afraid of them at first because we do not understand or know about them. Once we understand their characteristics and the laws governing them, not only will we not fear them, but we can, with confidence magnified a hundredfold, triumph over them. Only by understanding the orientation of the development of things and mastering the objective laws governing their development can a revolutionary firmly believe in the sure victory of a just cause and fully believe in the cause of communism. At the same time, only by carrying out a scientific analysis of difficulties

and of the enemy and understanding that all reactionaries who go against the current of history are paper tigers and that all difficulties in the course of advance are but temporary phenomena can we become fearless in the face of an apparently powerful enemy and advance in the face of difficulties with courage magnified a hundredfold. The reason our heroes are brave and fearless before the Vietnamese invaders and Soviet revisionists, apart from their boundless love for the motherland and people and their deep hatred for hegemonists big and small, is that they have carried out a scientific analysis of the enemy, discovered his weaknesses and mastered his characteristics. In short, to really possess the spirit of revolutionary heroism we must combine full revolutionary enthusiasm with strict scientific attitudes and establish a Marxist world outlook.

Our revolutionary heroism is essentially different from the "spirit is all powerful" advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their "spirit is all powerful," which negated the material foundation and transcended objective conditions, is undiluted idealism. Moreover, on the premise of recognizing that matter comes first, revolutionary heroism attaches importance to the reaction of the spirit. While striving to create material conditions, at the same time it gives free scope to the subjective initiative of the people and stands for dialectical materialism. Without weapons it is impossible to effectively destroy the enemy. Without material conditions it is impossible to make a success of economic construction. However, with similar weapons and material conditions some win the battle while others lose it, and some make a success of construction while others do not. Here, giving play to the subjective initiative of the people is a very important factor. Beyond a shadow of doubt, the theory of "spirit is all powerful" promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" must be thoroughly criticized and resolutely discarded. At the same time, during the course of criticism we must eliminate chaos and restore order and also bring back and give further play to the spirit of revolutionary heroism.

The heroes of the counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border have given us a brilliant example. Inspired by the heroes, the spiritual features of people throughout the country will undergo a great change, and the cause of our revolution and construction will take on a new aspect. The flower of revolutionary heroism will blossom throughout our land, and our great socialist motherland will certainly stand with the heroic posture of the four modernizations among the nations of the world.

CSO: 4004

ON THE UGLY PERFORMANCES OF THE BIG AND SMALL HEGEMONISTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 12-15

[Article by Zhang Yunxun [1728 7189 8113]]

[Text] Counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors in self-defense, Chinese border defense units moved quickly to deflate the arrogance of the "Cuba of the East." Since they were given such telling blows, they have more defiantly reviled China. The Soviet hegemonists have also joined them in churning out anti-China propaganda blasts. Naturally, this torrent of invective is hardly worth refuting. However, from their ugly performances we can see that they have developed something like gangster logic. This provides us with good teaching material by negative example.

1. Returning evil for good and making a countercharge.

In a "message to our compatriots and fighters throughout the country" released on 4 March, the Vietnamese authorities openly slandered China for "colluding with American imperialism in plotting the seizure of Vietnam and in pushing a policy of big-nation expansion." The message also charged China with "moving large forces to the border to carry out daily provocations and nibble at our territory." Moreover, China was accused of "inciting ethnic Chinese to make trouble" inside Vietnam and of "rabidly starting a war of aggression against Vietnam." China was even referred to as Vietnam's "direct and dangerous enemy," and so forth.

Lies cannot cover up facts. For a long time in the past, China and Vietnam were close, fraternal neighbors. In Vietnam's protracted wars against imperialism the Chinese people ate less and worked longer hours in support of the Vietnamese cause. This unsparing national sacrifice has been publicly acknowledged by people all over the world, including those living in Vietnam. While the Vietnamese authorities were grateful for past Chinese aid, they later on flatly denied such assistance and instead made a countercharge, falsely accusing China of "colluding" with the United States in its aggression against Vietnam. China has long regarded giving aid to Vietnam as part of its internationalist duty and has never asked

for recompense, directly or indirectly. Was it not patently absurd for the Vietnamese authorities to call Chinese aid aggression?

The Vietnamese authorities' flagrant lies in fact gave away their evil intentions of regarding China as their "number one enemy." It was Vietnam itself which spent many years secretly building fortifications along the Sino-Vietnamese border in preparation for war with China and to seize some of its territory. It was Vietnam which attacked China obliquely and incited ill feeling between the two countries to portray China as an enemy. It was also the Vietnamese authorities who received large quantities of Chinese aid at the border checkpoint and then aimed recoilless artillery at the supply depot and transshipment center on the Chinese side. The treachery of the Vietnamese authorities was indeed appalling!

Since Vietnam was unified in recent years, the Vietnamese authorities have become inordinately chauvinistic, rapidly developing into regional hegemonists. By relying on Soviet hegemony, they have vainly tried to form an "Indochina federation" and played the part of the "tyrant of the south" in the "Asian collective security system" rigged up by the Soviet Union. They have thus regarded China as a formidable barrier to accomplishing their sinister plan. Harboring bitter hatred for the Chinese people, they have naturally stepped up their anti-China performance, such as by wantonly persecuting Chinese living in Vietnam and their descendants, who have contributed to the Vietnamese cause, and expelling them to China. Vietnamese troops supplied with rice from China and equipped with weapons shipped from our country continually intruded into the Chinese border area, killing our people, destroying our villages and plundering our property. They turned a deaf ear to our admonitions and warnings and took Chinese tolerance and concessions as a sign of weakness. They stepped up their intrusion and provocation. It was under intolerable circumstances that Chinese border units were compelled to counterattack in self-defense.

Judging by what the Vietnamese authorities did in the past and what they have done now, it is obvious to people that they are unscrupulously faithless pragmatists in international contacts. A senior Vietnamese official said in 1976: "During the Vietnam war it was important to Vietnam to make China and the Soviet Union help North Vietnam as much as possible. However, it is no longer necessary for Vietnam to pursue this policy." He added: "It is very important for Vietnam to be on amicable terms with the Soviet Union, which strongly hopes to weaken Chinese influence in this part of the world. This is in accord with Vietnam's interests." Since they regard anything that is useful to them as the truth, they naturally attack themselves to a good provider. However, once they are rubbed the wrong way, they will take friend as enemy. This is what they call pragmatic logic.

2. Calling a policeman a thief to distract public attention.

Before China counterattacked in self-defense, the Vietnamese authorities spread wild rumors about China carrying out "aggression" against Vietnam. Since the Chinese border forces counterattacked in self-defense, the Vietnamese authorities and Soviet hegemonists in fact have not stopped reviling China. They accused China of scheming for a long time to conquer Vietnam and charged that China had wantonly and insolently attacked "less powerful neighbors." Such vehement outbursts were intended merely to cover up Soviet expansionist moves by playing the trick of calling a policeman a thief to divert public attention.

China counterattacked purely in self-defense. This was borne out by the fact that China had not seized an inch of Vietnamese territory. After conducting necessary and limited counterattacks and achieving predetermined objectives, Chinese border units withdrew to their original positions. Since what China said counted, it acted on what it professed to do. All Chinese border troops have now pulled out.

A just or unjust war is not determined by the size of the country waging war, nor has it anything to do with the locale in which the fighting occurs. A concrete analysis of the causes and effects of the fighting should be made to determine the policy and political motivation behind the waging of such a war. The Sino-Vietnamese border conflict was caused by the Vietnamese authorities', with the backing of the Soviet hegemonists, pursuing a policy of regional hegemony and was the result of a series of armed Vietnamese provocations and intrusions into the Chinese border area. Vietnam, as the aggressor, attacked China to seek expansion, while China counterattacked to stop aggression and maintain border peace and tranquillity. This is the crux of the problem. However, in the gangster logic of the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists, they can do anything they please and prohibit others from striking back in self-defense. The Chinese people will counterattack in self-defense on the justifiable grounds that they will not attack if they themselves are not attacked, but they will counterattack if they are attacked.

In yet another unsavory aspect of their ugly performance, the Vietnamese authorities accused China of "carrying out aggression against Kampuchea and occupying it." However, it is Vietnam which, with Soviet backing, invaded Kampuchea and occupied large sections of Kampuchean territory. This finesse in rumormongering was probably beyond the ability of Goebbels himself.

Since the aggressive Vietnamese forces invaded Kampuchea, world opinion has strongly urged the Vietnamese authorities to withdraw their troops from that country. However, this has not been carried out, because if it is, the puppet regime propped up by military force will collapse instantly. This will also thwart the plan to form a "greater Indochina federation." To whitewash their guilt of aggression, the Vietnamese

authorities alleged that the fighting in Kampuchea was a "civil war," that "Vietnam had not intervened," that the so-called question of Kampuchea never existed in Indochina, and that "the question of aggression and being aggressed against never existed" in Kampuchea. They even referred to the combined efforts of Indochinese nations to oppose the Chinese reactionaries' invading and slaughtering the Kampuchean people as "a sacred and just struggle in self-defense." Not one Chinese soldier has even been found in Kampuchea, yet China has been accused of carrying out aggression there. The aggressive Vietnamese forces have cruelly massacred the Kampuchean people and occupied Kampuchean territory, yet they have been hailed as promoting "unity among the Kampuchean people and giving them aid." Will people be taken in by this gangster logic? When world opinion was pressing for a Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, both the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists denounced this just demand as "devilish" and "reactionary" or labeled their critics as "accomplices" and accused them of "sharing the spoils." Both the nonaligned nations and ASEAN delegates proposed to the UN Security Council what amounted to a Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea. However, these proposals were vetoed by the Soviet Union. The world press supported this just demand, which brooked no compromise. The outrageous position maintained by the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists only isolated them from the people of the world.

3. Bragging about oneself but feeling internally weak.

The effective Chinese counterattack and subsequent troop withdrawal shattered the myth that Vietnam "is the third strongest military power in the world" and was "invincible." This also gave the lie to the shameful Vietnamese allegation that China wanted to "subjugate" Vietnam. However, when China announced its troop withdrawal, the Vietnamese authorities brazenly claimed they had achieved "total military and political victories." Alleging that it was Vietnam which "has allowed China to pull out its troops," they spread such rumors as the one claiming that China "has been forced to retreat" in order to stage a "dress rehearsal" for a full-scale war and that China "is prepared to aggravate the war." This was accompanied by more frenzied outbursts and preparations to engage China in protracted warfare. They even notified foreign embassies in Hanoi to be prepared to "cope with emergencies" in an atmosphere charged with war.

Clearly, the Vietnamese authorities staged these performances to hoodwink the world press and deceive their people, as well as to cover up their political and military setbacks. After Vietnam was unified, the Vietnamese authorities, instead of promoting national revival and reconstruction, set out on the warpath to seek expansion abroad. As a result, they have become increasingly isolated externally and internally. Economic disruption at home has made people more miserable and caused them to be more restless. To clamp down on popular dissatisfaction, the Vietnamese authorities proclaimed a general mobilization on the pretext of "repulsing

China's aggression." This put the nation on a war footing, and by imposing military control the authorities required everyone to do the work of two persons. Activities that disrupted production and order during the militarization period would be dealt with according to laws enforced during times of war. The massive exodus of Vietnamese refugees during this period of military rule caused widespread agitation among the people and further demoralized the public. In stepping up expansion abroad and repression at home, the Vietnamese authorities found themselves in a predicament externally and internally.

The ruthlessness of the Vietnamese authorities in expanding their domain is in sharp contrast to their economic vulnerability. As subjective idealists the Vietnamese authorities tend to overestimate their own strength. Apart from taking account of their vulnerable nature, we should properly assess their aggressive and adventurous character and put ourselves on guard. If they dare to start new aggression and provocations, we must strike heavier blows at them.

4. Using one's influence to bully others.

China, a peace-loving socialist country, has always advocated peaceful negotiations to settle disputes. The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed holding talks with Vietnam to restore peace and tranquillity on the border and solve disputed issues related to border and territorial problems. China's peaceful intentions are acknowledged throughout the world and are supported by facts.

However, the Vietnamese authorities did everything possible to obstruct the Chinese proposal. They even accused China of using the proposed peace talks as a "smokescreen" and spread the lie that "there are still more than 10,000 Chinese troops remaining in Vietnamese territory." They also demanded a complete withdrawal of Chinese troops from the Chinese side of the border. The Vietnamese authorities unilaterally advocated this before talks were held. These pretexts were fabricated to defer and sabotage the talks.

The Chinese proposal is in accord with the interests and aspirations of the people of both countries to safeguard peaceful and friendly relations. China has long suffered from the devastations of war. It needs a prolonged period of stability and peace to achieve socialist modernization. The Vietnamese people, who have also experienced protracted wars, need a peaceful environment to heal the scars of war and rebuild their country. The Sino-Vietnamese border was settled long ago, and there is not much dispute on this issue. What, then, is the crux of the Sino-Vietnamese quarrel? The answer lies in Vietnam's attempt to play the overlord in Southeast Asia with the Soviet Union's backing.

The Soviet hegemonists have the ambition to dominate the world. They have frenziedly expanded their arms in preparation for war, threatening other

countries with war and expansion and becoming the most ferocious enemies of the world. To expand its influence in Asia, the Soviet Union has picked Vietnam as its hatchetman. Since Vietnam wants to play the overlord in Southeast Asia, it needs a powerful backer. The two hegemonists have thus colluded with each other. As a nonaligned country, Vietnam has become the Soviet Union's forward post in its expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific region. It has also joined the Soviet-sponsored CEMA and concluded a treaty of a military nature with Moscow to abet the Soviet expansionist moves. As the major opponent to hegemony, China has thus aroused the bitter hatred of the two hegemonists. They have joined forces in encircling China from the north and south in a deliberate attempt to disrupt China's socialist modernization. This is the international background to Vietnam's anti-China outbursts and its consistent efforts to provoke armed border clashes.

The people's logic is an effective antidote to the hegemonists' gangster logic. China wants peace, but with the hegemonists on the warpath it has to fight for peace. The facts of history have proven that there will be peace if people fight for it and no peace if they yield to pressure. If nothing is done against the aggressors, they will do as they please. Retreating can only invite further intrusion. If the aggressors are not punished, they will not stop their bellicose moves. We counterattacked in self-defense, and this was the inevitable result of applying the people's logic. We did this after giving the matter our careful consideration and in line with the basic principle of maintaining international relations. This safeguards China's border tranquillity and will have a far-reaching impact on the preservation of peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout the Asia-Pacific region. If the hegemonists do not draw a lesson from this and insist on making trouble and carrying out disruptive activities, they will suffer greater defeat than they already have.

CSO: 4004

THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 16-20

[Article by Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172]]

[Text] This 5 April will mark the third anniversary of the Beijing people's mourning for our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou in the Tiananmen Square and the revolutionary mass movement against the "gang of four." The "5 April" movement was a heroic struggle to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at the same time it was also a revolutionary movement to win socialist democracy and the four modernizations. It expressed the common aspiration of millions of people throughout the country. The revolutionary consciousness shown by the masses in the "5 April" movement is inseparable from the long-term education of the party.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" a profound change has taken place in the motherland. It is an epoch-making change, and outward appearances are changing in countless auspicious ways. The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee made a decision on shifting the emphasis of the party's work and stressed that socialist modernization requires centralized leadership. It also emphasized democracy and the legal system and the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism. To carry on the revolutionary spirit of the "5 April" movement, we should follow the orientation indicated by the third plenum, uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, strengthen party leadership, continue to give play to socialist democracy, promote stability and unity throughout the country, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and insure the successful realization of this great new historical task of the four modernizations.

The Four Modernizations Need Democracy

It is absolutely not happenstance that people put the four modernizations as well as socialist democracy on their banner in the "5 April" movement.

"The day modernization in the four fields is realized, we will come back to offer libations and sacrifices" is the gallant pledge widely circulated

among the people, and it fully reflects the deep nostalgia of the people for Premier Zhou and their urgent desire to build a strong, modern socialist country. However, the "gang of four" vilified these words as the words of a reactionary poem. This clearly exposes their counterrevolutionary features of opposing our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou and socialist modernization. Their actions of going against the current of history and practicing feudalism and fascism unmistakably informed people: To realize the four modernizations dreamed of by the Chinese people and restore socialist democratic life, it is necessary to eliminate the all-evil "gang of four." In this way the masses of people have closely linked the struggle against the "gang of four" with the struggle to realize the "four modernizations" and achieve democracy.

The people's aspiration to carry out the four modernizations and give full scope to democracy is now being realized. However, we must realize that we still have a long way to go before we complete the four modernizations, make our legal system perfect and fully develop democracy. In old China we lacked the tradition of democracy, as China was under feudal rule for many years. Some imperfections remained in the people's democratic system established after the liberation. In particular, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced feudalism and fascism for the past decade or more, seriously undermining socialist democracy and the legal system. To eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and give full scope to socialist democracy is a necessity in eliminating chaos and restoring order and in realizing the four modernizations.

Only by giving full scope to democracy will it be possible for us to represent the correct ideas of the masses, formulate the correct line, principles, policies and measures, and insure that the four modernizations will be developed along the socialist path. To realize the four modernizations is a great political revolution to fundamentally change China's technological and economic backwardness and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In making this revolution we must extensively change the present backward productive forces and bring about diverse changes in the relations of production and the superstructure, the management methods in various industrial and agricultural enterprises and the state's methods of managing these enterprises. We must help people change their actions and thinking so that such actions and thinking will not stand in the way of the extensive modernization of our economy. During this revolution we will be faced with many new situations and problems, and we are required to study the situations and solve the problems. This requires us to give full scope to democracy, timely and extensively pool the wisdom of the masses and uphold the method of leadership of "from the masses, to the masses." In particular, questions of policy and the general situation should be discussed over and over again, and the views of the masses should be fully heard. We should practice "rule by the voice of many" and not "rule by the voice of one man alone." If we succeed in achieving centralism on a broad democratic basis, the decisions and policies of the leading organs will correspond with the

interests of the majority and with objective law, and there will be fewer mistakes and miscalculations.

Only by giving full scope to democracy will it be possible for us to bring into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses and train a large number of competent people. The four modernizations represent the cause of hundreds of millions of people. We will not be able to realize the four modernizations if we do not bring into full play the enthusiasm of all the people and pool their wisdom. The socialist system has provided us with the greatest possibility for bringing into full play the wisdom of the people. To turn this possibility into reality we must give full scope to democracy and make people feel that they are truly the masters of society. Thus, the potential enthusiasm of the masses can be brought into full play, and a large number of competent and outstanding people will come to the fore one after another.

Only by giving full scope to democracy will it be possible for us to subject the leading organs and cadres of the party and state to people's criticism and supervision and overcome bureaucracy as much as possible. Without extensive democracy it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and stabilize political power. Without democracy it will be impossible to rely on the masses to effectively exercise dictatorship over a handful of hostile elements and fully arouse the masses to effectively expose and criticize bureaucracy. Bureaucracy suppresses the use of competent people, cripples people's initiative, shatters the lively democratic atmosphere and obstructs the development of the four modernizations.

Bureaucracy is generally a form of contradiction among the people. In dealing with cadres who display a bureaucratic attitude we must not always overthrow them and strip them of all power. We must adopt the democratic method--the method of criticism and supervision. When the people lead a normal democratic life they will be able to criticize and exercise supervision over their own cadres and discharge the cadres who are found to be incompetent. Thus, we will be able to overcome bureaucracy as much as possible, strengthen ties between the masses and the cadres and effectively prevent the cadres of the state from becoming the masters of society instead of its servants.

To mobilize all the people throughout the country to work with one heart and one mind in realizing the four modernizations is the biggest political event today and for a long time to come. Only by relying on tens of millions of people in giving full scope to democracy, by collecting the opinions of the masses and thus benefiting from them, and by pooling their wisdom and its effects will it be possible for us to truly act according to the objective economic laws, maintain a situation of stability, unity and liveliness and triumphantly promote the four modernizations.

Socialist Democracy Serves the Socialist Economy

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the broad masses of people and cadres, under the leadership of the party, have used Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon to expose the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in vigorously practicing feudalism and fascism and have made various suggestions for promoting democracy and strengthening the legal system. The democratic life inside and outside the party thrives, and the people's enthusiasm for socialism is becoming higher and higher. There are even more people who express their views on the development of the four modernizations. Academic discussions are becoming more and more vigorous. This is a very gratifying situation which reflects the main aspect of current democratic life.

At the same time, there are some comrades opposed to the feudalism and fascism practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who demand that democracy be given full play. However, they fail to understand the Marxist views on democracy and the essential truth about democracy among classes. They have taken up the wornout weapons the bourgeoisie used in the period of the Enlightenment. Some persons even desire Western bourgeois democracy and regard the West as a "paradise for democracy." Therefore, we must vigorously study and propagate the Marxist views on democracy and distinguish bourgeois democracy from proletarian democracy.

Lenin said: "Just like any part of the superstructure in the field of politics, in the final analysis democracy is aimed at serving production. (This will invariably exist before the abolition of class in the superstructure and the establishment of a proletarian society.) In the last analysis, it is also determined by the production relations in society," that is, there is no such thing as supraclass, abstract democracy. The kind of democracy fostered by different classes is only a means to serve the interests of the different classes. ("More on Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 439)

The slogan of democracy articulated by the bourgeoisie, in the final analysis, serves the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. In the early period of the bourgeois revolution the bourgeoisie raised the banner of democratic freedom, because they wanted to overthrow feudal rule, establish bourgeois rule and let the bourgeoisie take over the government so that they could enjoy the freedom to exploit the workers and develop capitalist production relations. After bourgeois rule was established, although they still professed democracy, their kind of democracy was designed to protect capitalist ownership. The moment democracy overstepped the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, it was suppressed and crushed. Lenin said: "The spirit and basic idea of all previous constitutions, even the most republican and democratic, amounted to one thing--property." ("Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 168) In the final

analysis, proletarian democracy serves the socialist economic base, consolidates and develops socialist ownership and increases labor productivity. If democracy infringes on the socialist system and disrupts the socialist economy, then this kind of democracy is absolutely not proletarian democracy, and it will also not be needed by the socialist economic base.

Bourgeois democracy based on bourgeois private ownership is democracy for a minority. Although a bourgeois constitution stipulates a number of citizen rights, such as general elections and so forth, and it appears that everybody enjoys democratic rights, they are not the essence of the matter. If we make a careful study of the practice of bourgeois democracy we will find that there are actually numerous restrictions of these rights. In the elections of some capitalist countries there are over 50 restrictions on the qualifications of the voters, such as nationality and race, job and social background, religious belief and education, property and period of residency. In capitalist countries there is also the question of mass media and assembly places which are all controlled by the bourgeoisie. A campaign requires an enormous amount of money, and it is impossible to participate without financial backing. Outwardly, power changes hands in capitalist countries through popular elections. In fact, a personal scramble takes place within the monopoly clique. Bourgeois democracy "always remains, and under capitalism can only remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited and the poor." ("Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautskiy," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 630) Proletarian democracy is based on socialist public ownership. This fundamentally guarantees that the mass of laboring people will enjoy full democratic rights. It may not appear as colorful in form as bourgeois democracy, but it is the most extensive and substantial democracy in mankind's history. It only exercises dictatorship over a small number of hostile elements.

Some people are very fond of the bourgeois slogan "human rights," imagine it is something modern and wish to use it to solve our problems. This shows their misunderstanding of the class essence of democracy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sabotaged democracy and law and trampled upon human rights, and it is understandable that people pay attention to these questions. However, we must know that the bourgeoisie uses "human rights" as a slogan for struggle in two ways. In one way the bourgeoisie uses "human rights" to combat religious power and feudal privileges and is thus progressive. In another way it uses human rights in the abstract to cover up its true nature of exploitation and oppression. In bourgeois minds, "human" beings are the bourgeoisie itself, and "rights" are only capitalist privileges. "Bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man." (Engels, "Anti-Duhring," p 15) Therefore, it is hypocritical. The capitalist and imperialist countries vociferously advocate "human rights," but in their countries labor is a commodity to be bought and sold. How can there be any genuine people's rights where racial discrimination and colonial domination still exist? Can there

really be any equal "human rights" between capitalists and workers, blacks and whites and colonialists and oppressed people?! Our proletariat has a still nobler and more honest slogan, that is, proletarian democracy. We have never written the hypocritical slogan of human rights in the abstract into our program. However, this does not mean that there are no people's rights in socialist countries and that the rights of the people are not protected. Fundamentally speaking, we have eliminated exploitation and oppression. For the first time in history we have truly solved the problem of which rights people should enjoy. Our socialist constitution fully safeguards people's rights. The bad practice of trampling on people's rights, as witnessed when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway, is not the nature of socialism. On the contrary, they sabotaged the socialist system. Our task is to continue to eliminate the remaining poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and perfect and protect socialist democracy and our legal system.

China has experimented with the weapons of the bourgeoisie for a long time. In the last century and more, progressive Chinese from Hong Xiuquan and Kang Yuwei to Sun Zhongshan all sought weapons from the West to make the country rich and strong. The "inherent rights" of Rousseau, the "liberty, equality and fraternity" of the French Revolution and the plan for a "bourgeois republic" were all tested and found to be impracticable for semifeudal and colonial old China under the historical conditions of that time. Experience has proved that only Marxism-Leninism can save China. In the past we were not able to carry out bourgeois democracy. Now, with the establishment of proletarian democracy, it will be even more impossible for us to practice bourgeois democracy, because this will constitute moving backward. History must continue to advance and develop. Although there still are imperfections in certain links in our democracy, there is an essential distinction compared with bourgeois democracy in that it is vastly superior to bourgeois democracy and basically beyond the reach of bourgeois democracy. We can only advance on the existing basis and rely on Marxism-Leninism to solve problems, and we absolutely cannot go backward.

Socialist Economy Demands the Dialectical Unity of Democracy and Centralism

Effecting a shift in the emphasis of work of the whole party and making a success of socialist modernization require stability and unity throughout the country, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment and maintenance of order in production, all work and society. This, in turn, requires us to handle well the relations between democracy and centralism, between freedom and discipline, and so forth, so that the party's unified leadership and effective direction in all production organizations are based on the mass line and that the sense of organization and discipline on the part of the masses is based on their own willingness. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Unless we fully promote people's democracy and inner-party democracy, and unless we fully implement proletarian democracy, it will be impossible for China to have true

proletarian centralism. Without a high degree of democracy it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy." ("Talk at an Enlarged Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee")

The proletariat's democratic centralism is the dialectical unity of democracy and centralism--the two cannot be separated. All centralism without democracy means bureaucratic centralism. On the other hand, all democracy without centralism means anarchism and ultrademocratization. Both of these tendencies are unfavorable to the development of a socialist economy. We oppose them both. Lenin said: "We advocate democratic centralism. However, it is necessary to clearly understand the great distinction between democratic centralism and bourgeois centralism on the one hand and anarchism on the other." ("Draft of 'Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government,'" "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 190)

The advocates of bureaucratic centralism believe that centralism virtually excludes democracy. They do not understand that proletarian centralism is based on and preconditioned by democracy. Without democracy there can be no centralism to talk about. To accumulate correct ideas we first of all need to let people speak out, whether or not their views are worthy, whether or not they favor us. On this basis, we subordinate ourselves to the majority and protect the minority to achieve a correct centralism. Correct centralism cannot be separated from democracy. The centralism that is separated from and excludes democracy can only be a bureaucratic centralism that goes counter to the will of the majority. We still have an arduous task facing us in going all out to promote democracy and to resolutely oppose bureaucratism.

We say centralism cannot be separated from democracy. Equally, democracy cannot work without centralism. Engels said: Even in a society of only two persons there should be conciliation and subordination; otherwise it cannot survive. And our country is large. It has a population of 800 million engaged in the four modernizations. A priority project usually requires the coordinated efforts of hundreds or even thousands of factories and enterprises and the participation of tens and even hundreds of thousands of people. This simply will not work without a high degree of centralism, organization and discipline. Without centralism, each one has his own ideas and goes his own way; this naturally results in anarchism and total nothingness. "Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people." (Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

Marxism holds that freedom should be guided freedom and that democracy should be a democracy under the guidance of centralism, not anarchism. The slogan of promoting democracy by kicking aside the party committee is totally erroneous. Socialist democratic centralism keeps classes, collectives and the masses in mind. Anarchism is rooted in individualism and each individual's own will. "Anarchism is bourgeois individualism in

reverse, individualism as the basis of the entire anarchist world outlook." ("Anarchism and Socialism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 5, p 294) People under the influence of anarchism usually tackle a problem, not with the interests of the proletariat as a whole or long-term interests in mind, but in the interests of individuals or small groups. If we clamor for absolute democracy and absolute freedom outside the context of the basic principles of the constitution and without considering our historical conditions, if we talk about improving our living standards without thinking of production, if we pursue our personal interests without keeping the interests of the whole in mind, and if we just want emancipation of our minds and have nothing to do with universal Marxist theories, we will go astray. This is because individualist democracy and freedom violate the democratic rights of millions of other people--the right to work for the four modernizations, the right to normal life--and disrupt the normal work of the leading organs. Anarchism stands against authority, centralism and the rule of law. Actually, negation of authority, centralism and the rule of law means negation of democracy. Democracy without centralism and without protection by the rule of law is nonexistent in the first place.

There is a historical reason for anarchism, and it must be concretely analyzed and not simply suppressed. Most people affected by anarchism have problems that belong in the category of contradictions among the people, and they want to have them solved. They think that by kicking up a row and creating disturbances they can get the problems solved. We must reason with them, tell them what is right and wrong and explain to them the advantages and disadvantages. At the same time we must actively solve their problems. If we cannot solve them right away, we must also explain this clearly to them. We believe most of them will listen to reason. As for those individual black sheep who use "democracy" for personal ends and to stir up trouble, they should be severely punished for the disastrous results they have caused. Black sheep are harmful to the people. We must expose them and at the same time punish them. This does not constitute impairing democracy but safeguarding democratic order. Class struggle and a handful of counterrevolutionaries and criminals still exist in socialist society. We must exercise proletarian dictatorship over them. We absolutely cannot adopt a laissez-faire attitude toward them.

To safeguard the healthy growth of socialist democracy and to wage struggles against bureaucratism and anarchism, which undermine democracy, it is necessary to establish and resolutely protect the socialist legal system. Without law and order there can be no democracy. The socialist legal system is compulsory. It prescribes what conduct is proper and what is improper. For example, the constitution stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of speech, but people are not allowed to take advantage of freedom of speech to carry out personal attacks, make false political accusations or spread rumors and lies. The constitution stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of assembly, association, procession and demonstration.

However, if people use this freedom to disrupt traffic, batter public organs and enterprises, interfere with the normal order of society, work and production and ignore persuasion, then they will be seriously infringing upon the law and must be sanctioned. The constitution defines the rights of citizens. At the same time it also defines the obligations of citizens to cherish and protect public property, obey labor discipline, observe public order, respect social morality and safeguard the secrets of state organs. Right and obligation are always closely linked. "There is no right without obligation and no obligation without right." ("Common Bylaws of the International Workers Association," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 137) One cannot only enjoy democratic rights without fulfilling obligations, and one also cannot only fulfill obligations without enjoying democratic rights. Socialist democracy and the legal system cannot be separated. Only with a sound legal system can we have a healthy, normal democratic order.

The socialist era is very promising. In this splendid era many heroic figures have appeared. Now the historic task of realizing the four modernizations has been placed before us. Our best way to commemorate the "5 April" movement is to devote all our wisdom and talents to this most impressive undertaking in human history and to carry out the behests of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng.

CSO: 4004

THE 'LEFTIST' LINE OF LIN BIAO AND THE 'GANG OF FOUR' AND ITS SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL ROOT CAUSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 21-26

[Article by Shi Zhu [4258 4554]]

[Text] With the deepening of the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the gradual emancipation of the mind, people have come to see more and more clearly that the revisionist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is an out-and-out "left" opportunist line rather than an "ultrarightist" or "fake left but real right" line. At present, the only way that we can further smash the spiritual shackles which fettered our minds, correctly summarize experiences and lessons since the Cultural Revolution and uphold the correct Marxist-Leninist line is to thoroughly examine and repudiate this ultraleftist line, grasp its basic features and ferret out its social and historical roots.

The "Two Reversals" Are the Basic Features of the "Leftist" Line of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four"

Why do we say that what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed is a "left" opportunist line? To answer this question we must proceed from reality and analyze the fundamental content and basic features of this line. Facts show that their line has two salient features: politically, it reverses enemy and friends and widens the scope of class struggle; ideologically, it reverses theory and practice and preaches dogmatism.

Reversing enemy and friends and widening the scope of struggle is a major manifestation of the "leftist" line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Class struggle exists throughout the socialist period, and it is impermissible to narrow or widen the scope of this struggle. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" fabricated the "law" that "the more we struggle, the more ruthless and rigorous we become," and they raised the call to "launch attacks against the bourgeoisie without letting up." Consequently,

political movements appeared one after another, and class struggle surged wave upon wave. As a result, people became panicky and did not know what to do, and the nation was reduced to a state of chaos and poverty.

They widened the scope of class struggle and raised the limits of essential struggles against class enemies to make every person suspect. There were struggles inside and outside the party, in society and in all households. They clamored about "the absence of a vacuum" and "waging class struggle everywhere" until they finally provoked an "all-round civil war."

They confused the two different types of contradictions. They branded the veteran cadres as "capitalist roaders" and made them the "target of attack." They branded the veteran workers as "people with vested interests" and made them the "target of revolution." They branded the intellectuals as "people of the stinking ninth category" and made them the "target of dictatorship." They branded the peasants as "small producers" and made them the "target of struggle." In short, they were eager to topple all revolutionary cadres, workers, peasants and intellectuals. Because of them, false and trumped-up cases were reported throughout the country, and socialist democracy and the legal system were badly crippled.

They also magnified the role of class struggle, confused the relations between politics and economics and negated the role played by the struggle for production and scientific experiment in social development. They considered class struggle as the only motivating force in socialist society and vigorously carried out their so-called class struggle, which was divorced from production and jeopardized production, with the result that the national economy was pushed to the brink of collapse.

Reversing theory and practice and vigorously promoting dogmatism is another major manifestation of the "leftist" line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The three "leftist" lines which emerged during the period of democratic revolution had one thing in common: that is, they all preached dogmatic thinking. As was pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party," the "left" opportunists at that time "threw away the essence of Marxism-Leninism, transported particular words and phrases from Marxist-Leninist literature into the country and took them for dogma, without any study of the suitability of these quotations to the actual conditions of present-day China." In this regard, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" bore a striking resemblance to Wang Ming and his ilk. The "theory of acting in accordance with the principles" preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is a typical example of dogmatism. In preaching about "acting in accordance with every sentence said," what they wanted was to turn every sentence of the revolutionary teachers into a panacea. In preaching about "always acting in accordance with the principles laid down," what they wanted was to turn fragments of

quotations into absolute truths which transcended space, time and history. Does not this "theory of acting in accordance with the principles" fully encompass all the basic features of dogmatism? Of course, dogmatism does not always appear "leftist." When it rigidly adheres to outmoded principles and opposes revolutionary progress, it is rightist. What Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did was to distort particular words and conclusions of revolutionary teachers, carry things to the extreme and turn truth into falsehood.

We should note that, unlike those dogmatists of the past who thought the only way to carry out revolution was to desperately cling to a few dogmas, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took counterrevolution as their objective. During the period of democratic revolution, some people committed dogmatic mistakes because of their petty bourgeois subjectivism and one-sided ways of thinking. We cannot deny that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" preached dogmatism because they were counterrevolutionary. Similarly, we cannot deny that they pushed a "leftist" line because they were counterrevolutionary. Quite the contrary, the more they wanted to practice counterrevolution, the more they had to seek help from dogmatism. They eagerly styled themselves as "geniuses" and shouted about "acting in accordance with the principles" so they could use Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige to push their "leftist" line and "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." This was their purpose in preaching dogmatism.

The "two reversals" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" typically reflect their "30-percent leftist" way of thinking and doing things and show that the type of revisionism they practiced is what Lenin called "revisionism from the left."

As Lenin pointed out: "Whether in nature or in society, 'pure' phenomenon does not and will not appear." On the question of line there is also no such thing as a "purely" "leftist" line or a "purely" rightist line. When we examine the words and deeds of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we find that sometimes they did appear rightist. However, these rightist manifestations were never the mainstay of their line. Furthermore, we must not lose sight of the fact that the concepts of "left" and right deviations are generally applied in connection with inner-party struggle, and it is inappropriate to use them outside the scope of inner-party struggle. Lin Biao attempted to assassinate Chairman Mao and plotted a counterrevolutionary coup; the "gang of four" attempted to usurp supreme party and state leadership and became more frantic than ever after the passing of Chairman Mao. This was not just a question of line struggle but was a life-and-death struggle between revolution and counterrevolution. Thus, we cannot say that the "leftist" line is the sum of all the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Whether we designate the antiparty and counterrevolutionary plots of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as "leftist" or rightist, we would still be wide of the mark. In designating Lin Biao's crimes in plotting against Chairman Mao and turning traitor and

the "gang of four's" subversive activities to usurp party and state power as "ultrarightist," we used the concept of "right deviation" outside the scope of inner-party struggle. This inevitably caused us to use ultrarightist trends to cover ultraleftist ones and to underestimate and even abandon the task of examining and repudiating the "left" opportunist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The Social Roots of the "Leftist" Line of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four"

Marxism holds that opportunism is neither a fortuitous phenomenon nor the sin, mistake or betrayal of an individual, but is the social product of an entire historical epoch. The "leftist" line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could run amuck for a time because this line has deep social and class roots.

As proven by the history of our party, the petty bourgeoisie was the social basis of "left" opportunism and was the best soil for breeding ultraleftists. Needless to say, the petty bourgeoisie were the basic revolutionary force upon which our party relied throughout the period of democratic revolution and the period of socialist revolution. Particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been completed in the main, they began to firmly follow the socialist road under the leadership of the party. Despite the fact that the public ownership system had been established, our rural areas basically still carried out collectivized small production and were not yet fully capable of using socialized large-scale production to replace or reorganize collectivized small production. Until this day we have not yet secured a strong material means to reorganize small production, and for this reason we are not yet able to thoroughly reform the class character of the petty bourgeoisie. Even after socialized large-scale production has materialized, the class character of the petty bourgeoisie can still assert itself from time to time. Thus, petty bourgeois selfishness, narrowmindedness, conservatism, subjectivism, fanaticism, vacillation, and so forth will still exert a far-reaching influence for a considerable time to come. As facts have proven, the various aspects of the petty bourgeois class character do not assert themselves simultaneously in all circumstances and do not play an equal part. Under given historical conditions, a particular aspect or several aspects of this class character will rapidly swell and become "left" or right erroneous trends. Incited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," petty bourgeois fanaticism asserted itself most sharply amidst the violent storms of the Cultural Revolution.

It should be pointed out that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were representatives of the landlord bourgeoisie rather than of the petty bourgeoisie. Their "left" opportunist line did not represent the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. Instead, it was aimed at restoring the rule of feudal fascism. Concealing its true identity behind "most revolutionary" words and phrases and donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought, this "leftist" line can be extremely deceptive and can readily incite and play on petty bourgeois fanaticism, chiefly revolutionary fanaticism and religious fanaticism.

Revolutionary fanaticism did great harm to our cause during the period of democratic revolution. At that time "many representatives of the petty bourgeois revolutionaries hoped for an immediate victory of the revolution to bring about a radical change in their status; therefore, they lacked the patience needed for protracted revolutionary endeavor, were fond of 'leftist' revolutionary phrases and slogans and, in their sentiments and actions, were given to closed-doorism or adventurism." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party") When fanaticism found its expression within the party, it produced mistakes of the three "left" opportunist lines and inflicted heavy losses upon the revolution. Fanaticism also cropped up during the period of socialist revolution. With the favorable climate offered by the Cultural Revolution, petty bourgeois revolutionary fanaticism further expanded. Because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used the most fascinating words to eulogize this kind of fanaticism, anarchism spread unchecked and became a tremendous force in pushing the "leftist" line.

Religious fanaticism, which appears to be new, is in fact something which is very old. Since there was never any well-developed capitalism in Chinese history, the petty bourgeoisie had always lived in a feudal or semicolonial and semifeudal society. Their ideology, viewpoints and habits were shaped by a feudalistic social environment over many years. For this reason they were more deeply affected by feudalism than by capitalism. In his analysis of the characteristics of small peasants in mid-19th century France, Marx said: "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power that protects them against the other classes and sends them rain and sunshine from above." ("The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 693) The subservience to power, worship of authority, idolatry and desire for favors characteristic of French small peasants 120 years ago still seriously affect the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie in present-day China. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" capitalized on this characteristic to whip up a god-making movement of the 1970's and brought religious fanaticism to the boiling point. When this kind of fanaticism prevailed, any "leftist" program or slogan could be enforced as long as it bore the tag "highest directive." People were told to "carry out what you understand and also carry out what you cannot understand."

The parts played by revolutionary and religious fanaticism in the early and later periods of the Cultural Revolution were not quite the same. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution these two kinds of fanaticism were inseparable and complemented each other like wind and fire. Together they formed a huge force for destruction. Despite the fact that Comrade

Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed the need to guide petty bourgeois ideology onto the path of the proletarian revolution and criticized the ultra-leftist tendency to "suspect all and overthrow all" and Comrade Zhou Enlai made painstaking efforts to conduct ideological education, the situation still got out of control, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had done all they could to fan the flames. However, life and practice were the best teachers. Toward the last days of the Cultural Revolution, the masses, including those people who were seriously affected by petty bourgeois ideology, got fed up with the ultra-leftist line and realized that this line did not represent their interests. Suspicion and discontent grew, and revolutionary fanaticism cooled off. However, superstition still existed and fettered people's minds. Shielded and championed by superstition, wavering ultra-leftist things continued to survive and spread in living reality. Thus, it is impossible to thoroughly destroy the "leftist" line when superstition has not yet been completely done away with.

Some people incorrectly think that petty bourgeois influence is a problem of the masses and the basic-level cadres. This is extremely unjust and even wrong. Spontaneous petty bourgeois tendencies not only will affect the masses but will surround and contaminate the proletariat and the Communist Party. They not only will affect the basic-level cadres but will surround and contaminate the leading organs of the party. As the historical experiences of our party have proven, when spontaneous petty bourgeois tendencies were merely "spontaneous tendencies" they could not "spontaneously" produce any particular line or policy. It was only when these tendencies found their expression within the party, influenced the party's leading organs and dominated certain party leaders that they could produce erroneous lines and policies and could push these lines and policies from top to bottom. Once these erroneous lines and policies were produced and pushed, they would in turn greatly strengthen the spontaneous petty bourgeois tendencies.

China is a country with an enormous petty bourgeoisie. For many years after the basic completion of socialist transformation, the petty bourgeoisie inevitably exerted its influence, sometimes even strongly. The crux of the problem is: Does our party guide the petty bourgeoisie, or does the petty bourgeoisie exercise influence over our party? If our party does not uphold the proletarian stand and viewpoint and remold the petty bourgeoisie, but instead consciously or unconsciously gives expression to petty bourgeois ideology and sentiments and even allow us to be influenced by the petty bourgeois revolutionary spirit, we will not be able to formulate correct lines and policies and will make mistakes. Therefore, it is the primary task of our party and our party leaders to fight petty bourgeois influence.

The Historical Roots of the "Leftist" Line of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four"

Besides its deep social roots, the "left" opportunist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also has deep historical roots.

It is commonly acknowledged that the party's correct Marxist-Leninist line held sway during the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution. This correct line and its application in various fields had been scientifically explained and summarized by Comrade Mao Zedong in such articles as "On the Ten Major Relationships," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee" and by Comrade Zhou Enlai in various "government work reports" and in his speech to the participants of a forum on literary and art work and a meeting on scenario writing. These documents will still be taken as our theoretical weapon in the four modernizations. However, there was also interference from erroneous ideas and trends during those 17 years. Sometimes this interference came from the right, but most of the time it came from the "left." Boastfulness, commandism and the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely were some of the more salient manifestations of "left" deviation. During the 3 years of temporary difficulties the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong sought truth from facts and took a series of measures to readjust those sectors of the socialist cause that had experienced interference from "leftist" mistakes. The economy of the country quickly recovered, and the situation gradually improved. Afterward, because we were unable to correctly size up the situation of domestic class struggle, "leftist" mistakes again asserted themselves in certain branches of our work. Notwithstanding the occasional appearance of "left" deviations in our socialist revolution and construction, a "left" opportunist line has never taken shape in our party.

Even before the Cultural Revolution the principal members of the Lin Biao and "gang of four" antiparty cliques had already made a name for themselves in practicing "leftism." They dressed themselves up as "leftists" under the guise of "opposing right deviation." Lin Biao had been shouting "hold high" and decking himself out as the "standard bearer" since 1959. Chen Boda clamored for the abolition of the currency and commodity systems as early as 1958. That "adviser" to the Lin Biao and "gang of four" antiparty cliques had always been an amazingly "leftist" "theoretical authority." Zhang Chunqiao wildly advertised the ultraleftist theory of "doing away with bourgeois rights" and worked hand in glove with Chen Boda to effect the transition to communism prematurely as early as 1958. Yao Wenyuan had been a villain who beat up people everywhere since 1957. Jiang Qing, who had long been "locked behind a veil of mist," appeared dreadfully "leftist" even when she first showed her "dominant features" in the "revolution in Beijing opera."

It can thus be seen that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not become ultraleftists "by a sudden metamorphosis" during the Cultural Revolution. They merely further revealed their true colors and stepped up the vicious ultraleftist activities in which they had been engaged before the Cultural Revolution. From the things they did before the Cultural Revolution we can find the primitive form, original version and prototype of everything trotted out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution, such as their antiparty theoretical program known as the "theory of genius," their counterrevolutionary political program which equated "veteran cadres" with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders," their "much-remembered" concepts of "class struggle" and "giving prominence to politics," their "theory of the dictatorship of the black line in literature and art" and their order that "it is permissible only to criticize rightism but not 'leftism.'"

Our party started to combat "leftist" mistakes long before the Cultural Revolution. However, due to our lack of sufficient understanding of the law governing socialist revolution and construction and due to all kinds of social and historical limitations, many of us either did not realize or did not fully realize the perils and absurdity of "left" deviation. This situation changed after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. As a result of counterrevolutionary agitation by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," "leftist" viewpoints, policies and trends which had taken shape in past years became more malicious, colorful, solid and forceful than ever. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also used new sophistry to reinforce their arguments and adopted new tricks to increase their strength. In this way, isolated erroneous viewpoints developed into a comprehensive system; scattered trends merged into an irresistible current; erroneous tendencies developed into a "leftist" line which ran against the party's correct line; and local dangers developed into a mass disaster.

It is precisely for these reasons that the "left" opportunist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could take shape and develop and could seriously interfere with and sabotage our party's correct line based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought during the Cultural Revolution. In this regard, it is important for us to learn from our own bitter experiences and seriously sum up the lessons of the two-line struggle.

In his analysis of the causes of the failure of the 1848 revolution in Germany, Engels said: "When you ask about the causes which led to the success of the counterrevolution, you get this ready answer everywhere: Because so-and-so 'betrayed' the people. Judging from concrete conditions, this answer may be right and it also may be wrong. Anyway, it does not explain anything, not even why 'the people' allow themselves to be betrayed. Moreover, if a political party owns nothing more than the knowledge that so-and-so is not trustworthy, its future is really pitiful." ("Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 501)

In his analysis of the cause of the bankruptcy of the Second International, Lenin pointed out: "What we must study now are the historical roots, conditions, significance and strength of the trend of social chauvinism.... It is in fact a subterfuge and trick of the sophists to shift our target to 'individuals.'" ("The Bankruptcy of the Second International," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 648)

Do these remarks of the revolutionary teachers have any practical significance in teaching us to summarize past experiences in the two-line struggle? This is something worth pondering. Our party and people have won a great victory in the struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but we have also paid a high price. We must take our money's worth. If after undergoing such a long and arduous struggle we have only come to learn that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a bunch of conspirators and careerists who were guilty of heinous crimes and that they were the ringleaders in pushing the "leftist" line, and if we do not study the social and historical roots of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of this line, then we have indeed gained too little. We must combine the task of examining and repudiating the "leftist" line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with that of correctly summarizing the historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat to truly master the techniques of waging a struggle against this erroneous line, effectively eliminate its pernicious influence and prevent the appearance of similar erroneous lines in the future.

CSO: 4004

OBSERVE AND SAFEGUARD PARTY REGULATIONS AND RULES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 27-31

[Article by Yan Ji [7051 4764]]

[Text] The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the party's work to socialist modernization. At this important stage in history we must seriously uphold party rules and regulations, strictly observe party discipline and properly follow the party's style. We must bring about a normal democratic life and a lively political situation of stability and unity in the whole party and throughout the country. In this way we can give full play to the activism of the masses of party members and revolutionary people and better unite the whole party, the entire army and the people throughout the country in successfully achieving the four modernizations.

Our party rules and regulations represent the party constitution; they consist of certain criteria for political life in the party which were formulated at the recent first plenum of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and were proposed for promulgation to the whole party. This set of criteria reaffirms the fundamental principles of the party's democratic centralism. It stipulates that party committees at all levels must practice collective leadership and oppose the practice of "What I say counts"; uphold party unity, with absolutely no petty faction allowed in the party; and safeguard the party members' democratic rights. It also stipulates that no one in the party must be allowed to seek special privileges, that party members must be supervised by the party organizations and the masses, that party members are forbidden to sing the praises of anyone for no reason, and so forth. This represents our party's rules and regulations. Our party discipline requires the individual to obey an organization, the minority to obey the majority, the inferior to obey the superior and the whole party to obey the party Central Committee. Party rules and regulations are unified. Every party member without exception must strictly observe them.

I

To uphold party rules and regulations and enforce strict party discipline is a basic principle in building our party and an important guarantee for consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and successfully realizing the four modernizations.

Marxist principles of party building tell us that a proletarian party must have a strict sense of organization and discipline. Immediately after the founding of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Martov had a difference of opinion on the fundamental problem of principle--whether party members should join a party organization and obey party discipline. Martov held that a party member had his name on the list of party members and did not need to join a party organization and was above a party organization and party discipline. A party organized by people like him could only be an incomplete, loosely organized and ineffectual one with a mixed group given to talking nonsense. Lenin resolutely opposed such a party. He held that all party members should join a party organization, carry out party resolutions and observe party discipline. Only a party so established could be a proletarian, unified whole guided by a strict sense of organization and discipline and packed with dynamic power.

Party unity means, first of all, political and ideological oneness. Without such oneness, organizational unity means nothing. Without a common political and ideological background, party unity is ruled out. However, without organizational unity and uniformity in action, political and ideological oneness also cannot be guaranteed. Lenin pointed out, "Unity on questions of program and tactics is an essential but by no means a sufficient condition for party unity.... The latter also requires unity of organization, which, in a party that has grown to be anything more than a mere family circle, is inconceivable without formal rules and the subordination of the minority to the majority and the part to the whole." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 7, p 381)

To guarantee party unity, factional activity or divisive practice of any kind is absolutely not allowed in the party. Factionalism will naturally thwart concerted efforts toward the same goal and give bad elements a chance to worm their way into the party to carry out disruptive and divisive activities. Factional activity is the worst enemy of party unity. Therefore, party rules and regulations and party discipline must be used to thwart divisive and disruptive activities and insure party unity.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that discipline guarantees implementing the line. Without discipline the party cannot lead the masses and the army to wage a struggle successfully. With a correct line defined, party organizations at all levels and party cadres must resolutely carry it out. The party's line and general and specific policies must not be freely

distorted or altered. In no way should we assume a pragmatic attitude, transmitting and carrying out what is favorable to ourselves and banning or rejecting what is unfavorable. Practicing doubledealing, complying in public but disobeying in private, deceiving those above and below or persisting in mistaken views and not correcting them are especially prohibited. Lenin said, "Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship) actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." ("Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 201)

To observe and uphold party rules and regulations and enforce strict party discipline is of extremely great significance in promoting a proper party style, strengthening party building, maintaining party unity, insuring a situation of stability and unity, thoroughly carrying out the party's correct line and realizing the four modernizations.

II

Experience in our party's revolutionary practice shows that, whenever our party's political line is correct and party rules and regulations and party discipline are strictly observed, the party is unified and dynamic and the revolutionary cause develops smoothly. Whenever our party's political line is wrong or is seriously distorted, so that party rules and regulations are violated and political life in the party is abnormal, the revolutionary cause suffers losses or setbacks, with resulting unusually serious consequences.

Our party's history tells us that all those who promote an opportunist line will inevitably violate party rules and regulations and divide and disintegrate the party, causing heavy losses to the revolutionary cause.

At the critical moment of the revolution in 1927, Chen Duxiu acted contrary to democratic centralism, violated party discipline, promoted patriarchy, practiced "What I say counts," and pushed a right opportunist line. This led to a serious setback in the mass revolution. Li Lisan followed a "left" opportunist line. He ignored the party and merged it with workers associations, youth associations, women's associations and other mass associations to form an action committee in place of the leadership of the party committee. No party organization existed, to say nothing of party discipline. When Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line dominated the scene, dogmatism and sectarianism were practiced in a big way. Party rules and regulations were seriously violated. Wang Ming opposed and negated the third plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee, called an enlarged fourth plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee, and elected members of the party Central Committee and the Secretariat without observing the party constitution. He subjected party cadres to ruthless struggle and attack. This erroneous line lasted 4 years, causing the party extremely serious harm and accounting for 100 percent

of the party's losses in the white areas and 90 percent of the party's losses in the soviet area. During the Long March, Zhang Guotao persisted in right opportunist mistakes, violated party discipline and Red Army discipline, disobeyed party resolutions, led forces southward on his own and set up another central committee in an attempt to split the party and the Red Army. He even issued orders in a vain attempt to have Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades arrested. He began by carrying out activities in a small organization and ended up opposing the party and the party Central Committee and leaving the party to join the enemy.

Due to Comrade Mao Zedong's adhering to the correct line, his persistent struggle against "left" and right opportunist lines and his patience in doing ideological and educational work, the wrong line was rectified and the thinking of the whole party unified. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and after a long period of revolutionary struggle, our party gradually worked out a whole set of criteria for political life in the party centering on democratic centralism. Following the Yanan rectification movement and the seventh national party congress, positive and negative experiences in handling relations within the party were summed up in an overall manner. This helped further improve political life in the party. Political life in the whole party followed a regular pattern. A set of fine traditions and styles was formed. Unity of the whole party, working toward the same goal, obeying discipline and marching in step--all this was the key to our victory in the war of resistance against Japan and in the war of liberation.

After the liberation of the whole country, our party became the ruling party. In the 3 years of economic recovery and during the three great socialist transformations, the overwhelming majority of our party members and cadres worked diligently, acted according to the party constitution, observed discipline, and inherited and carried forward the party's fine traditions and style. They achieved a victory in socialist transformation and construction. In 1957 an antirightist struggle was waged. But its scope was broadened to such an extent that the lively political situation suffered. In 1959 a movement against right opportunism was unfolded throughout the country. Those comrades who insisted on seeking truth from facts were described as right opportunists. The regular pattern of political life in the party was interrupted. Many comrades did not dare speak the truth. Meanwhile, people began to develop the idea that we would rather be "left" than right. This had an adverse effect on the party's democratic centralism.

After the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trampled upon our party rules and regulations and carried things to lengths rarely seen in our party's history.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out unprecedented sabotage against the party's democratic centralism. They placed themselves above the party

and did as they pleased. One word or a slip of paper from them was enough to condemn an individual or an organization as counterrevolutionary. People could be arrested freely without regard to the law and put in prison for as long as 8 or 10 years without being tried. There was just no protection against illegal imprisonment.

In the struggle within the party they confused two different types of contradictions, subjected people to ruthless struggle and attack, set up kangaroo courts, vigorously extorted confessions as a basis for punishment and practiced feudal, fascist dictatorship.

They freely deprived party members of their rights. They forbade party members from airing different views or making comments on the party's line, general and specific policies and resolutions. They made a practice of framing and victimizing party members and cadres, especially the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and deprived them of the right to appeal.

They organized factional activities within the party, recruited turncoats, and formed cliques to serve private ends. They divided the party, split the revolutionary ranks, promoted bourgeois factionalism, incited anarchism and vigorously intrigued and conspired.

They maliciously equated acting on party resolutions and observing party discipline with the terms "submissive tools" and "slavism." They wrongly used the slogans "rebellion" and "going against the current" and seriously violated party discipline.

Due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" disruption of party rules and regulations, political life in the party was extremely abnormal. Great confusion arose about ideological and organizational matters. The party became divorced from the masses. Party prestige suffered. The party's leading role weakened.

We should always bear in mind these extremely profound lessons which persisted for more than a dozen years.

Now the nationwide large-scale mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has been basically completed victoriously. However, the harm and difficulties that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought to the party cannot be underestimated. We must still do a large amount of work and continue to eliminate their remnant poison. We should note that in firmly carrying out the party's policies and solving the problems resulting from the "gang of four's" sabotage we still encounter various obstacles. Due to the pernicious influence of bourgeois factionalism and anarchism still acting on certain people, pressing business cannot be taken up in a timely and regular manner, and this affects party unity. We must therefore stress upholding party rules and regulations, enforce strict party discipline, eliminate the harm caused

by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and strengthen party unity. This has become an important task confronting us in building the party.

III

Upholding party rules and regulations and enforcing strict party discipline is every Communist Party member's duty as well as his right. All party members must observe party rules and regulations and party discipline. Party cadres, especially those at higher levels, should play an exemplary role in observing party rules and regulations and party discipline and must fight tendencies toward violating party rules and regulations and discipline.

1. We must consciously uphold party rules and regulations and enforce strict party discipline. Our party discipline is iron discipline but is built on consciousness. Our Communist Party members are proletarian pace setters. With their faith in communist ideals and their loyalty to the party, the moment they join the party they swear to uphold the party program and party rules and regulations and to observe party discipline. The overwhelming majority of our party members are capable of consciously upholding party rules and regulations and observing party discipline. A small number of party members who do not consciously observe party discipline must be brought into line. Disciplinary measures must be taken against all violators of party discipline.

Leading party cadres at all levels must observe party rules and regulations and party discipline in an exemplary way. Cadres are the backbone of party organizations at all levels and are the party's leaders in all areas and departments, lines and trades and all fields. Their attitude toward party rules and regulations and party discipline and the way they enforce them have a tremendous impact on the party ranks and on society. Actions speak louder than words. If those above resolutely observe rules and regulations, those below will not dare defy them. If those above set examples, those below will imitate them. If those above run afoul of party rules and regulations and party discipline, this will naturally have a very bad influence on those below. Inferiors look to their superiors for guidance, as a Chinese saying goes. We must constantly check the way the party organizations and party members of the units concerned observe party rules and regulations and party discipline and correct all mistakes and erroneous tendencies. This is an important task for leaders at all levels. Therefore, if party leaders at all levels themselves flout discipline, they will lose the power to lead others. It will not be easy for them to ask the inferiors to enforce strict party discipline, and respect for party discipline thus can hardly be maintained.

The party does not allow the existence of "privileged party members" or "superiors" who are above discipline, or "mediocre persons" who must obey discipline. Stalin said: "If we were to proclaim one law for the leaders and another for the 'common people' in the party, there would be nothing

left either of the party or of party discipline." ("Bukharin's Group and the Right Deviation in Our Party," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 11, p 278) The communique of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "Leading party cadres at all levels should take the lead in strictly observing party discipline. Disciplinary measures should be taken against all violators of party discipline with no exception, so that there is a clear distinction between merits and faults, reward and punishment, so that honesty prevails and bad tendencies are eliminated." In recent years some people in our party have shown a lack of understanding or a lack of fairness in enforcing discipline. Certain leading party cadres who violate party rules and regulations are not strictly dealt with in time. This situation must be rectified quickly.

2. To uphold party rules and regulations we must resolutely practice democratic centralism and improve democratic life in the party. How could Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have usurped a portion of supreme party power? How could they have so wantonly trampled upon party rules and regulations and thrown their weight about, bringing the party and the people such a great disaster? An underlying cause was the disruption of the party's democratic centralism and democratic life in the party. This is a profound and painful lesson that must always be borne in mind.

Now, certain bad social styles are to blame for an improper style in our party. In upholding party rules and regulations and rectifying the party style we must first begin with leading party cadres. Leading cadres should set strict demands for themselves, resolutely follow the criteria for political life in the party centering on democratic centralism, and restore the party's fine traditions and style. Only in this way can we lead and teach the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country to uphold and observe party discipline and state laws.

Our party's democratic centralism represents unity of democracy and centralization and unity of freedom and discipline. Democracy is relative to centralization. Freedom is relative to discipline. They are two contradictory parts of a whole. We should not lay one-sided stress on one and neglect the other. For instance, in deciding major issues a party committee meeting must strictly follow the principle of subordinating the minority to the majority as called for by democratic centralism. At such a meeting we must give full play to democracy, allow everyone to speak freely and pool collective wisdom. We must not turn it into a forum where "only what I say counts." Still less can we let individuals or a small number of people dictate to the party committee and form "a standing committee" away from the standing committee or groups independent of the standing committee. We must not make hasty decisions on matters of principle and must respect the views of a minority. Once a decision is made, we must resolutely act on it, though one may still disagree. No one can do everything he pleases--acting on what is after his heart and refusing to act on what is not. Still less can one overrule an original decision on his own. If changed conditions call for a

change in the original decision, such a change must be decided through collective discussion. This embodies the relationship between democracy and centralization and between freedom and discipline. We must give full play to democracy within the party and at the same time avoid carrying democracy to extremes and promoting anarchism.

Party discipline means unified action, freedom of discussion and freedom to criticize. But such freedom is by no means bourgeois individualist freedom or freedom to oppose the party and oppose socialism. For many years democratic centralism has suffered disruption. Democratic life in the party has suffered especially. For this reason we must now lay particular stress on giving full play to democracy, emancipating our thinking and safeguarding party members' democratic rights against encroachment. We must restore normal political life in the party and improve on it. We must restore the party's democratic systems which are stipulated in the party constitution and which have stood the test of many years. For instance, we must regularly hold party members' general meetings and congresses, submit summary reports on work, and listen to party members' criticisms. We must regularly reelect members of party committees at all levels. We must constantly inspect and sum up work results and unfold criticism and self-criticism. Party members at party meetings may put forward criticisms and suggestions regarding the party's line and general and specific policies and criticize any party leader. All party members must join a party organization and receive the supervision of party members. All such party organizations and other democratic systems of the party must be followed. Only by giving full play to democracy, relying upon the whole body of party members and the masses, exposing and rectifying in time various erroneous tendencies that run counter to party rules and regulations, and eliminating such tendencies in their early stages can we strengthen party unity and enhance the party's fighting power.

Our party rules and regulations and discipline represent the most fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people and naturally win the support of the masses. Therefore, at all times our party should maintain close ties with the masses, listen to their opinions and demands, pool correct ideas and bring them to the masses for implementation, and try to win the trust and confidence of the masses of people. Party members, especially leading party cadres, must go deep among the masses, treat others on an equal footing and receive mass criticism and supervision. Under mass supervision we must encourage every Communist Party member to more consciously uphold and observe party rules and regulations and party discipline. Therefore, we must stress that everyone must receive supervision from those above and below and from those within and without the party. Effective supervision from the leadership and the masses provides an important condition for upholding party rules and regulations and observing party discipline.

3. To uphold party rules and regulations and enforce strict party discipline we must strengthen the education of party members and raise their consciousness. We must make every party member understand the content of party rules and regulations and party discipline and understand the need for doing this. Comrade Mao Zedong paid great attention to educating party members in matters of discipline. As early as the Gutian conference, Comrade Mao Zedong called for rectifying erroneous thinking within the party and strengthening the sense of organization and discipline. During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong again pointed out: "Experience proves that some people violate party discipline through not knowing what it is, while others, like Zhang Guotao, violate it knowingly and take advantage of the ignorance of many party members to achieve their treacherous purposes. Hence, it is necessary to educate members in party discipline so that the rank and file will not only observe discipline themselves but will exercise supervision over the leaders." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War")

Conducting education in party discipline is of particular importance today. Of the 36 million-odd members of our party, nearly half have joined the party since the Great Cultural Revolution. They need to be educated in fundamental knowledge about the party and in party discipline. Some people have suffered a great deal from the pernicious influence of anarchism and sectarianism. Some veteran party cadres have had their conception of party discipline weakened. The remaining pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who disrupted party discipline and state laws, still has not been eliminated. This urgently requires that we conduct publicity and education to promote party discipline. To this end, the party Central Committee has adopted a series of major measures that call for, among other things, giving wide publicity in party publications to typical examples of observing party discipline and obeying state laws and publicly unfolding criticism and self-criticism. The first plenum of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline recently discussed and formulated certain criteria for political life in the party. They represent a major measure to perfect party rules and regulations and strengthen party discipline. After examination by the party Central Committee, they will be promulgated and studied and carried out throughout the party. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and party committees at all levels, we must conduct publicity and education in a comprehensive and penetrating way, so that every party member can understand and grasp such criteria, do things in the light of reality, turn chaos into order, thoroughly eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and strengthen party building.

Our party is the ruling party controlling the power of the state. Only by perfecting party rules and regulations and carrying them out in a practical way can we safeguard state laws. Only by enforcing strict party discipline can we properly promote the party style and lead the masses to stimulate the progress of the whole society.

To uphold party rules and regulations and enforce strict party discipline-- this is necessary in turning chaos into order and strengthening party building. It also meets the need of a shift in the focus of the party's work and the need for strengthening party leadership over modernization. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, by seriously learning and implementing the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, penetratingly conducting education in party rules and regulations and carrying out a series of major measures of the party Central Committee for enforcing strict party discipline we can surely improve party rules and regulations step by step and further enhance the militant power of the party, strengthen party leadership and stimulate the early realization of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

ONE MUST SHOW ENTHUSIASM AND BE THE FIRST TO DO REVOLUTIONARY WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 32-33

[Short commentary by Zhu Yan [2612 1484]]

[Text] The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee shifted the focus of the entire party's work to socialist modernization. With the historical tide surging, hundreds of millions of people are working hard, aiming high and marching toward the four modernizations. The current situation is both gratifying and pressing. Under these circumstances, how should we approach the important task entrusted by the party and people and what sort of attitude should we take toward it? This is a new test for every communist, and particularly for leading cadres.

A noteworthy development among those on the new Long March has been the incorrect attitude and lack of enthusiasm toward revolutionary work on the part of some of our comrades. They are not hard working and show little initiative. They either wait for assignments or put off what they can. Such people neither care about things they are responsible for nor attempt to solve those problems they can solve. They always wait for the higher authorities to provide them with guidelines that they can follow but will not act on them until those around them have done so. In many cases, when things can be done with some initiative they are put off as much and as far as possible until the higher authorities and the masses become impatient with the delay and repeatedly urge prompt action. Since this approach is not in keeping with the present situation, it has resulted in passivity which can be avoided altogether and which results in unnecessary losses to the party's cause. The masses of cadres and people have strongly disapproved of it.

By contrast, we have noticed that many communists and leading cadres in various trades, occupations and fronts are showing enthusiasm and being the first to do revolutionary work around the clock and in a conscientious way. They show interest in what they do and try to be proficient in it. They go where difficulties abound and where they are needed most, disregarding the nature of the work and caring little about personal gain or loss. They care only about the benefits to the party and people and do not

try to evade difficulties or pass the buck when faced with tough problems. They always try their best to solve problems, and when conditions permit they will get things done as quickly as possible. When conditions are not ripe, they change them to conform with specified requirements and are always ready to lead the way and shoulder responsibilities. They adhere to what is correct and are quick to rectify mistakes. They race against time in quickening the pace of work and in devoting themselves heart and soul to the modernization program.

These two different approaches, one involving showing enthusiasm and being the first to do work, and the other involving a tendency to wait or to stall until one has to do the work, reflect two differing work styles and states of mind.

Showing enthusiasm and being the first to do work is the proletariat's fighting work style based on the lofty communist ideal and the communist's spirit of devotion to the cause of the people. Over the past half century or so, countless revolutionary forerunners, fearing neither hardship nor death, have dedicated themselves to the revolution and the people. Working around the clock, they have spared no efforts to usher in a new era. Many of them have even laid down their lives. One important reason why so many people respect and cherish memories of the revolutionaries of the older generation such as Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Chairman Zhu (of the NPC Standing Committee) is that they embodied the noble qualities of the Chinese communists. We relied on this revolutionary spirit in the past to win victory in the democratic revolution and to found socialist new China. We are now facing a great transformation in which we have less than a quarter of a century to build our country into a powerful socialist state by waging struggles on a broader and more profound scale than that of the past. In this effort we must not only eradicate all the evils left over by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as a result of their interference and sabotage, correct mistakes and errors in our work and solve problems left over from the past, but also strive to study and accomplish new tasks that await us on our road of advance. This requires all communists and cadres to take both the interests of the country and the world to heart, work hard and make progress, and give full play to the pioneering spirit of selfless devotion to making revolution. If a communist is devoid of this spirit, follows the beaten track, feels content with things as they are, is reluctant to move forward unless urged by others, and discharges his duties perfunctorily and in a lax manner, he will not meet the expectations of the party and people. Sooner or later he will be swept away by the tide of history.

Conducting ideological education well is particularly necessary to give play to the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres in being the first to do work and to eliminate the passivity which hampers some comrades in doing work on their own initiative. This will help our comrades completely throw off various spiritual yokes. For many years Lin Biao and the "gang

of four" brandished their big sticks, seized upon the mistakes and shortcomings of others, and attached labels indiscriminately, thus turning things upside down. Those who idled away their time and made trouble became favorites of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," while those who worked hard and seldom shirked responsibility became the targets of attack and persecution. This caused serious ideological confusion, which affects some of our comrades even to this day. Others have been so scared by past persecution that they have lingering fear of making the same mistakes and being punished. These comrades deserve our sympathy for the grievances they have suffered. However, the situation has now radically changed since the smashing of the "gang of four." Conditions now favor the realization of the "four modernizations." It is wrong for our comrades to continue worrying about what they experienced in the past and to not work energetically and shoulder responsibility bravely. Others who are still obsessed with ideological burdens as a result of their past mistakes have become dispirited. This is wrong, too. These comrades must learn from past experiences and draw lessons about the correct way, pull themselves up and mend their ways. They can vindicate themselves if they do so. Then they will be treated like all others and trusted by the party and the people. Still others are content with the fact that they have now been exonerated and that policies regarding rehabilitation are being implemented. This shows that they are too absorbed in their personal interests and care too little about the interests of the state. They do not work hard enough. These comrades must treasure the concern shown by the party and people for them and turn their hatred of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" into strength, advance bravely and win fresh merits for the realization of the four modernizations.

There is yet another situation in which a few people fail to do their work well but are prone to gossip about and mock those comrades who are trying to be the first to do work. They accuse them of "reaching out too far," "being fond of meddling" and "having ulterior motives." This is quite wrong and harmful. These comrades have too many selfish ideas and often proceed from their personal gain or loss but give no consideration to the interests of the party and people in distinguishing between right and wrong. Is it not commendable for some people to work zealously and perform good deeds for the people? Who will benefit if you just sit back and do nothing, or even hurt and suppress the enthusiasm of others, thus undermining the party's cause? These comrades must change their attitude as soon as possible, learn from the advanced and try to measure up to them. Only then will they be welcomed by the masses.

Party organizations at all levels must create conditions to allow the communists and cadres to give full play to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity for building socialism. To achieve this it is necessary to trust, rely on and encourage them to work boldly, give full scope to everyone's abilities and assign everyone to a post most suited to his talents. It is necessary to adhere to the system of combining collective leadership with personal responsibility, in which there is collective

leadership and a distinct division of work, with everybody performing his own specific duties and everything being looked after by somebody. It is necessary to put democratic life on a sound footing and create a lively political situation in which people dare to think and dare to raise and solve questions. When difficulties crop up in work, leading comrades should help solve them. When mistakes are found, leading comrades at the higher level should take the initiative in shouldering the responsibility instead of scolding people under them. We must keep clear of the practice of settling scores at the end of a certain period and taking advantage of a record of people's past minor mistakes. We must, through investigation, earnestly change irrational rules and regulations that hinder people from giving play to their socialist enthusiasm. The higher the cadres' socialist enthusiasm, the more it is necessary for leading comrades to show concern for and take good care of the cadres' thinking, work and daily needs so that their enthusiasm will not diminish sooner than expected.

With the shift in emphasis in the work of the entire party and country to economic construction, the important criterion for measuring a cadre's level of political consciousness is whether he is actively competing to tackle heavy tasks, overcome difficulties, solve problems, scale heights and serve the people heart and soul. This is also an important gage for the party organization in the new historical period to test whether one is a cadre with both integrity and ability. Departments of organizations must be adept at discovering good comrades who share the people's worries and aspirations, who work hard and are always the first to do work well. Such comrades deserve our enthusiastic encouragement and support. We must promote those who are outstanding in ability and moral integrity and who have made remarkable achievements in leading posts. We should criticize those who are irresponsible and show laxity in work so as to help them. We should determine where the responsibility lies as regards those who have turned a deaf ear to education, hampered the progress of work and caused losses. If they are no longer suitable for playing a leading role, readjustments must be made accordingly. In short, in appraising cadres' work we must adhere to criteria which distinguish between truth and falsehood, merit and fault, rewards and penalties. We must uphold justice and oppose evil trends and noxious influences. If leading cadres at all levels take the initiative and compete to be the first to do revolutionary work and influence others by their good examples, and if all our people from the top to the bottom unite as one, it is certain that the grand plan for achieving the four modernizations will be realized at an early date!

CSO: 4004

SEVERAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 34-39

[Article by Zhou Yueli [0719 2574 4409]]

[Text] Since last year, and especially after the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the rural cadres and people have been very active in their thinking. Through thoroughgoing criticism of the ultra-leftist line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the tempo of implementing the party's economic policies for the countryside has been accelerated, and the rural situation has become better and better. However, the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line cannot be underestimated, because it is still inhibiting the minds of the people in varying degrees. In such matters as respecting the production team's decisionmaking power, setting up a system of responsibility for agricultural production and showing concern for the livelihood of the peasants, some of the dividing lines between right and wrong are still rather blurred. Some of the comrades are well aware of the importance and urgency of handling these problems correctly, but they are also afraid to actively and boldly solve them. They are afraid of being accused of "restoration" and "going backward" and afraid of being criticized again. At present this is the principal ideological obstacle to implementation of the party's economic policies in the countryside. For the sake of pushing agriculture forward we must continue to criticize the "left" and draw a clear line of distinction between what is correct and what is incorrect so that the various policies of the party can be further implemented.

Uphold the System of Ownership at Three Levels With Ownership by the Production Team as the Base

The "Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft for Trial Use)" approved at the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee stipulate: "People's communes at present must continue to stabilize and carry forward the system of ownership at the three levels--the people's commune, production brigade and production team--with the production team as the basic accounting unit, and concentrate their forces to develop

rural productive forces." This means that for a relatively long period to come we must continue to implement the system of ownership at three levels with the production team as the base. Moreover, since conditions are not yet ripe, we cannot hastily switch to taking the production brigade as the basic accounting unit. Naturally, it is also impermissible to take a task group in the production team as a basic accounting unit.

Why is it that at present we can only carry out the system of ownership at three levels with the production team as the base? This is determined by the level of development of the rural productive forces in our country. Lenin pointed out: "The more backward the country, which owing to the zigzags of history has proved to be the one to start socialist revolution, the more difficult it is for her to pass from the old capitalist relations to socialist relations." ("Report on War and Peace," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p. 77) "This is because the reorganization of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life require time, and because the enormous force of habit of petty bourgeois and bourgeois dealings can only be overcome by a long and stubborn struggle." ("Greetings to the Hungarian Workers," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p. 351) Before liberation, China was for a long time under the reactionary rule of feudal forces. This seriously hampered the development of the productive forces of agriculture. For a long time the peasants were engaged in scattered individual work and used primitive production tools. They were accustomed to this individual economic production and lifestyle, and their level of productivity was very low. On this basis, carrying out socialist revolution and construction must proceed from reality and advance cautiously and steadily. If we become feverish and go beyond permissible objective conditions and insist on doing what actually cannot be done, we will go astray, come to grief and suffer serious consequences. Take Anhui, for example. In 1958, because of the "communist wind" and "pompous, exaggerated wind" in some localities, categorical commands and blind orders in work caused a great setback in agricultural production and resulted in great difficulties for economic construction and the people's livelihood. During the Great Cultural Revolution, because of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," quite a number of localities again whipped up a storm of dissolving the districts and merging the communes and production teams. They babbled such things as "blocking the road to capitalism" and "cutting off the tail of capitalism," repossessed private plots, restricted and abolished domestic sideline occupations, closed down rural markets, willfully changed accounting units and practiced "transition to poverty." The phenomenon of slaughtering pigs, cutting down trees and distributing all the accumulations of the collective appeared in many places, and rural production forces were seriously damaged. Is this lesson, which has been learned at a very high price, not profound enough? Continuing the system of ownership at three levels with the production team as the base has been put forward on the basis of summing up both the positive and the negative aspects of experiences since agricultural collectivization, and it

corresponds with the level of agricultural production forces at the present stage. Currently, agricultural production still depends mainly on manual labor and draft animals, and the degree of mechanization is not high. Given this condition, taking the production team as an accounting unit is limited in scope, convenient to manage and also more appropriate to the management level of the cadres and the degree of consciousness of the masses. Therefore, this system cannot be changed lightly.

An extremely important question in upholding the system of ownership at three levels with the production team as the base is to respect and safeguard the right of ownership and the decisionmaking power of the production team. In the system of ownership at three levels--the commune, production brigade and production team--the production team is the basic accounting unit. It has the right to own land, draft animals, machinery, funds, products and materials. Under the guidance of the state plan, it has the right to carry out planting in a manner suited to the time and locality, determine measures for increasing production and methods of management, and distribute its own products and funds. Only if these rights of the production team are respected can the masses truly run their own affairs and socialist enthusiasm and creativity be fully brought into play. Otherwise, ownership at three levels with the production team as the base will be an empty phrase. At the same time, agricultural production is mankind's struggle to transform nature and obtain riches from nature. It is most closely, directly and extensively related to nature and most susceptible to natural conditions. Production team cadres and commune members have the most practical experience in such matters as the different types of localities, the different communes and production teams, this or that piece of land, the slope on this or that side of the hill is suitable for what, and what to plant and when to plant. They have the most right to speak. Only by respecting their views can we take advantage of all favorable factors, avoid pitfalls, make full use of natural resources and swiftly develop agricultural production.

The emphasis on the decisionmaking power of the production team is identical to strengthening party leadership over agriculture. Respecting the power of the production team does not mean that leadership organs at various levels can slacken their leadership, but it calls on the leadership organs to resolutely change their subjective and bureaucratic style and their method of relying solely on administrative orders to manage the economy; they must go deep into reality for investigation and study and carry out work according to objective law. In the past the Xinzhou Commune in Haining County ignored the differences in the production conditions of various production teams. Each year it rigidly assigned what to plant and how much to plant and forcibly carried out the cultivation of certain crops over a wide area. Thus, some of the land suitable for peanuts and sweet potatoes was planted in cotton, and land suitable for rapeseed was not planted in rapeseed. As a result, agricultural production was seriously affected. Last year the commune party committee summed up its experiences and discovered the evil results of ignoring objective

conditions and carrying out work by relying solely on the "decisions of the superiors." They announced to the masses that under the guidance of the state plan all production teams have the right to plant in a manner suited to local conditions. Consequently, without their having to send people to push and prod the commune members, production was better and faster than the previous year.

Some comrades think that the state plan places rigid controls on the production team and that to respect the decisionmaking power of the production team would be tantamount to abolishing the state plan. This is a metaphysical viewpoint. The production team cannot carry out planting on its own without paying attention to the state plan. However, the production team's development of diversified operations and planting on its own on the premise of fulfilling its target must not be opposed. In carrying out the state plan we cannot compel the production team to implement it. We must consciously study the actual conditions and fully respect the views of the production team and the commune members. The rural cadres and people are aware of the general situation, and we must believe that they are capable of carrying out the state plan. Only if the state plan is consciously accepted by the cadres and the masses can it be translated into practical actions of the masses and achieve better results. The Zhuji Production Brigade of Changfeng County last year arranged for the sowing of 325 mu of early-maturing rice. After mass discussion the various production teams sowed 376 mu. The target for single-crop and double-crop late rice was 450 mu. The actual area sown was 510 mu. At the same time, the arrangements for cotton and other economic crops made by various production teams in a manner suited to local conditions have also achieved better results. The masses reflected: "In the past the cadres blew their trumpets and the commune members pretended to be dumb. This year the commune members have a say in drawing up the target, and our zeal for work is high." This shows that if work is properly carried out the state plan is guaranteed.

Agricultural Production Must Have a Strict System of Responsibility

Lenin, the great teacher of the revolution, pointed out: "The basic principle of management is: a specific individual completely responsible for a specific job under his care." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 554) To make a success of management it is necessary to practice a strict system of responsibility. It is unimaginable for large-scale socialist production to be without management. Without a system of responsibility, management will also be an empty phrase. Under the condition of the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production, the higher the degree of socialization of production, the more it is necessary to establish a management system with a strict system of production responsibility.

As far as agricultural production is concerned, after the changeover from individual farming to collective farming the internal organization in

every collective economic unit requires that labor be suitably arranged according to the individual and to local conditions; it also requires constant coordination, inspection and supervision of production and work. With the mechanization of agriculture and the constant development of specialization, there has been an increasing demand for the practice of a strict system of responsibility in agricultural production. Without a system of responsibility and without a definite division of labor and rational labor quotas, it will be impossible to effectively supervise production, and there will be no means of checking the fruits of labor and implementing the principle of "to each according to his work." Therefore, the setting up of a strict system of production responsibility is the objective demand for developing agricultural production and implementing "to each according to his work." However, for many years, because of the sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," even some rational rules and regulations were criticized and abolished, and this question has become a forbidden area which people dread. To this day many cadres and people do not have a clear understanding of this question, and they are at a complete loss because of lingering fear. Therefore, it is still necessary to solve this question in theory and practice.

For some time, the rural cadres and people everywhere in Anhui have actively restored and carried out on a trial basis many methods of implementing the system of responsibility. Some have followed the practice of giving workpoints based on fixed quotas. Some have used short-term labor agreements for field work during the busy farming period and given workpoints, after an appraisal based on time, during the slack farming period. Some, on the premise of adhering to the unified accounting and distribution of the production team, have followed the practice of fixing output quotas based on the task group, calculating labor remuneration in relation to output, and giving prizes for surplus production. The methods of implementing the system of responsibility in relation to output also are not the same. We believe that, since conditions in the countryside vary a great deal, the different methods adopted by various localities based on actual conditions should be allowed on an experimental basis. Practice will show which method is best. We can neither adopt "across-the-board measures" nor arbitrarily impose any particular method. Regardless of which method is to be followed, it should be fully discussed by the production team cadres and commune members and decided by the masses themselves.

Now, it can be seen that implementing the system of production responsibility in relation to output has conspicuous results, because it can arouse the commune members' interest in the fruits of labor. In the past, because there was no clear and definite responsibility and no criterion for inspection, acceptance and checking, the principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work" could not be properly implemented, and unity among the masses was also affected. The system of responsibility in relation to output, workpoints based on production,

prizes for surplus production, and the delineation of position responsibility is conducive to the more accurate calculation of remuneration and embodies the principle of "to each according to his work." Because of the close relationship between remuneration and output, workers are able to link their personal material interests with collective production. Workers concerned with personal material interests must first be concerned with collective production, and because of this they must also establish a sense of responsibility toward collective production. This will be advantageous in overcoming the tendency of "thinking only of workpoints and not of output" and in improving labor efficiency and the quality of rural life. Since the system of responsibility in relation to output was adopted, there has been a marked change in the features of production in many localities. The phenomenon of not paying attention to the first whistle, turning the head at the second whistle and slowly ambling over at the third whistle when going to work is no longer seen. The workers radiate enthusiasm, and their work efficiency has more than doubled. One man can do the work of several persons, and several days' work can be finished in a single day. The development of production has been greatly speeded up. Of the 133 production teams which adopted the system of responsibility in relation to output in the Sungang District of Liuan County, Anhui Province, some 81 percent have shown an increase in production. Of the production teams that did not follow this method, only 43 percent showed production increases. Some of the commune members said: "If we are allowed to do things our own way, within 2 to 3 years we can have all the grain, pigs and fish we want, and the days will be better."

Some of the comrades asked: The system of responsibility in relation to output has been criticized in the past. Can we still use it now? Is this not retracing our steps? We say that judging whether a method is good or bad does not depend on whether it has been criticized in the past but on whether it benefits the development of agricultural production and the consolidation of the socialist collective economy. During the period of collectivization various localities, basing themselves on the provisions of the "Draft Article of the Agricultural Producers Cooperatives" and the principle of more pay for more work, adopted the methods of norm controls, short-term labor agreements, pay on a piecework basis, and the three contracts (fixed targets for output, labor and cost) and one reward (for output) system of responsibility, which at that time promoted the development of agricultural production. Moreover, during the 3 years of economic difficulties these methods played an important role in restoring and developing agricultural production. Since practice has proved that these methods are conducive to the development of agricultural production and the consolidation of the socialist collective economy, why is it they cannot be continued?

Some of the comrades are worried that implementing the system of responsibility in relation to output will change the system of ownership at three levels with the production team as the base and that the task group will

become a level of accounting. Actually, the system of responsibility in relation to output has no inevitable relation to the detached groups. First, the system of responsibility in relation to output does not change the system of ownership. The means of production, the target of production and the distribution of income are still under the control of the production team. Although some localities have divided draft animals and farm implements for use by the task groups, the task groups only have the right to use but not the right to own. Moreover, the task groups are not immutable; they can be reorganized any time by the production team based on the requirements of production and changing conditions. Second, job groups are only a form of labor management; they only undertake the responsibility of output from the production team and have no say over the production target and the distribution of income. They only have the right to deal with the rewards for surplus production and will never become accounting units. The reason we say that ownership at three levels with the production team as the base of the people's commune is good is that it can promote the development of agricultural productivity. However, to give play to this promotional role there must be a corresponding method of management. The system of responsibility in relation to output is a more effective method of management.

However, some comrades are worried that in this way there will be no means of realizing the mechanization of agriculture. The basic way out for China's agriculture is to realize the mechanization of agriculture. This is the common desire of hundreds of millions of peasants, and we must make efforts in this direction. Agricultural production at the moment still depends mainly on manual labor, draft animals and rather backward tools of production. The collective economy of the communes and production teams is also rather weak; on this basis, capital for the mechanization of agriculture is a very big problem. Although the state will help the collective economy in this respect, at present we must still rely on the diligence and frugality of the collective economy itself to accumulate the capital for mechanization. Only with the development of production and an improvement in the foundation of the collective economy can the communes and production teams afford to buy and use machinery. Therefore, implementing the system of responsibility in relation to output, giving play to the enthusiasm of the commune members and making a success of agricultural production will only help and not hinder the mechanization of agriculture.

During implementation of the system of responsibility in relation to output, some problems are bound to crop up because of the lack of experience, and it is necessary to pay attention to them. For example: the task groups are too small, the quotas fixed are not realistic enough and the allocation of draft animals and farming tools is uneven. However, as long as we consciously carry out work in accordance with the policies of the party, strengthen party leadership, fully believe in and rely on the masses, emancipate our minds, provide careful guidance and adopt effective measures, all such problems can be readily resolved.

Fully Show Concern for the Material Interests of the Peasants

Peasants account for 80 percent of the population of China. Correctly understanding and dealing with the peasants is a major issue affecting the destiny and future of the country. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleftist line and actively disparaged the position and role of the peasants in socialist revolution and construction. They did not consider them a reliable ally of the working class, capriciously expropriated their economic interests and democratic rights and even regarded them as the target of dictatorship. The "gang of four" also tried their utmost to obliterate the fundamental change that occurred in the peasant class after collectivization and babbled that the peasants were still at the "crossroads," which could "at any moment give rise to capitalism," and that they were "a hotbed of revisionism" and "the soil giving rise to new bourgeoisie." In places where the development of production was slow and where there was no great change in the features of poverty, the peasants were denounced as "conservatives" and "backward people." The affluent production teams and households in which production developed faster and the transformation of features was greater were regarded as "fortified villages" and "upstarts" and were criticized. At that time there were "three don'ts" in dealing with the peasants: Don't listen to the words of the peasants. Those who do will be guilty of "following others." Don't reflect the views and demands of the peasants. Those who do will be guilty of "right opportunism." Don't pay attention to the material interests of the peasants. Those who give any tangible material interests to the peasants will be guilty of "revisionism." After the smashing of the "gang of four," the dividing lines between right and wrong were clarified, and conditions are taking a turn for the better. We must, under the guidance of the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, correctly deal with the peasants.

To give play to the socialist enthusiasm of the masses we must correctly handle relations among the state, the collective and the individual. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago pointed out: "What portion of the earnings of a cooperative should go to the state, to the cooperative and to the peasants, respectively, and in what form should they be determined?" "Consideration must be given to the state and the peasant, or to the cooperative and the peasant. To give consideration to only one side, whichever it may be, is harmful to socialism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Practice over the past two decades and more has proved the complete correctness of this statement by Comrade Mao Zedong. However, because of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there appeared the tendency of "sell the grain first, settle accounts later" in the requisition of grain in some localities. That is, regardless of the income of the commune and production team, the state requisition must be fulfilled first. Consequently, there is an overacquisition of grain in some localities, and the rations of the commune members and people cannot be guaranteed. Some localities are having trouble even maintaining simple

reproduction, much less a high-speed development of agriculture. Whether our policies are beneficial to the development of productivity depends primarily on whether such policies give play to the enthusiasm of the workers for production. We must never forget this point. Therefore, if we want the peasants to make greater contributions to the state, we must first make proper arrangements for the livelihood of the commune members. If we want to develop various construction undertakings, we must first consider whether the peasants can afford them. If we want to run collective welfare undertakings, we must proceed realistically and must not be overhasty.

We must adhere to the principle of willingness and mutual benefit and must not willfully infringe on the interests of the peasants. All measures and systems in the collective economy must be based on willingness and mutual benefit. Only if there is willingness can there be strength and durability, and only if there is mutual benefit can there be genuine willingness. We absolutely cannot, under the pretext of giving play to the communist style, practice equal income distribution and an indiscriminate transfer of things and arbitrarily exploit the peasants. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" violated the policies of the party and paid no attention to the interests of the masses. They were obviously resorting to temporary measures to cover up their mistakes, yet they called it "mutual benefit and aid." They were obviously wasting manpower and resources, yet they called it "going all out for socialism." Anyone who said no to their perverted actions would be tagged with the label of undermining the foundation of socialism. Actually, infringing on the interests of the peasants, seriously damaging their enthusiasm for socialism and disrupting agricultural production are precisely the things that undermine the foundation of socialism.

We must eliminate the evil influence of the fallacy that "affluence will lead to revisionism," so that the peasants can become affluent. For a long time Lin Biao and the "gang of four," under the cover of such resounding slogans as "advocate the word 'public'" and "restrict bourgeois rights," would not allow the peasants to become well off or to live a better life. They frenziedly sabotaged the development of the collective economy, and, as a result, production in many communes and production teams fell and all became poor together. There is no reason for Marxists to be afraid of the peasants' becoming well off! The making of revolution by the proletariat and laboring people, the toppling of the reactionary rule of the exploiting class, and the founding of a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are done to wipe out exploitation, emancipate production forces and unremittingly improve the material and cultural life of the people on the basis of developing production. In every period of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai earnestly enjoined the whole party that they always place the personal interests of the masses at heart. Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "Our main aim in developing a socialist economy and continuing to expand reproduction is to satisfy the requirements of the material and cultural life

of the Chinese people and to make proper contributions to mankind." We must boldly and confidently show concern for the material interests of the peasants and use every means to enable the masses of peasants to become better off as quickly as possible.

Since the collectivization of agriculture, when carrying out ideological education on collectivism we have often said to the commune members: If there is water in the river, the streams must be full. If there is no water in the river, the streams must be dry. This means that only the development of the collective economy can guarantee an improvement in the level of material life of individual commune members. There is nothing wrong with these words. However, we should also see that a river is made up of numerous streams. If there is no water in the streams, then there also cannot be much water in the river. There is actually no such condition as that in which the commune members are poor but the production team is rich. What we can see is that if the foundation of commune households in a production team is in good shape, and if the people are of one heart and can concentrate on the work of the collective without nagging worries, then collective production will become better and better. If the foundation of commune households in a production team is in poor shape; if the public accumulations, welfare funds and production capital retained by the collective are overdrawn and it must rely on yearly loans to get by; if the commune members are short of grain and money and spend more time worrying about food and clothing than about collective production; and if, though working in the fields, the people's hearts are at home, then they cannot make a success of collective production.

To enable the peasants to become well off, in our economic policies we must allow those communes and production teams which have made more contributions to society to improve the lot of the peasant households first. In this way they will be able to set an example, so that those communes, production teams and commune households that are still in greater difficulties will have an example to emulate and a target to overtake. Through these means they can play a promotional role for the whole countryside, so that the goal of common affluence can gradually and more quickly be achieved. At present a number of production teams with a rich collective economy and commune members with high incomes have appeared in the countryside. People are saying: This kind of work is something to look forward to, and the days will be better. It can be anticipated that on this dynamic good earth of the motherland, so long as our minds are emancipated and the policies are correct, there will certainly be more and more affluent production teams and commune households.

We should actively go among the masses and into the heat of struggle to see what the people are doing and thinking and what they like and dislike and patiently listen to their views. Only if we sincerely do this can our ideas and methods be more in keeping with reality, the policies of the party be more solidly implemented and a real high-speed development in agricultural production be achieved.

CSO: 4004

VIEWS ON OUTPUT RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM IN AGRICULTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 40-43

[Article by the Investigation and Research Office of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee's General Office]

[Text] Recently we investigated the output responsibility system in agriculture in the counties of Longmen, Wengyuan, Zhongshan, Zhuhai, Wuhua, Zijin and Heyuan and solicited the opinions of the basic-level cadres and masses. Following is a discussion of some concrete views on this question.

I. The Content and Nature of the Output Responsibility System

The method of making the work group responsible for output followed in all areas at present has undergone a process of historical development. In the early 1960's, Zhouxin Commune in Chingyuan County launched the field management responsibility system linked with output, which was experimentally introduced in some of the counties and communes in our province. This concrete method was as follows: For each crop of paddy rice, after the production team had completed plowing and seedling transplanting, the task of field management, under the system of fixed labor and fixed output, and reward for above-norm output in kind or in work-points, was assigned to the commune members or farming households until the harvest. The method produced a positive effect at the time, but it was criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution and condemned as "capitalist." Today we must turn heterodoxy onto the right path and rehabilitate the reputation of the output responsibility system.

Currently, the production responsibility system of making the work group responsible for output followed in all areas in our province is as follows: Under the premise of centralized leadership, unified operation, and unified accounting of the production team, the production team enforces on the work groups fixed labor, fixed sector, fixed output, fixed cost, and fixed workpoints, and it gives rewards for above-norm output. This is called, for short, the production responsibility system of "five fixations and one reward." This method was developed on the basis of the

field management responsibility system linked with output. At present some comrades hold differing views on this method. They feel that the output responsibility system might change the nature of the production team, that it is retrogressive, and that it might lead to polarization, or even deteriorate into the division of land among the households or into individual farming in a disguised form. Others feel that dividing commune members into work groups will inevitably lead to disintegration of the production team and that the three-level ownership system of the people's commune will turn into a four-level ownership. We must conscientiously study these problems and unify our understanding.

Will the production responsibility system of making the work groups responsible for output change the socialist nature of the production team? According to the principle of Marxist political economy, the criteria to determine the nature of an economy are mainly as follows: Who possesses the means of production, who controls the products, and does an exploiting relationship exist among individuals? Under the output responsibility system, the means of production are still under the collective ownership of the production team, while the work group only has the right to use part of the means of production but does not have the right of ownership; among individuals, there is the relationship of responsibility by labor division under the leadership of the production team, but there is no exploiting relationship; the products are controlled by the collective, and the part distributed to the commune members is determined according to their contributions to the collective. Such an output responsibility system under the premise of unified planning, unified direction, unified accounting, and unified distribution of benefits by the production team is merely a form of its operation and management and does not change its socialist nature. There should be no worry on this account.

Will polarization occur? This question arises because of the reward for above-norm output in the output responsibility system. We feel that the word "reward" will not lead to polarization. The reward is only for the above-norm portion of the output, based on the quality of the commune members' labor and determined by the size of their contributions to the collective. Meanwhile, besides a percentage of the above-norm portion which is used as a reward, a considerable portion is placed under the unified control of the collective. This is favorable to developing the collective economy, reaching a stage where particular things improve with improvement of the general situation, and attaining the goal of common prosperity. In the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted an ultraleftwing line and spread the fallacy that "being prosperous is inevitably revisionist." According to such reactionary logic, being prosperous is a crime. When the production team prospers, it must be restrained; when the commune members prosper from their labor, they must be rectified. This fallacy confused people's minds and must be cleared up. It is impossible for the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" to produce polarization. This is the commonsense of

Marxism-Leninism. When the masses of commune members prosper by means of their own diligence, not by means of exploiting the labor of others, how can it lead to polarization?

Therefore, we must not only permit, but even encourage, commune members to prosper by their labor (including legitimate subsidiary family enterprises). Our policy is to encourage the hundreds of millions of peasants and the tens of millions of production teams to do their best and improve agricultural production. If we follow egalitarianism instead of the principle "to each according to his work" and discuss "giving prominence to politics" apart from the commune members' material interests, not only will we fail to arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of commune members for collective production, but this will inevitably lead to a retrogression in collective production and provide an opportunity for a capitalist inundation. At that time there will truly be the possibility of polarization.

Will the production responsibility system of making the work group responsible for output lead to the disintegration of the production team? Owing to lack of effort on the part of the leadership, the output responsibility system in a very few production teams is in a state of laissez faire, and the situation of dividing up the team has actually appeared. However, according to our investigation, the reasons for dividing up the team are other than the output responsibility system. There are four main reasons: the excessive size of some production teams makes them hard to lead; the differences in surnames and family branches and other problems have resulted in disunity; when production has failed to improve for many years, the members feel that "small teams" would be preferable; the relationship between the cadres and the masses in some production teams is tense, and this problem has not been solved for a long period of time. Such conditions must be concretely analyzed and handled separately. The general principle is to firmly maintain and consolidate the three-level ownership with the production team as the foundation, and no one is permitted to promote a four-level ownership; the development of collective production should be benefited. The size of the production team must be suitable. Although some of them are a little too big, where the economic foundation is relatively sound the team should not be divided. Some production teams are excessively large and have many contradictions, and they are maintained with an effort despite the strong demands of the masses to divide them up. This is unfavorable to collective production. We must help them divide up such teams during the farming off-season after full discussion by the masses of commune members and with the approval of the county revolutionary committee. We must solve each case individually and guard against rushing headlong into mass action and starting a trend to divide up the production teams. Actually, when the output responsibility system is successfully handled, it will not lead to division of the production team.

We think that the work group output responsibility system is a comparatively good form of the production responsibility system in the rural villages at present, because it is relatively compatible with the current level of the production force of the people's commune and the level of awareness of the majority of commune members and can embody the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" and arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of commune members for collective production. As for the individual, or household, output responsibility system, it has very great limitations in developing the superiority of collective production and is incompatible with the development of agricultural mechanization and scientific farming. If leadership work is slackened in the least bit, it might possibly deteriorate into individual farming in a disguised form, which is unfavorable to the consolidation and development of the collective economy. Therefore, it should not be introduced in large-area paddy rice production. As for miscellaneous economic crops requiring greater skills and suitable for individual operation, such as yams and mushrooms, individuals, according to their special skills, may be permitted to grow them under the system of "five fixations and one reward" and under the premise of unified accounting and unified distribution by the production team. Small areas of marginal land and outlying low-yield land which the production team cannot handle successfully may be assigned to individuals or households under the system of "five fixations and one reward."

II. Advantages of the Work Group Output Responsibility System

The basic-level cadres and masses of commune members we contacted during our investigation were not unfamiliar with the work group output responsibility system. Based on the positive and negative aspects of their practical experience in rural villages over many years, they discussed many advantages of the system. There are four main points:

1. It can relatively successfully implement the principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work," and it can overcome the tendency toward egalitarianism. Many basic-level cadres and commune members thought that the egalitarianism in distribution promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" rewarded the lazy and punished the diligent, and it was one of the important reasons for the lack of improvement in agriculture for more than a decade. Under the work group output responsibility system, as above-norm output is rewarded, thus encouraging the diligent and punishing the lazy, the system embodies the socialist principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work." Thus, it will fully arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of commune members for collective production.

2. It can closely integrate collective and individual interests. Under the work group output responsibility system, as the amount of output is linked with the intimate interests of the commune members, the commune members, when laboring, will think of how to handle successfully each and

every production link and do their best to increase the output of the work group. Thus, it will make every commune member, from the standpoint of his own material interest, feel an interest in the production results of the work group.

3. It can solve relatively successfully the contradictions between the seasonal nature of agricultural production and the quality of farmwork. Many basic-level cadres thought that for over 10 years many methods had been tried in the operation and management of agriculture: under the method of workpoint recording according to labor time, the progress of production was slow, making it easy to miss the season; under the method of workpoint recording according to a fixed quota, although the progress of production was very fast, the quality of work was very inferior. The season and the quality of work in the agricultural production process are precisely the important factors in increasing output, and any problem will lead to a decrease in output. Under the work group output responsibility system, the commune members not only pay attention to speed but also conscientiously and meticulously do their work, thus generally improving the quality of farmwork. As a result, it will solve relatively successfully the contradictions between the two and lay a solid foundation for an output increase.

4. It will benefit the leadership of the production team. In the production teams which follow the work group output responsibility system, the team leaders generally find that, after introducing the system, the awareness of the commune members for collective production has generally risen and the phenomenon of idling on the job has disappeared. Everyone wants to obtain more grain, and the heavy load is shared by all. The plans and measures of the production team for an output increase are relatively smoothly implemented, and its cadres are able to concentrate on carrying out the production plans, pursuing rural capital construction, and introducing advanced techniques and superior varieties.

III. Problems in the Work Group Output Responsibility System

The work group output responsibility system is a comparatively good form of agricultural operation and management at the present time, but it is not the only form. We must give attention to and promptly summarize the experiences of such methods as workpoint recording by fixed quota and workpoint recording according to labor time plus evaluation and discussion, as well as the work group output responsibility system. Some problems and contradictions also exist in the system itself. Thus, in the process of enforcement we must develop its positive factors and prevent or overcome its negative factors. Judging from conditions in the various areas, we must give attention to the following problems:

1. The size of the work group must be suitable. It should be neither too big nor too small. If it is too big, it might hold up work due to poor organization; if it is too small, it cannot bring forth the superiority of

collective production. Judging from the conditions of farming activities in the majority of areas in Guangdong, to make good arrangements for farm tasks during the busy seasons of summer harvesting and summer planting it is generally best to have 10 to 15 labor forces per group. When the work groups are being organized it must be understood that they are under contract to the production team and that the manpower, land, farm cattle and farm tools must be balanced as much as possible. Only thus will consolidation of the production team be benefited. The farm machinery is under the unified use and management of the production team. When the work groups are being organized, attention must be given to properly grouping the production backbone elements and the strong and weak labor forces, and there must be no free association. In those production teams where dwellings are concentrated, laborers in the same household should be put into different work groups; this will prevent the division of the production team. But in production teams where the dwellings are scattered, it is not necessary to separate the laborers in the same household.

2. Agriculture, subsidiary production, and industry must be pursued together, and the work and output quotas must be rational and must be fully discussed by the entire commune membership before decisions are reached. If only one production item is pursued under the work group output responsibility system and other items are disregarded, this will result in giving consideration to one thing and missing others. If only subsidiary production is pursued and agriculture is disregarded, this might lead to a decrease in paddy rice output; if only paddy rice is pursued and other enterprises are disregarded, the general development of production will be impossible. If the development of agriculture, subsidiary production, and industry of a production team is relatively comprehensive, specialized work groups should be organized to be responsible for different items, and the compensation is to be placed under the unified computation of the entire production team. When workpoints are fixed, the principle of "to each according to his work" must be implemented, and bias and prejudice among agriculture, subsidiary production, and industry must be prevented. When an output target is fixed, it should be neither too high nor too low. If it is too high, it will be difficult to exceed the norm, and the commune members will lose their momentum; if it is too low, they will be able to exceed the norm without much effort, but encouraging the advanced will lose its meaning. Judging from the practice of production teams in various areas, it is generally best to take the historic peak output or the average of the most recent 3 years as the basis for fixing the output target. The commune members in general are willing to accept this method.

3. There must be more rewards and fewer or no punishments, not all rewards or all punishments. For the above-norm portion of the grain output the reward may be either in kind or in workpoints, but not all rewards or all punishments. All rewards or all punishments might easily foster the tendency of considering only the interest of the work group while disregarding the overall interest of the production team, which would be unfavorable

to the consolidation of the production team. Therefore, we feel that it is best to give more rewards and fewer or no punishments. The greater portion of the reward for above-norm output will be given to the work group and the smaller portion to the production team. Thus, commune members will get more for greater above-norm output, and so will the collective. The commune members will thus have an interest in the output of their fraternal work groups as well as their own, and the different work groups will mutually help one another to create high yields, which will be favorable to reinforcing the collective concept of the commune members. In addition, the production team must also allocate appropriate amounts of material things to encourage the specialized work groups to create above-norm outputs, so that they will also actively exert themselves in production.

4. The relationship between the production team and the work groups must be clarified. This involves the question of the unified leadership of the production team and that of arousing the enthusiasm of the work groups. If the unified leadership of the production team is not tightly grasped, it might turn into a mere figurehead, and a situation in which the team leader has nothing to do and the work groups are left to their own devices might arise. If the production team interferes excessively in the work groups, transfers manpower and blindly issues directions haphazardly, this might dampen the enthusiasm of the work groups and affect the completion of production plans. Therefore, there must be a necessary division of power between the production team and work groups in production management, clarifying the fact that the production team is the basic accounting unit of the people's commune and the work group is a unit in the production management of the production team. The production team must grasp five powers: the power to control the means of production; the power to decide production plans and important measures; the power of unified assignment of manpower; the power of unified handling of assets; and the power of unified distribution of products and cash. The work groups must respect the five powers of the production team, and planting plans and changes in the means of production must be approved by it; the work groups may not make any decision without authorization.

5. Ideological-political work must be reinforced. If leadership is slackened, a good production management form will not only fail to develop its superiority but might even run into problems. Therefore, it is extremely necessary for the production team to reinforce its leadership of the work groups and successfully conduct ideological-political work among the commune members. Some areas organize labor competitions among the work groups, make scheduled inspections and evaluations according to the farming seasons, promptly publicize the good individuals and good deeds, and dispose of problems as they arise, and their results have been very good.

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CSO: 4004

LET SOME COMMUNE MEMBERS GET PROSPEROUS FIRST

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 44-45

[Article by Jiang Yueshao [1203 2574 4801], secretary of the Changle County CCP Committee, Shandong Province]

[Text] On the foundation of production development, letting some commune members become prosperous first because of their greater contributions is an important question concerning the arousing of the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants. To attain this, we must overcome egalitarianism and conscientiously implement the principle of more pay for more work.

Egalitarianism was one aspect of the ultraleftwing line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." For many years the peasants suffered deeply from it. In the fall of 1968 the Shandong agent of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created a model brigade of "transition through poverty" and forced all areas to follow suit. At that time, close to 100 brigades (12 percent of the total in the county) in Changle County rapidly made the brigade the basic accounting unit in place of the production team. Thus, the poor and rich teams were "equalized," the commune members lost their momentum, and the collective economy became empty. Fearing the "transition," some production teams left no reserve or production funds at the yearend distribution, thus creating the phenomenon of "dividing up everything and eating up everything." Other teams sold their animals and farm tools and felled trees indiscriminately. What was even more serious was that the people became distracted and no longer devoted their efforts to production, thus causing grain output to decrease. In 1975, waving the banner of "restricting the legal authority of the bourgeoisie," the "gang of four" vigorously criticized the socialist distribution principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work" and advocated "increasing the communist factor." On the value of workpoints, the standard of grain rationing and the distribution of cash, some communes and brigades adopted the methods of "restrictions" and "ceilings." Others vigorously launched "several no-charges" (such as no charge for vegetables, salt and kerosene) without giving consideration to the level of production development and the ideological awareness of their members. As a result, they dampened the enthusiasm of the commune members and damaged the collective economy.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 11th party congress, we have followed the series of decisions made by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, criticized the "four pests," purged their remnant poison, vigorously overcome egalitarianism, and conscientiously implemented the policy of more work, more pay. As a result, we have permitted some production teams and commune members to become prosperous because of their greater contributions. Failing to understand this matter, a minority of the people think that this is a "retrogression." According to them, since the people's commune follows the path of common prosperity, prosperity must be "egalitarian" and "simultaneous"; otherwise, it is not socialism. We think that common prosperity is not "egalitarian" or "simultaneous." Owing to the differences in natural conditions and production levels in the various areas, in the work ability and operational and management levels of the leadership teams, and in the ideological awareness of commune members, the development of production and the improvement of living conditions of the masses will also vary in their rate of speed. If qualified communes and brigades are permitted to become prosperous first, this will not prevent the poor brigades from becoming prosperous. On the contrary, the prosperous communes and brigades will produce an exemplary effect and encourage the poor brigades to catch up and rapidly improve their production. Following the method of "one slash of the knife" and "keeping in step," refusing to permit the qualified communes and brigades to become prosperous and reprimanding the prosperous units for "following the capitalist road" will only force everyone to keep pace with the backward. Instead of "simultaneous prosperity" we will have "simultaneous poverty."

Some people fear that if there is not "egalitarian prosperity," "upstart households" will appear and capitalism will emerge. They erroneously think that prosperity is capitalism, poverty socialism, and equal distribution communism. We discuss individual prosperity under the premise of the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production. When the commune members increase their income by their own labor and are not permitted to exploit others or engage in speculation, corruption or theft, how can such prosperous households be called "upstart households"? Devoted to the collective, a commune member household of Xishui Brigade, Gaoyai Commune, labored actively, exceeded the norm in work performance, surpassed the plan in fertilizing, sold more than 1,000 jin of pigs to the state in a year, received a total of more than 1,500 yuan from distribution and subsidiary family production, and became a well-known prosperous household in the brigade. The fact that, owing to the greater labor of the members of the household, they created more material wealth and made more contributions to the state and the collective does not constitute capitalism. When we oppose capitalism we do not oppose prosperity; what we oppose is the system of man exploiting man. Socialism does not want everyone to be poor; what it wants is to eliminate poverty and let the broad laboring people live a prosperous and pleasant life which will become ever better. There are many reasons for the existence of poor

communes and brigades and poor households. The fact that some of them have become prosperous first is not the reason for the poverty of the others. On the contrary, their prosperity serves to promote the development of the collective economy and is favorable to making the poor prosperous. Naturally, we must render necessary aid to the poor communes and brigades, give consideration to poor households, arrange their labor and living properly, create conditions for them, and make them gradually prosperous.

In allowing some communes and brigades and commune members to become prosperous first, developing production is fundamental. Meanwhile, we have also adopted certain necessary measures. First, under the premise of adhering to the socialist orientation, obeying the laws of the state, and accepting the guidance of state plans, we concretely respect the right to independence of the production teams. The operational emphases of the various communes and brigades are determined by the masses in the particular units. Those near the mountains live off the mountains; those near the water live off the water. They utilize whatever conditions are present and develop whatever enterprises that can be developed. There is no random interference or restriction. Second, we have firmly rectified the phenomenon of indiscriminately "stretching hands" toward the communes and brigades, especially the prosperous ones, and corrected the erroneous practice of permitting the prosperous units to only discuss "style" but forbidding them to mention "mutual benefit." When using the manpower, material and money of the prosperous units, we firmly act according to party policies and respect the principle of exchange at equal value. There is no indiscriminate transfer or random assessment. Third, while leaving intact the reasonable welfare projects, we have abolished the egalitarian "no-charges" and changed the practice of equal division per capita of agricultural and subsidiary products without recording them. Fourth, in computing labor compensation we firmly follow the principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work," and we have strengthened the fixed quota management and introduced the output responsibility system in some units. Commune members who perform superior labor, surpass the norm and make greater contributions may be rewarded with workpoints, or with cash and in kind. Fifth, in distributing grain rations we oppose equal division per capita. We follow either the method of "70 percent per capita and 30 percent for labor" or that of "60 percent per capita and 40 percent for labor." The basic portion of the grain ration is divided equally per capita. Sixth, there is no restriction, or "ceiling," in the distribution of income. After the tasks of selling agricultural and subsidiary products to the state are fulfilled and the necessary withholdings for the collective have been made, the extra grain output may be consumed and the extra income distributed. Seventh, we have abolished the various restrictions on plots reserved for the commune members' own use, and we help them to develop legitimate subsidiary family enterprises and open up market trading, and, after they have fulfilled the task of selling to the state, we permit them to buy and sell small amounts of grain and oil in the market and to market their own subsidiary products such as vegetables.

Practice over more than a year has proved that the above measures adopted by us are compatible with the concrete situation in our county. Last year our county overfulfilled the state purchasing quotas for agricultural and subsidiary products, the people's living standard was generally somewhat raised, and the income of some communes and brigades and commune members showed a marked increase. The average grain ration for the agricultural population throughout the county increased 10 percent compared with that of 1977, and the income distribution per capita increased 11 percent. In one-eighth of the basic accounting units in the county the income distribution per capita reached 100 to 150 yuan. The total income from agricultural subsidiary enterprises of Dongshui Brigade, Gaoyai Commune, was over 260,000 yuan for its 823 persons in 173 households, averaging 150 yuan per capita. Among them, 8 households received more than 1,000 yuan and over 100 households 600 to 700 yuan in cash. A new situation of surplus grain and bank savings in every household has appeared in the brigade. Such prosperous brigades and households serve as models for the broad cadres and masses in the county.

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CSO: 4004

BRIEF DISCUSSION ON MULTIPURPOSE UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 46-48

[Article by Li Qifa [2621 0796 4099]]

[Text] Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "We must pay serious attention to multipurpose utilization, for it will fully utilize natural resources and reduce environmental pollution. In regard to the three industrial wastes, it is harmful to discard them but valuable to use them." Practicing multipurpose utilization of natural resources, creating rich and colorful products, and preserving a clean and pleasant environment constitute a glorious obligation put on us socialist builders by history.

Any kind of natural resource has many attributes and multiple functions, and the potential for multipurpose utilization exists objectively. Take petroleum, for instance: It may be used directly as fuel, refined into all kinds of lubricants, or made into many different kinds of products such as synthetic rubber, laundry powder, chemical fertilizer, plastics, synthetic fiber, etc. Or take sulfuric acid as another example: while it is highly active chemically and can be made into many new chemical compounds, it also is strongly water absorbent and can be used as a drier. For this reason, it can be used first as a drier, and then the dilution can be used for other things.

Some people think that multipurpose utilization is only for mixtures and chemical compounds but not for simple substances (substances consisting of one element). Actually, simple substances can be utilized in the aspects of both substance and energy. For instance, we can utilize the sulfur dioxide when natural sulfur is burned while also making use of the heat it generates; we can generate electricity with the atomic energy created in the course of nuclear fission of uranium 235 while also absorbing its low-speed neutrons with uranium 238 to make plutonium.

The multipurpose utilization of natural resources is still not adequate. That certain properties of natural resources have not been utilized is mainly owing to limitations on the scientific and technological level. Such properties are as yet unknown, or, if known, the method of economical and rational utilization is as yet unavailable.

In epistemology we dialectic materialists are opposed to agnosticism and to various kinds of idealist viewpoints. We feel that all substances in the world can be known and utilized and that there are only things which have not yet been understood but nothing which cannot be utilized. Our task is to understand and reform the world continuously.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Marxists hold that in human society activity in production develops step by step from a lower to a higher level and that consequently man's knowledge, whether of nature or of society, also develops step by step from a lower to a higher level, that is, from the shallower to the deeper, from the one-sided to the many-sided." ("On Practice") By continuous practice, man will discover more and more new and useful attributes of substances and the means for their utilization and will reform society while reforming nature, making it more favorable to his subjugation of nature.

From simple utilization of natural resources to their multipurpose utilization is the law of the development of production. Engels once said: "Economic needs have been, and will become more and more, the main motive force in progress toward the understanding of nature." ("Engels to (Kant Schmidt)," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 484) Take man's understanding of coal, for instance: Marco Polo, an Italian traveler who lived in the 13th century, did not know that coal was a combustible. In his "Record of Experiences in the Orient" he wrote that the Chinese burned black rocks. But today all nations in the world use coal as fuel and extract a series of chemical industrial raw materials by coking to make up to 1,000 kinds of chemical industrial products. The "combined alkali manufacturing method" created by Comrade Hou Debang, China's famous chemical industrial expert, is not only a great contribution to the alkali industry but also a model of multipurpose utilization of natural resources. The guiding thought of the "combined alkali manufacturing method" is the combined production of pure alkali and synthetic ammonia, mutually utilizing the waste and discarded materials, thus attaining the effective utilization of every major element in every raw material and greatly simplifying the production process.

When natural resources are used improperly, part of them will become waste which will pollute the environment. By improving the methods of production we can attain a stage in which there is no waste, or in which the waste can be converted into raw materials. The multipurpose utilization of natural resources is precisely for the purpose of turning waste into valuables and liabilities into assets. It has the triple effect of expanding the sources of raw materials, lowering the cost of products, and protecting the environment.

The effect of the multipurpose utilization of natural resources on expanding the sources of raw materials is extremely obvious. In the production process the waste and discarded portions of raw materials are utilized to make more varieties and greater quantities of products. Thus, one kind of

raw material of a certain quantity is used to produce several kinds of several quantities. The multipurpose utilization of large-volume natural resources especially possesses a tremendous significance in increasing output. One can have a general idea of the economic results from the multipurpose utilization of raw coal and rice bran. Besides obtaining the usual thermal energy, the multipurpose utilization of 10 million tons of raw coal will also create approximately 100,000 tons of synthetic rubber, 500,000 tons of ammonium sulfate, over 6 billion meters of synthetic fabric and large quantities of plastics. The rubber, fertilizer and fabric can be transformed into over 4 million sets of tires, over 2 million tons of additional grain and 1.5 billion sets of clothing. By multipurpose utilization, 120,000 tons of edible oil can be extracted from 1 million tons of rice bran, equivalent to the oil output of 5 million mu of peanuts. The bran cake after oil extraction can be made into wine or sugar, and the wine and sugar residue is a better feed for pigs than rice bran.

The effect of multipurpose utilization on lowering the cost of products is many sided: First, the multipurpose utilization of raw materials means an increase in their use value. In terms of cost, the cost of a certain amount of raw material is divided among more products, thus lowering the cost of each product. Second, to assure the normal flow of production and maintain the sanitation of the labor site and living environment, a certain amount of manpower and materials is required to handle the wastes of production, but, as a consequence of multipurpose utilization, the expenses for such manpower and materials are turned into expenses for creating new products. Third, when an enterprise launches multipurpose utilization and expands the scale of production, it will increase the expenses for some items in the management cost. However, the rate of increase in the management cost as a whole will be smaller than that of the total output value, thus constituting a relative saving in management cost. Fourth, if the products created by utilizing the wastes of production are raw materials needed by the particular enterprise or particular area, they will be used locally. They will be cheaper than raw materials bought from outside areas and will save the shipping cost. This is another factor in further lowering the cost of products.

In addition, the multipurpose utilization of natural resources will make it possible to obtain, within the scope of industrial production, certain substances which are rare among resources. Helium, neon, argon, krypton and xenon, for instance, constitute only 1.3 percent of air by weight and only 0.94 percent by volume; radium constitutes only 0.2 gram in 1 ton of uraninite, or one five-millionths. Therefore, aside from the multipurpose utilization of natural resources, it is economically unfeasible to separate such gases from air or to extract radium from uraninite.

The multipurpose utilization of natural resources is also an important measure to protect environmental sanitation and the people's health and

to safeguard social assets and natural resources. The environmental pollution from industrial waste gases, fluids and residues in industrially developed countries is an extremely sharp social problem. Environmental pollution is also developing in China, and it has reached a serious level in some areas. Therefore, China has made a series of provisions to eliminate pollution and protect the environment. For instance, all new, remodeled and expanded enterprise units must adopt strict and effective measures to prevent pollution, eliminate or reduce its harm, and confine the density of harmful discharges within the permissible limits; industrial enterprises are encouraged to practice multipurpose utilization and given vigorous support in funds, taxation and manpower; those units seriously polluting the environment and failing to remedy the situation over a long period of time are penalized economically. While it is necessary for industrial enterprises to purify the harmful discharges, the cost is gigantic. Therefore, the basic way to handle the three industrial wastes is to actively carry out multipurpose utilization, turning the harmful into the beneficial and the bad into the good. We must properly handle this work right at the beginning of any construction work.

Compared with other departments, the chemical industry has a greater need to introduce multipurpose utilization, while it also possesses more favorable conditions. First, to create a chemical industrial product, often only a certain component in the raw material is needed and not all the components, the reaction might be incomplete or there may be auxiliary reactions, and the loss of material in the course of physical processing might occur; therefore, the varieties of discharges are many and the volume generally very large, and there are many harmful substances. However, the chemical industry can generally process raw materials in all kinds of forms, and the technical demands for raw materials mainly concern its chemical components; therefore, it can extensively utilize the discharges of its own and other units. Second, as the technology for a modern chemical industry generally requires high or ultrahigh temperatures, freezing or deep freezing, high or ultrahigh pressure, and vacuum or ultravacuum, it must consume large volumes of fuel and power. However, in a chemical reaction there are both endothermic reaction requiring heating and exothermic reaction requiring the release of thermal energy. In the physical processing before and after the chemical reaction there are also some materials requiring heating and others requiring cooling. Therefore, endothermic reaction and the heating process can be integrated with exothermic reaction and the cooling process for thermal exchange. If the volume of heat released from the exothermic reaction is great, it can be used to produce power. The outgoing pressure from natural gas wells and high-tension equipment can be used to propel turbines to generate power, or to increase output and save power by coordinating turbines and electric motors. Third, in the years hereafter the chemical industry will advance at a higher speed, because the more developed the economy, the greater is the need for the chemical industry as its mainstay. Meanwhile, developing the chemical industry and

launching multipurpose utilization are mutually promotive. The improvement of chemical industrial technology will provide new means to "transform the rotten into the miraculous"; the improvement of multipurpose utilization, on the other hand, will free chemical industrial production from the fetters created by the shortages of resources and the pollution of the environment.

Attention must be given to the following points when carrying out multipurpose utilization:

First, master advanced technology. In multipurpose utilization we must firmly follow the principle that "everything must undergo experimentation," employ multipurpose utilization equipment, and master the technology of utilizing byproducts. For instance, to smelt iron from the slag containing iron in sulfuric acid plants one must master the technology of sintering and desulfurization before turning slag into raw materials suitable for iron smelting; to extract oil from rice bran one must, pinpointing the characteristics of the fluffiness of rice bran and the stickiness of its oil, resort to the method of extraction by adding water and heat, or that of solvent immersion, before obtaining the oil. In a situation of simple utilization of natural resources, one production process can only produce one kind of product, while the byproducts are discharged as waste. The multipurpose utilization of natural resources demands the creation of several kinds of products from one production process and an increase in the amount of output as much as possible. For this reason, we must employ multifunction equipment, such as air-dissociation equipment which can simultaneously produce highly pure oxygen, nitrogen and other inert gases.

Second, organize combined production. Extensive multipurpose utilization requires suitable readjustments of the organizational form of enterprises. As proved by experience, the purpose of combined production is for an enterprise to launch diversification. For instance, such combined chemical industrial enterprises as synthetic ammonia-soda ash, potash fertilizer-aluminum oxide, nonferrous metals-sulfuric acid, iron and steel-chemical industry, forestry-chemical industry, and petroleum-chemical industry are the preferable organizational forms for multipurpose utilization and production development.

Third, develop the role of commerce. Owing to their wide contact and familiarity with resource handling by the plants, the commercial units can play a great role in organizing multipurpose utilization. For instance, under the policy of "developing the economy and insuring supplies," and after careful investigations and arrangements, the Shanghai Municipal Waste and Used Resources Corporation created an entire set of methods by "building bridges to form links, utilizing suitably, cooperating, adjusting rationally, storing, and balancing surpluses and shortages," thereby recovering the waste sulfuric acid of the entire city for utilization and making all things serve their proper purposes.

Our party and our state have consistently advocated and encouraged multipurpose utilization. Although once having suffered from the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many units in all areas have persevered in scientific experimentation, overcoming technical difficulties, continuously improving multipurpose utilization in width and in depth, and even turning the waste gases, fluids and residues, always considered difficult to utilize, into products urgently needed by the state and making a series of encouraging achievements. Today, in the new Long March to realize the four modernizations, the mass movement to launch multipurpose utilization and to promote the beneficial and eliminate the harmful is flourishing throughout the nation. Comrade Li Xiannian once pointed out that the multipurpose utilization of natural resources "definitely is not a general technical question but a momentous question of one aspect of the social production force demanding further liberation and development and a question of man gaining greater control over and conquering nature." Therefore, on the question of multipurpose utilization we must fully affirm its feasibility from the philosophical-ideological aspect, completely recognize its necessity in view of its economic significance, search intensively for its reality in industrial technology, adopt effective measures, and strive for the extensive and high-level multipurpose utilization of natural resources.

6080

CSO: 4004

HOW CAN WE APPLY THE LAW OF VALUE ON OUR OWN INITIATIVE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 49-51

[Selected articles and letters from readers]

[Text] Our No 1 issue carried an article by Comrade Xue Muqiao entitled "Use the Law of Value To Serve Economic Construction." Since then we have received letters and articles from many readers expressing some problems and views. Excerpts from a few of them have been selected for publication in the hope that they will provoke a more thorough discussion of this important theoretical issue.

Letter from Comrade Hu Xiaoli of Hunan: The exposition on learning to use the law of value and the way to take advantage of market conditions has presented some new aspects in a thoroughgoing and constructive way. However, I feel that there are still some questions deserving further consideration.

What is the "law of value"? Many comrades held that it refers to the determination of commodity value by the amount of socially necessary labor time, to value as the basis of price, and to the principle of exchange of equal values. Other comrades held that the law of value means the law of time saving. What is the law of value after all? There are still serious debates on this question. This is what Comrade Xue said in his article: "What is the law of value? Many textbooks on political economy in the past generally described it this way: The amount of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor. All commodities are exchanged according to their value. Therefore, the price of a commodity must correspond to its value. This definition is in the main, but not entirely, correct. When there is a balance of supply and demand, the price generally corresponds to the value. However, when there is an imbalance, the price will be at variance with the value.... Price corresponds to value only when the law of value is in a state of rest instead of motion." This exposition attempts to show that the discrepancy between price and value should also form part of the substance of the law of value. This is incorrect.

- (1) The discrepancy between price and value is the form but not the substance of the regulative role of the law of value. At the same time, the regulative role of the law of value can only be manifested in the exchange of commodities, namely, in motion. So the question of the "state of rest" of the law of value does not rise.
- (2) Under the law of value, the demand for both the principle of exchange of equal values and the discrepancy between price and value is self-contradictory.
- (3) Violation of the law of value is generally manifested in the discrepancy between price and value. If this discrepancy is considered a state of motion and not a violation of the law of value, no penalty is called for according to the law of value. Now, where is the great might of the law of value?

Letter from Comrade Wang Zhengtong: Xue's article pointed out: "When the state uses the law of value (through the policy of price fixing) to regulate the relationship between production and consumption, the principal agent of this regulation is the state or state planning, and the law of value is a tool used by the state. Therefore, we can say that the main regulator is state planning and not the law of value." I am not entirely in agreement with him. Theoretically, price should be based on value. The state serving as the principal agent in regulating supply and demand through pricing must conform to this objective requirement. For example, polypropylene resinoid, a byproduct of the plastic industry in our municipality, is in great demand in society. As it was priced far above its value, its accessibility to people was restricted, which resulted in large-scale stagnation. By the end of 1978 the state was compelled to take corrective action and sold it at a lower price. Outwardly, it looks as though the state was the principal agent in a planned regulation, but in fact it was the law of value that forced the state to adjust the price to avoid being even more heavily penalized. Our past ignorance of the regulative role of the law of value caused a huge stagnation of commodities in the commercial department and finally brought a penalty under the law of value. Drastic corrective measures could be seen everywhere. This was a sad situation.

The article said: "The state must in good time readjust the prices of various commodities according to changes in labor consumption and the situation of supply and demand in order to fulfill the state procurement plan and insure supply on the market." There is a big problem in carrying out this measure in practice. How can the state be sensitive enough to grasp every minute detail and adjust the prices in time? Facts have proved that this was unsuccessful in the past, and unless there are new, forceful methods it can hardly be successful now. It is hard to imagine how a planning organization, regardless of its size, can keep abreast of the constantly changing requirements of hundreds of millions of people; therefore, it is also difficult for the state to take timely action to

readjust all prices. I feel that the state should permit free fluctuation of commodity prices within a certain margin, and that within this margin the enterprises and commercial departments can promptly readjust prices according to production and the market situation of supply and demand. This measure should be effective in regulating production and insuring supply.

The article said: "The capitalist market is more sensitive in reflecting the requirements of people's daily living by using the rise and fall of prices as a 'thermometer.'" Why is a capitalist market more sensitive in reflecting people's needs? I think this is mainly because of the capitalist quest for profits. Although it displays the signboard "Let Me Serve You," modern capitalism only wants to make a profit by catering to the people's taste. Our market is not so sensitive, but is usually rigid and inflexible. This situation is closely related to the current system of economic management. We should find some method soon to induce production units and commercial departments to be concerned with the changing needs and demands in the market from the standpoint of material benefits.

Article by Yang Xuejing of Tianjin: Xue's article said: "Some comrades held that since the law of value is an objective law it cannot and should not be restricted. I have always disagreed with this view, because I feel that the role of the law of value can be kept within bounds." "During the exchange of products among state enterprises, the law of value basically cannot play the regulative role."

At least two conclusions can be drawn from the above quoted portions: (1) Although the law of value is objective, people can, and should, restrict it; (2) since the scope of the role of the law of value has been limited, it can no longer play its regulative role in the exchange of certain products.

I agree with the first conclusion, because recognition of the objectiveness of the law of value does not mean rejection of people's subjective initiative. People are not entirely helpless before the law of value. History has proved that people can learn about and utilize the law of value in practice. Provided the objectiveness of the law of value is recognized, we can change the economic conditions on which its existence depends and then keep its role within bounds. For example, soon after liberation, when the socialist reform had not yet won its decisive victory, the law of value spontaneously played its regulative role in the capitalist or individual commodity economy. However, following the development of socialist economy and the victory of the three major reforms, the spontaneous regulative role of this law disappeared.

However, the second conclusion deserves further consideration. I feel that, under the conditions of a socialist economy, limitation of the scope of the role of the law of value refers only to its passive,

spontaneous regulative role, but the active role of "conscious regulation" through the application of the law of value will be created and further developed following the birth of public ownership of the means of production. Marx said: "After the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, but while still retaining social production, the determination of value continues to prevail in the sense that the regulation of labor time and the distribution of social labor among various production groups, and ultimately the bookkeeping encompassing all this, become more essential than ever." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 396) Here the dominant role of the law of value under socialist conditions refers to the "conscious regulative" role.

In socialist economy the law of planned and proportionate development and the law of value play their roles in coordination, and there has been no indication that either one of them grows at the expense of the other. As long as commodity economy exists, the regulative role of the law of value will never cease, despite the existence of other economic laws. In the exchange of products among state enterprises the law of value prompts the enterprises to freely change their plans for production and marketing, and the kind of "spontaneous regulative" role stimulating the transfer of capital and labor power to other profitable investments has been curbed. But the law of value still plays its role, as manifested in the form of conscious utilization by the state. For example, when certain products have been irrationally priced, some enterprises may be willing to increase, within the scope prescribed by the production plans, the production of profitable items with low production costs to be sold at high prices, but they are reluctant to increase the production of those items requiring high production costs and yielding low profits because of low prices, even though these items are needed by society. As a result, some commodities run out of stock while others are overstocked. In this event the state can rationally fix the prices, regulate the production and restrict the passive role of "spontaneous regulation." When the overpricing of certain commodities adversely affects sale and leads to overaccumulation in the market, the state can also rationally lower the prices to promote production and more effectively meet the demands. From this we can see that the law of value has a role to play in either socialist production or socialist circulation. Yet the writer treated the restriction of the spontaneity of the regulative role of the law of value as the restriction of the regulative role of the law of value itself. This is incorrect. The regulative role of the law of value in the exchange of products among state enterprises does exist. It has not been, and should not have been, restricted. What can be, and should be, restricted is only its "blind spontaneity."

Letter from Comrade Zhang Gankuan of Liaoning: The publication of Xue's article has been well timed in view of the decision by the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee that "it is necessary to act firmly in line with economic laws" and "attach importance to the role of the law of value."

My factory is an enterprise under collective ownership and affiliated with the second light industry system in Dandong, mainly producing locks. Our production of popular padlocks is part of the state plan. According to the state plan handed over to us, we should produce 1 million 40-mm padlocks this year, including 700,000 to be produced in the first 6 months. Because of the system of selective procurement by the state and marketing by the manufacturer, the commercial department of Dandong Municipality procured only 300,000 of the padlocks for the first half of the current year. This number is only slightly over 42 percent of our total planned production. Thus we had a problem. If we produce according to the state production plan, a portion of our products would be left unprocured. If we produce only according to the commercial department's procurement plan, what will become of the state production plan? If our padlocks are only crudely made, of poor quality and highly priced, and have become unwanted on the market or unwelcomed by the users, then the commercial department can justifiably reduce or cancel its procurement order. But the facts are quite the opposite. Our popular 40-mm padlocks were rated 12th in a nationwide evaluation of the quality of padlocks last year, and the quality of our products was praised as the best in the northeast region. Furthermore, compared with the same type of product from other makers, ours is generally lower in price. According to our investigations, our popular padlocks are wanted in the market and welcomed by the users. Comrade Xue Muqiao's article asked: "Will it be permissible for commodities left unprocured by the commercial department to be sold by the industrial department, provided the regulations for market management are complied with? Or, as an alternative, can the industrial bureau set up a joint retail department to sell them?" We agree that the idea of setting up a joint retail department is a good one. However, there are still other problems. Padlocks are needed in our daily life. They are being produced in one place and used in various localities. If a joint retail department is set up in this city alone, the sale will necessarily be limited, as we can readily understand.

We have also tried to sell our products in other places as permitted by the market management regulation. At the end of last November our factory organized two teams to visit northeast and northwest China to push sales. The northwest team went as far as Gansu and Xinjiang but failed to sell a single lock. This was due to many causes, but one which deserves to be mentioned here is the difficulty encountered by a production unit in directly negotiating with commercial departments in other places about sales. First, these departments do not know the products and dare not buy them. Secondly, even though a sale has been concluded by both the buyer and the seller, the transaction cannot be finalized because the bank refuses to extend a loan. (According to regulations set by the commercial departments, stores and procurement and marketing cooperatives cannot directly place any order with a factory, because they must procure from the second- or third-level sundry goods centers. The bank will not grant any credit, even though they have placed their orders.) The northeast team went to Jilin and Heilongjiang, where some

20,000 yuan's worth of goods were sold. According to the team's report, many inconveniences were encountered in making even such small sales. The team members said: "If we could enlist the support of the commercial departments, or sell in their name, we would have fared better. Therefore, we very much hope that, to help us sell our own products, the higher authorities will issue some clear and documented regulations stipulating, among other things, that the production unit and the commercial and financial departments should cooperate with one another to facilitate sales arrangements."

Does the reduction of procurement or even the refusal to procure any padlocks from us indicate that production of this commodity has already reached the saturation point throughout the country? According to investigations made by our sales teams, the answer should be negative. Of course, in the city of Dandong alone there may be a tendency toward saturation. However, in the vast countryside which serves as the market for light industrial products, popular padlocks in some places are even unobtainable. If the commercial department is obsessed with the illusion that the production of padlocks has reached the saturation point and then forces our factory to switch to another line of production, let me ask: What will happen when, in due time, the supply of padlocks in the market runs out? This problem concerns not only our factory. Undoubtedly it is an urgent problem for the light industrial department at present.

9411

CSO: 4004

THE PRECURSOR OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT--IN MEMORY OF COMRADE PENG PAI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 52-58

[Article by Zhu Hai [2612 3189]]

[Text] Comrade Peng Pai, a great proletarian revolutionary hero and an excellent member of the Chinese Communist Party, was the founder of the well-known Hailufeng peasant movement and the Hailufeng Soviet (Workers and Peasants Democratic Government) and was in the vanguard of the peasant movement led by our party. During his life, short as it was, he wrote a stormy chapter in our party's history, a record of everlasting contributions. He is remembered and revered by the revolutionary people. But during the Great Cultural Revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a vicious bunch, showered trumped-up charges and slanders on Comrade Peng Pai, subjecting the noble spirit of our martyr to such shameful injustice. Today we honor Comrade Peng Pai and recount his achievements to right the wrong which was inflicted on him, to offer solace to his heroic spirit, and to tell our children and our children's children who will take part in our grand communist undertakings to draw inspiration from the older generation of revolutionaries.

Dedication to Truth and Revolution

Comrade Peng Pai was born on 22 October 1896 to a big feudalistic landlord family of Haifeng Xian, Guangdong. At that time China, plundered and victimized by the imperialists, had fallen into a semifeudalistic and semi-colonial state. Although the 1911 revolution overthrew the Qing dynastical rule, it did practically nothing to change the nature of Chinese society. What came on the heels of that revolution was the rule of the warlords. Manipulated by the imperialists, the warlords were even worse in their oppression and exploitation of the people. Acute contradictions between the Chinese nation and the imperialists and between the people and the feudalists led to extremely violent struggles, especially struggles by the oppressed and poverty-stricken masses of workers and peasants. The cruel realities of Chinese society disturbed young Peng Pai so much that he felt he was dutybound to rescue his country and the people. When he was a middle school student he and a group of progressive youths organized

a "Social Progress Club" to study current affairs, and they staged struggles against the local feudalistic forces. Driven by his strong desire to seek the truth, Comrade Peng Pai left China in 1917 for Japan, where he studied at Waseda University. At this juncture Comrade Peng Pai began to see a new road to success in the world-shaking October Revolution in Russia led by Lenin, and he decided to study the Russian Revolution and Marxism. In 1919, when news of the outbreak of the "May Fourth" movement reached Japan, ardent patriotism drove him to join the demonstrations by Chinese students against the Paris Peace Treaty. Wounded during bloody encounters with the Japanese police, he bit his finger in indignation and wrote in blood: "Remember our national humiliation." He mailed this to the student union of Haifeng Xian to pledge his firm determination to shed blood for the salvation of the fatherland. Then, as he established contacts with the Japanese and Korean socialists, he organized a "Red Heart Club" among Chinese students in Japan to pursue the systematic study and propagation of Marxism.

Upon his return to China from Japan in 1921 he was appointed commissioner of education for Haifeng Xian. Believing at first that education can be a vehicle of social reform, he invited a large number of progressive persons to serve as principals and teachers at both elementary and middle schools. He and his friends, including Li Guozhen, Lin Su, Zhen Guanya and Zhen Zhiyu, formed a "Socialism Study Group" and published a periodical called THE NEW HAIFENG to propagate scientific socialism. At this point he had already joined the Chinese Communist Party. In 1922 he marshaled the students of Haifeng to celebrate--for the first time in the district--the May Day holiday, and they marched through the streets holding high a red flag bearing characters denoting "communization." This startled the local landlords and powerful gentry, who lodged a protest with warlord Zhen Jiongming. As a result, Comrade Peng Pai was removed from office, and all the progressive school teachers were discharged. In spite of the setback, Comrade Peng Pai continued his penetrating study of Marxism, conducted social surveys, and reviewed the lessons he had learned from experience. This reaffirmed the belief he had during the latter part of his student days in Japan that the success of a revolution depends on the great majority of the oppressed people, and in China it depends on the peasants. So he stopped publication of the RED HEART WEEKLY and dropped the battle of words with the "Hai Tian Faction," a group of literary men in the employment of warlord Zhen Jiongming. He made up his mind to go to the villages to live with the peasants, the downtrodden, lowest group of society.

It is not difficult to visualize what a shock Comrade Peng Pai's action brought to his feudalistic landlord family. But his firm decision to dedicate himself to the cause of the revolution remained unshaken by all the accusations, criticisms and threats. Having resolved to dedicate himself to the proletarian revolution, he felt dutybound to proceed without hesitation.

Grafting Himself to the Masses, He Worked Hard To Build a New Career

Comrade Peng Pai ran into tremendous difficulties when he began to lead the peasant movement. At first the country people were afraid to get close to him. They took him as a debt collector, because he wore a white hard hat, student uniform and rubber-soled tennis shoes and spoke the language of the elite. He felt extremely frustrated. After going over the matter carefully, he decided to replace his student uniform with rustic peasant clothing and a woven bamboo hat. He went barefoot and spoke the language easily understood by the masses. It really worked. Comrade Peng Pai got the message loud and clear that he who sets out to mobilize and organize the masses must integrate himself with them and be their confidant. He decided to learn from the masses and use the methods they like to conduct propaganda and mass mobilization. For instance, he taught them to sing simple revolutionary songs like this: "War drums rattle; tenants and landlords battle. The landlords won't give up the fight, and peasants are resolved to unite. In unity they go for the revolution, through revolution to land distribution." The song was so well received by the masses that it turned out to be the most effective propaganda.

Comrade Peng Pai demonstrated his dedication to the revolution with both words and deeds. He burned the title deeds to the land he had inherited and told the tenants: "From now on you till the land for your own good and stop paying any rent." The poor peasants were moved by the simple life he and his wife led. The poor people, who had toiled like draft animals, learned for the first time from his propaganda and education that the suffering and poverty of the peasants are brought about by deplorable social institutions rather than fate, and that the peasants are by no means helpless victims of such inhuman institutions. If they can unite in their struggles, they will be the masters of their own fate. These catalytic ideas helped bring to the fore the repressed wrath of the peasant masses and awakened their class consciousness. After continuous rallies the first peasant union came into being in June 1922 in Haifeng Xian. At first the union had only six members. By September, when its membership swelled to 500, the union was enlarged and became known as the peasant union of Chishanle. Three months later its membership included over 20,000 households and over 100,000 individual members. This led to the formation of the General Peasant Union of Haifeng Xian on 1 January 1923, and Comrade Peng Pai was elected its first president. Each member received a membership card reading: "No work, no food. Work together with one mind." Standing shoulder to shoulder under the red and black flag of the union, they declared war on the old world.

Under Comrade Peng Pai's leadership the union focused its attention on the welfare of the peasants, including such matters as mediation of disputes among peasants, resistance to landlords' attempts to revoke leases or increase rent, abolition of levies on manure shipments, and repossession of fuel and potato duties to cover the operating expenses of the union and

cost of medical services for its members. These efforts really paid off. Having won the support of the peasant masses, the union steadily expanded its membership. Its influence was so great and widely felt that it became the gravitational center of political power in the villages.

The poor peasants of neighboring districts were moved with admiration at the revolutionary example set by the peasants of Haifeng Xian. Peasant unions mushroomed one after another at Lufeng, Qijin, Huiyang and Wuhua. This was followed by the formation of a federation of peasant unions of Huizhou. The flames of the peasant movement spread to all areas drained by the Dongjiang and Hanjiang. By July 1923, when the membership of these unions reached a total of 134,000, a provincial peasant union of Guangdong was inaugurated, with its headquarters at Haifeng. Comrade Peng Pai was elected chairman of its executive committee. When summer came, Haifeng Xian witnessed the most devastating flood, caused by a tidal wave and torrential rains. There were tremendous losses in human lives and property. Comrade Peng Pai and his peasant union worked fervently to rescue and resettle the flood victims. After the flood had subsided, the union's executive committee called a congress of representatives of Haifeng Xian to receive a report on the disaster and act on a rent reduction proposal of the executive committee. The congress finally voted: "Payment of rent shall not exceed 30 percent of a full harvest. If the harvest falls short of 30 percent, rent shall be reduced accordingly. No rent shall be paid in the event of complete failure of the harvest." The resolution, which won the ardent support of the peasant masses, ran into stiff opposition from the local landlords and gentry. As the contradictions between the two opposing sides deepened, the peasants pledged to intensify their struggle for rent reduction. They tore down the xian magistrate's proclamation "to prohibit rent reduction" and drove away the police and troops called in to put down the disturbances. Like human waves, the peasants rushed from all parts of the district to the xian capital to participate in a mass rally in front of the peasant union. After listening to a report by Comrade Peng Pai and speeches by other union leaders, such as Lin Su and Li Laogong, the mass gathering burst into thunderous shouting of slogans: "Down with the landlords!" "Down with the evil gentry and local bullies!" "Long live the peasant union!" The reactionary xian magistrate dispatched an "urgent telegram" to warlord Zhen Jiongming informing him that Peng Pai was leading thousands of peasants in revolt and requesting troops to put it down. On 16 August, Zhen's troops suddenly surrounded the peasant union at dawn and arrested over 20 union leaders, including Yang Qishan. The peasant union was thereupon dissolved by force. This is the celebrated "July Fifth" Peasant Uprising.

Undeterred by the violent repression of the reactionaries, the awakened peasant masses rallied around Comrade Peng Pai and his comrades-in-arms to carry on the struggle. Taking advantage of the enemy's contradictions and weaknesses, they managed to covertly extend peasant organizations to Chaoyang and Shantou in order to marshal support for the

struggle of the peasants at Haifeng. By the end of 1923, peasant unions had sprung up at Puning, Huilai, Chenghai and Chaoyang, in addition to those already existing in six other districts. With a membership swollen to several hundred thousand, they immediately closed ranks and formed the "Hui Chao Wei Peasant Union." Spreading like a prairie fire, the spectacular peasant movement kept gathering momentum as it marched on.

Heroic Struggles and Mounting Momentum

Prodded by the Chinese Communist Party, Sun Yat-sen finally convened the First Kuomintang Congress of Representatives at Guangzhou in January 1924. This is the congress that issued the historic declaration of a three-point policy of alliance with Soviet Russia, alliance with the communists, and support for the peasants and workers. It marked the inauguration of a united revolutionary front based on cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Responding to the call of the revolution, Comrade Peng Pai went to Guangzhou to accept a position as member of the CCP regional branch for Guangdong and Guangxi and concurrently head of its peasant committee. Not long thereafter, acting on instructions given him by the party, he became secretary of the Kuomintang Central Peasant Department and concurrently head of the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang party headquarters in Guangdong. When our party leaders, including Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Zhongxia and Zhen Yannian, were in Guangzhou to take part in revolutionary activities, Comrade Peng Pai met with them frequently to discuss major issues of the revolution. Both Comrades Zhou Enlai and Zhen Yannian, who had served as chairman of the regional party committee for Guangdong and Guangxi, spoke highly of Comrade Peng Pai's rich experience and outstanding achievements. Comrade Zhen Yannian said on more than one occasion that Comrade Peng Pai was an outstanding leader of the peasant movement. Mr Sun Yat-sen, who also thought highly of Comrade Peng Pai, had personally consulted him on problems of the peasant movement.

Comrade Peng Pai made good use of the favorable conditions at that time and did his best to advance the peasant movement. Instructed by the party to train more cadres for the peasant movement in Guangdong, he founded the Guangzhou Peasant Movement Training Center and served as head of its first and fifth classes. When Comrade Mao Zedong became head of its sixth class (enrollment expanded to include trainees from all over China), he hired Comrade Peng Pai as an instructor to lecture on "The Peasant Movement in Haifeng and the Dongjiang Area." Comrade Mao Zedong also dispatched Xiao Chu, a woman comrade, to take the trainees of the center to Haifeng to study the subject on the spot. The extraordinary strength and revolutionary example of the Haifeng peasant movement proved both educational and inspirational to the trainees and reinforced their faith in the peasant movement. At that time Comrade Peng Pai used to contribute articles on peasant movements in various regions to such periodicals as THE CHINESE PEASANTS and THE PLOWSHARE WEEKLY. He also wrote a book entitled "The Haifeng Peasant Movement," the cover page of

which was written by Comrade Zhou Enlai. It describes in great detail the development, organization and struggles of the Haifeng peasant movements between 1921 and 1923. It is an important document on our party's earlier peasant movements. In the 1942 rectification campaign, when Comrade Mao Zedong urged the party members to do mass work by mixing with the masses, he reaffirmed the value of the creative experience of the peasant movements in Haifeng and Lufeng led by Comrade Peng Pai, and he rated Peng as king of the peasant movement.

The gathering storm of the peasant movement made the landlords and gentry apprehensive of the approaching disaster. As they stiffened their resistance, class struggles sharpened. Clashes between peasants and landlords broke out recurrently in numerous districts in Guangdong, such as Shunde, Huaxian, Guangning and Gaoyao. To provide effective leadership, Comrade Peng Pai frequently took his position on the frontline of the action to direct the peasant struggle. In November 1924 he went to Guangning to direct the rent reduction struggle. Supported by an armored unit (actually an armed unit of our party) of the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Government, Comrade Peng Pai organized the "Guangning Pacification and Rehabilitation Committee," and one of the participants was Comrade Liao Qianwu, party representative of the armored unit. While resolute struggle against the stubborn resistance of the landlords was in progress, Tan Lusong, head of the Xian Volunteer Defense Office, planned a festive party to entrap our revolutionary cadres. Knowing the plot in advance, Comrade Peng Pai decided to outwit his adversary. He went to the party with a number of the armored unit officers. They turned the table in the midst of the festivities and arrested Tan Lusong, an arch-enemy of the people. Not long thereafter Comrade Peng Pai led the armed peasants and the armored unit to battle another batch of armed landlords entrenched inside an artillery tower at Tanbu. At the height of the struggle, Comrade Peng Pai, followed by privates, went ahead and dug a tunnel to the artillery tower and dynamited it. As a result, Comrade Peng's men were able to disarm the landlords' men as they surrendered. The victorious rent reduction struggle at Guangning provided an additional impetus to the emergent peasant movement throughout the province.

In 1925 the Guangdong Revolutionary Government, angered by the occupation of the Dongjiang area by Zhen Jiongming's forces and his fanatic suppression of the revolution, decided to launch an expedition to dislodge him. When Comrade Peng Pai heard about it, he alerted the Haifeng Peasant Union to get united and organize support for the revolutionary expeditionary forces out to overthrow warlord Zhen Jiongming. As soon as Zhen's forces, crushed at Huizhou and Laolong by the revolutionary army, retreated to Haifeng and Lufeng, the battle-ready peasants sprang up immediately to intercept them. With native cannons and red flags flying all over, they were able to send these reactionary forces scurrying in all directions for their lives. They even succeeded in rounding up over 4,000 enemy troops at the mountainous borders between Jieyang and Lufeng, disarmed them and seized huge quantities of arms and ammunition. Comrade Peng Pai

entered the city of Haifeng on 9 March with the expeditionary forces to reorganize the peasant union, train and arm more peasants to help liquidate the enemy, and enforce rent reduction. Acting on instructions of Comrade Zhou Enlai, he established a special Chinese Communist Party branch at Hailufeng in April in order to provide more effective leadership to the local revolutionary struggles.

Instigated by the imperialists, Yang Ximing, commander of the Yunnan forces in Guangdong, and Liu Zhenhuan, commander in chief of the Guangxi forces, launched an armed rebellion in the latter part of May to topple the Guangdong Revolutionary Government. But they did not get very far before they were crushed by the Eastern Expeditionary Forces. In the following October the National Revolutionary Army launched a second expeditionary campaign in eastern Guangdong and swept into the city of Huizhou without meeting any resistance. Rallied by the slogan "Seize arms to arm ourselves," the peasants of Haifeng acted swiftly to intercept the defeated enemy forces and helped the revolutionary forces to uproot Zhen Jiongming, who had occupied the Dongjiang area for more than 10 years. Comrade Peng Pai returned to Haifeng with the army. As directed by the Guangdong Regional CCP Committee, he reorganized the special party branch of Haifeng to form an xian party committee for both Haifeng and Lufeng. In addition, a CCP district committee, with Comrade Peng Pai as secretary, was formed for the Hailufeng area. Under the leadership of the district and xian party committees, numerous mass organizations were formed. Among them were the Peasant Self-defense Army, the Red Guards, the Cadre Training Class and various other mass organizations. After liquidating the landlords and evil bullies, the masses assembled to celebrate the victory and usher in New Year's Day of 1926 with uninhibited revolutionary fervor. With the Hailufeng Peasant Union practically in control of the xian governments, the magistrate could no longer afford to do any evil. Excessive levies, banditry and terrorist practices of the local bullies and evil gentry had all been wiped out. Everything really measured up to Comrade Mao Zedong's assessment: "The xian governments cannot be cleaned up unless the peasants rise to do it. This is attested by the experience of Haifeng in Guangdong." ("Report on the Peasant Movement in Hunan")

As the success story of the Dongjiang peasant movement spread to other regions, including areas drained by both the Xijiang and Beijiang, the peasant movement developed by leaps and bounds all over Guangdong. The first Guangdong provincial congress of peasant representatives held in Guangzhou on 1 May 1925 voted to establish a Guangdong Provincial Peasant Union. It also issued a declaration, enacted new bylaws, adopted a uniform name for all peasant unions, and decided to use a red flag with a hammer and sickle. By the winter of 1926 there were 73 xian peasant unions in Guangdong, with 700,000 members and a peasant army tens of thousands strong. This helped reinforce the revolutionary base in Guangdong and contributed heavily to the success of the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army.

Holding High the Banner of Righteousness To Fend Off Setbacks

In 1927, when the National Revolutionary Army was winning one victory after another, Chiang Kai-shek, who had infiltrated the revolutionary forces but was backed by the imperialists and feudalistic compradores, suddenly turned against the revolution and staged the world-shaking coup d'etat in Shanghai known as the "April 12th" Incident. Countless Communist Party members and revolutionary masses were butchered in numerous localities, especially on the banks of the Huangpujiang, Xiangjiang and Zhujiang.

The crisis prompted the National Peasant Federation, led by Comrades Mao Zedong and Peng Pai, to declare in a "circular telegram" its resolve to punish Chiang Kai-shek. In exposing the sinister counterrevolutionary face of Chiang Kai-shek, it pointed out with revolutionary indignation that the revolutionary masses would never survive and the national revolution would never succeed until this rebel was liquidated. It called upon all revolutionary forces to unite to bring down Chiang Kai-shek and his Nanjing government.

At our party's fifth congress held in Wuhan on 27 May, Comrade Peng Pai spoke out in favor of Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal to speed up land reform, arm the peasant masses and launch an armed struggle to build a rural revolutionary political force. Comrade Peng Pai, who stood firmly for this correct line proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong, was elected a member of the Central Committee, but Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line was rejected by Zhen Duxiu, who controlled the congress. As a result, the rightist capitulationist line pursued relentlessly by Zhen Duxiu led the revolution to disastrous failures.

To rescue the revolution, our party decided to launch an armed uprising at Nanchang. A warfront committee of five, including Comrades Zhou Enlai, Peng Pai and Yun Daiying, was formed to direct the uprising. Unfortunately, this ran into violent opposition from Zhang Guotao. But Comrade Peng Pai and the rest of the Warfront Committee resolutely resisted Zhang Guotao's opposition and backed Comrade Zhou Enlai's plan to stage the uprising on 1 August and fire the first shot at the Kuomintang reactionaries. The Nanchang Uprising marked the beginning of our party's independent leadership of the revolutionary war and the creation of a revolutionary army. Between 3 and 5 August the uprising forces left Nanchang to proceed to Guangdong. When Comrade Peng Pai was elected a member of the party's Provisional Central Politburo at the "August 7th" emergency session of the Central Committee, he was still marching with the uprising forces toward Guangdong. Upon reaching Dapuxian, Guangdong, part of the troops commanded by Comrade Zhu De remained behind to guard Sanheba, while the rest headed toward Chaoyang and Shantou. However, due to heavy losses sustained in the battle of Tanken, they were forced to pull back. On 6 October Comrade Zhou Enlai called a meeting at Liusha, where he proposed to regroup the forces for a long struggle and withdraw

to Hailufeng. The forces guarding Sanheba, led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi, were left to operate in southern Hunan. They finally proceeded to the Jinggang Mountains to join the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong. The rest of the uprising forces led by Comrades Dong Lang and Yan Changyi went from Puning, Huilai and Lufeng to Zhongtong after breaking through the enemy's encirclement. Comrade Zhou Enlai, who was sick, did not join the march. But when he heard that the uprising forces had reached Zhongtong on the borders of Haifeng, Lufeng, Huilai and Zijing, he said: "This is good news. Once the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary masses begin working together, the fire of the Nanchang Uprising will burn again at Hailufeng."

Earlier, when the Kuomintang reactionaries staged the "April 15th" coup d'etat in Guangdong, the people of Hailufeng, led by our party, had already launched two courageous armed uprisings to counterattack their enemies. Another uprising on 30 April 1927, which established a people's government at Hailufeng, unfortunately lasted only 10 days, because our forces were unable to withstand the encircling assault by the Kuomintang reactionaries. But the people of Hailufeng did not capitulate. On the contrary, they mustered their revolutionary forces once again for another uprising, which took place on 17 September. After taking Haifeng and Lufeng, they restored the people's government, took decisive measures to put down the counterrevolutionaries, and confiscated the property of government bureaucrats and landlords. But, due to strong enemy military pressure, they voluntarily abandoned the two cities and went back to their revolutionary base at Zhongtong. This revolutionary government lasted 9 days.

When the Nanchang Uprising forces reached Zhongtong, our party established a special party committee for the Dongjiang area and regrouped the troops to form the 2d Red Division. Under the leadership of the Dongjiang special party committee, the people of Hailufeng, resolute and determined as ever, worked closely with the 2d Red Division for another armed uprising. The opportunity for a third uprising finally presented itself when the warlords of Guangdong and Guangxi themselves were involved in an armed conflict. The triumphant uprising of 30 October encouraged Comrade Peng Pai to convene, on 13 and 18 November, two separate congresses of representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers at Lufeng and Haifeng to proclaim the founding of the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government, the first soviet political regime in China. Committed to a platform of defending the interests of workers, peasants and soldiers, the government succeeded within a short time to reinforce the workers and peasants revolutionary army, put down the counterrevolutionaries, carry out land reform, wipe out feudalistic exploitation, destroy over 470,000 title deeds and over 58,000 volumes of rent records, and redistribute farm land to the poor peasants. With red flags fluttering all over town, the workers and peasants were jubilant and basking in joy.

All three armed uprisings at Hailufeng and the establishment of the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government were the heroic endeavors of the people of Hailufeng, led by our party, to fend off setbacks to the revolution, a decisive response to the "April 12th" counterrevolutionary coup d'etat of Chiang Kai-shek, a forceful criticism of Zhen Duxiu's rightist capitulationist line, and a daring move to fight counterrevolutionary forces with revolutionary forces. They constitute a glorious page in the history of the Chinese revolution and a reservoir of valuable revolutionary experience.

On 11 December of the same year, following the establishment of the red political regime at Hailufeng, Comrades Zhang Tailei, Su Zhaozhen, Ye Ting and Ye Jianying launched another armed uprising at Guangzhou and established the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government of Guangzhou, which appointed Comrade Peng Pai its people's land commissioner. At that time Comrade Peng was still in Hailufeng. When he received the news, he immediately dispatched revolutionary forces to join the uprising, but it had already collapsed. The evacuees from Guangzhou, including more than 2,000 men of a training corps and workers Red Guards, were led to Haifeng, where the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government gave them a rousing welcome in the "Red Square." Comrade Peng Pai, who addressed the gathering, spoke highly of the Guangzhou Uprising. When he came to its failure, he swung his arm and said: "This is nothing. Even though it has failed, it is a glorious failure. We communists never worry about failures and difficulties. Do it again after you fail. Get on your feet again after you fall. The revolution will triumph one of these days." His speech was so reassuring that it helped reinforce the people's conviction. The Guangzhou Uprising forces were then regrouped to form the 4th Red Division to join the 2d Red Division in carrying on the revolution under the leadership of the party and Comrade Peng Pai.

The presence of the Hailufeng Workers and Peasants Democratic Government in a country under the reign of white terror was a threat to the Kuomintang reactionaries. Instigated by the imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries finally dispatched massive reactionary forces to attack Hailufeng on three different fronts. The Red Army and armed peasants commanded by Comrade Peng Pai fought gallantly. While the 4th Red Division engaged the enemy at Zhuchu and Biling in Lufeng, the 2d Red Division met the enemy at Gongping in Haifeng. But due to a shortage of ammunition and limited troop strength, our forces had to retreat. This brought an end to the Hailufeng Red Government, which had lasted a little over 4 months. The revolutionary forces led by Comrade Peng Pai eventually moved to Dananshan, where they established another base for protracted struggles.

Facing Death in Dignity Without Compromising Integrity

Comrade Peng Pai was elected a member of the Central Politburo at the sixth party congress held in July 1928. He was also appointed secretary

of the party's Central Peasant Committee in Shanghai, where he participated in directing the military struggles of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee.

While in Shanghai, where white terror reigned unrestrained, Comrade Peng Pai battled fearlessly. Unfortunately, due to secret reports by Bai Xin, a traitor, he was arrested on 28 August 1929 by the imperialist International Settlement police. Comrade Yang Yin, an alternate member of the party's Central Politburo, and several others were also arrested at the same time. They were immediately turned over to the reactionary Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau of the Kuomintang. During his trial Comrade Peng Pai's true identity was exposed by the traitor. Courageous and fearless, Comrade Peng Pai turned the court into a rostrum and accused Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei of the Kuomintang of the crime of colluding with the imperialists, betraying the revolution, butchering workers and peasants and creating a reign of white terror. He also spoke in defense of the heroic struggles of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party against the reactionaries of the Kuomintang. Shocked and flabbergasted, the enemy immediately turned him over to the Shanghai Garrison Command.

In spite of brutal interrogations and torture, Comrade Peng Pai kept up his struggles and refused to give in. When they realized that the enemy had decided to put them to death, he and Comrade Yang Yin wrote to the party Central Committee: "We feel fine here. Please do not grieve over our deaths. Take good care of your health." This fully demonstrates their lofty and fearless communist revolutionary spirit and dedication to the cause of the communist undertakings.

On 30 August 1929, hordes of executioners came to the puppet Longhua Garrison Headquarter prison. Comrade Peng Pai walked proudly out of his prison cell to the execution ground, firm and well composed. He put up his final struggle against the enemy by shouting at the top of his voice: "Down with imperialism!" "Down with Chiang Kai-shek the traitor!" "Long live the Chinese Red Army!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" Comrade Peng Pai was only 33 years old the day he died. The day after the execution of Comrade Peng Pai, the party Central Committee issued a statement charging the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries with the crime of murdering leaders of the Chinese national revolution. Eulogizing Comrade Peng Pai as a dedicated warrior, the statement said: "The record of his heroic revolutionary struggles, already ingrained in the minds of the broad masses of poor workers and peasants all over the country, made him a beloved leader of the masses. Everyone knows the Peng Pai of Guangdong, a leader of the peasant movement in China. The counterrevolutionaries branded him a vicious criminal, a killer. But the broad masses of workers and peasants, especially the peasants, know very well that he was an excellent leader, a dedicated land reformer."

Comrade Peng Pai dedicated his life unselfishly to the Chinese people's revolution, and his moving and heroic achievements have been a reservoir of inspiration for hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who deliberately distorted history to justify their attempt to usurp party authority, fraudulently defamed Peng Pai, who died a martyr. Instead of defaming our revolutionary martyr, what they have done, on the contrary, fully exposes their sinister and unwarranted abuse of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee, led by Comrade Hua Guofeng, felt so disturbed by the slanderous attack on Peng Pai that it finally unearthed and clarified all the facts and reached a solemn decision to let history condemn that bunch of crafty conspirators. Comrade Peng Pai's good name will live forever, and his outstanding achievements will always be remembered and cherished by the people.

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CSO: 4004

COMPLETELY ELIMINATE THE ULTRALEFTIST PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE, DEVELOP CREATIVITY IN LITERATURE AND ART--STUDY COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S 'SPEECH AT THE LITERATURE AND ART FORUM AND FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION MEETING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 59-63

[Article by Zhi Jie [2535 0267] and Zhen Hai [5271 3189]]

[Text] Thirty-six years ago Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art": "We should carry out the struggle between the two lines on the question of literature and art." This was a demand that on the literary and art front we should oppose the "leftist" as well as the rightist deviations. Practice has proved that socialist literature and art can progress along the correct road only by eliminating "leftist" and rightist interferences. In his "Speech at the Literature and Art Forum and Feature Film Production Meeting" delivered on 19 June 1961, Comrade Zhou Enlai noted the interference in literature and art from the "right," but he gave a particularly in-depth analysis and unequivocal criticism of the "leftist" deviation which was then emerging. Thus, he solved a series of important problems encountered in the development of socialist literature and art. The literary and art fighters, who had suffered enough from the cultural dictatorship of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," firmly believe that Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech on that occasion is a sharp weapon for further exposing and criticizing the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and wiping out its pernicious influence, and that it is a beacon to guide them in further enriching socialist literature.

I

The rightist or "leftist" erroneous deviations in literature and art are manifested in many ways and are most apparent on the question of the relationship between literature and politics at present. In his "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the party in a given revolutionary period." At the same time he pointed out: "Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic

creation." The so-called rightist errors lie in the neglect or rejection of the idea that literature and art should serve politics, as well as the refusal to serve politics under the pretext of the "peculiar characteristics" of literature and art. The so-called "leftist" errors are manifested in the one-sided stress on the need for literature and art to serve politics, the neglect of the peculiarity and laws of literature and art, and the substitution of politics for literature and art. In literary and art creative work the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was prominently manifested in their pretending to "serve proletarian dictatorship" by substituting politics for literature and art as well as substituting the criterion of the former for that of the latter. Their criminal intention was to use literature and art as a tool to serve their counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Under the domination of the ultraleftist line of the "gang of four," the erroneous tendency of stressing politics and neglecting the arts spread its poison throughout the literary circles of that time. Creative writing was judged on the standard of its "political character," regardless of its artistic quality. To the critics, any work stressing "ideology" was impeccable, while its artistic quality was simply glossed over. The "leftist" deviationists even attempted to change "political criterion as a factor of primary importance" into "political criterion as the only factor that counts." Literary and art works were warmly praised by the leaders and acclaimed by the critics as long as they dealt with the so-called "class struggle and the struggle between the two lines," regardless of their artistic quality. Conversely, other works, even of high artistic quality, were brutally attacked and arbitrarily labeled if they did not fit directly into the "class struggle" or the "struggle between the two lines" or were found to be distasteful to some people. As a result, the authors had to suffer all "five forms of punishment." Thus, writers had to write, and critics had to flatter, by following the direction of the "wind," and fixed formulas, set concepts and works lacking in originality emerged one after another. All writers produced about the same works.

More than 2 years have passed since the "gang of four" were smashed, but the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line still exists, as shown by the practice of substituting politics for art. For example, some comrades have the mistaken notion that the "three prominences" are undesirable only because these prominences were given to "heroes with heads decorated with horns and bodies covered with thorns." Therefore, in their opinion, "prominence" can still be given to the heroes distinguished in struggling against the "gang of four." They also held that "the main theme should take the lead" and "proceeding from the line" were wrong because both the main theme and the line were erroneous. Then how about letting a revolutionary "main theme" take the lead and "proceeding from" the correct line? Thus, by a sudden metamorphosis, some writers have transformed by "surgery" the portrayal of "capitalist roaders" into "criticism of the 'gang of four.'" It is no wonder that the "heroes struggling against the 'gang of four'" as presented in some works all "look so familiar" to the readers. Furthermore, some works still attempt

to illustrate political concepts by devoting a lot of space to preaching, regardless of the digression from the plots of the stories. These unhealthy tendencies, if unchecked, are harmful to further development and enrichment of our literature and art.

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his speech: "Whom to serve is a political criterion." He added: "To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve the laboring people and serve the masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat--this is the only political criterion for literature and art. Political criterion does not mean everything. There must still be the artistic criterion and the question of how to serve. Here service is performed through literary and artistic forms which are multifarious and should not be stereotyped." The so-called "proceeding from a correct political line" is in fact a new type of convention to "restrict" literature and art, because it is itself a violation of the correct principle of proceeding from experiences of life which governs creative works. Strictly speaking, a literary work, even though proceeding from a correct line and propagating correct slogans, cannot be considered as serving politics in its own capacity, because, as Comrade Zhou Enlai aptly pointed out: "Sloganeering is not art." Lu Xun also said: "To my mind, though all literature is propaganda, not all propaganda is literature, just as all flowers have color (I count white as a color), but not all colored things are flowers. In addition to slogans, posters, proclamations, telegrams, textbooks and so forth, the revolution needs literature just because it is literature." ("Literature and Revolution") Clearly, Marxism can only guide, but cannot substitute for, literature. If it is arbitrarily used as a "substitute," then literature and art will disappear, in which case there can be no question of whom to serve and still less of how to serve. We usually talk about "political criterion first, art criterion second" only when we comment on the general feature and trend of some works. The standard of their political character is not determined by the amount of bombastic remarks they contain but by the depth of thoughts expressed. Although political and artistic criteria are classified into primary and secondary, none of them can be considered unnecessary. The so-called "works" which are entirely political and without the element of art, strictly speaking, do not belong to literature and art. At present, in order to improve the quality of literary and artistic creation, we must boldly oppose that "leftist" deviation which substitutes politics for art and supplants the artistic criterion with a political criterion.

II

The "leftist" deviation on the question of the relationship between literature and politics is manifested mainly in the neglect of the inherent characteristics of literature and art and the laws of their development, as well as in the refusal to follow these laws. Writers of Marxist classics have always stressed class nature and party spirit in literature and art and attached great importance to their political role. At the

same time they have highly regarded the special characteristics and the laws of their development. As we all know, while noting the tendency of literature and art, Marx and Engels strongly emphasized that a tendency "should naturally reveal itself on the stage and in the plot of a story." They criticized the "Schiller type" but admired the "Shakespearean type," opposed the use of characters as a mouthpiece of the age, and insisted that realistic arts should "truthfully portray typical characters in typical environments." Lenin not only stipulated the principles of party spirit in literature but also stressed the need to carry them out according to the inherent characteristics of literature and art and the laws of their development. Lenin pointed out the need for esthetics as the basis and as the artistic criterion for the socialist society. In his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong not only solved the problem of whom to serve but also that of how to serve. He said: "What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form."

Comrade Zhou Enlai inherited and developed the basic viewpoint of Marxist theory on literature and art and, in expounding their laws, stressed the importance of images and their sentimental appeal as the special features of literature and art. He pointed out: "Literature and art serve politics through images and thinking in terms of images, for only through images can ideas be expressed. The languages of music and painting have to be expressed through typical images, without which literature and art would have ceased to exist. Then how can one speak of them serving politics?" Here Comrade Zhou Enlai linked the question of typified images with that of the survival of literature and art and forcefully opposed the erroneous tendency of neglecting their characteristics and the laws of their development.

One of the important features of literary and art creation is the use of artistic images, not only to reason with people but also to stir up their feelings, so that the reasoning will imperceptibly influence their feelings until the goal of education has been attained. When writers and artists portray realities, the focus of their work is to depict people's daily life, their inner world, their thinking and their emotions. Throughout the process of creation, whatever comes out of the pen of writers or the brush of artists is full of strong emotion; otherwise they cannot create artistic images with appealing effects and can never hope to stir other people's feelings. Historians can coolly and objectively describe and evaluate the place in history occupied, and the role played, by Li Zicheng, leader of a peasant uprising near the end of the Ming dynasty. They do not need to think and feel the same way as the historical figures did. However, novelist Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995] needed the deepest possible emotional inspiration so that his "breathing and heartbeat could be in unison" with the characters he created. In his "Preface to 'Li Zicheng,'" Comrade Yao Xueyin said: "Any novelist who does not feel touched by the hero and the plot of the story to the point of being

highly emotional himself cannot stir the readers' feelings or arouse their strong response. When I was writing Volumes 1 and 2 of 'Li Zicheng' I was frequently overwhelmed by the incidents as I imagined them to be in the story. Tears streamed down my face and my breathing was choked. I was forced to stop writing until my emotion subsided." Yet some people usually neglect, or even do not understand, the importance of the element of emotion in literary and artistic creation. In opposing the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and "humanitarianism," they also oppose such rudimentary requirements as the portrayal of human thoughts and emotions in literature and art. As Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "There is some kind of pressure which is confusing the 'theory of nature,' 'love of humanity,' 'humanitarianism' and 'utilitarianism.'" "The way it is being done now is not looking at things from a proletarian stand. Rather, it is from an idealist viewpoint." He seriously pointed out: "It is not good to say that everything comes from 'the theory of human nature.'" He called on the writers to emancipate their minds, get rid of their worries, and be bold in depicting human emotions which are many and varied. However, Comrade Zhou Enlai's correct instructions were not correctly understood, and an abnormal atmosphere prevailed in literary and art circles in which any mention of "human nature" or "human emotion" was taboo. Many writers became "devoid of emotion." In fact, this "lack of emotion" could not be attributed to real life or to the ineffectiveness of their pens. It was because of the pressure which forbade its expression. The inhuman and diabolical "gang of four" prohibited writing about love, friendship and even grief at parting under tragic circumstances. What we could read was about "kill, kill, kill and struggle, struggle, struggle." "Only laughing was permitted at parting under tragic circumstances, and weeping over a relative's death was forbidden." What, then, is left for a literary work to attract anyone!

Literature means the study of people. It deals with human beings who have emotions. In depicting people, therefore, it is necessary to depict their emotions as well. No matter whether a writer uses the method of conveying ideas through created images or the method of esthetic education of the readers through literary and art works, the element of "emotion" is essential. Any work lacking in emotion is like a person lacking in flesh and blood. Without any vivid appeal, it cannot play the role of "uniting and educating the people and attacking and destroying the enemy." Literature without the element of emotion cannot, as a rule, be called genuine literature. We must wipe out the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and create good works which can boldly express human emotions in various forms.

III

In his speech Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that, in order to serve proletarian politics, literature and art have to take "many artistic forms" in addition to using "typified images" as their media. What Comrade Zhou Enlai demanded here was a dialectical unity of the identity

of political orientations and the diversified forms of literature and art. However, the "leftist" erroneous deviation usually one-sidedly stressed the identity of political orientations and ignored the need for the diversified forms of literature and art; it thus produced extremely harmful effects on literary and art creation.

The diversified characteristics of literature and art are determined by the very nature of literature and art themselves. Literature and art reflect social life, and social life itself is rich and diversified. The great variety of objects to be reflected also determines the diversified forms of reflection. People's demands on literature and art regarding both content and form are also many and varied. Literature and art are the fruits of the mental labor of writers and artists whose ideological cultivation, experiences of life, artistic attainments, temperaments, talents, characteristics, hobbies and so forth are all different, and it is impossible to insist on their being identical. Therefore, each form of literature and art has its own "language" and function. For example, literature creates and expresses ideas through the use of language, while painting expresses realistic and esthetic tastes through perceptible images. In dramas, human beings--namely, the actors--serve as the medium to create the images and to express the conflicts in life and so forth. Naturally, merits and shortcomings can be detected if we carefully compare different artistic forms with one another. After all, diversity is determined by various factors. All aspects ranging from the objects to be depicted, the audience to be served, the ideological cultivation of the artists and the forms of creation to the characteristics of different artistic forms indicate that the road for literature and art to serve politics is very broad and that the forms they take are many and varied. If the diversified nature of literature and art is ignored, the inevitable result will be failure to reflect the very rich and vigorous vitality of social life, to meet the people's demands, to give full scope to the talents of the writers and artists, and to mobilize all artistic media to serve politics. For example, some people usually take the attitude of discriminating against or even rejecting certain artistic forms or literary works which do not exactly fit the political or "central tasks." They do not understand that, although certain artistic forms or literary works (such as poems describing landscapes or paintings of flowers and birds) are not directly linked with certain "central tasks," they nevertheless have artistic value and can help cultivate people's minds and heighten their esthetic tastes. Don't they serve proletarian politics just the same? In these people's views, only high-pitched tunes, gorgeous colors and bombastic language can express the spirit of our age, while a mild and gentle atmosphere is considered out of place. As Comrade Zhou Enlai correctly pointed out in his speech, the "majestic and stirring" song "Socialism Is Good," though a good one, is not as popular as such lyrics as "Ripples in the Lake." All this shows that, if their diversified characteristics are ignored, literature and art cannot effectively serve politics.

The "gang of four" are the executioners who strangled all artistic forms. During their rampage, everything had to suit their personal tastes. Anything they "liked" was designated "models," while all others were proscribed or given a death sentence. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and the removal of a big obstacle in the way of their development, socialist literature and art in various forms have reappeared and are developing. The situation is now gratifying. Many forms of literature and art, forbidden and on the brink of extinction, are now given a new life. We believe that, along with the implementation of the "two hundreds" policy, the flowers of literature and art in various forms will vie with one another in serving the four modernizations and reveal their splendor!

IV

For leaders at various levels, the correct handling of the relationship between literature and politics is a very important task. For a long time there has been a "leftist" deviation in the leadership over literature and art which tends to ignore the laws governing literary and art production. This deviation was manifested mainly in ignoring the creative individuality of the writers and artists and substituting compulsion and commandism as their work style. Disregarding the writers' specialties, the leaders arbitrarily required that they write about what they were unfamiliar with, paid no attention to the writers' further artistic cultivation, and substituted "putting politics in command" and "ideological remolding" for professional training and advancement. Thus, even granted that the leaders' subjective desire was to improve literature and art so that they could better serve proletarian politics, the result has turned out to be exactly the opposite. In view of these problems, Comrade Zhou Enlai particularly talked about the question of "material and mental production" and stressed the need for leaders to highly regard the special laws governing artistic production from the ideological point of view.

The objective law for artistic creation is to write what one knows best on the basis of experience. Creative work in socialist literature and art is no exception. However, some comrades usually ignored this rudimentary requirement and were fond of blindly issuing administrative orders and arbitrarily promulgating regulations on what to write. They disregarded differences in objective conditions and the writers' individual characteristics and made the same uniform demands on writers as they would on material production. This is against the law for mental production. Production targets can be set specifying the time limits and the amount expected in material production, but the same method cannot be used in mental production, particularly in literary and art creation. "Quotas and pressures of time are vexing problems for mental workers." Writers can only write about topics they are familiar with, and they alone know what they are most familiar with or on what topic they are most proficient. All this can be proved only by practice in creation; it cannot be determined by the "will of the superiors." In his speech

Comrade Zhou Enlai expressed the thoughts of the writers and artists as though he himself was one of them. He was thoroughly aware of their hardship and opposed any demand—which was against the laws for creative work--and interference from the leadership of literary and art circles. Regarding the tendency, then current, toward excessive interference from some leaders, Comrade Zhou Enlai sternly pointed out: "Compulsion or commandism should not be used to interfere too much with regard to subject matter." Obviously, if writers are forced to write what they do not quite understand and to produce specified quantities within time limits, they might as well be asked to get fish from treetops or to cook without rice. This is certainly against artistic laws. Even though the writer endeavors to write as ordered, his work can only be some subjective fabrication. Artistic creation and "compulsion or commandism" cannot coexist. Some works lack appeal mainly because some writers did not proceed from their life experiences or because they wrote about things they were not truly familiar with. They simply followed orders, worked behind closed doors and racked their brains to concoct something. Of course, in opposing compulsion and commandism in artistic creation, as well as the perfunctory jobs done by writers and artists who lack real-life experience, we must never oppose the demands of the party--based on the political tasks and mass requirements in a given period--for creative work by writers or artists, because such demands are motivated by a desire for them to learn what they should learn by taking part in the heat of struggles. This means, precisely, that leading comrades should more consciously follow the objective laws of artistic creation instead of violating or attempting to "circumvent" them in guiding the work of literature and art.

At present the focus of party work has been shifted to the socialist modernizations. Summing up our experiences, both positive and negative, over the past 30 years in order to attain our lofty goal of speedily boosting our national economy and achieving the four modernizations, we should first of all follow the objective laws of socialist economy. Similarly, to develop socialist literary and art creation in order to produce more and better literary and art works to serve the four modernizations and to meet the ever-increasing spiritual needs of the masses, the most important thing is to follow the objective laws of socialist literature and art and correctly handle the relationship between literature and politics. Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech on the question of literature and art, in both theory and practice, sets a brilliant example in providing leadership for development in this field according to the proper laws. As long as we conscientiously study and thoroughly understand this speech, eliminate the ultraleftist poison in literary and artistic creation and theoretical commentary, continually explore and learn in practice the objective laws of the development of socialist literature and art and follow these laws, then along with the arrival of the new upsurge in our country's economic construction we can, with complete confidence, look forward to a grand spectacle of flourishing literature and art!

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CSO: 4004

A TENTATIVE DISCUSSION ON SOCIETY'S SCIENTIFIC CAPACITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 3 Apr 79 pp 64-72

[Article by Zhao Hongzhou [6392 4767 1558]]

[Text] Editor's Note: The question of society's scientific capacity is an important topic in the study of science. Since the sixties it has been enthusiastically discussed abroad. Now the focus of the work of the whole party has shifted to the four modernizations. A tentative discussion of this question will definitely be beneficial to our country's realization of the modernization of science and technology. This article contains some initial explorations which the writer has made in recent years. Serving as a viewpoint, it is published here for the purpose of arousing discussion among our country's broad ranks of scientific and technological workers.

Scientific labor is a form of "general labor" in society. (Marx, "Capital," Vol 3, p 120) Modernized scientific labor is a highly socialized form of "general labor." Owing to the appearance of large ranks of scientists, the development of comprehensive laboratory technical equipment, the establishment of a "library-information" network, the integration of the social structure of scientific labor, and the building of a modern scientific educational system, a collective strength has been formed organically from the above-mentioned factors within the social framework, pushing a country's science and technology continuously forward. It links the individual research of scientists, which formerly was scattered and isolated, and includes individual capacity as a factor in the collective strength. This collective social strength is society's scientific capacity. Society's scientific capacity is the motive power of a country's scientific and technological development, as well as a tremendous force for mankind in understanding and transforming nature. It employs a complicated technique to refract and reflect the relationship between man and nature. It belongs to the realm of the productive forces. Just as the productive forces are

a sign of society's production level, so scientific capacity is a sign of a country's scientific and technological level. Thus, the question of the modernization of science is also a question of the modernization of scientific capacity.

I. Society's Scientific Capacity Is the Product of the Socialization of Scientific Labor

History shows that society's scientific capacity is not an ancient thing. It is the product of a certain stage of development of social production and also the product of the socialization of scientific labor.

The socialization of scientific labor is first manifested in the formation of the scientist ranks. In the 17th century the development of capitalist production greatly enhanced the prosperous development of the natural sciences. With the increasing demand production made on science, the complexity of scientific labor also increased. It became very difficult for a person to accomplish a major scientific discovery and creation independently, without relying on the strength of others. The famous physicist Newton could not have completed the calculation of gravity force if he did not depend on the French astronomer Picard for the latter's exact measurement of the degree of the meridian. Thus, the history of science acutely puts forth the question of social cooperation in scientific labor. In the middle of the 17th century scientific organizations in the form of academies appeared generally in Western Europe. The (Academy of the Leopard) and the Cimento Academy of Italy, the "Formless Society" (which was the forerunner of the Royal Society) of England, the Pascal "Private Society" of France and the French Royal Academy of Sciences appeared in response to such a demand. In this way the individual labor of the scientists became directly related to the society. They needed to cooperate with others in their scientific research, and they needed journals which would carry the results of their scientific research. The academy naturally became an extremely good form at the time to enable scientists to exchange scholarship, inspire thoughts, conduct mutual discussions and promote one another.

Toward the end of the 18th century the industrial revolution turned science into a directive productive force on a large scale and in a broad manner. "Because the natural sciences are used by the capitalists as a means of getting rich, science itself also becomes a means for those who develop the sciences of becoming rich. Thus, in order to seek the practical applications of these sciences, the scientific personnel compete with one another." (Marx: "Manuscript on Economics, 1861-1863," the 20th notebook, p 1263) Competition expanded the social relations in scientific labor and at the same time accelerated the progress of the socialization of scientific labor. So, a special profession was created in society and a new social strength was formed. This was the emergence of the scientists groups.

The tremendous social value of science and technology and the lofty social reputation of scientists were enough to induce old universities to generally shift their cultural education to scientific education. Such a powerful social demand first appeared in the industrial cities of England, where many "rebel institutions" such as the Warrington College were established. Ignoring the opposition of the old forces, these institutions and schools were determined to introduce science into their academic curricula and to exclusively foster scientists, engineers and technicians. This newborn scientific education was further developed and perfected during the period of the French Revolution and was formally stabilized under the "wage-carrying" scientific educational system. In France, the scientists generally taught in the universities. They carried out scientific research and taught school, thereby guaranteeing both the chance for scientists to grow and the transmission without delay of the newest results of scientific research into the teaching materials of the universities. The "Ecole Polytechnique" founded in 1795 was such an example. It exclusively fostered a rank of engineers. Many famous scientists in France graduated from this academy.

The rise to popularity of scientific education greatly expanded the ranks of scientists and promoted the development of science and technology. It enabled modern science to break down into highly professional modern natural science systems, making it impossible for scholars to become involved with several subjects at the same time, or even with one entire subject. Thus, in the process of specialization in the sciences the scientists themselves gradually became specialists with confined knowledge. These "slaves of the division of labor," who could not work once they departed from their own narrow professions, began to show the loss of an independent ability to carry out major scientific research projects. This was because these projects usually involved a broad realm, made use of complicated experimental measures and at the same time required the launching of large-scale social cooperation and collective labor. The professional research organizations established in various countries all over the world in the 19th century were founded on the basis of collective labor. The extent of their socialization was obviously higher than that of the Royal Society of England in the earlier days.

Secondly, the socialization of scientific labor is also manifested in the gradual synthesis of laboratory technical equipment.

When laboratory technical equipment was at the simple stage of instruments of observation, the ability and financial capacity of an individual were sufficient to manufacture an instrument like that of the astronomical telescope of Galileo. The scientist himself could carry out independent individual labor. But after the industrial revolution laboratory techniques developed very rapidly. There appeared in society geometrical measuring instruments such as the surveying and drafting instrument; mechanical testing instruments such as the vibrator and the gyroscope;

optical instruments such as the high-power microscope and the spectro-
scope; heat instruments such as the manometer, thermometer and tachometer;
and electromagnetic instruments such as the rheometer, voltmeter and
dynamometer. Because they could measure accurately, these instruments
were therefore called "monoparameter" analyzers. Compared to an instru-
ment of observation, this analyzer no doubt was a step forward. It enabled
scientific experiment for the first time to "observe physical phenomena
where they occur in their most typical form and most free from disturbing
influence, or, wherever possible, make experiments under conditions that
assure the occurrence of the phenomenon in its normality." (Marx:
"Capital," Vol I, p 8) Thus, the analyzer greatly enhanced the develop-
ment of precision science.

However, precisely because of the complexity and high price of the
analyzer, this instrument was far from what the individual scientist
could afford in terms of his ability and financial capacity. It made it
extremely difficult for the individual scientific research capacity of
the scientist to handle such a major scientific research project. Thus,
if one wanted to carry out scientific research on a certain major topic,
one had to take part in socialized labor in a professional research
organization. For instance, the Rutherford nuclear physics experiment
had to be conducted in the Cavendish Laboratory. The instruments there
were manufactured by professional technicians, and the scientific experi-
ments there were carried out in a cooperative manner. In particular, in
the first 30 years of the 20th century modern science developed in such
a rapid way that no period in history could match it. The target of
modern scientific research was as small as the space of 10^{-13} cgs and as
large as the vast universe of 10 billion light years. The various phe-
nomena in the natural world were interwoven in a complicated pattern.
The experiments of this period generally required extremely rapid speed
and extremely high accuracy in order to measure over two parameters at
the same time and to describe the instantaneous state of the natural
phenomena. For instance, on the question of control over a flying object
in space science, because of the flying speed, positional changes occur
extremely rapidly and far surpass the response of man, which is governed
by physiological conditions. Thus, it is impossible to use "mono-
parameter" instruments to first measure position and then measure speed.
For the speed measured in this manner is no longer the speed from the
original position. Owing to this situation, men are forced to manufac-
ture a comprehensive system of automatic control instruments. At present
the "second order investigator" is generally used internationally, an
instrument which is precisely the model for such a comprehensive system
of automatic control. It uses the "monoparameter" system controlled by
the computer. For instance, the resonance survey system in high-energy
physics involves the dosimeter, the scintillation counter, the Cerenkov
counter, the magnetic system, the electronics system and the computer.
In such an experimental system the scientific theories are relatively
more complicated, the technical links are especially minute, the amount
of collection and handling of data is great, and special people are

needed for management and repair at every technical post. Thus, a rank of technical and assistant personnel on a considerable scale is needed. Their clear division of labor, unanimous coordination and high sense of planning resemble a "rehash of the great mechanical revolution" in the realm of spiritual production. In such a large-scale modernized experiment, every scientist, engineer and technician appears as a part of the collective strength. In such a comprehensive experimental system, every instrument is linked with the productive labor of the entire society. Thus, modernized scientific labor is necessarily a highly socialized form of universal labor.

Thirdly, the socialization of scientific labor is manifested in the formation of a "library-information" network.

In the sixties of the 20th century the scientific and technological professions were broken down even more minutely. At the same time this high degree of specialization also brought about a high degree of integration. This gave rise to borderline subjects and comprehensive subjects. Their interwoven contents often made a journal include four to five different subjects. In carrying out investigation and research on a certain topic, the scientist needed to look up at least half of the materials in other professional journals. Or, in other words, the investigation and research in scientific labor generally occupied one-third of the energy of a person. This seriously affected efficiency in scientific research.

On the other hand, with the development of the publishing industry the quantity of scientific materials increased rapidly. In the early seventies, 500,000 scientific diagrams of all kinds, some 40,000 scientific journals, and over 3 million scientific and technological theses were published every year all over the world. Furthermore, there were all kinds of conference articles, research reports, patent literature and government publications. Such a tremendous amount of scientific materials of such prolixity made it difficult for a library to hold everything, not to mention the individual himself. Thus, between libraries and between nations a large amount of collection and exchange of scientific materials went on. Without such a large-scale exchange of books and information, scientists would not be able to obtain in time the scientific materials they needed.

In this way, modernized scientific labor puts forward a life-and-death question to society, which is whether it is necessary to establish a modernized "library-information" network. Usually a solution to a problem appears as soon as the problem itself appears. Early in the sixties national-level information organizations were established in various countries successively. In the seventies the appearance of mechanical memories, microfilms and magnetic tapes brought about basic changes in the information carrier. In particular, the application of the computer in information work truly liberated information work from the laborious

form of the "handicraft industry" and created conditions for high-speed provision and searching. The modernization of information work brought with it the modernization of library work. Using the computer, one not only can store information and materials but at the same time can store books (of course, after changing the books into carrier form), thereby forming a "library-information message bank." For instance, the U.S. medical system takes the medical libraries in the United States as the center and, through the computer network, links the 11 regional centers and some 100 adjacent basic-level libraries and some 300 hospitals and schools into a "library-information message bank" of the medical system. Using the "message bank" from "one end to the other," scientists and engineers can carry out investigation and research activities by searching scientific materials in their offices.

The establishment of a modern "library-information" network basically puts an end to the isolated form of individual labor of scientists and to the situation of separation of scientific research from library and information. It enables scientists to establish scientific labor on the basis of a higher degree of socialization and enables scientific research, library and information to reunify at a higher level. If we say that the "three-in-one system" of scientific research, library and information at the time of the Royal Society was established on the basis of the form of individual labor of scientists, then the reunification of scientific research, library and information in the modern age has as its background the socialized form of collective labor. This kind of socialized collective labor includes not only the scientific research work of scientists but also the research work of library and information specialists. Precisely owing to the hard work of the latter, it is possible to guarantee that scientists can sit in their offices and obtain scientific materials directly from the "message bank" and carry out modern scientific labor with an even higher efficiency than in the past. Thus, modern scientific labor is no longer the same as that of the period of the cultural renaissance. The viewpoint of looking at scientific labor as "a pen plus a piece of paper" is no longer correct. Modern scientific labor has not only a group of outstanding scientists but also a rank of thousands and tens of thousands of scientists; not only a rank of scientists but also technically advanced comprehensive laboratory equipment plus a modern "library-information" network. The above factors form a scientific labor structure in the entire society. This labor structure is a product of history. At the same time, as a special form of cooperation it provides a tremendous new force for contemporary society. It towers above every scientist and yet enables every scientist to bring his scientific research capacity into fuller play.

Precisely because of this, we have enough reason to believe that, in the modern age, what determines the rate of development of a country's science and technology is no longer the strength of an individual but the strength of society; and this is a tremendous collective strength provided by a scientists rank of a considerable scale, technically advanced laboratory

equipment, a highly efficient "library-information" network, and a reasonable scientific labor structure. We define this multilateral cooperation in society as society's scientific capacity. Obviously, society's scientific capacity is the product of a certain stage of the development of social production and is the inevitable result of the socialization of scientific labor. It manifests the tremendous progress of human society. It signals the fact that scientific experiment has become a great revolutionary movement.

II. The Basic Contents of Society's Scientific Capacity

Practice proves that society's scientific capacity includes the following basic contents:

(1) The group research capacity of the scientists rank.

In the several contents of society's scientific capacity, the group research capacity of the scientists rank is the most important. Historically, the rise of a nation's science, in addition to economic and political factors, has always been the creation of a rank of a large number of outstanding scientists. The scientists rank of the modern age not only has outstanding scientists but also outstanding experimentalists, engineers, professors, library and information specialists and scientific management specialists, as well as a mass scientific research rank of thousands and tens of thousands of members. This rank needs the number of people it has. It must be formed into a social group, or else it will be impossible to create a large-scale social cooperation, to create a collective force and therefore to push the country's science to the world vanguard.

In the latter half of the 17th century, clustering around the British Royal Society were many famous scientists, including physicists Newton, Hooke and Boyle, astronomers Halley and Bradley, mathematicians Wallace and (Harker), and famous doctors and economists. Incomplete statistics showed that the high point of science in England was between 1660 and 1750, when there were over 60 outstanding scientists throughout the country, accounting for roughly 36 percent of the total number of outstanding scientists in the world at that time. Their scientific inventions accounted for roughly 40 percent of the world's total. Among them, the most outstanding figure was Newton, who made 11 major contributions in his lifetime and established the theoretical basis of the natural sciences in the modern age.

Facts show how important it is to have a group of outstanding scientists in order to give rise to a nation's science! In a country that has such a rank, science will definitely thrive, while in a country that lacks such a rank, science will decline.

Such a scientists rank should have a certain number of people and at the same time a certain quality to it. In addition to the proportion of high-level scientific research personnel, an important point in the qualitative quota of the scientists rank is the question of the rank's average age and age makeup. We know that scientific labor is a form of creative labor. It has to explore, on the basis of its predecessors, new regions which have not been researched by predecessors. Here, creativity and conscious activity are more important than any other form of material productive labor. A person's creativity changes with respect to age. Although it differs from person to person, on the whole there is, after all, a best age range for most people in society; also, the best age range is not a fixed one in history. Within this age range we can find the highest results in scientific invention. Statistics on the age of famous scientists in scientific invention both in the past and in the present and both at home and abroad entirely prove this point. For instance, in the present age the best age range for scientific inventions is between 25 and 45 years of age, and the peak age is around 37. Thus, in a country that is trying to catch up with and surpass the world's level, in order to attain the speed of catching up with and surpassing the world's level it is necessary to guarantee that the average age of the scientists of the country is not too far from the best age range. Or, in other words, a considerably large number of people in our country's scientists rank should fall between 25 and 45 years of age in order to guarantee supremacy in invention and discovery. In 1950, which was when science in the United States was most prosperous, the age makeup of the scientists basically met the above-mentioned requirement. Thus, until the seventies the United States still maintained the central position in science. In that same year the age makeup of Germany was farther away from the best age range. So, until the close of the fifties science in Germany was still unable to recover the thriving state it showed at the beginning of the century.

Facts show that, for a country that is at the stage of catching up with and surpassing the world's level, it is extremely important to keep the average age of scientists within the best age range. The average age of scientists should best not go beyond the limit of 50 years of age. Beyond this limit the effort to catch up with and surpass the world's level may meet with difficulties.

All in all, history proves that the group research capacity of the scientists rank, as a human factor, is definitely the first important factor in society's scientific capacity.

(2) The quality of the laboratory technical equipment.

Marx once said that science was only a "special form of production." ("Manuscript on Economics and Philosophy," translated by He Sijing, p 83) Laboratory technical equipment is precisely the special labor tools for this special type of production. Together with library and information materials, it constitutes the materials for scientific labor. Laboratory

technical equipment is the material aspect of the means of scientific labor. It often acts as the indicator of the level of scientific capacity of a specific period and a specific country.

The contents of laboratory technical equipment are very large and complicated. Primarily they involve instruments, meters, machines, materials, chemical agents, motive force and corresponding constructions and installations. They all are the material bases for scientific research. They can provide the labor targets for scientific labor, artificially represent natural phenomenon in a specific environment, study the nature of materials under specific conditions, and discover the natural laws which cannot be discovered in the production struggle. They can provide as many research measures and tools for scientific labor as possible, eliminate secondary factors in natural phenomena, give prominence to the primary factors, and carry out exact surveys of the monoparameters and gradually arrive at an understanding of the essence of natural phenomena. Furthermore, they can provide all kinds of skillful experimental methods for scientific research, reveal in the laboratory the rare phenomena in the natural world, reenact in several days or several hours the evolutionary process of billions of years in the natural world, link through artificial means the phenomena in the natural world which are rarely linked together, purposely surface the phenomena which the natural world hides, and even create in the laboratory organic elements which the natural world naturally disposes of. In short, laboratory technical equipment is scientific experiment separated from production and has become an independent material factor in social practice.

The history of modern science shows clearly that any nation that does not embrace advanced laboratory technical equipment can in no way catch up with and surpass the world's level. France and Germany of the 19th century are two examples. At that time France ignored laboratory technical equipment and became interested only in theoretical education after the manner of the academy. Germany was different. It stressed the integration of science with industry and agriculture and therefore paid great attention to the research and manufacture of laboratory technical equipment. For instance, in 1858 Geissler invented the electric discharge tube in vacuo, in 1859 Zoellner invented the photometer, in 1897 (Karl) Braun invented the prototype of the oscillograph, in 1908 Geiger invented the gaseous discharge counter, and so on and so forth. Making use of advanced laboratory technical equipment, in 1958 Pluecker discovered the cathode ray, in 1888 Hertz discovered the magnetic wave, in 1895 Roentgen discovered the X-ray and in 1897 Buechner discovered the enzyme. From the 19th century until the early 20th century, German scientists discovered several dozens of elements and for the first time synthesized urea and alizarine. Liebig, Woehler and Kekule made outstanding achievements in organic chemistry. The epoch-making contribution of Planck's quantum theory was inseparable from the advanced laboratory equipment in Germany. At that time advanced laboratory technical equipment greatly enhanced the rise of science in Germany. At the end of the

19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the center of science was rapidly shifted to Germany.

Facts vividly show that laboratory technical equipment is an important component part of society's scientific capacity. It is an important instrument of scientific labor. The lack of it is equivalent to prospecting for ore without a drilling machine. In the present age the most advanced laboratory technical equipment is the "second order investigator" system armed with the computer. Any country that wants to modernize its science and technology cannot do without this equipment and cannot do without this system, the crux of which lies with the computer.

(3) Efficiency of the "library-information" system.

Marx puts it well: Scientific labor "is conditioned on the cooperation of living fellow-beings and on the labors of those who have gone before." ("Capital," Vol 3, p 120) What Marx refers to here as the fruits of "the labors of those who have gone before" are precisely the scientific knowledge provided by books and publications. And the characteristic method of the "cooperation of living fellow-beings" is information work. Scientific labor cannot for one minute depart from library and information materials and cannot depart from library and information work. If we refer to laboratory technical equipment as the spine of the means of scientific labor, then library and information are the two wings of the means of scientific labor. A bird without its pair of wings can in no way fly.

The history of science proves that the sum of man's knowledge rises in accordance with a certain characteristic function. Thus, the rate of scientific development asks that a library do all it can to increase its holdings and to guarantee that the rate of increase of its holdings is equal to the rate of increase of the sum of man's knowledge. Only in this way can the needs of the continually growing scientists rank be satisfied.

The modern "library-information" system is an important means of raising the rate of utilization of books and the efficiency of scientific research. In a foreign country a library and information searching system can complete the investigation and research of a topic in an average of 10 minutes. Its speed is equivalent to a person reading 2,000 professional journals and scanning 90,000 scientific theses in 30 languages. Such a high efficiency in scientific research cannot be matched at all by man's labor in investigation and research. On the other hand, because their information systems are relatively more backward, some countries today have scientific research personnel who spend one-third of their time searching materials. Thus, the efficiency of the "library-information" system directly affects the scientific capacity of a country. Those with high efficiency naturally enlarge their existing scientists rank by several times, while those with low efficiency reduce

the size of their existing scientists ranks. This principle is obvious enough. It shows that the efficiency of the "library-information" system should be an important factor of the scientific capacity.

(4) The maximal scientific labor structure.

The scientific labor structure is also a component part of the scientific capacity. This is because a good or a bad structure symbolizes the scale and efficiency of social cooperation. And this cooperation often can generate new natural forces, so that the society will be greatly benefited without having to pay anything.

The structure of modern scientific labor is complicated. It includes the social formation of the scientists rank, the social formation of the laboratory equipment, the organic structure of the scientific research funds, the "library-information" network, the system of scientific research organizations, and so on and so forth.

The scientists rank is large and complicated. In terms of the nature of the work, there are those involved in scientific research, those involved in laboratory technical work, those involved in library and information work, and those involved in scientific management; in terms of the scientific structure, there are those involved in basic sciences, those involved in technical sciences and those involved in applied sciences; in terms of professional level, there are high-level scientific research personnel, middle-level scientific research personnel and elementary scientific research personnel; in terms of academic viewpoints, there are those who belong to one school and those who belong to another, those who support one doctrine and those who support another. In modern scientific labor, although the scientists hold different jobs, aim at different targets and embrace different academic viewpoints, it is still possible to place them all on the big machine of socialized scientific labor and enable them to operate in a planned manner.

The social structure of modern laboratory equipment is complicated. In terms of the nature of the technical equipment, some are instruments of observation, some are instruments of analysis and some are comprehensive instruments; in terms of professional targets, some serve scientific research, some serve scientific education, some serve library and information work, and some serve military affairs. Thus, in scientific labor, laboratory technical equipment is distributed in a planned manner according to its nature and its professional target in various districts, departments, offices and groups, thereby naturally forming a social system of laboratory technical equipment. Whether the social formation of laboratory equipment is reasonable directly determines how the utilization rate of the laboratory equipment can be raised and how its social function can be brought into full play.

The investment in modern scientific labor is frightening. It possesses an immense fund of several billions. In terms of source, these funds come either from the state or from social groups; in terms of consumers, the funds are given either to scientific academies, or to the national defense system, or to national economic construction, or to specific social services; in terms of use, the funds provide for basic scientific research, or for technical scientific research, or for applied scientific research and manufacture. Their proportions differ among different countries. So, in modern scientific labor the scientific research funds, in accordance with their source, their consumption and their use, form the organic structure of scientific capital. Research on the organic structure and law of movement of scientific capital is precisely the task of scientific economists.

The organizational structure of modern scientific research is complicated. In terms of departments, such organizations have scientific research departments, enterprise departments, a system of institutions of higher learning, and military affairs systems; in terms of labor mode, they have academies, professional scientific research organs and organs of the state. The structure of modern scientific research organizations forms, in the realm of society, the social pulse of the scientific labor structure.

All in all, the above-mentioned structures finally make up the total social structure of scientific labor. Whether viewed in time or in space, such a social structure manifests itself as a form of large-scale social cooperation and as a continuously changing balance of trends. The major task of scientific management is to follow the objective law of scientific experiment and the concrete conditions of the country in order to continuously adjust the social formation of personnel, libraries, equipment and funds and to continuously change the structure of scientific research organizations so as to attain the best structure of scientific labor, to bring into fullest play the enthusiasm of scientific laborers and the role of the means of scientific labor, and to raise efficiency in scientific research.

The cooperative nature in the process of scientific labor, like the cooperative nature in productive labor, has "now become a technical necessity dictated by the instrument of labor itself." (Marx, "Capital," Vol 1, p 423) Thus, the new natural force that is generated from the scientific labor structure certainly becomes an important component part in society's scientific capacity and also "manifests itself in the natural gift which social labor presents." (Marx, "(Draft) Summary of the Critique of Political Economy," third subvolume, p 350) In reality, whether a country's scientific labor structure is good or bad has great influence on the rate of its scientific and technological development. Some people believe that the achievements in science and technology in the United States after World War II were due mainly to the experience in management work of scientific organizations.

(5) The scientific educational level of the entire nation.

Scientific education is a product of modern science and is the cradle of modern science. With the prosperous development of science and technology, scientific education continues to expand its scale and raise its level. Objectively it has become a potential scientific capacity.

Scientific education is the process of "reproduction" of the scientific research capacity of scientists. By constantly bringing forth talent, scientific education not only can guarantee the growth of the scientists rank to a certain scale but also can prevent the average age of scientists in society from becoming "too old." At the same time, scientific education can change the qualitative makeup of the scientists rank and increase the ratio of high-level scientific research personnel. For instance, before World War II the United States did not pay much attention to "reeducation." Generally, college graduates were sent to Western Europe to obtain doctoral, master's and bachelor's degrees. At that time the scientific capacity of the United States was comparatively low. After the war the United States tried its best to change this situation. Since the fifties it has paid greater attention to "reeducation." In the sixties the qualitative makeup of the U.S. scientists rank changed radically. The U.S. scientists rank raised its level and greatly promoted the development of science and technology. This was concretely manifested in the increasing number of U.S. Nobel Prize winners in science. Statistics from the fifties to the sixties showed that 27 of the 51 Nobel Prize winners in science throughout the world were Americans, which constituted 53 percent of the total. Since the twenties of this century the United States has occupied the central position in world science. This had a lot to do with scientific education. Facts prove that scientific education is a potential scientific capacity and should be included in society's scientific capacity.

III. Scientific Capacity Belongs to the Realm of the Productive Forces

The five major factors of scientific capacity mentioned above are organically integrated. Linking these five major factors are four pairs of unity of opposites: the unity of opposites between the two means of scientific labor (library and information); the unity of opposites between the means of scientific labor in the realm of knowledge (library and information) and the means of scientific labor in the realm of materials (laboratory technical equipment); the unity of opposites between individual research capacity and social research capacity; and the unity of opposites between scientific research and scientific education. The unity of opposites between these contradictions and the struggles and transformations of these contradictions enhance the continuous development of scientific capacity and in so doing promote the orderly progression of scientific labor: the stage of investigation and research--the stage of research--the stage of exchange--the stage of reeducation, forming an overall process of scientific labor. In other words, the

different stages of the process of scientific labor are brought about by the continuous intensification of the above-mentioned contradictions. The unity of opposites between these contradictions links the five major factors of the scientific capacity into an organic whole. The unity of opposites between the two means of scientific materials in the realm of knowledge links library with information into a "library-information" network. The unity of opposites between the means of science in the realm of knowledge and the means of science in the realm of materials links the "library-information" system and the laboratory technical system into a perfect scientific research system. The unity of opposites between individual research capacity and group research capacity links individual labor and group labor into a socialized scientific labor. The unity of opposites between scientific research and scientific education links the scientific research system and the educational system into a social scientific educational system. Lastly, as the sum total of the material factors of scientific capacity, the entire scientific educational system forms the unity of opposites with the human factor.

Thus, the five factors of scientific capacity ultimately can be summed up into two factors: man and material, or scientists rank and the means of scientific labor. The scientists' use of scientific materials to carry out labor resembles the production workers' use of the means of production to carry out material production. Scientific research is a special kind of production. Scientific capacity uses a complicated technique to refract and reflect the relationship between man and nature. Thus, scientific capacity should belong in the realm of the productive forces. In scientific labor, scientific capacity is the determining factor.

The scientific capacity of a country is the skill with which that country develops its science and technology and is also an important symbol of that country's scientific level. A scientific investment on a similar scale produces a totally different effect on countries with a different scientific capacity. Those countries which have a high level of scientific capacity will bring forth greater and swifter results with a small amount of investment; those with a low scientific capacity not only will produce few results but will not respond effectively even though tens of billions are invested. Thus, the question of the modernization of a country's science is essentially a question of the modernization of scientific capacity. The basic contents of the scientific capacity are the concrete criteria for the modernization of science. These criteria are as follows: first, it is necessary to have a first-rate scientists rank; second, it is necessary to have comprehensive laboratory technical equipment with "second order investigators" as the main component; third, it is necessary to have a "library-information" network with a high efficiency in utilization and search; fourth, it is necessary to have the best scientific labor structure with a proper allotment of personnel, reasonable use of instruments, reasonable investments and a reasonable scientific research system; fifth, it is necessary to raise by a wide margin

the scientific educational level of the entire nation. The above-mentioned five criteria are the five major tasks of our country in realizing the modernization of science. Moving toward these goals means moving toward the modernization of science and technology.

Due to the sabotage and interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our country's science and technology have greatly lagged behind that of the world's advanced level. At present, everything in our scientific cause awaits to be prospered. What is the most urgent task in realizing the modernization of science? I believe it is the reform of the present structure of our country's scientific labor. The principle is clear. The fostering of a first-rate scientists rank and the raising of the scientific educational level of the entire nation are not things to be accomplished in 1 or 2 years. The establishment of a modern "library-information" system is related to our country's economic and technical strength and cannot be realized easily. Although we can import a large amount of laboratory technical equipment, we have to use foreign exchange and need time to digest these laboratory techniques. Only the reform of the social structure of scientific labor does not require the state to spend a cent and can raise the efficiency of scientific labor. Once the reform is reasonable, it can render assistance gratis. Results can be seen whenever reform is undertaken. The more reasonable the reform, the greater the achievement. Reform of the scientific labor structure can link what follows with what precedes before the other four forces are brought into play. It can make full use of our country's present scientific capacity, arouse the enthusiasm of various sectors and tap even greater potentials. The social structure of scientific labor is the framework of society's scientific capacity. The size and quality of the framework are directly related to the question of how to bring scientific capacity into play. Thus, the determination to start from scientific management and to reform our country's present scientific labor structure is the key to realizing the task of catching up with and surpassing the world's level. It will be like a key that will start the engine of our country's scientific capacity.

Engels once said: To a proletarian giant, "that narrow kingdom which is for commonplace people is already too small." ("On the History of the Communist League," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 205) In the same manner, our society's scientific capacity is a great giant. His strong body and broad shoulders will continue to grow stronger. One of these days he will arise from his seat. Can we manacle this giant with a petrified and narrow social labor structure?

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