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13 July 1979

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 5, 4 May 1979

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

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## FIGHT WELL THE BATTLE TO READJUST THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 2-5

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] To quicken the pace of the four modernizations, the task before us is to seriously sum up the experiences and lessons of China's socialist construction, fully appraise the present state and characteristics of China's economy and make the necessary readjustments.

In the past 2 years we have won a great victory in the political struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," brought about a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness throughout the country and quickly restored and developed the badly damaged national economy. Last year we set an all-time record in total grain output and scored big increases in industrial production. After the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, further achievements have been scored on various fronts. The masses have boundless hope and faith in the future of their great motherland. However, it is also to be noted that, due to interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a long period, there are still quite a few problems in the national economy. The imbalances between agriculture and industry, between light industry and heavy industry, between the fuel, motive power and raw materials industries and the processing industry and between accumulation and consumption have not been completely changed.

Agriculture, light industry and heavy industry are the principal sectors of material production. The proportionate relations between the two major categories of social production is basically embodied in the proportionate relationship of these three sectors. With well-arranged proportions for agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, we can boost the development of enlarged socialist reproduction and continuously improve the people's material and cultural life. Compared with heavy industry, light industry had been lagging behind these past years. Agriculture was even more backward. At present the increased production of grain, economic crops and nonstaple foodstuffs cannot meet the needs of national economic development and improvement of the people's livelihood. Many of our

light industrial products are wanting in quantity, quality and variety. It is the pressing demand of the people to greatly increase agricultural and light industrial production.

To speed up industrial development, we must first develop such basic industries as the fuel, motive power and raw materials industries. Without guaranteed energy sources and raw materials, it is impossible to develop the processing industries. During the past few years we have increased the proportion of investment in the coal, power and petroleum industries and scored relatively big production increases.

However, because the demands of industry, agriculture and other sectors of the national economy have been growing at a much faster rate, the supply of fuel, motive power and raw materials remains strained. We have achieved substantial successes in the iron and steel industry, but we are still unable to meet the demands of various economic sectors regarding the quality, variety and specification of products.

We must undertake capital construction whether we want to sustain simple reproduction or enlarged reproduction. To maintain the existing scale of production, we must reconstruct that part of the productive capacity which has been found unserviceable and keep up the available factory premises and equipment. To enlarge the scale of production, we must replenish or expand our existing productive capacity. Since there is a limit to the means of production and the labor force in society in a given year, any excessive provision for capital construction will adversely affect immediate production needs. Marx once pointed out: "On the basis of socialized production, the scale must be ascertained on which those operations--which withdraw labor and the means of production for a long time without supplying any useful product in the interim--can be carried on without injuring the branches of production which not only withdraw labor and the means of production continually, or several times a year, but also supply means of subsistence and production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 396-397) The problem with us is the overextension of the capital construction front. Many construction projects are continually consuming our means of production and labor and are unable to become productive forces after a long time. We must resolve to tackle this problem and carry out the policy of concentrating our forces on several all-out campaigns.

Under the socialist system, the relationship between accumulation and consumption is fundamentally harmonious. An increase in accumulation and in the speed of enlarging reproduction will help create necessary material conditions for raising the people's consumption level. However, overaccumulation will upset the balance between accumulation and consumption, give rise to economic difficulties and produce imbalances between various economic sectors, which in turn will adversely affect the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood. Therefore, we must take into consideration the masses' long-term and immediate



interests, collective and personal interests, as well as production and livelihood needs, and properly adjust the proportionate relationship between accumulation and consumption. For years, high accumulation adversely affected consumption, with the result that many problems which should and can be solved cannot be solved in time. These problems must be gradually resolved on the basis of the growth of production.

With a view to insuring a more proportionate development of the national economy, we must seriously sum up our experiences in socialist construction, proceed from reality and promptly and boldly take the initiative to make economic readjustments. At the same time, we must also reorganize production and management in our enterprises and reform our economic administration. This is the first decisive battle to effect the strategic shift in the focus of our party's work. If we can fight this battle well, we will be able to considerably change the present imbalances, bring our economic management within the orbit of acting in accordance with objective economic laws, insure the sustained, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy and lay a solid foundation for victory in the four modernizations.

Marxist theory and the practice of socialist construction tell us that only by firmly following a planned and proportionate development system can we develop the socialist economy at a sustained high speed. To exercise planned management of the national economy, we must correctly arrange the proportions between various economic sectors. As Lenin said: "A constant and consciously preserved balance is in fact planning." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 566) During the First Five-Year Plan, national economic planning was more in conformity with reality. Arrangements in various fields were quite well balanced and well proportioned. For this reason the national economy developed rapidly. Industry grew at an average annual progressive rate of 18 percent and agriculture at a rate of 4.5 percent. Revenue and expenditure were balanced, prices were stable and the people's livelihood was greatly improved. During the Second Five-Year Plan, the original scale of capital construction investment, rate of production growth and proportionate relationships all conformed with the economic conditions at that time and were both positive and appropriate. Later, as a result of over-high targets and a work style characterized by boastfulness, imbalances occurred and production suffered serious setbacks. After 1961 the national economy quickly recovered, since steps were taken to readjust the economic plans and various proportionate relationships. Between the years 1963 and 1965 industry grew at an average annual progressive rate of 17.9 percent and agriculture at a rate of 11.1 percent. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the national economy was again on the brink of collapse due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Today we must draw useful lessons from positive and negative historical experiences, proceed from reality, readjust various proportionate relationships and set a reasonable and practical rate of development.

Economic readjustment is a positive move designed to concentrate forces on boosting the weaker links of the national economy, to insure that those enterprises which consume less but turn out quality products urgently needed by society have sufficient raw and semiprocessed materials, fuel and motive power so they can carry out production at a high gear and to accelerate the progress of those capital construction projects which will help readjust the proportionate relationships and are urgently needed by the state, so that they can be put into operation as soon as possible. Historical experiences tell us: Without the 3 years of recovery and readjustment after the country's liberation, there could not have been any large-scale construction during the First Five-Year Plan; without the enforcement of the policy of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards since 1961, there could not have been a rapid recovery and development of the national economy during the years 1965 and 1966. We have reasons to believe that after the present readjustment the advanced state of China's economy will become more consolidated and that an excellent situation of rapid development will prevail over the whole national economy.

The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: One of the serious shortcomings in the structure of economic management in our country is the overconcentration of authority. This structure is disadvantageous to managing the economy in accordance with objective economic laws and correctly bringing into play the enthusiasm of the four levels--the central departments, the local authorities, the production units and the workers. Thus, to quicken the pace of socialist modernization, we must reform the existing economic management structure. The task of reforming the economic structure is both heavy and arduous. To solve this complicated problem, we must conduct thorough investigations and study and make careful preparations. It is precisely for the purpose of creating necessary conditions for the complete reform of the economic management structure that economic readjustment is made. While we are making this readjustment we must also actively introduce some necessary and practical reforms without any further loss of time.

To properly readjust the national economy and advance in the course of making readjustment, it is imperative that we adopt a number of resolute and effective measures.

First, we must firmly implement the series of policies and measures put forward by the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee for the development of agriculture, fully bring into play the socialist enthusiasm of our country's several hundred million peasants and boost the production of cereals, cotton and oil-bearing crops. We must open new avenues, make rational arrangements and fully utilize the rural labor force and natural resources to further develop agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries and sideline production. We must also strive to modernize Chinese agriculture step by step in light of its special characteristics--vast population, limited arable land, large territory and meager heritage.

Second, we must appropriately increase the proportion of investment in light industry, give first priority to supplying fuel, motive power and raw materials for light industrial production, insure a more rapid development of light industry and strive as far as possible to satisfy the masses' demands for light industrial products, particularly the demands of the peasants after they have increased their agricultural production and income. We must develop those lines of business which require less investment and give quick returns, make the domestic markets flourish and expand exports. When proper arrangements have been made for agriculture and light industry, we can proceed to make arrangements for heavy industry. In the processing and iron and steel industries, the emphasis of work is to increase the variety of products, improve quality and reduce consumption in order to spare more resources for the production and construction of the coal, petroleum, power, transport and building materials industries.

Third, we must resolutely shorten the capital construction front. The capital construction projects now being undertaken are beyond our financial and material means. We must follow the instructions of the central departments, do things in the order of importance and urgency, make overall plans and proper arrangements, concentrate our financial and material resources on key projects urgently needed by the state and plan the scale of construction in line with the amount of funds, equipment and building materials available, so that the projects can be turned into productive forces and yield results as quickly as possible.

Fourth, we must properly adjust the proportions between accumulation and consumption and between accumulation for productive purposes and accumulation for nonproductive purposes and improve the people's livelihood on the basis of the growth of production. Ours is a socialist country in which the working masses are masters and the purpose of production is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people. We must make arrangement for markets before making arrangements for capital construction. Problems of clothing, food, housing, employment and means of travel should be given priority consideration, because they affect the stability of the country. When these five problems are well taken care of and the masses are happy, the state can accumulate more and undertake more capital construction projects. We must resolutely oppose the bureaucratic attitude of paying no attention at all to the people's livelihood. Of course, we must also see that since our economy is still very backward, our country is still beset with difficulties and numerous problems have been left hanging for years, it is impossible to improve the people's livelihood very rapidly. Our problems can only be solved gradually. We must continue to carry forward the fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle.

In the course of making readjustment we must vigorously grasp the reorganization of enterprises. The work of enterprises is the foundation of economic work, and economic readjustment and structural reform

ultimately have to be translated into action in the enterprises. Only by doing a good job of reorganizing our enterprises can we carry out economic readjustment to the letter. We must pay attention to the consolidation and building of leading groups of enterprises and improve the style of leadership. We must intensify the party's ideological and political work and strengthen the ranks of staff and workers ideologically and organizationally. We must effectively strengthen the administrative organs and clearly define the authority and responsibility of the administrative personnel. All enterprises must establish and improve rules and regulations with the system of personal responsibility as the core, pay attention to training cadres, technicians and skilled workers and do a good job of democratic management. They must translate various reorganization programs into action in production, push forward the development of production and attain or surpass the highest records of their own unit or trade in the major economic and technical targets. Since our country's existing industrial enterprises are our battle stations for the realization of modernization, we must fully bring their role into play. We must see the huge potentials of our existing enterprises. Provided we do a good job of reorganizing the enterprises, tapping potentials and making renovation and transformation, and provided we extensively and deeply unfold the mass movement to increase production and practice economy, we will be able to develop production by leaps and bounds.

The readjustment of the national economy is a complicated task. To perform this task well, it is imperative to strengthen the party's leadership. Leading organs and cadres at all levels must continue to adhere to the ideological line of dialectical materialism, go to the grassroots units and among the masses to make investigation and study, humbly listen to the opinions of the basic-level cadres and masses and act in accordance with objective economic laws. We must coordinate all the activities of the nation as in a chess game, subordinate local interests to overall interests, give due consideration to the overall situation and strengthen the sense of organization and discipline. We believe that under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng we will definitely be able to victoriously fulfill the task of making economic readjustment, greatly raise the standards of all our economic work and advance with firmer and greater strides on our new Long March toward the four modernizations.

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ONLY WHEN PRODUCTION AND NEEDS ARE BALANCED WILL THERE BE HIGH SPEED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 6-10

[Article by Yue Wei [1471 1550]]

[Text] The question of the speed of development of the national economy is a vital matter of general concern to the people. The people want to speed up the pace, develop production, build up the country and improve their livelihood. They want production to be able to sustain high-speed growth so as to steadily achieve the four modernizations and basically transform the features of the national economy. The question is, how can we achieve high speed? Merely planning on speed without paying attention to comprehensive balance will not do. If we want to speed up economic development, we must conscientiously study and handle well the relationship between social production and social needs and realistically and successfully achieve a comprehensive balance so that the major proportion of national economic development will conform to objective reality. Only thus can all positive factors be brought into play to the greatest extent, can all material resources be utilized in the most rational manner and can there be a guarantee for the national economy to develop at the greatest speed.

I

Social production and social needs are the two parts of the unity of opposites, forming the whole of a movement of opposites and motivating the development of social economy. Under the socialist system the goal of the development of social production is to satisfy social needs, work for the benefit of the masses and unremittingly improve the material and cultural life of the people. Social needs are always growing, and the various needs in the material and cultural life of the people will become greater. However, within a given period there is a certain limit to the development of social production. This will give rise to the contradiction of the inability of production to completely satisfy needs. In such a populous and economically backward country as ours, the contradiction between social production and social needs is particularly acute. How can this kind of contradiction be solved? We must continue to develop

production. With the development of production and with needs suitably satisfied, new needs will emerge. The new needs will again promote production to keep on improving, technology to keep on progressing and the economy to develop further. The existence and solution of this contradiction between production and needs are precisely the vital motive force impelling the development of socialist production. Socialist production is carried out on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, and this has opened up a broad vista for the planned organization of social production and the faster development of productive forces. However, to enable possibility to become reality we must correctly recognize and deal with the contradiction between social production and social needs, organize manpower, material resources and finances in a rational manner according to social needs, guard against one-sidedness in production and waste of various material resources, guarantee the high-speed development of the national economy and unify balanced development and high-speed development.

Organizing production and allocating social labor in a planned manner according to social needs is the superior characteristic of the socialist planned economy. Engels in "Anti-Duhring" pointed out that with the recognition of the real nature of the productive forces society will be able to make a social regulation of production based on a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and each individual. Marx said: "The volume of products corresponding to different needs requires different and quantitatively determined amounts of the total labor of society." "It is self-evident that the necessity of distributing social labor in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a particular form of social production but can only change the mode of its appearance." ("Marx to L. Kugelmann," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 368) Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out: "A constant process of readjustment through state planning is needed to deal with the contradiction between production and the needs of society, which will long remain an objective reality. Every year our country draws up an economic plan in order to establish an equilibrium between production and needs." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We should consciously apply economic law, readjust social production in a planned manner according to the needs of society and properly arrange a balanced relationship in the national economy.

Making a success of the comprehensive balance between social production and social needs should include the content of the two interconnecting aspects. On the one hand, the aggregate social products produced in a given period and the total needs of society must mutually conform. On the other hand, the two major categories of social production, the products of various departments, must severally conform with the various needs of society. Aggregate social products are the sum of the products of various material-producing departments of the national economy and all the material values that can be used for various needs at a given time. The total needs of society include: The needs of production or the

portion of consumption of the means of production in the process of compensating production; the needs of consumption, of which the overwhelming portion is the needs of the people's livelihood and a small portion is the needs of social consumption and collective consumption; and the needs of accumulation or the means of production and consumer goods used in expanded reproduction. In a given period, not only must there be a balance between aggregate social products and the total needs of society, but also there must be a balance between the products of various categories and departments of social production and various needs of society. In the actual social distribution of labor, agriculture and light industrial production must, in the main, conform with the needs of consumption and the needs of the people's livelihood. The party's policy of arranging the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry has precisely embodied the need for a mutual balance between social production and social needs and is of great significance for the balanced and high-speed development of the socialist economy.

## II

The relations of social production and social needs have different characteristics in different countries and among different nationalities or in different times in a country. Apart from being determined by circumstances of socioeconomic development, to a certain extent they are also influenced by historical and natural conditions. We must conduct a concrete analysis of conditions and characteristics in the country itself and clarify the basic condition of social production and social needs under given historical conditions as the point of departure for studying the problem.

A vital characteristic of our country is its meager production foundation and huge population. More than 80 percent of the people are farmers. Over the years, although the life of the urban and rural people has slowly improved, the people's standard of living at present is still rather low, and the life of the peasants is not much better. China's relatively backward agriculture is a very big contradiction in comparison with the needs of the four modernizations. We should, in accordance with China's concrete characteristics, follow our own road of development in taking up socialist modernization.

We must see that the most basic need of the whole society is the livelihood of the people. For such a huge population, no one can go a day without food, clothing, services, transportation and shelter. These are the needs of material life. People must receive an education, study culture, science and technology, and engage in all kinds of cultural and artistic activities to develop themselves in an all-round manner intellectually and physically. These are the needs of cultural life. Under the socialist system, all material and cultural needs of the people must be given serious attention, conscientiously studied and guaranteed as much as possible.

Guaranteeing the needs of the material and cultural life of the people plays an important role in speeding up socialist modernization. People are not only consumers but, more importantly, are also producers. Whether the pace of the four modernizations can be speeded up and the wealth of society can be greatly increased depends to a very great extent on whether the creativity of the laboring people in their millions can be brought into play. "To be able to 'make history,' people must be able to live. However, to live they first require clothing, food, shelter and other things." ("German Ideology," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 31) To speed up the development of production we must place satisfying the needs of the people's livelihood in a primary position. Guaranteeing the basic needs of the people's livelihood is also a prerequisite for developing scientific and cultural undertakings and raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. If the cultural knowledge of the masses is not improved, the economy also cannot become flourishing and strong.

When carrying out comprehensive balancing we should first make proper arrangements for consumption, so that the increase in consumer funds each year will not only guarantee the needs of the new population growth but also enable the existing population to obtain essential and possible improvements. In gradually readjusting the workers' wages we should at the same time, by various means, lighten the burden of the peasants and increase their income. We must readjust the prices of industrial and agricultural products, increase the production of various industrial products suited to the needs of the peasants, and energetically organize the sending of industrial goods to the countryside and invigorate the socialist market in the rural areas so that there will be a faster improvement in the people's life and a gradual diminishing of the gap between small industry and rural life.

To increasingly satisfy the growing needs of society we must increase reproduction, properly arrange the production of the means of production and make suitable accumulations. Following the development of production and the improvement in the people's life, there will be a corresponding increase in accumulations. However, under present conditions in which social production and the people's standard of living are not high, the accumulation of funds should not occupy too high a proportion in the national income. The distribution of the accumulated funds should be conducive to the proportionate development of various departments of the national economy and to the harmonious development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. To more efficiently use accumulated funds, the arrangement of capital construction investments must guarantee essential key projects. At the same time, arrangements should also be made as much as possible for the construction of more projects that require less investment and can be built more quickly and produce greater results. Our country has a huge population and a big market but a meager industrial foundation. It is very necessary to develop more light industry that can produce faster results. We must also open up more avenues of



production and develop a diversified economy. Apart from developing agriculture, industry, communications and transportation, we must also pay attention to developing commerce, service trades, public utilities and tourism to better bring the potential of our country's labor and material resources into play. In this way the development of the national economy will be very rapid.

An important principle in dealing with the relationship between consumption and accumulation is that it must be conducive to fully bringing the positive factors of the people into play. In the final analysis, the increase in consumption will give better play to the socialist enthusiasm of the working people and push forward the development of production. Accumulation must provide essential means of production and consumer goods for the newly increased labor force and guarantee that more people will take part in production and construction. At the same time it must increase the number of new technical installations, raise the technical level, reduce heavy and cumbersome labor and keep on improving the labor productivity of the existing labor force, thereby strengthening the role of the people over the forces of nature. Accumulation is the source of expanded reproduction, and an increase in production will satisfy the needs of society on a still higher level.

### III

Production is the foundation and determines the needs. When making arrangements for various needs we must enable them to conform to a certain level of production. Only thus can needs be realized and play the role of promoting production. If the arrangement for the needs is not consistent with objective reality and is not in keeping with the existing level of production, then needs cannot be realized, the proportion will be broken and production also will not go forward. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Sometimes contradictions arise and the equilibrium is upset because our subjective arrangements do not conform to objective reality; this is what we call making a mistake." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

To speed up the development of the national economy we should continue to increase productivity by means of capital construction. However, the scale of construction within a certain period must be determined by the level that production can achieve based on the means of production, so that the supply of the means of production and the needs will be in harmony and not leave a gap. If the gap is too wide, it will naturally throw the proportionate relationship into confusion. When we say we must not leave a gap, this does not mean that we seek uniformity in the thousands of products. What we mean is that production and needs must absolutely coincide. Actually, the inability of a handful of products to temporarily meet demand is unavoidable, and this can be solved by such methods as drawing from stores, economizing, using substitutes and importing suitable items. The question is, if imbalance in production

and needs appears in some important departments and links, will the high-speed development of production be hampered? In the latter part of the 1950's, because of excessive and overurgent needs, the output of steel had to be doubled within a year, capital construction investments nearly doubled, factories shot up all over the land, the number of workers greatly increased and the balance of the national economy was upset. In recent years, with the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," comprehensive balancing was weakened and the capital construction front was overextended. The overexpansion of the processing industry far exceeded the production level of building materials, raw materials, fuel and power. This not only created a tense situation in the supply of the means of production, but also caused the rate of construction to slow down. Uncompleted projects piled up, factories could not operate full time, an enormous amount of manpower and equipment was wasted and the speed of development of production was reduced. There appeared the phenomenon of key projects squeezing out other projects, capital construction squeezing out production and maintenance, heavy industry squeezing out light industry and agriculture, and productive construction squeezing out nonproductive construction, or "bone" squeezing out "meat." This resulted in great "liabilities" in some sectors. Because capital construction and the processing industry were operated on too large a scale and required too many workers, this affected the relationships between industry and agriculture and between the urban and rural areas. Heavy industry could not supply sufficient materials for agriculture and called on agriculture to supply more food grain and nonstaple foodstuff. This increased the burden of the peasants. To produce more food grain on the available land, the peasants could only squeeze out the production of economic crops and other farm produce. This resulted in disharmony in the proportions within agriculture. With the slowing down of agricultural development, the increase in factory staffs was more than agriculture could bear. This in turn resulted in an imbalance in commodity supply and social purchasing power. The shortage of certain commodities on the market denied the people the livelihood improvements they are entitled to, and to a certain degree this affected the enthusiasm of the masses for production. In the end, this could only affect the normal development of production. The subjective desire for speed actually had the opposite result.

To maintain a balance between social production and social needs, all production enterprises and departments must organize production based on social needs and must not blindly look at numerical indices divorced from social needs. Only by being orientated to society and establishing the idea of serving the consumers can an enterprise or a department satisfy social needs to the fullest extent with the minimum of labor consumption and develop production with high speed. However, some people have turned this kind of relationship upside down in actual work. Without paying any attention to the study of social needs and without investigating changes in the relationship of supply and demand in the market, they always think that the higher and faster, the better in drawing up plans and fixing

indices. Some think that higher indices and greater output value targets will exert pressure on the production of the enterprise and play a promotional role. Therefore, they keep on increasing the figure. This could easily lead to the tendency of one-sided pursuit of production value and output without paying attention to product quality and variety in an enterprise. They prefer products with a high output value and little labor and promote products that can be produced more quickly and require simple processing. To fulfill the quota set by the higher levels, they continue to produce with the same zeal even when they are fully aware that some of the products are of poor quality and there is little demand for them. This has resulted in the production of poor-quality products with little variety "year in and year out." Since the goods are not suitable, they have piled up in commercial warehouses. The quality and variety of some export commodities cannot keep up with the changes in the international market and are in an unfavorable position in a highly competitive market. We must directly link production with consumption, promptly report changes in the people's requirements to the producers, set new demands on production and hasten the improvement and advancement of production. Production must be arranged according to needs and be closely combined with needs before production can be full of vitality, the adaptability of products can be strengthened and production can develop in a flourishing manner with good quality at a high level.

#### IV

To solve the contradiction between production and needs and realistically make a success of comprehensive balancing so that the national economy can harmoniously develop at high speed, while strengthening economic planning we must also give full play to the role of the economic organs concerned, respect the objective socialist economic law, use every economic means to hold the line together, supervise each other, organize and promote proportionate development from every quarter, promptly carry out readjustment when signs of disharmony are discovered and guard against the appearance of serious dislocations.

Socialist budgetary outlays and bank loans are an important way in which the state can regulate the economy and carry out auditing and supervision. Whether or not the national economy is developed proportionately can be promptly reflected by financing and loans, which act as an alarm. We must attach importance to these mechanisms and bring their role into play. Financial income characterized by budgetary outlays in the form of profits and revenues and loan capital assimilated by the bank through deposits and savings represent the usable material resources of the state. Budgetary outlays for such expenditures as economic construction, cultural, educational, health and scientific undertakings, administration and national defense, as well as the liquid capital provided by the bank in the form of loans to enterprises, reflect the arrangements of the state plan for various needs. Since budgetary outlays and bank loans are two different types of capital, we must adhere to the principle of separate management

and use by separate classes. We must not permit loan capital to be used on expenditures of a financial nature or liquid capital to be used for capital construction investments. Generally speaking, the balance between financial and loan expenditures reflects to a very great extent the balance between social production and needs. If a deficit appears in financial expenditures, loan outlay is greater than income, more bills are issued in an inappropriate manner, and an imbalance has appeared in production and needs. We must pay attention to this and take necessary steps at once to organize a new balance. We must not allow it to continue to develop and make the imbalance more serious. Through loans, balance of accounts and cash control the bank reflects the financial activities of an enterprise and encourages an enterprise to conserve its capital. When the bank discovers any irregularity in the balance statement or the misappropriation of capital, it must at once put forward its views and conduct credit control. This will also help stop the dislocation of supply, production and consumption and the waste of materials.

The socialist market is a unified and planned market. Under the guidance of the state plan it acts as a go-between and bridge between production and needs and between industry and agriculture. The state plan can only prescribe the main orientation and proportion for changes in future development. It cannot make detailed prescriptions for the production and marketing of thousands of products, much less make concrete arrangements for the quality, variety, specifications, models, targets of supply and delivery dates. These activities can be solved by the production unit and the purchasing unit through market activities. They can discuss among themselves product quality and variety and negotiate the volume of the order and the delivery date. They can even, within a given price range prescribed by the state, agree on a price based on quality. Then, by signing a supply and marketing agreement, they can define their mutual obligations. In market transactions the purchasing unit may, based on its own requirements, compare and choose products produced by different enterprises. The production unit should, based on the requirements of the purchaser, continue to improve techniques and product quality, increase variety and try to improve management and lower production costs, so that after the product is sold at the agreed price the production unit can make more profit. If the enterprise is properly run, product quality will be good, the market demand will be large and profits will increase. The portion of profit in excess of the prescribed amount can be used for developing production, increasing collective welfare and rewarding workers. In this way the proper management of an enterprise will be linked with the material interests of the unit and individual workers. This will be conducive to bringing the enthusiasm of the enterprise and the workers into play and enable them to show more concern for running the enterprise, improving product quality and lowering costs. The enterprise will pay attention to studying the relationship between market supply and demand, taking into account the role of the law of value and trying to succeed in not only satisfying social needs but also reducing individual work time. In this situation the emulation drive among the socialist enterprises

will motivate advanced units to become more advanced and backward units to change their features.

The socialist market in our country is like a mirror that reflects whether production is developing proportionately. When production and needs become dislocated and an abnormal situation appears in industrial and agricultural as well as in urban and rural transactions, and when supply cannot catch up with demand or supply exceeds demand in certain vital commodities, this will be reflected in the market. This will enable us to promptly carry out planned readjustments. At the same time, the ability of various enterprises to fulfill the state target and the suitability of products to meet social needs must also be examined in market transactions. The planned market in our country is an organic part of the socialist planned economy. If it is used correctly, it will help us better organize the connections between supply and marketing, make economic work more lively and bring about initiative without disorder and control without stultification. This will motivate the proportionate high-speed development of industrial and agricultural production.

In economic development, imbalance and disharmony will continue to appear in various relations of connection and proportion, and certain weak links will appear. The task of planning is to enable the development of the national economy to always maintain a relative balance and eliminate the weak links, so that production and needs and the various departments will accommodate and promote each other and guarantee the speedy development of the whole economy. Lenin said: "Constant, deliberately maintained proportion would indeed signify the existence of planning." ("Uncritical Criticism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 617) When the important proportion of the national economy is dislocated and hampers the further development of the national economy, we must make up our minds to make the necessary readjustments. At present we must energetically develop agriculture and light industry, build up the fuel and power industry, resolutely shorten the capital construction front, and stop or postpone some of the items of construction that are either irrational or lack concrete conditions. We must conscientiously reorganize and make suitable readjustments for those enterprises that have a high consumption rate and poor quality and show a serious loss, so that we can organize a new balance on the existing base and create favorable conditions for the faster development of the socialist economy in the future.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO UPHOLD THE FOUR PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE THE FOUR  
MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 11-15

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] China is in the midst of a major change. A bustling scene is noticeable here, there and everywhere. The guideline of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is guiding the people of the whole country in a brave march toward shifting the focus of work to socialist modernization. While issuing a clarion call for "following a Chinese-style road to modernization," the party Central Committee recently reaffirmed the need for upholding the four basic principles ideologically and politically. The four principles are: uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In achieving a Chinese-style modernization we must pay attention to the features of China. Ours is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our modernization program is not being carried out under the capitalist system. Nor is it like any program in social imperialist countries. It is a program launched by upholding the socialist system. Upholding the four basic principles is the most telling political sign marking the road to Chinese-style modernization.

Lenin said: "Because the whole problem lies in (and from the Marxist point of view, only lies in) the fact that if a class does not correctly handle problems politically it cannot maintain its rule and thus cannot solve its own production problem." ("More on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Kautsky and Bukharin," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 442) Our party hitherto has done this. Practical experience for nearly 30 years since the founding of the state shows that the four basic principles are not only the fundamental guidelines for our country but also a basic guarantee of our victory. The great damage Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did to the four principles in 10 years brought a great disaster to the state and the people. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a series of general and specific policies followed by the party

Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng have consistently called for upholding these four basic principles. A great victory has been achieved in this respect.

Why should we, today, suddenly give prominence to these four basic principles? It is because certain people (a very small number) have attempted to shake our faith in these principles. On the one hand, an extremely small number of comrades within the party have still not fully emancipated their thinking. They fail to take reality into consideration in studying new conditions and solving new problems. They even erroneously think that a series of general and specific policies followed since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thus unfavorable to party leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist road. On the other hand, an extremely small number of people in society are encouraging a wave of thought that casts doubt on these four basic principles. An extremely small number of comrades in the party also do not attach sufficient importance to the danger posed by this wave of thought or believe that it is not dangerous. Though these people within the party represent a very small group, they pose a great danger. If we do not wage a resolute and timely fight against these two waves of thought running counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and do not thoroughly overcome them in our continuous effort to eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we simply cannot achieve the four modernizations.

The socialist road is the basic direction for our country's advance and thus a basic direction for achieving the four modernizations. In an age of imperialism and proletarian revolution, only by upholding the socialist road in economic construction can a state with power in the hands of the proletariat gradually create conditions for an advance toward communism. This is to say that the period to which we belong and our revolutionary ideals historically call for our following no other road than this. Lessons and experiences in the 16 years since the "May 4th Movement" have taught our people a perfect truth: "Only socialism can save China." If China is divorced from socialism, it will naturally return to semi-feudalism and semicolonialism. Now certain people are spreading the idea that socialism is not as good as capitalism. If this is not a case of ignorance, it is prompted by ulterior motives. Capitalism has a two- or three-century history of development, so that some countries lead us in science, technology, equipment, management methods and other areas and have a higher labor productivity and average per capita income than we have. But it must be noted that our socialist system is far superior to that of capitalist countries. Socialist relations of production are more adaptable than capitalist relations of production to the development of productive forces. In a matter of 30 years, despite certain mistakes, we have made such progress as was never seen in old China and traversed a road that took capitalist countries 50 to 100 years. The gap in economic, technical and other areas has narrowed considerably. Had it not been for

the serious damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our economic conditions would definitely be far better than they are now. The publicly owned socialist economy produces for the people's own good and does not generate exploitation. It is basically different from the imperialist economy, which is characterized by monopoly and motivated purely by excess profits. No capitalist country can rid itself of the exploitation and rapacity of millionaires, ward off crises and avoid various extremely serious crimes and cases of degeneration. Moreover, capitalism will naturally be replaced by socialism. This is a road that the development of human society must go through. Socialism has a great future in its transition to a communist society. If we praise the "wonders" of capitalism without regard to the basic nature of these two social systems and the concrete conditions of their development, this of course cannot be equated with any great achievement! We firmly believe that after experiences and lessons our socialist construction effort will proceed in the future at a pace far greater than that of any capitalist country.

Ours is a new-type country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Putting the proletariat in the leadership, taking the worker-peasant alliance as its foundation and at the same time uniting all democratic parties and groups, intellectuals, patriots and Overseas Chinese abroad in exercising dictatorship over a handful of people resisting socialism--this is what marks the great superiority of this new-type country of ours. The dictatorship of the proletariat "is necessary in the whole historical period between capitalism and 'proletarian society,' that is, communism." ("The State and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 200) Our dictatorship of the proletariat shoulders the task of guarding against imperialist aggression and subversion from outside and oppressing the reactionary class and counterrevolutionaries at home. In an international environment marked by the existence of imperialism and social imperialism, the function of the dictatorship of our country can never be weakened in carrying out socialist modernization. Modernization of national defense--part of the four modernizations program--is aimed mainly at imperialism and social imperialism. Though large-scale tempestuous mass struggle in the country has basically been completed, class struggle has not ended. An extremely small number of counter-revolutionaries and criminal elements exist in society. New bourgeois elements may also be generated from among working personnel of state organs. The struggle with them is unlike past struggle (they cannot possibly form an open and complete class), but remains class struggle of a special kind. We must still exercise dictatorship over all these anti-socialist elements. If we do not do so, we cannot bring about a political situation of stability and unity, nor can there be socialist democracy. Without stability and unity and socialist democracy, modernization in four fields is impossible. Dictatorship of the proletariat embodies the practice of democracy toward the people and the exercise of dictatorship over the enemy. Dictatorship of the proletariat is socialist democracy. Dictatorship over the enemy is a necessary safeguard for socialist democracy. Socialist democracy is also a source of strength in exercising



dictatorship over the enemy. Now some people preach the theme that dictatorship of the proletariat is "a source of all evils." They call for a so-called "social reform." To be blunt, they attack the dictatorship of the proletariat for no other reason than that they want Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" version of feudal fascist dictatorship. They call for a "reform" of the socialist system for no other reason than that they want the capitalist system. Can this be allowed by the masses of people? History and practical experience tell us that the dictatorship of the proletariat provides a magic weapon for safeguarding our building of socialism, a magic weapon that our laboring people cannot part with for a moment.

For over a hundred years our people have had a full share of imperialist aggression and rapacity and a full share of feudalist and bureaucrat-capitalist oppression and exploitation. The history of our people advancing wave upon wave in a brave struggle to overthrow the three big mountains weighing on them bears full witness to the truth that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago: "Without the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, without the Chinese communists as the mainstay of the Chinese people, China can never achieve independence and liberation or industrialization and the modernization of her agriculture." ("On Coalition Government") Is this not a fact? The appearance in the party of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and company is a historical phenomenon with deep roots in Chinese society and the Chinese revolution. Such an ugly phenomenon has been eliminated by none other than the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, it has done nothing to detract from the greatness, glory and correctness of our party. For every conscious revolutionary, this is no excuse to draw away from the party and its leadership. On the contrary, he should draw closer to the party and its leadership. Of course, in the midst of acute and complicated political struggle and new construction tasks, the party leadership cannot avoid making mistakes. But this is no reason for demanding the weakening and even the elimination of the party. If we remove ourselves from the party leadership, who will organize socialist economy, politics, and military and cultural matters? Who will organize our four-modernizations program? Can those self-styled "democratic fighters" be entrusted with the business of organization and leadership? It must first be asked: Where will these people lead us? History shows that it is not any democratic party, but the Chinese Communist Party, that has triumphantly led the Chinese people to change semifeudal and semicolonial conditions. As for those "democratic fighters" in disguise, we can understand what they are from the records of Chinese history. Can their descendants today do anything new? At present some people also consciously or unconsciously depart from the party leadership in praising the spontaneity of the masses. This is also nothing new. It was criticized by Lenin in a struggle with "economists" in the 1890's. As far as we are concerned, be it the development of democracy or the emancipation of thinking, party leadership over the "four modernizations" should be facilitated. We can never allow a repetition of the outrageous performance of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in inciting the "spurning the party committee to make revolution."

The founding of new China calls for powerful spiritual weapons. Building a modernized new China likewise calls for powerful spiritual weapons. In "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong vividly described the epic deeds of those advanced elements of our country who fought bravely to save the country and the people. However, lacking powerful spiritual weapons, they could not avoid the fate of groping in the dark. The salvo of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism and ushered in a new era. Our party not only firmly adhered to this universal revolutionary truth, but also skillfully integrated it increasingly into the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. This is the world-famous Mao Zedong Thought. Thanks to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our revolution has been a success! Socialist transformation has also been successful. Socialist construction efforts have boomed. Of course, in the past 10 years or so we have suffered a lot due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" disruption and due to certain mistakes in our own work. But how can we equate this group of counterrevolutionaries' distorting and altering Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with such a scientific weapon as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought? How can we allow certain people to underrate and disrupt this weapon because of our own lack of training in applying it? Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a complete, scientific system and is science leading the proletarian revolutionary cause toward victory. Our people have relied on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to achieve a great victory in revolution and construction. Our people can similarly rely on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to achieve a new victory in realizing the four modernizations.

In a word, to achieve the four modernizations we must uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These four basic principles are bound up with the unity of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities, with unity of the state and with the destiny and future of the Chinese nation. These four principles have been incorporated into the party constitution and the constitution. They are four magic weapons for achieving the "four modernizations" and four mainstays of our country and our society. "They give us the strength to prop up the sky."

At the heart of these four basic principles is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only by upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can we uphold party leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist road. To uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must understand in a historical and scientific context the great feats of Comrade Mao Zedong and completely and accurately grasp the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist. Only by relying on Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding leadership did we achieve a great victory in revolution and construction. Even in the evening of his life, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced the great theory of the differentiation of the three worlds, laying a new foundation for the

world's antihegemony united front and the future of mankind. In the revolutionary history of China and the world, Comrade Mao Zedong should rank in a lofty position and should not be disparaged. The great feats he performed in a long period of revolutionary struggle cannot be erased from one's memory. Of course, a revolutionary leader is no saint and is not free from shortcomings and mistakes. Like an eclipse of the sun or moon, these "interludes" in a great revolutionary leader's life do not detract from the actual light of the sun or moon. Just as an eclipse is apparent to the eye, so the light of the sun or moon is admired by all. Just as in the past, so now we rely and in the future will rely on the light of Mao Zedong Thought to illuminate our road ahead.

An important problem is how to be good at learning. The four modernizations program forces people to study economic matters, science and technology and to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought better. The sense of urgency in studying the former has been widely felt. Yet the sense of urgency in studying the latter has now been overlooked by a fairly large number of people. Some people think that with the focus of work shifted to modernization, we can now give up studying revolutionary theory. Some also think that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has gone out of fashion and is not in vogue, so that there is no need to study it. All such ideas are certainly completely wrong. In our party, without even more people well versed in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and well practiced in its use, the idea of triumphantly achieving such a great task as the new Long March is just inconceivable! We must combine practice in the three major revolutions with the study of Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in a planned and serious manner. We must strive to grasp the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in all its aspects completely and not partially, accurately and not casually, purposefully and not halfheartedly. We must make Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought our guide for action. We must continue to emancipate our thinking, keep busy, seek truth from facts and use the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study new conditions and solve new problems, so that in a not too distant future we can discover the road to a Chinese-style modernization.

Today, whether we can achieve the four modernizations at the end of this century bears on the destiny of our party, the state and the nation. To handle well the socialist four-modernizations program is to grasp the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and raise high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. If we do not grasp the four-modernizations program, do not grasp this current most important political factor and do not think and act with this most important aspect of real life in mind, this is tantamount to departing from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and talking nonsense about raising high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

To energetically preach and uphold the four principles and overcome erroneous thinking is a serious struggle in the ideological arena. Ideological struggle is unlike other struggles. We cannot adopt rough methods in persuading others. We can only use gentle methods in reasoning things out. Our approach to those who doubt the four principles or try to distort them calls mainly for proper ideological and educational work. Only in dealing with individual "black sheep" and counterrevolutionaries should we adopt the necessary organizational measures. All revolutionary comrades, especially Communist Party and CYL members, should have unwavering faith in these four principles and should not have the least doubt. Loving the socialist motherland, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought--this is the demand of the era and the solemn duty of every citizen. To carry such a "four-loving" spirit forward we must encourage people to unite and look forward. We must stimulate people to forge bravely ahead and fight for an accelerated pace in achieving the four modernizations.

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## THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY IS THE PRINCIPLE WE MUST UPHOLD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 16-20

[Article by Chen Kan [7115 3227]]

[Text] China is now at a great historic turning point. The beautiful prospect of realizing the four modernizations is inspiring the people's work, struggle, study and living. To successfully realize the ambitious goal of socialist modernization, an issue of primary importance is to uphold and strengthen party leadership. At no time and under no conditions can we waver from this basic principle.

Upholding party leadership is the basic guarantee for victory in the cause of socialist revolution and the key to realizing the four modernizations. On this point the people of China have personal experience and unshakable confidence. However, because of the long interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," their pernicious influence has still not been completely eradicated. Currently there is a handful of people in society who are suspicious of the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We definitely cannot neglect these erroneous ideas, especially the tendency to suspect and negate the basic principle of party leadership, or treat them lightly. If they are allowed to spread, we will have no means of shifting the emphasis of party work, and there will be a danger of the socialist modernization coming to naught.

Upholding the leadership of the party is the focus of our struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frenziedly advocated "kicking aside the party committee and making revolution," agitated for "great democracy" and clamored about "replacing the party with mass organizations" and abolishing party leadership over socialist undertakings. Their perverted actions brought disaster to the country and people and caused catastrophic harm to the cause of socialism. Experience is the best teacher. We must always bear in mind this very painful experience.

## Historical Experience Informs Us That Weakening and Breaking Away From the Leadership of the Party Will Naturally Cause Grave Danger to the Cause of the Revolution

The leadership of the party is an important issue affecting the success or failure of the revolution. This has long been expounded repeatedly by the proletarian teachers of the revolution. It has also become a truth repeatedly proven in the practice of the international communist movement and the Chinese revolution. Turning the pages of Chinese history shows us that after the Opium War there were many anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary movements which culminated in the "May 4th Movement" prior to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. The steadfastness of these struggles, the magnitude of their size and the heroism of their sacrifices are indeed inspiring and memorable. However, all these struggles could not escape the fate of failure in the end. Why? The lesson of experience focuses on one point: They did not have the progressive leadership of a proletarian political party. After the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the features of the Chinese revolution took on a new aspect and developed in breadth and scope at an unprecedented pace. The advance and retreat and the success and failure of a revolution invariably is closely linked to whether or not the leadership of the party is upheld. During the great revolution of 1924 to 1925, under the leadership, promotion and organization of our party, the army of the Northern Expedition pushed on from victory to victory and was soon watering its horses in the Yellow River, poised to storm the central plain. This jolted the rule of the whole reactionary class. At this critical juncture, Chen Duxiu, the right opportunist within the party, abandoned the leadership of the party, and Chiang Kai-shek, an agent of the big bourgeoisie, usurped the leadership of the revolution. Thus, the vigorous and dynamic great revolution ended in defeat. Although the revolution continued, but under the domination of the "left" opportunist line, the leadership of the party was greatly damaged, and the cause of the revolution suffered a serious setback. Following the confirmation by the whole party of the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, a fundamental change for the better appeared in the cause of the Chinese revolution, the revolution kept on developing from victory to victory, the sinister rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism was finally overthrown and the birth of the People's Republic of China, like a rising sun, rose over the eastern horizon of the world. "Without the Communist Party there would be no new China." The people have used these simple words to express this infallible truth.

Proceeding from their need to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution fanatically advertised the slogan of "kicking aside the party to make revolution." At the beginning this was resisted by the people. Then Lin Biao threw out the theory of "mass movements are natural and reasonable." Because is reactionary slogan had been covered by a semblance of revolutionary

theory, it possessed great deceptiveness. Under the constant instigation of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the "kick" faction spread over the whole country, indiscriminate struggles and poundings were rampant for a time and the "making" of disturbances gave the country no peace. Party organizations at various levels were "kicked" until they became paralyzed. The "making" of disturbances brought the national economy to the brink of collapse and almost ruined our party, country and the socialist cause.

Like a mirror, the practice of struggle has enabled people to clearly see that "kicking" aside the leadership of the party will not only not succeed in "making revolution" but will turn into the opposite of revolution, be exploited by class enemies and political careerists and give rise to an extremely serious disruptive role. Under the cover of "kicking aside the party committee to make revolution," did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not use this slogan to carry out all kinds of counterrevolutionary subversive activities to usurp party and state power? Making revolution or carrying out construction must be conducted under the leadership of the party. The rational demands of the masses can only be answered by relying on the party. They definitely cannot be solved by "making" disturbances divorced from the party. Our party represents the basic interests of the party. Sharing the thoughts and anxieties of the masses is the fine tradition of our party. Leading members at all levels should show concern for the sufferings and problems of the masses on their own initiative. Based on requirements and possibilities, they should actively help to solve them. Worshipping the spontaneity of the masses is very wrong. The danger of spontaneity is that it will negate and eliminate the leadership of the party. Once mass movements become separated from the leadership of the party, they will lose their orientation, lead to ideological confusion and factional opposition and invariably result in serious consequences, thus jeopardizing the revolution. Each and every conscious revolutionary must never worship the spontaneity of the masses. If we eulogize it, then it will be as Lenin said: "Absolutely tantamount to the abandonment of socialism." ("What Is To Be Done?" "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 256)

Historical Experience Informs Us That Only by Upholding the Leadership of the Party Can China Be Built Into a Strong and Modern Socialist Country

During the Great Cultural Revolution the political, ideological and organizational sabotage of the leadership of the party by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was devoted to destroying socialism and restoring capitalism. Displaying their ultraleft features, they openly advocated "relying on the factions and not the party" to achieve their so-called "socialism." This fallacy of kicking aside the leadership of the party and prattling about building socialism is extremely reactionary. Its pernicious influence definitely cannot be underestimated. At present there are people who suspect and negate the leadership of the party. Some have used the shortcomings and mistakes of the Communist Party as

an excuse for breaking away from the leadership of the party. There also are individuals who maintain that capitalist countries achieve modernization without the leadership of the communist party. Such erroneous ideas must be conscientiously analyzed and clarified.

In a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat the cause of socialism must be led by the Communist Party. Following the victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution, Lenin waged a resolute struggle against opportunist factions of every color and shape to defend the leadership of the party. In light of the attempts by the opposition to reduce the leadership of the party to nothing, Lenin sharply pointed out: "All the political and economic activities of state power are guided by the class-conscious vanguard of the working class--the Communist Party." ("The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 160) In China, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production, Comrade Mao Zedong vividly pointed out, in light of the attack on the leadership of the party by a handful of bourgeois rightists: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." ("The Chinese Communist Party Is the Core of Leadership of the Whole Chinese People") When the people of the whole country are currently working with one heart and one mind to carry out the four modernizations, putting the emphasis on upholding and strengthening party leadership is of special significance, because the building of a strong and modern socialist country is a mighty struggle to basically transform the backward features of the economy and technology of our country and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Realizing the four modernizations requires us to greatly increase productive forces and inexorably requires us to transform in many areas the relations of production and the superstructure, as well as all methods of management, activity and thinking that do not correspond with the development of productive forces. It requires us to proceed from the characteristics of our country, which has a huge population, a weak foundation, a vast area and complicated conditions, and to take the road of socialist modernization in our own way. This is a profound revolution. Only with the correct leadership of the Communist Party can we surmount all kinds of difficulties, fulfill this important task and reach the shore of success.

The reason our party is able to shoulder the responsibility of leading the socialist modernization is determined by its class nature and guiding thought. Our party is the vanguard of the working class, the highest organizational form of the working class. It struggles wholeheartedly for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the world and for the complete emancipation of mankind. The guiding thought of our party is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the most accurate and revolutionary of scientific ideas. Upholding the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to direct the concrete practice of China's



modernization, our party will be able to keep on correctly understanding objective law and leading the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; correctly formulate the line, policies, tactics and methods for guiding revolution and construction; maintain close ties between the party and people, centralize the wisdom of the masses and give play to the enthusiasm of the masses; and do better in bringing into play the superiority of the socialist system and continue to push forward the socialist cause.

Those who maintain that capitalist countries without the leadership of the Communist Party can also realize modernization have confused the essential distinction between socialist modernization and capitalist modernization. They do not understand that the difference in social systems has determined that socialism and capitalism follow two basically opposite roads of modernization. Capitalist modernization is for the sake of earning high profits for monopoly groups. This is achieved by ruthlessly oppressing and exploiting the working people of their own countries and frenziedly plundering colonial people. The history of capitalist modernization began with the emergence of the Industrial Revolution in England in the 1760's. The industrially advanced capitalist countries have all traveled a long and tortuous road before reaching the present level. Because of the contradiction between socialization of capitalist production and ownership of the means of production, they can never escape from the specter of capitalist economic crises. Although certain science and technology and production management methods of the capitalist countries are worth borrowing, we definitely must not take the capitalist road. What we are after is socialist modernization, which is carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat and is based on socialist ownership. This proceeds from the long-range and fundamental interests of the Chinese people and is achieved by relying on the wisdom and conscious labor of the people. Our kind of socialist modernization can also be fulfilled only under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The socialist revolution and construction we are carrying out are unprecedented. There are many unknown realms of necessity before us, and the appearance of this or that kind of shortcomings and mistakes on the road of advancement are unavoidable. Our party is constantly overcoming shortcomings and mistakes and summing up lessons of experience in the course of advancement. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In our revolution and construction some mistakes are unavoidable." "Of course, we should not think that since mistakes are unavoidable it does not matter if we make some. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that it is definitely impossible not to make any mistakes in our work. The point is to make fewer and smaller ones." ("Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees") Persisting in conscientious criticism and self-criticism is one of the conspicuous hallmarks distinguishing our party from other political parties. In the past more than 50 years our party has made numerous mistakes. However, each time we have corrected them by relying on the party and not by

separating from it. This has enabled the cause of the revolution to turn from defeat to victory and to advance from victory to victory. Our party can do this because it represents the basic interests of the people and is not after any private interest. Our party has maintained close ties with the masses and relied on them. By criticism and self-criticism and by summing up lessons of experience, our party has enabled the mistakes to become correct precedents and valuable assets of the party. Just as Lenin said: "Behind every hundred mistakes there are ten thousand great heroic actions." "Only through such mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to build a new life, carry out independent management without the capitalists and open a passage through myriad obstacles to reach the invincible socialist road." ("Letter to the American Workers," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 596) This is what our party is doing. Any stand which questions the ability of our party to lead the four modernizations is without foundation.

#### Historical Experience Informs Us That Only by Strengthening the Leadership of the Party Can Socialist Democracy Be Fully Brought Into Play

The vigorous cause of socialism is created by hundreds of millions of people. The more socialist democracy is brought into play, the more fully the wisdom and strength of the masses can be brought into play and the more hope there will be for the four modernizations.

With the emphasis on bringing democracy into play, is there still any need to strengthen party leadership? During the past decade and more this question was reduced to an utter mess by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." On the one hand they practiced feudal dictatorship, exercised "all-round dictatorship" over the cadres and people, stifled democratic life in the party and deprived the people of their democratic rights. On the other hand, displaying the banner of "great democracy" they opposed the leadership of the party and stirred up an extensive wave of anarchism throughout the country. Not only did they make short work of democracy, but they also destroyed the centralized, unified leadership of the party. The pernicious influence they left behind is still constantly felt by us. When we place emphasis on strengthening the leadership of the party in the course of bringing democracy into play, some people think it will hinder bringing democracy into play. They have set upholding the leadership of the party against bringing democracy into play. Some people have also publicized "kicking aside the party committee to make revolution." A handful of people obsessed by capitalist democracy even want to worship it obsequiously. Such ideas are very harmful and must be overcome.

Is the leadership of the party an obstruction to bringing democracy into play? Absolutely not. Just the opposite. The leadership of the party is the guarantee for bringing democracy into play. Without the leadership of the party there is no people's democracy. History long ago dialectically answered this question. In the last half century, no party or individual in China has always unswervingly held high the banner of

democracy the way the Chinese Communist Party has. For the sake of emancipating the people and winning the right for the majority of people to run their own affairs, our party led the people in heroic struggle until the victory of the democratic revolution was won. Since the nationwide liberation our party has kept on strengthening and expanding socialist democracy in the course of leading socialist revolution and socialist construction, so that the masses of people could gradually take part in the management of the state, the economy and cultural education and enjoy the most extensive democratic rights, beyond anything of the kind in old China. From their personal experiences the people have become aware that without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party there can be no democratic rights for them to run their own affairs. Naturally, this new democratic system is still far from perfect. As we still do not have enough experience in developing and strengthening socialist democracy, we will make mistakes and suffer setbacks. In particular, since the feudal fascism frenziedly pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was a great reaction against socialist democracy and the legal system, it brought a great disaster to our country and people. However, who has led the people to smash their dictatorship and enable our country and people to return once more to the springtime of democracy? It is no organization or individual other than our party. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly following the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the oppressive atmosphere of everyone standing mute when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway has been swept away, the democratic life of the party and the state is developing healthily, and the kind of lively and vigorous political situation with stability and unity which Comrade Mao Zedong had hoped for when he was alive is now before us. The above has explained that only our party is the staunchest and most reliable leader, organizer and protector of socialist democracy. Naturally, to make socialist democracy and the legal system more perfect still requires some time. We must keep on summing up new experience so they will become more healthy. Moreover, to realize this we also can succeed only under the leadership of the party.

We should also clearly understand that democracy has a class nature. The kind of democracy we want is the logical premise to the democracy we bring into play. There is never any democracy in the abstract that transcends classes. Democracy belongs to the superstructure and is in the service of the economic base. Democracy is not the objective but the means used by a given class to serve its own interests. The content of democracy is only the embodiment of class interests and class will. Actually, there has never been any "democracy" unrestrained by any legal system or not linked to the interests of any class that will allow people to do what they want or desire. The democracy of the bourgeoisie is democracy for a few, the democracy that serves as a loincloth for the insatiable greed of the superexploitation by the bourgeoisie. This kind of democracy is a paradise for the rich and a snare for the exploited masses. Just as Marx pointed out: The essence of capitalist democracy is only to allow the oppressed people every few years to decide once more

who among the oppressing class will represent and oppress them in the parliament! In short, bourgeois democracy is bound by strict conventions. It upholds the private interests of a small number of capitalists and definitely does not permit this boundary to be exceeded. Representing the interests of the majority, the proletarian political party naturally has no need for this kind of democracy and must oppose it. The proletarian democracy our party advocates and struggles for is democracy under centralized leadership, a democracy conducive to upholding the socialist system. This kind of democracy represents the desires and aspirations of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people and embodies the basic, long-term and overall interests of the majority. "Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy." ("Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 634) It is certainly not proletarian democracy to verbally chant "democracy" that is divorced from the basic principles provided by the constitution and from the leadership of the party, violates the desire of the majority for stability and unity, obstructs the rights of the people to make contributions to the four modernizations, impairs the interests of the state and the people and damages the socialist economy. The more this kind of democracy is brought into play, the greater will be its destructiveness. The outcome of this will be a repetition of the great disorder when the "gang of four" ran amuck. China will be plunged again into chaos, splits and regression, and realization of the four modernizations will come to naught. Our party and people will absolutely not stand for this.

From this we can see that carrying out education in socialist democracy for the cadres and people and correctly understanding and applying democracy is an extremely urgent task. A handful of people in society are making use of bringing democracy into play to make trouble. They are practicing ultrademocracy without paying any attention to the interests and demands of the people. We must keep our minds clear and sober. We must not only be brave in providing leadership but also be good at providing leadership. We must strictly differentiate between the differences in the essence of the contradiction, resolutely expose the handful of bad people who are deliberately making trouble and deal with them according to law. As for those who have been deluded, we must conscientiously carry out thorough ideological and political work on them so they will understand the difference between bourgeois and socialist democracy and will guarantee the socialist orientation of democracy. At the same time we must also see that, because of the poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the years, some party members and cadres, particularly leadership cadres, have been handling people unevenly, suppressing criticism, disrupting normal democratic life both within and outside the party and obstructing the correct leadership of the party. These problems must also be conscientiously dealt with.

Democracy under unified leadership and centralism on the basis of democracy are the basic principles consistently upheld by our party. Without

a high degree of democracy there cannot be a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy. Democracy and centralism, democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy and law and freedom and discipline are a dialectical unity. In bringing socialist democracy into play we are not weakening the leadership of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and law and discipline. Instead, we are strengthening the leadership of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the discipline of the party, upholding the law of the land and practicing correct centralism, so that the whole party will achieve unified thinking, policies, plans, commands and actions on the basis of democracy. In the final analysis, it is to strengthen the unified leadership of the party on the basis of democratic centralism. Only in this way can there be a reliable guarantee for realizing China's socialist modernization.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party." History has proven that without the Communist Party there cannot be a new China. Similarly, history will continue to prove that without the leadership of the Communist Party it will be impossible to make a success of China's socialist modernization. Upholding the unified leadership of the party on the basis of democratic centralism is an unwavering basic principle for guaranteeing the sure triumph of our cause. As long as we are good at linking the leadership of the party with the kind of vigorous and lively political situation in which both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom and unity of will and personal ease of mind are present, our country will flourish and prosper, and there will be a brilliant future for our socialist modernization.

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STUDY NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND SOLVE NEW QUESTIONS--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE  
109TH BIRTHDAY OF LENIN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 21-24

[Article by Xiao Kan [5135 0170]]

[Text] On the occasion of great revolutionary teacher Lenin's 109th birthday this 22 April, the Chinese people and revolutionary people throughout the world commemorated him.

Lenin's immortal contribution was his theoretical and creative development of Marxism over long practice until it entered a new stage of development. In commemorating him today, the most significant way is to learn from his revolutionary pioneering spirit and study how he applied Marxist principles in studying new circumstances and solving new issues under new historical conditions.

The inexhaustible vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in its integration with the specific conditions that prevail in various countries. As Stalin once said: "Lenin's greatness in being the successor to Marx and Engels lies in his steadfast refusal to become a slave to the phraseology of Marxism. In pursuing his work he followed the teachings repeatedly stressed by Marx: Marxism is a guide for action, not dogma." ("On the Social Democratic Tendency in Our Party," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 8, p 220) On the basis of the new characteristics in the development of history, Lenin studied the new circumstances underlying the development of nonmonopolistic to monopolistic capitalism. He arrived at the new conclusion that socialism could triumph in one country before proceeding to another. He followed this principle by organizing and leading the Russian October Revolution. This ushered in a new era in human history and developed Marxism to the new stage of Leninism. Mao Zedong Thought was the result of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It was developed by communists led by Comrade Mao Zedong in their efforts to solve very complicated new problems arising from the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao thus symbolized integration of Marxism-Leninism with China's specific conditions. During the democratic revolution period he followed the Chinese road of capturing

political power by using the countryside to surround the cities before seizing them. During the socialist revolution and construction period he also emphasized the need to take the Chinese road according to China's circumstances and experiences.

The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is now leading the whole party and people throughout the country to realize the four modernizations. Its magnitude far surpassing socialist construction, this glorious and great undertaking was not attempted by those before us. Achieving socialist modernization is aimed at developing the productive forces to an unprecedented extent and at providing the future stage of communism with a material base. Small-scale production that predominated in our country for thousands of years will be replaced by socialized large-scale production. This will radically transform our backward economy and technology and bring forward a new generation of communist-minded people with proficiency in mankind's most advanced culture and science. The relations of production and the superstructure that are incompatible with the rapid development of the productive forces, along with forms of management, processes and concepts that are not in accord with this development, will be transformed. This revolution is broader and more profound than those revolutionary movements we conducted in the past because of the many new tasks we have to tackle. Only by taking an active part in the modernization program, using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide and scientifically approaching new circumstances and new problems can we deeply understand the formidable nature of the modernization program. Only by doing this can we effectively give scope to the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses in their hundreds of millions, find the objective laws and discover the right path, principles and measures for achieving the four modernizations with greater, faster, better and more economic results. In the past 2 years or so we have emancipated our thinking, penetrated forbidden zones and cleared up issues of right and wrong in theory and line confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is now imperative for us to concentrate on studying new circumstances related to the modernization program and solve its new problems. If this is not done, we shall hamper and delay the program. This will disappoint countless revolutionary forerunners and hold back the historical mission entrusted to us.

Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "We are now engaged in a war. Our war is a revolutionary war which is being waged in this semicolonial and semifeudal country of China. Therefore, we must study not only the laws of war in general but the specific laws of revolutionary war and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") This method of study, which focuses on the particularity of a contradiction, is likewise of great importance in guiding the study of China's modernization problems. While we should study the laws governing modernization in general, we should pay particular attention to the specific laws on modernization under socialism and the even more specific laws on the Chinese way of socialist modernization.

To modernize China, as in modernizing other countries, it is necessary to equip the national economy with the most advanced science and technology. However, the modernization program undertaken under socialism is essentially different from that undertaken under capitalism. What we aim to develop is socialist public ownership, not capitalist private ownership. We disapprove of anarchism in production and advocate a planned economy under the centralized leadership of our party and government. For example, we are currently engaged in readjusting the national economic plan, a program which is impossible for any capitalist country to carry out. The more capitalist countries are modernized, the sharper their class antagonisms become. With the progress achieved in modernization, China is determined to wipe out the bourgeoisie and class antagonisms. It is also bent on gradually eliminating class distinctions as well as the soil and conditions for engendering classes. Our modernization program is conducted in the land of China. The Chinese society is characterized by a backward economy and culture, 800 million of its 900 million population being peasants. While the socialist relations of production capable of accommodating rapid development of the productive forces have been established in China, they are far from perfect. These imperfections tend to inhibit the development of the productive forces. The same contradictory development exists in the superstructure and the economic base. As a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past decade or so in particular, these contradictions have widened and intensified. We are not very clear about the circumstances described above, Chinese history as a whole or China's current condition. To a very large extent there is still a "realm of necessity" that we do not really understand well. All these particular contradictions which characterize the Chinese way of socialist modernization are new circumstances and new problems for which there are no readymade answers in any book. Only by proceeding from reality and intensively studying current conditions in China can we find the specific laws governing the Chinese way of socialist modernization. For example, what should precede or follow the modernization program, what constitutes the main issues that require immediate action and what constitutes the side issues which can be put off? It is also necessary to analyze those things that should be promoted and those that should be adjusted. With regard to foreign things, those items that should be imported should be distinguished from those that should not, and what should be imported first and what should be introduced later should be made clear. While we should rely on our own efforts and tap existing potentials regarding manpower, financial and material resources, we should vigorously import advanced technology. In doing this we should pay attention to economic results and avoid going from one extreme to another and viewing things from only one aspect. Only by following the Chinese road can there be a Chinese way of socialist modernization. This holds true for the whole country as it does for a province, city or county.

The greatest obstacle to studying new circumstances and solving new problems lies in the failure to solve the problem of unemancipated thinking, which means ossified or semi-ossified thinking.



In recent years "book worship" has been responsible for ossifying people's thinking, the biggest spiritual shackle imposed on the populace by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As a result of the campaign to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," particularly discussions on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, we have toppled old idols and penetrated forbidden zones. Although the overall situation has improved substantially, problems have not been completely solved. There is much evidence that "book worship" has dominated people's thinking when problems have arisen. Such books include the works of revolutionary teachers, directives from the leadership at a higher level, rules of thumb cited from foreign lands and even the "theories" which were distorted and reversed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In sum, some people regard what the books say as correct; what they do is to apply them mechanically. As a result, this tendency to do everything according to what has been said in books has transformed revolutionaries with initiative into robots and reduced the vigorous socialist modernization program into something inflexible. These people dislike the tide of the emancipation of thinking because they themselves are so deeply immersed in books that they can no longer get out of their mental cocoons. Small wonder they regard everything as irrelevant and even "revisionist." Lenin said: "We must not regard Marxist theory as an unchanging and inviolable thing. On the contrary, we believe that Marxism is a science. If the advocates of socialism do not want to fall behind reality, they should try every means to advance this branch of science." ("Our Programs," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol I, p 203) In integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the specific practice of the four modernizations now, we must enrich and develop this guiding ideology when applying it. This is also in line with the scientific approach in critically assimilating foreign experiences. The tendency to call for everything to be done according to what has been said in books, that is, "book worship," was the result of the ultraleftist line advanced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a line which misled those who were deeply influenced by it. Socially and ideologically speaking, certain people who are culturally backward and who blindly believe in authority tend to view problems in isolation and rigidly, not influenced by time, place and certain specific conditions.

Another symptom of ossified thinking on the part of some people is their insensitivity to new circumstances and new problems, because they are content to repeat the old ways of the small producer. Such people follow the beaten path and lack foresight. They approach agriculture rigidly, merely concentrating on grain production and neglecting the overall development of agriculture, such as close coordination in the development of livestock breeding, fishery and forestry. They also approach industry in the same rigid way. They are aware of the importance of steel to the program of modernization but do not realize that without a corresponding development of the supporting power, coal and transport industries it is impossible to rapidly increase steel output. If we approach the modernization program with the small producer's outlook, obviously we will not

bother to study new circumstances and solve new problems. The domination of the small producer's mentality was so pervasive in the past that there was no developed capitalism in our country. Despite public ownership of the means of production in the agricultural and handicraft sectors since liberation, the material means of production is still typical of the way followed by the small producer. Old ideas, concepts and force of habit nurtured in the past have so seriously shackled people's minds that their vision has been narrowed. While the force of habit characteristic of the small producer generally refers to peasants and handicraftsmen, leading party cadres have also been obsessed with this mentality. This is because China traditionally followed the way of the small producer, whose mentality has been implanted in the masses. Although some comrades boast of their own experiences, they are no different from those of the small producer and therefore not compatible with the modernization program. While some comrades are proud of their achievements in areas under their control, what they have accomplished has seldom gone beyond the ossified thinking of the small producer.

As examples of the fully or partially ossified thinking of certain bureaucratic-minded officials, they generally react to new circumstances and new problems arising from the modernization program in the following ways: Some of them no longer make any progress. They are mentally inactive and do not want to exert themselves. These "armchair politicians" either abhor the modernization program and advanced world levels in science and technology or simply ignore them, alleging that "nonprofessionals can lead the professionals." Others view things arising from the revolutionary ranks with the attitude of officials in the days of the old China. They are tactful in dealing with people and always play safe, rather than expressing views that differ from those of their superiors. This is because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran things so abnormally when they were in power that some comrades have lingering fear. As a result, they no longer have the revolutionary vigor and sense of urgency and responsibility in realizing the four modernizations. Making revolution calls for a pioneering and innovative spirit, without which nothing can be accomplished, let alone devotion to the cause of communism. Yet another bureaucratic manifestation is related to the tendency to run modern economic organizations like yamens of the old China, such as issuing orders instead of mapping out economic measures or talking about procedures in terms of cliches. Where bureaucratic ways prevail, revolutionary vigor and the spirit of achieving modernization disappear. We must continually eliminate bad work styles that erode our structure.

Another obstacle to studying new circumstances and solving new problems involves looking backward and not forward. As a result of the emancipation of thinking, our party has made considerable efforts to solve some issues of prime importance left over from the past. With the current progress made in this regard, studying new circumstances and solving new problems have become our major preoccupation. While some comrades have emancipated their thinking, they have focused their attention on solving

those problems left over from the past, oblivious of the fact that looking backward and looking forward are dialectically united. We are solving problems left over from the past because we can look forward and because we have better facilities for studying new circumstances and solving new problems. We are realistically summarizing historical experience so we can draw lessons from the past in studying new circumstances and solving new problems. We are distinguishing issues of right and wrong in line so we can have relatively unified criteria in studying new circumstances and solving new problems. We are overturning cases in which people were framed, wrongly judged and falsely charged so we can unite the whole party, mobilize positive factors and concentrate all available forces on the study of new circumstances and solutions to new problems. The tide of history keeps surging, so why should communists, who are in the van of this tide and who have taken upon themselves the task of blazing a new trail and working for a bright future, linger over criticism of the past? The more people suffered when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, the more they should treasure their success and the more vigorous they should be in solving new problems and winning new victories. If they continue to labor under the persecution of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they will not be able to mentally emancipate themselves. Under these circumstances, they will no longer be able to start the machine, and their thinking will be ossified or partially ossified. We should realize that we are familiar with past experiences but unfamiliar with new circumstances and new problems which are occurring now or will occur in the future. Therefore, our task in studying and solving them will be much more difficult.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to new conditions one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems." ("Speech at the CCP's National Conference on Propaganda Work") On the pretext of new circumstances, a few people in society recently cast doubt on and even negated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In their eyes, this guiding ideology once worked for a while but was no longer as effective as before. Some comrades who had not sufficiently emancipated their thinking began to be skeptical about and apprehensive of new circumstances and new problems. It is true that in the history of the development of Marxism some people have always appeared at the turning point of history to revise or disavow Marxism, using the emergence of new circumstances as a pretext. Since to realize the four modernizations is a revolution, obstacles will be encountered. This is because as we emancipate our thinking the appearance of some adverse currents is unavoidable. However, we must affirm that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist orientation, the leadership of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat embody the truth that has been verified by the history of the past 100 years or so. We must adhere to these principles when studying new circumstances and solving new problems.

Besides studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must also study economic work, knowledge of science and culture and vocational work. It is not enough to spend 1 or 2 months on this. Generally speaking, 2 to 3 years are required for a novice to become a professional. Following the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "To manage production one must be an expert familiar with all aspects of production and modern production processes. We must be able to meet these scientific requirements." ("Speech at the All-Russia Marine Transport Workers Conference," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 394) We are now in the same circumstances that existed in the initial stages of liberation. Things we are familiar with are being put aside, while we are being forced to do unfamiliar things. In the past 30 years, many leading cadres have become experts in their respective callings, although they have had to go on studying. What is discouraging is that some comrades have not tried hard enough, while others have found it difficult to continue studying their assigned tasks because of their advanced age or low cultural levels. However, we should have the ambition to surmount every difficulty, to become experts in studying new circumstances and solving new problems.

We believe that as long as we adhere to the socialist road and uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, we will be able to find from practice the Chinese way to socialist modernization so we can make greater contributions to mankind.

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## THEORETICAL WORKERS MUST MAKE NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

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[Article by Ke Weiran [2688 3634 3544]]

[Text] For more than 2 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," the masses of theoretical workers, harboring boundless hatred for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the masses, have deeply exposed and fiercely criticized the gang's ultra-leftist line and cleared up many issues of right and wrong in theory and line which the gang turned upside down. Particularly during the recent countrywide discussion of whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, many comrades have broken through one forbidden area after another and smashed all kinds of shackles to bring a springtime of ideological emancipation to the people. Since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, comrades of ideological and theoretical circles have further emancipated their minds and have raised and solved many important problems. This is of tremendous help in restoring the scientific authority of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, carrying forward the party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice and continuously pushing forward our socialist cause. The contributions made by our theoretical workers in this regard are not to be underestimated.

Nevertheless, we must see the new tasks before us and must not rest content with past achievements. At present the focus of our party's work has been shifted to the four modernizations. This represents a significant historic turn, the beginning of a new historical period. The new situation has put a more glorious and arduous task before our theoretical workers and set still higher demands on us. We must guide and encourage the whole party and the people of the whole country to further emancipate their minds, start up the machinery, seek truth from facts, unite as one, look forward and strive to quicken the pace of the four modernizations. Whether we can shift the focus of our theoretical work to this realm has a vital bearing on whether we can integrate theory with practice and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Marxist theory must serve practical struggle. Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Revolutionary struggle needs the guidance of revolutionary theory; revolutionary theory in turn needs to be tested, enriched and developed in practical struggle. Theoretical work will lose its significance and power once it is cut off from the heart of practical struggle. The importance of theoretical work becomes particularly manifest at a historic turn. Our proletarian revolutionary teachers always paid great attention to studying new circumstances, exploring new questions and drawing new theoretical conclusions on the basis of new facts at every historic turn. As we remember, on the eve of our country's liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered his famous "Report to the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee," when our party was shifting the focus of its work from the countryside to the cities. In this report he specifically analyzed the conditions of various economic sectors and the correct policies to be adopted by the party, and he criticized various "left" and right deviations on this issue. He also affirmed that the speed of China's economic development would be fairly high and clearly pointed out the way to change the new democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. We also remember that 22 years ago, when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been basically completed, we had a major change in class relations and badly needed new theoretical outlines and scientific explanations to guide our future course of socialist revolution and socialist construction. At this crucial turning point in history, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote in good time the brilliant historical document "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Applying the Marxist world outlook, he profoundly analyzed the contradictions in socialist society. He pointed out that the basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base; that the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses which characterized the previous revolutionary periods have in the main ended but that class struggle is by no means entirely over; that we are confronted by two different types of contradictions--those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves--but mostly by contradictions among the people themselves; and that to make China rich and strong requires several decades of intense effort. This brilliant historical document, which was like a beacon for the people, became the theoretical basis of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Today the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is leading us to achieve the four modernizations. Because this is a grand cause unprecedented in Chinese history, our theoretical workers must apply the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study and solve many new circumstances and questions that will crop up. During the past 2 years the main task of our theoretical work was to clarify those issues of right and wrong in theory and line which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turned upside down. In the days to come we must take the study of

new circumstances and questions arising from the four modernizations as our main task. We must fully grasp this imminent and glorious mission, which brooks no delay, and make the theoretical weapon serve the four modernizations. If we do this, we can say that we have grasped the Marxist principle of integrating theory with practice and truly held high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Some comrades believe that it is very difficult to shift the focus of theoretical work unless cardinal issues of right and wrong in the past have been thoroughly cleared up. This is not an unreasonable view. If we do not rectify those issues which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" turned upside down, we will still be confused when we fight for the four modernizations, and we will be unable to properly carry out the party's line and general and specific policies. However, we must also see that the main theoretical matters and the political line of right and wrong have been basically cleared up after 2 years and more of exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We already have the conditions for making this shift. Of course, in handling some of the more complicated problems we need to spend more time making investigations and study and pooling the wisdom of the masses before we can draw conclusions that conform to reality and can stand the test of practice. Shelving this kind of problem will not prevent us from shifting the focus of theoretical work. As for thoroughness, it should be viewed dialectically and not metaphysically. Man's understanding of things is inevitably restricted by objective and subjective factors and can only reach a certain level under a given historical condition. After some time, when the essence of things further reveals itself, man will be able to acquire a new understanding and go further ahead. We went through such a process before we finally recognized the nature of the line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is imperative that we sum up historical experiences. We have to look back in order to look forward. We theoretical workers should focus our attention on today instead of on yesterday. If we get too tangled up with certain historical problems which cannot be straightened out for some time and do not devote ourselves to studying new circumstances and solving new questions, we are bound to prevent theoretical work from serving modernization and affect the progress of modernization. To make new contributions to modernization, theoretical workers should base themselves on China's actual situation in studying how to achieve the Chinese-style modernization. Our modernization is socialist, neither capitalist nor social imperialist; it is not the socialist modernization of any other countries but the Chinese-style modernization in which we uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. And this is a brandnew and at the same time difficult problem. There is no readymade formula for modernization in a populous and poor country such as ours. We cannot find any such formula in Marxist-Leninist books, and foreign experiences are not quite suitable for us. We have to blaze a new trail. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly taught us that not only must we study the general

law governing the movement of things, but more importantly we must study the specific law. To seek a road to Chinese-style modernization we must conscientiously study the present conditions in China to get a clear knowledge of its characteristics and strong and weak points. As for imports of foreign science and technology, we must analyze and decide what should be imported and what should not, how imported technology should be adapted to Chinese conditions, and so forth. If we do this, we can grasp the specific law governing China's four modernizations. This is a major theoretical issue rather than just a simple issue of practical work. We must make theoretical work keep abreast of the demands of the times and fully give play to the role of theory in guiding practice. We have done quite a lot of study on theoretical questions of socialist construction since the founding of the PRC, but with our slow progress and later the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our theoretical foundation is still rather weak on the whole. For this reason we must devote major efforts to studying theoretical questions of industry, agriculture, commerce, management, and so on. On the basis of in-depth study, we should write some high-quality theoretical monographs and gradually establish a scientific system of economic theory to meet the needs of modernization. The more practical problems we solve, the greater will be our contribution.

The road of Chinese-style modernization is not without ideological obstacles. These obstacles come mainly from two groups of people: First, some cadres have not yet emancipated their minds; due to a lack of understanding, they still have rigid or semirigid ways of thinking and are skeptical about the general and specific policies put forward by the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Second, some people have misgivings about the socialist road, the party's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is a result of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and belongs to the category of ideological understanding and the people's internal problems. What merits attention is that a handful of "black sheep" who appeared as ultraleftists or ultrarightists are still stirring up trouble and creating disturbances in a vain attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Generally speaking, people find it easier to recognize rightist trends of thought but are apt to underestimate the ultraleftist ones. Whatever the trend, it is detrimental to the upholding of the four basic principles and the realization of the four modernizations. Our theoretical workers must conduct struggle against these two trends.

At present it is particularly necessary for us to make a special effort to clearly explain to the people and youth the importance of upholding the four basic principles, make clear the question of democracy, draw a strict line between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy and clearly define the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, between democracy and centralism, between democracy and the legal system,



between democracy and discipline and between democracy and the party's leadership. We must also publicize the principle that one's personal interests must be subordinated to collective interests, that partial and local interests must be subordinated to the interests of the whole and that temporary interests must be subordinated to long-term interests. We must encourage all people to brace themselves and make conscientious efforts to do their work well, so that people at all levels inside and outside the party will take the whole situation into account, overcome difficulties together and strive for victory in the four modernizations. Through ideological and theoretical work we hope to create a noble social practice in which everyone shows concern for collective and state interests, upholds plain living and hard struggle, works industriously and thriftily, strives hard to make progress and dedicates himself to the four modernizations. We must uphold the fine work style of presenting the facts and convincing people by reason when we wage a struggle against erroneous ideas. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" showed their hostility to the revolution when they resorted to the tricks of labeling and clubbing people and persecuting the masses. The task of the theoretical workers is to educate the people. Labeling and clubbing cannot help us educate and enlighten the people. We must live on truth rather than on intimidation. It is our pressing task to rush out some articles and books. However, our writings must be original in content and vivid and convincing in language. Stereotyped writing must be avoided. This has to do with improving the style of work. We hope that every theoretical worker will exert efforts in this regard. Though we are not directly engaged in the study of economic questions concerning modernization, what we do will still be in the service of the four modernizations.

Objective things are complicated. When we study the question of Chinese-style modernization we must respect materialism and dialectics and see objective things in their true colors without any outside elements attached. We must repeatedly and thoroughly analyze and study all new circumstances and questions, see their positive and negative sides as well as their present condition and history, and not draw conclusions rashly. If we do not study the complete picture and essence of things but instead draw conclusions on the basis of some superficial phenomena, we are bound to make mistakes. When we analyze problems we must see things from a dialectical and all-round point of view. The ideology of affirming everything and that of negating everything are both opposed to the viewpoint of materialist dialectics and will damage the revolutionary cause. To attain good results in studying new circumstances and solving new questions we must try our best to avoid this kind of one-sided thinking.

Like the study of science and technology, study of the theory on Chinese-style modernization is not an easy job but requires infinite pains. Every theoretical worker should have lofty ambitions and make new contributions to the four modernizations. With all the new tasks set by the four modernizations, this is the age of heroes, a time when people

can display their prowess and accomplish great things. We must have courage and a pioneering spirit and dare to open up the virgin land in theory. As in scaling heights, we must firmly press forward and keep on fighting when we come across problems which require our solution. We must be good at starting up the machinery, think independently and put forward creative ideas on theoretical questions. Without this spirit we definitely cannot accomplish anything. In the revolutionary war years, Comrade Mao Zedong said that our party should have several hundred theoreticians with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is "systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow." Considering our population of 900 million people and our need to achieve the four modernizations, the more theoreticians of this kind we have, the better. We must strive to become theoretical workers like this.

To make theoretical work better serve the four modernizations we must persist in making investigations and study, go deep into society and among the masses and combine theory with practice. All theoretical workers have studied some Marxist-Leninist works and have a fairly high level of theoretical understanding. This is our strong point. However, we must also see that, unlike comrades doing actual work, we do not have rich practical experience because we have little contact with practice and the masses. This is our weak point. We must strive to overcome this limitation. Life is an evergreen tree, and combat life is intensely alive and richly varied. Today, with so many new circumstances we are required to study and so many new questions we are required to solve in our endeavor to achieve the four modernizations, how can we not go deep into society and reality? The fiery struggle is appealing to us. It is essential that we frequently go down to some factories, communes and schools to listen to the voice of the workers, peasants, teachers and students, familiarize ourselves with their work and life, understand how they think and accept their suggestions. In this way our theoretical work will be true to life, and the articles and books we write will be poignant and to the point.

The burden is heavy and the road is long for our theoretical workers. Let us play an outstanding role and distinguish ourselves on the battleground of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

ON THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE COUNTERATTACK FOR SELF-DEFENSE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 29-33

[Article by Zheng Xuan [6774 5503] of the PLA Political Academy]

[Text] The self-defensive counterattack launched by the PLA frontier troops against the Vietnamese aggressors has seriously punctured the arrogance of the crime-steeped and greedy "Cuba of the East" and greatly plucked up the fighting will of all Chinese people to defend the motherland and achieve the four modernizations. All fair-minded and peace-loving people throughout the world immensely sympathized with and supported China's just action. Soviet social imperialism and the Vietnamese authorities flew into a rage and frenziedly vilified China. They accused China of "pushing a policy of big-nation expansionism," launching "an unjust war of aggression" against Vietnam and "abusing its great size to ride roughshod over a small nation." Feigning concern for peace, they attacked China for "creating a situation in which the impregnability of world peace is put under a severe test," "obstructing the progress of detente and turning back the course of events," and so forth. With these kinds of demagogic fallacies, the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists hoodwinked their peoples, continued to incite a national grudge against China and deceived the world. We must thoroughly expose and refute these fallacies in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the question of war, the established principles governing international relations and the objective facts about Sino-Vietnamese relations.

War is the continuation of politics. The German bourgeois militarist Clausewitz said in the early 19th century: Politics is "the mother body for the development of war"; war is "politics which replaces the pen with the sword" and is "the continuation of politics by other means." A Marxist always proceeds from the viewpoint of class struggle and political struggle when he looks at war. Lenin said: "There are all kinds of wars. We must find out what historical conditions give rise to a particular war, what class is waging this war and why this war is waged." ("War and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 71) That is to say, we must examine the historical roots, class nature and political objective of a war to tell whether it is just or reactionary. The progress of

contemporary world history is closely linked with the basic interests of the proletariat and the poorest peoples and nations. All wars waged by the proletariat against the imperialist system, the oppressed nations and peoples against imperialist and social imperialist enslavement and oppression, and the people of all countries against hegemonist aggression and expansion are progressive and just wars. Conversely, those wars that are waged for the purpose of enslaving, oppressing and plundering the people of other countries and establishing world and regional hegemony are reactionary and unjust in spite of fine words like "defending the socialist community," "national war" and "defending the motherland."

## I

We cannot judge whether a war is just or unjust simply by finding out on whose territory the war is fought. "The character of war, whether it is reactionary or revolutionary, does not depend on who the attacker was or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed. It depends on what class is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 672)

Every war can take on an offensive or a defensive character. It is impossible to tell whether a war is just or unjust simply by looking at the offensive or defensive character of this war. The crux of the question lies in the political content of this "offensive" or "defensive" war. Fundamentally speaking, as long as imperialism, hegemonism and the system of exploitation and oppression exist, wars are unavoidable. All wars are provoked by the exploiters and oppressors, regardless of when or where they take place. When a country which is being invaded by imperialists and hegemonists rises in counterattack for self-defense, all its actions are antiaggressive and just. It makes no difference whether the offensive or defensive form of fighting is adopted or whether the war is fought in the aggressor's country. When we are robbed, it is absolutely all right for us to go and storm the robber's hideout. Under the leadership of Stalin, the people of the Soviet Union fought a great war of national salvation during World War II. They not only drove the fascist bandits out of their country but pursued the bandits right into the heart of Berlin, thus making a universally acknowledged contribution to victoriously concluding World War II and bringing about world peace. Can we describe the just war waged by the Soviet Union at that time as aggressive because the war was fought on German soil? The answer is obviously no.

It has been proven by numerous historical facts that the armed conflicts on the Sino-Vietnamese border were provoked by the Vietnamese authorities' quest for regional hegemony. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have forged a profound friendship in their protracted common struggle against imperialism. The Chinese people have always treasured this blood-sealed friendship between the two peoples. The border between China and Vietnam

was demarcated long ago, and there were never any serious disputes. After unifying their country, the Vietnamese authorities, who were obsessed with nationalist expansionism, eagerly tried to occupy Laos and Kampuchea, set up an "Indochina federation" and dominate Southeast Asia. The Soviet hegemonists also actively thrust southward and tried to establish a "collective security system in Southeast Asia" to push their global strategy and seek world domination. The Vietnamese authorities thus became a willing tool of the Soviet hegemonists in pushing their southward-thrust policy. The Soviet hegemonists, for their part, were also happy to have the Vietnamese authorities as their pawn in Southeast Asia. The big and small hegemonists thus worked hand in glove to do evil. The Chinese Government and people have always upheld proletarian internationalism and socialist foreign policy, supported the national independence of all countries, resolutely defended peace in Asia and the world and placed themselves as a big obstacle to the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists in their aggressive pursuits. Naturally, we are bitterly hated by them. To disrupt China's stability and undermine its socialist modernization, the Soviet hegemonists instigated and supported the Vietnamese authorities to incessantly encroach upon and provoke China. Clearly Vietnam was the attacker and China was the attacked in the armed border conflicts.

It is the lofty duty and sacred obligation of the Chinese PLA to resolutely defend the territorial integrity of the motherland and maintain a peaceful border area. During the past few years the Vietnamese authorities had incessantly made encroachments and provocations against China, occupied Chinese territory, killed Chinese people, obstructed traffic on the Chinese side and destroyed Chinese buildings. Driven beyond forbearance, why should the Chinese frontier troops not pursue the bandits and deal them a telling blow? We do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory, and we do not want to station a single soldier on their soil. All we want is to teach the aggressors not to take reckless actions, so we can maintain peace and tranquillity along the border. Obviously the Chinese frontier troops' counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors is self-defensive in character. We only did what all sovereign states are entitled to do under the circumstances. Our action is perfectly just.

The Vietnamese authorities frantically trumpeted about "patriotism" and claimed that they were "defending the motherland" and that justice was on their side. They cannot fool anyone with this. The proletariat understands that it must proceed from the basic interests of the proletariat and the laboring people in appraising wars and the slogan of "defending the motherland." If we are fighting a just war to win and safeguard national independence and national sovereignty, we are perfectly justified to use the slogan of "defending the motherland." If we are fighting to safeguard the interests of the reactionary rulers, carry out aggression and expansion abroad and oppress other nations, the slogan of "defending the motherland" becomes a means to deceive the

people. In the past the Vietnamese people fought valiantly to defend their motherland in the wars of national salvation against France and the United States. These were just actions. Today, instead of showing consideration for the war-worn people and healing the wounds of war, the militaristic Vietnamese authorities have usurped the fruits of victory which the Vietnamese people bought with blood and are frantically pushing a policy of nationalist expansionism and regional hegemony. Their slogan of "defending the motherland" is nothing but a figleaf to cover their aggression and expansion; their "patriotism" is nothing but a dose of anesthetic for the people.

## II

We also cannot tell who has justice on his side simply by the size of a country. It has been proven by numerous historical facts that the difference in size and strength between two parties at war, whether it is one country fighting against another or one alliance fighting against another, is only a matter of relative strength. It does not tell us which regime is waging the war or of what politics this war is a continuation. Hence, we cannot take this as the yardstick of just and unjust.

Those who carry out aggression and expansion against other countries always have blind faith in their own military strength and underestimate the strength of the antiaggressive countries and peoples. Very often they have the nerve to launch attacks against countries much larger than they. They are madmen in the eyes of normal people. There were numerous examples in history: the Polish ruler attacked Soviet Russia in 1920; the Japanese militarists launched a large-scale war of aggression against China in 1937; and Hitler's Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. By incessantly making encroachments and provocations against China, regarding China as "the new opponent" and adopting "an offensive strategy" in which "everything is designed to defeat China," the Vietnamese authorities have made themselves one of these war maniacs who is "unaware of his own impotence." The Vietnamese authorities sometimes assumed a pitiable look of being "bullied" by the "big nation"--China--to fool their own people and becloud world opinion. The fact is, with a huge army, the belief that Vietnam was "the third strongest military power in the world" and the support given by the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese authorities have long forgotten themselves and become overbearing. They even believed the Chinese people would let them have their own way. However, the Vietnamese authorities made a miscalculation. Long tested in battles, the Chinese people always boldly defy brute force and wage a struggle. As soon as our frontier troops rose in counterattack and dealt a shattering blow to the wicked and overbearing Vietnamese aggressors, the "invincibility" myth was blown sky high.

The people are the "ultimate and supreme judge." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 6, p 577) A progressive and just war will always win the people's support and international assistance and will triumph

in the end, even if a small nation is fighting against a big one. On the contrary, a reactionary and unjust war is doomed to defeat even if the reactionary ruler or aggressor has the upper hand at first. The historical experiences of Vietnam clearly elucidate this point. When Vietnam fought against French and U.S. imperialists who dwarfed them militarily and economically, they had the resolute support of the people all over the world, because justice was on their side. With the people of the whole country fighting in unity, they ultimately emerged triumphant after long and bitter struggles. However, when the Vietnamese authorities turned into regional hegemonists, carried out aggression and expansion abroad, invaded Kampuchea and made armed provocations against China, they were strongly resisted by the armymen and people of Kampuchea, severely punished by the Chinese frontier forces, opposed by their own people, denounced by the world and caught in an impasse because they were fighting unjust wars. If they continue to do evil, they will only court a more crushing and ignominious defeat.

### III

To win real peace, we cannot give up the method of waging a just war against an unjust war. At present the aggressive big and small hegemons are clamoring for peace to hoodwink the people. We must soberly realize that the struggle for peace will be nothing but an empty phrase unless it is integrated with the antihegemonist struggle. Should the hegemons unleash wars, we must stop them by resorting to every means of struggle, including just wars.

The Chinese Government and people love peace and have consistently made untiring efforts to fight for and safeguard world peace. On the eve of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly declared to the world: "From now on our nation will belong to the community of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilization and well-being and at the same time promote world peace and freedom." ("The Chinese People Have Stood Up!") After the founding of new China, the Chinese Government's stand has always been to establish and develop relations with various countries of the world on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence; to forge ties of friendship and cooperation with the people of various countries; to treat all countries equally irrespective of their size; to settle international disputes through peaceful means; and to seek a fair and reasonable settlement of boundary questions through negotiations. In line with these principles, China has correctly handled its relations with its neighbors, established and developed relations with most countries of the world, participated in the handling of major international affairs and made contributions to safeguarding world peace.

The Chinese people, who have gone through long years of war, know best the value of peace. Today, when we are going all out to build a modern socialist country, a peaceful international environment is particularly helpful to us. Thus, despite the Vietnamese authorities' repeated encroachments and armed provocations, we have always cherished the hope of maintaining a relationship of peaceful coexistence and have exercised forbearance and restraint and kept from hitting back for a long time. Even when we were forced to hit back, we still proposed holding peace talks with the Vietnamese authorities to settle the disputes between the two countries and restore peace in the border areas. The Chinese frontier troops' counterattack was limited in scale. The Chinese Government solemnly declared at the outset that we do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory. After counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserved, all Chinese frontier troops pulled back to Chinese territory. At the same time the pullout was announced, the Chinese Government again proposed that peace negotiations be held. Thanks to the tremendous initiative and efforts taken by the Chinese side, the two countries have already begun their negotiations in Hanoi. Our good faith in peace is obvious to all.

Those who love peace and those who love war are not judged by their statements and slogans but by their deeds. The Soviet hegemonists who clamor for peace and disarmament every day are actually feverishly pursuing a policy of arms expansion and war preparation. They have dispatched a huge army to occupy Czechoslovakia, instructed their pawns--Cuba and Vietnam--to carry out subversive activities, armed intervention and military invasion everywhere, and have continuously provoked war and bloodshed in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. These facts tell us that the archcriminals who are now sabotaging world peace are none other than the Soviet hegemonists. Glibly talking about peace, the Vietnamese authorities have marched tens of thousands of troops into Laos to control that country, dispatched an army of over 100,000 men to attack Kampuchea, incessantly carried out killing and provocations on Chinese territory and posed a serious threat to the security of other Southeast Asian countries. These actions amply show that the Vietnamese regional hegemonists are the ones who are sabotaging peace and engineering wars in the Southeast Asian region.

Should we do something about the aggressive and expansionist activities of the hegemonists or should we remain inert? Facts tell us that inertia, fear and submission will never do. The more inert one is, the more insatiable and coercive the hegemonists will become. Hitler once said: "If, in dealing with a country, you find that it readily makes concessions to the extent of servility, then you can expect it to accept all of your new demands." Mankind paid an extremely high price in blood for this. People will never forget this lesson.

Another approach is to do something about it. Our attitude toward wars provoked by the hegemonists is: First, we are opposed to them; second,



we are not afraid of them. We advocate the abolition of war and we do not want war. However, we must never be peace dreamers and think that peace can be easily won and preserved. We also will never tolerate "peace at the point of a bayonet" and allow ourselves to be ordered about and invaded by the hegemonists. We believe that in the face of the hegemonists' aggressive wars the only way that we can win and maintain peace is to wage just wars.

Will the Chinese frontier troops' self-defensive counterattack help maintain peace? Facts have proven and will continue to prove that this just action is a practical and effective move to halt aggression and maintain peace. This move has laid bare the "invincibility" myth of the Vietnamese aggressors and sternly taught them that the Chinese people are not to be bullied and that Chinese territory and sovereignty are inviolable. It has dealt a telling blow to the scheme of the big and small hegemonists--the Soviet Union and Vietnam--to rig up an "Indochina federation," carry out aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia and encircle China. It will have a far-reaching impact on the maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the entire Asian and Pacific region. The Chinese frontier troops have proved with their own concrete deeds that a tiger's backside can be touched and hegemonism can be repulsed. As long as we muster all forces that can be mustered, make ample preparations, promptly frustrate every strategic arrangement of the hegemonists and resolutely oppose appeasement, we will certainly be able to shatter all aggressive plans of the hegemonists. This has encouraged all those people who have been bullied and oppressed by the hegemonists to rise in resistance and struggle and bolstered the confidence of the people of all countries throughout the world in forging unity against hegemony and safeguarding peace.

With their self-defensive counterattack the Chinese frontier troops have added a new and shining page to the Chinese people's history of struggle to oppose foreign aggression, defend state sovereignty and safeguard world peace. The contributions of those martyrs who heroically laid down their lives to defend the border areas of the motherland will forever shine in the hearts of the Chinese people. The Vietnamese aggressors have met with ignominious defeat militarily and morally. No matter how the Soviet hegemonists back them up and defend them, it will be to no avail. Facts have already proven that the Chinese mean what they say. We love peace and do not desire war. However, should a country invade us and impose war on us, we will fight a just war to defeat it. It is our consistent position that we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack.

CSO: 4004

## FULLY BRING INTO PLAY THE EXEMPLARY VANGUARD ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 33-36

[Article by the political department of a certain Yunnan border defense unit]

[Text] In the Sino-Vietnamese border self-defense counterattack the masses of party members in our army gave full play to the exemplary vanguard role of communists. The power of their example is unlimited. They give play to the exemplary vanguard role of communists in every area. They effectively set the pace for the unit by courageously destroying the enemy so our army could be all-conquering and invincible. They taught the Vietnamese invaders a lesson and dealt a shattering blow to the arrogant Soviet Union and Vietnam, the greater and lesser hegemonists. The exemplary vanguard role of our party members was an important factor in the victory won by our army.

In the revolutionary war as well as in all revolutionary undertakings, giving full play to the vanguard and exemplary roles of communists is very important. As early as 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Communists in the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies should set an example by fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") The emphasis of the party's work has now shifted to socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, realizing and protecting the four modernizations has become the common ambition of the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country. Realizing and protecting the four modernizations is the common cause of hundreds of millions of Chinese people. Communists are the advance elements of the proletariat. Although we have 36 million members, they still constitute only a small portion of the total population. Realizing the four modernizations is a mighty undertaking never before attempted. A great deal of the work must be done by people outside the party. Communists must consciously give full play to their exemplary vanguard role in every sector, use their exemplary vanguard role to unite with, influence and set the pace for

the masses and keep on pushing the advance of the cause of the revolution. In this sense, party leadership is not just leadership over line, policies and principles, but must also be the embodiment of the exemplary vanguard role of communists. During the long revolutionary war the People's Liberation Army not only always stood for the absolute leadership of the party over the army but also put emphasis on giving full play to the exemplary vanguard role of communists. Because of that, it defeated one powerful enemy after another and advanced from victory to victory. In the self-defense counterattack which carried on the fine tradition of the party, the army's party members displayed a high degree of the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism and consciously brought into play the exemplary vanguard role of communists.

They are models of valor in battle. War is life-and-death combat between the enemy and ourselves. There will be sacrifices in battle. Facing the severe test, communists who had pledged their whole life to fight for communism defied difficulties and death to defend the motherland and protect the four modernizations, fought heroically, moved relentlessly ahead and displayed the lofty quality of courageously dedicating their life to the cause of the party. In the violent fighting they vied with each other to be the spearhead, boldly shouldered responsibility, charged at the head of the men, risked their lives to destroy fortifications and fought the tenacious enemy with single-minded courage. Never procrastinating in the face of difficulties, they would vie for assignments. They would have no peace of mind unless they were allowed to participate in the main action. Party member Liu Zengwu, a deputy political instructor of the 2d Company of a certain unit, repeatedly asked the party branch to hand him the most difficult assignment the moment the fighting began. In the violent battle for Hill 215 he was finally placed in charge of an assault platoon. As he was advancing in the forefront his machinegun broke down. He exchanged it for an assault rifle and, though wounded, led his men to overrun two enemy trenches, destroyed four enemy firing points, and in the end heroically laid down his life for the country. The Vietnamese invaders who claimed to be the world's "third strongest military power" were overcome by the heroic spirit of our communists. To mop up a small but deep cave with many passages, party member Ma Defu, a deputy squad leader of the 1st Company of a certain unit, entered the cave alone 11 times to wipe out the stubborn enemy. Party member Xue Zegui, a machinegunner belonging to the 2d Company of a certain unit, made a death-defying charge into a group of enemy soldiers when he ran out of ammunition, wrested a machinegun from their hands and fired a blast that killed 12 of them. Many communists refused to retire from the line of fire when lightly wounded, and even the heavily wounded continued to fight to their last drop of blood. The heroic exemplary actions of communists in battle inspired the fighting spirit of the people. Many CYL members and fighters are emulating their example, and many advanced collectives and individuals who are alert and brave and tenacious in fighting have appeared.

They are models in carrying out orders and observing discipline. Party members understand that the army must have a strong unified leadership and strict discipline before it can have a strong fighting capacity. In fighting a battle to the finish with the enemy, how can an army be all-conquering and invincible without unity of will, command and action? Therefore, the army has looked upon following orders and observing discipline as a sacred duty. When the standby order was received, many party members gave up their chance to visit their parents. Some put off their weddings and immediately threw themselves into the tense preparations for battle. They obeyed orders for the transfer of the organization, and the moment they received their instructions they quickly reported for duty without discussing price or conditions. In battle they set the pace in following orders and obeying commands. When ordered to attack they attacked, and when ordered to hold they held. They fought wherever they were sent, regardless of how difficult the condition, how perilous the situation or how high the price, and resolutely fulfilled the task laid down by the higher level. Party member Li Jinyong, leader of the 6th Squad of the 2d Company of a certain unit, has been praised as a Qiu Shaoyun-type hero. When he broke his left leg in battle, his whole squad was pinned down in an open field by enemy fire. The slightest movement on their part could cause serious casualties to the whole squad. To destroy the enemy and protect the safety of his comrades-in-arms, Li Jinyong ignored the excruciating pain, resolutely refused to let his comrades-in-arms tend his wound, lay in the grass for more than 2 hours until nightfall and showed a high degree of initiative in carrying out orders and observing discipline. Party members are always well disciplined toward the people and will not injure the people's interests in the slightest. They would rather go hungry and thirsty than cut a single stalk of sugarcane, pick a single papaya, eat a single pineapple or catch a single fish belonging to the people. After taking a city they do not mind the bother or trouble to guard shops, lock up warehouses or protect the people's property. They have given play to the glorious traditions of our army.

They are models of political work. Party members are aware that success in political work is the guarantee of victory. The exemplary vanguard role of communists is manifested not only in their personal initiative in assaults but also in their propaganda work among the masses and their leadership of the masses in heroic action. Therefore, in the self-defense counterattack every party member always remembered that he was not only a combatant but an ideological and political worker. On the battlefield there will be no interruption of political work where there are communists. Where the fighting is most intense, the political work will be most active. Where conditions are most difficult and circumstances most dangerous, political work will be most thorough. The masses of party members enthusiastically conveyed the party's instructions and resolutions, promptly transmitted the news of victory and issued timely, terse, powerful and rousing slogans in connection with the fighting task. By means of strong and effective ideological-political work they closely rallied the

masses around the party and enabled units to always maintain the high fighting will that can neither be toppled nor shattered. As a result, the more they fight, the higher their morale and tenacity becomes. In the battle of Basai, party members of the 2d Red Company of a certain unit shouted while setting the pace in an assault: "Comrades! We are the second generation of the 2d Red Company. We must give play to the glorious tradition of the Red Army. Charge!" This powerful political encouragement filled the commanders and fighters of the whole company with vigor. After four fierce contests they finally captured Hill 4 and upheld the prestige of the Red Army.

They are the models of internal solidarity and unity. Party members understand that interparty solidarity, solidarity between officers and men and solidarity between armymen and civilians are invaluable assets for triumphing over difficulties, in addition to being the most fundamental condition for victory. The strength of our party lies in maintaining close ties between the party and the masses and in maintaining solidarity and unity. The more practical these close ties and solidarity and unity are, the more reliable will be our victory. In the self-defense counterattack the masses of party members and people gave full play to this spirit of uniting as one and vanquishing the enemy. In the advance of the units, party members gave play to class fraternity under difficult conditions. They gave their last drop of water, last bit of rations and last apple to their comrades-in-arms. They also used the spirit of revolutionary optimism to inspire the people and heighten their courage in surmounting difficulties. The 3d Red Company of a certain unit fighting on Hill 201 went for 2 days and nights without food and water. When each squad received a pot of cooked rice, the party members of the 4th Squad suggested giving it all to two of the comrades-in-arms of the 6th Squad who were sick. Everyone approved their suggestion. When the food was handed to the two comrades-in-arms, they could not eat because they were choked with tears. In this way, influenced by the exemplary role of the party members, the whole company united as one, surmounted its difficulties and victoriously fulfilled its task. In the fighting, party members always took the initiative in cooperating, actively supporting and creating conditions for victory for the comrades-in-arms. Party member Wu Chengliang, leader of the 8th Company of a certain unit, was wounded in the back by enemy artillery fire. The foxhole near him was barely large enough for one person. Comrade Wu Chengliang resolutely pushed radio operator Ai Weiming into the hole. At that moment a barrage of artillery shells fell around them, and Comrade Wu Chengliang was killed. Comrade Ai Weiming's eyes were wet when he discussed the incident: "The company leader gave his life to save me!" This close solidarity between officers and men and with the comrades-in-arms in our units enabled them to cooperate as one and become united as one in battle. It guaranteed their advance from victory to victory in the self-defense counterattack.

The exemplary role displayed by the masses of party members of our army is not spontaneous but the result of long party education and the nurturing of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Party organizations at various levels of the units have universally used the fine traditions of the party, the basic knowledge of the party and party rules and regulations to conduct education. They have constantly organized party members to study the party constitution and emulate the feats of model communists, and they have educated party members to always use the criterion of the advanced elements of the proletariat in setting strict demands on themselves. Under the party's education, party members have established the lofty revolutionary ideal of seeking neither fame nor gain and serving communism wholeheartedly. This is their source of strength in triumphing over difficulties and defeating the enemy. It is precisely this firm belief in dedication to the struggle for the cause of communism that has enabled our party members to be able at all times and under all conditions to firmly, coolly, alertly and courageously triumph over the enemy and become an example for the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "It is the great future goal to which our present efforts are directed; if we lose sight of this goal, we will cease to be communists. But equally will we cease to be communists if we relax our efforts today." ("Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front") Communists must have the great future goal of communism. Without this goal they cannot struggle for communism. Communists must also not relax their efforts today; otherwise the goal of the revolution will be just empty talk. At present, communists struggling for communism must struggle to realize the general task of the party in the new period and build a strong and modern socialist country. Realizing and protecting the four modernizations has a vital bearing on the safety of the state, the fortunes of the nation, the basic interests of the people and the future of communism. Bravely offering everything, including one's life, for the four modernizations is the lofty virtue of a communist who is loyal to the cause of the party, the people and communism. Therefore, when the Vietnamese invaders repeatedly encroached on our border, threatened the security of the motherland and disrupted the four modernizations, communists enthusiastically responded to the call of the party and the motherland and resolutely sped to the battlefield to teach the enemy a proper lesson. Indeed, all communists pledged to spill their own blood and dedicate their lives to protect the four modernizations and defend the motherland. This was the pledge written by party member Li Shuipo, demolition squad leader of a special task company of a certain unit, before his death: "To suffer for the people is the greatest happiness, and to die for the four modernizations is the greatest glory." "The four modernizations must be realized. Even if we lose our heads we will not change our minds."

Party members were able to give full play to their exemplary vanguard role because they were deeply aware of the righteousness of their self-defense counterattack action. The people of China and Vietnam have

shared a profound comradeship as well as fraternal friendship. In the struggles of the Vietnamese people against foreign invasion and for national independence, the Chinese people supplied them with an enormous amount of aid and made great national sacrifices. However, proceeding from their political need to dominate Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese authorities, under the instigation of Soviet social imperialism, willfully trampled upon the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, frenziedly carried out anti-China activities, seriously disrupted the peace and tranquillity of our border area and endangered our four modernizations. Because our communists drew a clear distinction between love and hatred and fought against the Vietnamese invaders with boundless hatred, they were able to have astounding courage, boundless wisdom and the determination not to withdraw from the battlefield until all the rapacious beasts had been exterminated.

Party members can give full play to their exemplary role because they have correctly solved the concept of life and death and of sorrow and joy and have understood what kind of living is meaningful and what kind of sacrifice is most worthwhile. Communists place the interests of the people above everything else. They do not mind sacrificing everything they have and are always ready to make the supreme sacrifice for our cause. For the happiness of hundreds of millions of people, they do not mind sacrificing their own happiness in selfless fighting. A battlefield covered with gunpowder smoke is not a pretty sight and is filled with hazards. However, party members are aware that they must suffer for the revolution and are glad to suffer and make sacrifices for the people and to win immortality. In the face of a difficult assignment they said: "We are communists, give us this assignment." In a critical situation they said: "It is dangerous here. We are communists, let us go!" When mounting an assault they said: "Let us go first." When withdrawing they said: "We will provide cover!" A party member with both legs shot off had the spirit of revolutionary heroism when he told his comrades-in-arms: "You take them on first. I will be with you as soon as I get bandaged up." Before dying, a party member said to his comrades-in-arms: "Do not feel bad. We go into battle to give the people a better life; sacrifice is still worth it." What tremendous spiritual power is produced by this lofty proletarian, revolutionary outlook on life!

The masses of party members are able to give full play to their exemplary vanguard role because they have also inherited the fine militant traditions and style fostered by our party. Such militant traditions and style are already deeply rooted among old communists and cadres and fully manifested in numerous heroic models. At the same time they are also influencing the younger generation within the ranks of our party. Before battle, many senior officers who had seen action went to the basic levels to discuss army history, traditions and battle experience, commend the heroes and personally pass on experiences, give help and set examples. Many old Red Army men and members of the Eighth Route Army working in other places wrote letters to their children about their own experiences in

leading company units or encouraged them, passed on experiences and raised their hopes. Under the solicitous education of the older generation of party members, young communists are firmly bearing in mind the militant traditions and style of the party. They proudly proposed: We must emulate Huang Jiguang in charging enemy lines. We must emulate Dong Cunrui's death-defying spirit. We must emulate Qiu Shaoyun in observing discipline. We pledge to enhance the glory of the party and be worthy successors of the revolution.

In the self-defense counterattack the masses of party members used their own actions to convincingly prove that they were indeed worthy to be advanced elements of the proletariat. They have a great future goal and a rich spirit of sacrifice. They are steadfast in the face of difficulties and dangers and fight unswervingly and loyally for the revolution, the people and the motherland. It is by relying on them to forge ties and unite with the masses that the party can achieve the goal of defeating the enemy and winning victory. For the sake of building and protecting the four modernizations, we must continue to bring into play the exemplary vanguard role of communists and strive to make still greater contributions to the party and the people.

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YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD RESOLVE TO BE MODERN FOOLISH OLD MEN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 37-42

[Article by Gan Feng [2413 1496]]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we must hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, rise up in great vigor and work hard with one heart and one mind to realize the four modernizations in our country by the end of the century. We of the young generation must make up our minds to become present-day foolish old men and be determined to push aside the two mountains called "poverty" and "blankness" that are obstructing our advance. Otherwise, talk about the motherland's prospects and our brilliant future and happy life will be devoid of meaning.

We all know the story about the foolish old man who moved mountains, which was, at the earliest, recorded in an ancient Chinese work called "Lie Zi." Before liberation, Chairman Mao made an important speech at the party's seventh national congress under the heading of "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved Mountains." Chairman Mao encouraged the entire party and the entire Chinese nation to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man, dig up the two big mountains that lay like a dead weight on the people and liberate the whole of China. That task has long been accomplished, and great victories have been scored in socialist revolution and construction. At present, however, we are confronted with the two mountains of "poverty" and "blankness." To bring about the four modernizations means to completely dig up these two mountains and to build a golden bridge leading to communism. This is the inevitable path to communism. In our country we practice the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist public ownership. But owing to historical reasons and the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the past decade and more, our economy still lags behind; this is a very big contradiction. Realizing the four modernizations will solve this contradiction, promote the national economy, develop social productive forces and lay the material foundation for the realization of communism in the future. Only when the four modernizations are realized can the dictatorship of the proletariat be fully consolidated and the people's living standards be

greatly raised. Thus, it is in the four modernizations that the fundamental interests of the entire people in our country lie; they are a matter of vital importance to the future of our country and our people as well as the greatest politics at present. Our young people should make a resolve, which must reflect the requirements of our times, and aim at shouldering the immense and glorious tasks the times have placed upon us. That is to say, we must make up our minds to become present-day foolish old men and have lofty revolutionary ideals. Together with the entire people of our country and under the party's leadership, we must emancipate our minds, start up our machinery, seek truth from facts and be united as one in our forward march to completely dig up the two big mountains of "poverty" and "blankness" and build China into a truly powerful, modernized socialist country by the end of the century.

First, to be present-day foolish old men our young people must cherish lofty revolutionary ideals. Ideals are the architect who draws up plans for our future life. Our ideals unfold before our eyes a magnificent scroll portraying our social life in the future. It shows us how one's life should be spent and how we can build our future social life upon the foundation of today's practical life and translate our ideals, step by step, into reality. Our party's program, line, principles and policies are the blueprints for and the road leading to the realization of our communist ideals--the most splendid ones ever known to the human race. The problem of ideals, in the final analysis, is that of an outlook on life. To acquire noble, revolutionary ideals, our young people must extricate themselves from the fetters of self, from the influences of various versions of individualism, and have the country, the people and their future in mind. This calls for the solution of two fundamental problems: one is the relations between the individual and the collective; the other is the relations between momentary and long-term interests. Our personal ideals cannot be truly lofty and far-reaching until they are linked with the destiny of the entire country and people. When we talk of the future, the future of our country must come first. There can be no personal happiness if there is no future for the country. Only our country's socialist modernizations hold our hopes for our future and personal happiness. Our lofty revolutionary ideals must be based, first, upon the ideological foundation of serving the people and of considering the transformation of the motherland as our own task; secondly, on scientific foundation--our ideals are the reflection in our minds of the laws governing social development; and thirdly, on the foundation of practice, from which we are striving to gradually bring about our noble revolutionary ideals. In this respect, what is most important and fundamental is that we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, gain a thorough grasp of the laws of social development, keep our ideals completely in line with the people's aspirations and work in the interests of the people. Such are the basic objectives we set forth in establishing our lofty revolutionary ideals, and they in turn are the source of our strength and wisdom with which to fulfill the ideals. Lofty revolutionary ideals lead us to a nobler state of mind. We will share the weal

and woe of the people, be the first to feel concern about state affairs and the last to enjoy the refinements of life, considering it our greatest happiness to make contributions for the people.

The majority of our young people are good and very promising. The great April 5th Movement and the self-defensive counterattacks that took place on the Sino-Vietnamese border this year are the best proofs in history. In the drive to realize the four modernizations, the majority of our young people are studying diligently, working hard and exerting themselves to progress. We must note, however, that there is the so-called "see through" mentality currently prevalent among some young people. According to this, our lofty revolutionary ideals are empty talk and useless; it is more "practical and beneficial" to work for personal interests. Those young people with such a mentality regard anyone who speaks of serving the people as a liar; they will ridicule anyone as a "fool" for anything he does in the service of the people. Perhaps this is also some sort of foolish old man's idea. Such people fancy themselves clever enough to have "seen through" everything in the world, to have "seen through" life, politics, society and reality. The high aspirations and vitality of young people are absent in them. Some even believe in such bourgeois philosophy on life as "heaven destroys men who won't look out for themselves." These are the disastrous results of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as of the influence of bourgeois thinking in society over some young people. Some of these young people once considered themselves as having "high ambitions"; these in fact were merely illusions about "the blue sky and white clouds," which would be broken in storms and drive them to despair and degeneration or send them spinning with the wind. To establish truly high revolutionary ideals does not mean to present in illusive strokes a picture of a beautiful future, but to understand the inevitable laws of social development and to struggle heroically even at the sacrifice of our own lives for the future of the motherland and the human race. It also means to stick to the conviction in the inevitable victory of communism, even when the situation is very complicated and full of adversities or when there are twists and turns on the road of history. Did not the countless revolutionary martyrs and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation do exactly this? Besides, what young people with the "see through" mentality are employing is the metaphysical way of thinking, which is seriously one-sided. They fancy themselves as having "seen through" everything in the world, but actually they have seen through nothing. "A leaf before their eyes shuts out Mount Ai." Their view has been hindered by the dust kicked up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They have also been misled by some irrational practices in our society. As a result, they fail to see the forward rush of the torrents of society, and they forget that it is precisely the young people's responsibility to eradicate all reactionary and irrational practices. To acquire lofty revolutionary ideals we must be determined to become staunch proletarian revolutionaries. We should make wholehearted efforts to help those young people get rid of their "see through" mentality and give scope to the

vigor and vitality of their youth, help them to really acquire lofty revolutionary ideals and contribute to the realization of the four modernizations. There are some other young people who hanker after "practical interests." They cherish some so-called ideals such as "higher wages but less work, a better house to my liking plus a set of nice furniture to form a small happy family." As if this is what life is all about! These people show no concern for the four modernizations and eagerly seek to achieve their "four minitransformations" (that is, to be fashionable in clothing, liberalized in action, advanced in life-style and modern in furniture). In their eyes, only gluttony and pleasure seeking are of real meaning, while anything else is immaterial and void. This is a typical kind of petty-bourgeois egoism that became fashionable because of the sabotage by and the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This and the "see through" idea are twins. The "see through" mentality is aimed at creating the atmosphere and theoretical basis for the hankering after personal "practical interests," while the real purpose of the "see through" mentality lies in devoting particular care to personal "practical interests." Pursuing personal "practical interests" is the paltry individualist thinking of those who may be compared to self-serving low-flying swallows concerned only with building their own nests. Such thinking is not for revolutionary youths. Instead, we should aim high like high-flying geese serving the future of the motherland and the ideals of mankind.

Secondly, to be present-day foolish old men, young people must have a true understanding of the truth that only socialism can save China and must adhere to the socialist road. Only socialism can save China. This is a truth repeatedly borne out by practice over the past century and more, especially since the "May 4th Movement." After the Opium War, imperialist aggression reduced China to the status of a semicolonial and semifeudal society. The land was in a shambles; the people led a dog's life and were nicknamed the "sick men of East Asia." Many patriots, actuated by noble ideals, were anxious about the fate of the country and tried by every means to seek the truth that would save the country and its people, but they all ended in failure. Then the salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism, and the Chinese revolution took on a new look. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong and after decades of arduous struggle, the people throughout the country finally succeeded in overthrowing imperialist, feudalist and bureaucratic capitalist rule and founded the new China. After that our people went on to victoriously carry out the socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production and socialist construction and are now making vigorous strides along the socialist road. Due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," however, our economy at one time was on the verge of collapse. Today we still lag considerably behind some foreign countries in science and technology; grievous harm has been done to the party's traditions and our social customs; democracy and the legal system have been trampled upon; and people's minds are seriously confused. In the past decade and

more some capitalist countries have made rapid advances in economy, science and technology. Some of our young people did not experience our people's sufferings in the old society and are not aware of how difficult it has been to achieve socialism. What is more, they lack fundamental knowledge about Marxism-Leninism. They notice the economic developments in advanced capitalist countries, their advanced science and technology as well as their high standard of living. However, they fail to see the decadent nature of capitalism and the history of its development. Hence, a question rises in their minds: Where has the superiority of socialism shown itself? Some young people even have doubts about whether socialism is better than capitalism. If this problem is not solved, will it not be just idle talk to discuss the realization of our communist ideals? Socialism is good mainly because economically there is public ownership of the means of production, and production in the entire society is carried out proportionately and in a planned manner for the sake of the people; the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is implemented among the people, and no exploitation of man by man is allowed; everybody follows the road to universal prosperity; and socialism holds out infinite prospects for the development of production. Politically the people are masters of the country; the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism are practiced; and efforts are made to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, and unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Ideologically, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and the whole society shares the same communist ideals and moral practices. By contrast, capitalist society practices private ownership of the means of production in economy; production is aimed at profits for the capitalists, while production in the entire society goes without planning, and exploitation is evident everywhere. There is a society in which "big fish swallow smaller ones, and smaller ones swallow shrimp." Politically there are the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, aggression and expansion against foreign countries; ideologically, bourgeois individualism, the worship of Mammon and hedonism run rampant, along with intrigues and rivalry, mutual dishonesty and degeneration. Which is good, after all: socialism or capitalism? Is it not clear enough? We should study the advanced science and technology of capitalist countries but reject and criticize their social system and their decadent style of life and ideology.

Some people ask: Since the capitalist system is so bad and socialism is superior to it, how can advanced capitalist countries enjoy greater prosperity than we? How can their science and technology be more advanced than ours and their standard of living higher? I think comparisons cannot be drawn so simply, because as far as the development of productive forces is concerned we and the advanced capitalist countries are on different levels. The comparison can be likened to a race in which we do not share

the same starting line. It is 200 or 300 years, or at least over 100 years, since some of the advanced capitalist countries embarked upon the capitalist road, whereas it is only 30 years since we overthrew the semicolonial and semifeudal society. What is more, during those 30 years we met with the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, we have still managed to considerably shorten the economic distance between them and us. Our economy developed rapidly during three periods: from 1949 to 1957, 1962 to 1966 and 1977 until now. Our production will surely record speedier progress once the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is cleared altogether, economic laws are observed and the superiority of the socialist system is brought into full play. This is the first point. The second point we must understand is that the building of the capitalist edifice took a toll of working class sacrifice. The history of capitalist development is a bloodstained story of exploitation and plunder. The primitive accumulation of capital was carried out very savagely. It caused the bankruptcy of peasants and rural small handicraftsmen and turned them into penniless proletariat--into a labor force and into reserves (an army of the jobless) who were subjected to capitalist exploitation to create wealth for the capitalists. In addition, the capitalists plundered the colonies and even traded in slaves from Africa. Marx hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: "Capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." ("The So-Called Primitive Accumulation," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol II, (Chinese Edition) p 265) American writer (Solow) also said in a book that under each railroad tie there lies the corpse of an Irish worker. In the development of capitalism, on one side are skyscrapers and a luxurious, loose and idle life; on the other are slums. To make money, capitalists would rather pour grain into the sea than help the broad masses of people hovering on the brink of starvation. In the capitalist world there is an endless succession of strikes and uprisings by the workers. All these are historical facts that no one can deny. We must not be taken in by the current ostensible and temporary prosperity in some capitalist countries. When we find that some of the workers there have private cars and refrigerators, we must not take this to mean the disappearance of contradictions between workers and capitalists. In fact, that is one means by which capitalists seek to sell their surplus products and exploit the workers further. We must keep cool heads and be able to see that, on the premise of a very big development of productive forces, the capitalists are reaping more surplus value created by the workers in a more unscrupulous manner, even though the pay of the workers has increased somewhat. With various kinds of taxes and levies, exorbitant rents for housing, high costs of living and expensive medical costs, the earnings of workers soon go back to the capitalists in large amounts. And the situation is even worse for the unemployed. Exploitation and all sorts of irrational and reactionary practices in capitalist society will never die out until the victory of the socialist revolution. The third point we must also understand is that capitalism will inevitably meet its doom and socialism will surely triumph. All the contradictions in the capitalist society remain unsolved today. Some advanced capitalist

countries are trying to mitigate their domestic contradictions by exploiting Third World countries. But this cannot last long. The prosperity in some capitalist countries is like rosy clouds just before sunset which will soon come to an end. The rise of the Third World and its economic development will make it impossible for the capitalist countries to continue plundering these areas and shifting their own economic crises to others. The contradiction between the relations of production and the massive productive forces will then intensify to an unprecedented level. "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor will at last reach a point where they will become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus, this integument will be discarded. The knell of capitalist private property will sound. The expropriators will be expropriated." ("The So-Called Primitive Accumulation," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol II, (Chinese Edition) p 267) Such a day will certainly come.

There is also an extremely small number of young people who say: "Workers in the capitalist countries are leading such a good life. I would rather live and be exploited there!" Such remarks are not acceptable. As a Chinese saying goes, poor as we are, we have high aspirations. Despite the fact that ours is a poor country, we will build it up with our hands and wisdom. Only thus can we prove our wisdom and ability. We should not underestimate ourselves without sound reason. We must take pride in the Chinese nation and give scope to the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. As far as the historical development of mankind is concerned, China has been among the most advanced nations in economy, science and technology--except in the past 200 or 300 years, when we began to lag behind--while the Chinese culture has always enjoyed extremely high prestige in the world. In the field of politics and ideology, we are now well ahead of others. An English friend wrote to us recently: "Your society can be compared to a giant diamond. Although not yet well polished, it is sparkling more brilliantly day by day.... The bright star of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought lights your road of advance. No matter how far away from us it is now, we will discover it somehow, and sooner or later it will illuminate the whole world." We must have determination and perseverance to polish this giant diamond of the Chinese society. Bright and colorful as it may look, the capitalist world is full of corruption, degeneracy and grotesque things, and we should feel no envy for it. Countless revolutionary martyrs dedicated their lives in the struggle to seize power and save us from further exploitation. What kind of thinking would it be if we, as revolutionary successors, fail to work hard, complain of life being too poor in our country and prefer to be exploited by capitalists! Under current conditions in our country, if we were to take the capitalist road, what we could expect would not be an advanced capitalist society but a China returned to the status of a semi-colonial, semifeudal society. Did the Chinese bureaucratic bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek not try it out before liberation? Are those memories of the miseries of the masses of laboring people still not fresh in our minds? If an economically backward country like ours, with

its population of 900 million, wants to solve problems concerning the people's livelihood, education and employment and to realize the four modernizations, it can succeed only under the leadership of the Communist Party and along the socialist road. Even some foreign friends visiting our country were deeply impressed with this point. Why should some of us have failed to see it? Our country's backwardness and poverty today have resulted from disasters brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," from the remaining poisonous influences of feudalism and capitalism, as well as from our lack of experience. They have nothing to do with the socialist system, and we should not confuse them.

Thirdly, when resolving to be present-day foolish old men, our young people must foster the revolutionary spirit of working hard. Working hard is a priceless tradition of the proletariat and the working people. It was a must in the past, it is also a must today, and in the future it will be a must even when communism has been accomplished, although its content and form may have to change to suit the requirements of different times. The foolish old man of ancient times worked very hard to move the two great peaks of Taihang and Wangwu with hoes and carrying poles; we are now determined to move the two big mountains of "poverty" and "blankness" which stand in our way to communism. We have to proceed from the practical situation and exert ourselves to learn science and technology and have a thorough grasp of them. Figuratively speaking, we must use excavators, huge cranes, trucks, explosives and so on. In other words, the foolish old man of ancient times and the present-day ones share the same spirit of working hard, not stopping in digging up the mountains. What is different is that present-day foolish old men should foster communist ideas and acquire knowledge about modern science and technology (to put it more accurately, they must proceed from the practical situation and do their utmost to learn and apply advanced science and technology). On the one hand, it is wrong to think that the poorer we are and the more backward our tools, the more revolutionized we will become, because such an idea is a distortion or misunderstanding of the spirit of working hard; on the other hand, it is wrong to think that since we are now bringing about the four modernizations we must not or need not emphasize the spirit of working hard which the foolish old man used to move the peaks. Will boasting and bragging help us move the two big mountains of "poverty" and "blankness"? Can the four modernizations come true without effort? We must integrate the spirit of working hard with the conscientious study and application of modern science and technology, instead of placing them in opposition to each other. It will be wrong to neglect or negate either of them. We must work hard in industry and agriculture and do the same to storm strongholds in science. It is a new great Long March in the history of our country to realize the four modernizations. Compared with the 25,000-li Long March of the past, the times have changed and so have the fighting tasks. However, we need the same spirit of working hard as much as ever before. Without a thorough understanding of this spirit, one cannot really grasp the profound significance of the new Long March, nor can victory be won.



To carry forward the spirit of working hard we must fear neither hardships nor difficulties, for only those who have endured most incredible hardships are true revolutionaries. We Chinese have been a brave and industrious people, long famous throughout the world for our ability to work hard and bear hardships. Generation after generation, the Chinese people have lived in misery and fought battles replete with bloodshed in the long, long period of darkness before the liberation. As hard as our current life is, there is a world of difference between now and pre-liberation days. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, we have rid ourselves of the exploitation and oppression that lasted many centuries. The working people have now become masters of their own destiny. And with a Marxist-Leninist line and the spirit of working hard, we will surely improve our life day by day. The people's living standards will rise to new levels in history after the realization of the four modernizations. We must model ourselves after our revolutionary predecessors, keep up the tremendous drive they displayed during the liberation war, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of fearing no hardships or sacrifices and foster the same kind of lofty ideals of striving for the country and the people. Let us make greater efforts to usher in the most brilliant times in our country's history!

Some young people are not willing to work hard, saying "There has always been only one way to Mount Tai, so one has no future unless one goes to college." Others long for nothing but a job in the big cities. All these are wrong ideas. As long as we serve the people, every road we take will lead to the bright future, no matter whether we are at college, in the cities, in the countryside or in the border areas. If there is a future for the country, there will surely be a future for everyone. If the country is not run well, there can be no future for anyone. College study requires arduous mental labor; to capture strongholds in science one has to withstand the test of repeated failures and be able to surmount a succession of difficulties. He who thinks that entrance to college promises a comfortable life without hard work is shiftless and devoid of high aspirations. What sort of great expectations can be entertained of him? Colleges are places where capable people are trained. However, there are also capable people, large numbers of them, among those who have not studied at college but have become qualified in their respective fields through self-study in their spare time. Marx, Gorkiy, Edison, Faraday, Franklin, Hua Luogeng and Xiao Chunu--none of them attended college. Neither did Chairman Mao. Hence, the question lies not in whether one goes to college but in whether one is diligent in study. It is a good thing to go to college and study under favorable conditions. But a good thing can turn into a bad one. If one relies entirely on favorable conditions and fails to exert one's efforts, one will achieve nothing. On the other hand, a bad thing may be turned into something good. If a student fails in the entrance exam for college but keeps up his spirit and makes constant progress, he too will be able to contribute to the people's cause. There are many ways in which to scale heights in science, and going to college is only one of them. Where there

is no road to follow readily, we can blaze our own. Our country has vast stretches of land, and there is lots of room for young people to display their prowess. With 900 million people, it is impossible for everyone to scale heights in science and culture. The majority of us still have to work in factories or in fields, at all kinds of ordinary jobs. All of us must be fine seeds for the revolution, go wherever the party and the state want us to, take root, burgeon, blossom and bear fruit there. We must become one with the people wherever we go and make contributions to the socialist cause. Agriculture is the foundation of the entire national economy. The broad masses of our young people must be determined to fight in the countryside and dedicate our youth to the modernization of agriculture. It takes time to bring about agricultural modernization, and we must make strenuous efforts, proceed from the practical situation and create conditions for its gradual realization. It is true that life today is harder in the countryside than in the cities, but young people with aspirations must take pride in hard struggle. They must build their careers through hard work and grow and mature in the process. We do not want to sit idle and enjoy the fruits of the labor of our revolutionary predecessors. We must work very hard for a bright future. Only thus can our life be meaningful. The countryside is indeed a vast world where one can give full scope to his abilities. We must overcome any temporary adversity and remain firm in the conviction that the sun will eventually dispel all dark clouds and that we shall win victory and be able to lead a happy life. The time has now come for us to transform the backwardness in our agricultural production, bring about modernization and build up our new socialist countryside. How can anyone imagine that we would try by every means to leave for the cities and avoid the hard life in the countryside or abandon the land on which our ancestors sweated and toiled for several thousand years? Let us have a wider vision. In the not too distant future the countryside will certainly become a paradise on earth where agriculture, combined with industry, will enjoy vigorous growth, as will forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and sideline occupations. In short, our revolutionary youths must cherish unbounded ambitions, fear no hardships, be united and work hard to eliminate desolation, backwardness and poverty, so that we shall do a good job in translating our ideals into reality.

China is the hometown of foolish old men. "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved Mountains" is an ancient story that may not have happened in real life. But is the foolish old man not the true image of the brave and industrious Chinese people of the past several thousand years? The cause started by the foolish old man in transforming our motherland has now entered a brandnew stage with our young generation taking over. We must courageously shoulder the immense and glorious task of realizing the four modernizations. Topping all the others, we will be able to announce in jubilation when the year 2000 arrives: We have not wasted our time. We have lived up to the requirements of this great age.

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## HOW DOES MARXISM LOOK AT THE 'HUMAN RIGHTS' QUESTION?

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[Article by Xiao Weiyun [5135 5588 7189], Luo Haocai [5012 3032 2088] and Wu Jieying [0702 2355 5391]]

[Text] The focus of the whole party's work has now been shifted to socialist modernization. To achieve the four modernizations we must, under the party's leadership, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote socialist democracy so as to fully mobilize all positive factors.

However, there are differing views on the question of promoting democracy, such as the slogan of "defending human rights" put forward by some people. Those who have done so either are unclear about the real meaning of "human rights" or try to mislead the public for selfish purposes. How to look at the "human rights" question involves a question of principle, that is, the question of correctly understanding and distinguishing between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. It is also related to the problems of how to exercise citizens' democratic rights and of how to actively contribute to the modernization program. To this end we must use the Marxist point of view to assess the "human rights" question.

### I

Those who have put forward the slogan of "defending human rights" describe "human rights" as the "soul of mankind" and the most wonderful "universal truth." This is quite absurd.

Let us look into the historical background and class nature of the slogan and find out how it came about. As a slogan that embodies bourgeois demands for economic and political domination when capitalism was in the ascendancy, it provided the bourgeoisie with an ideological weapon for opposing political power based on feudal and divine concepts. It originated with and was developed from humanism, which was characteristic of the Renaissance in 14th century Western Europe. As capitalism was in the ascendancy in many European countries from the late 16th century to the

17th and 18th centuries, the bourgeoisie, who became economically predominant, wanted more political power to consolidate and develop capitalism. It was during this period of intellectual activity in the cause of education and culture that bourgeois enlightenment philosophers like Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke and Rousseau put forward the slogan of "human rights" to fiercely criticize the divine right of kings and to strongly demand the establishment of bourgeois regimes. Although they differed in philosophical and political views, which reflected the different bourgeois interests they championed, they followed a common "human rights" formula. This meant that Rousseau believed in the superiority of "the noble savage" over civilized man. In religion he took refuge in a nebulous kind of natural religion which was both fashionable and convenient. In politics he was a sincere and convinced republican, devoted to upholding the democratic ideas of the bourgeoisie when that class was in the ascendancy. In his book "The Social Contract" he was an eloquent exponent of ideas and a describer of the human aspirations for liberty and equality. In some branches of politics and economics, Rousseau was a genuine reformer who exercised great influence. He attacked feudalism and the privileged class unsparingly and outlined the institutions needed for a democracy based on bourgeois ideas of government. His advocacy of human rights strongly influenced the French monarchy and bourgeois-dominated countries to oppose feudal despotism. His antimonarchic "The Social Contract," regarded as gospel by bourgeois states in the revolutionary period, encouraged agitation against feudalism and what it stood for. By the second half of the 18th century, enlightenment advocates in North America like Franklin, Jefferson and Paine had taken up the "human rights" campaign. These exponents exposed and criticized the evil deeds of the British colonialists. However, the hypocrisy of bourgeois "human rights," liberty and equality is revealed in the fact that even Paine favored implementation of the principle of equal rights in order to safeguard property holders and eliminate chaos.

To prevent a restoration of feudalism, hoodwink the people and consolidate their rule, the bourgeoisie in power specified human rights and other bourgeois democratic principles in the constitution, such as the U.S. Declaration of Independence of 1776 and France's Declaration of Human Rights of 1789. These two declarations, one upholding that all men are created equal and the other maintaining that men are born and remain free and equal with regard to rights, aim at safeguarding bourgeois dictatorship. In the U.S. Declaration of Independence drafted by Jefferson the clause condemning slavery was deleted. In the 1787 Constitution of the United States no mention was made of democracy and freedom, while the system of keeping Negro slaves was preserved. Following the promulgation of France's Declaration of Human Rights, the French Constitution of 1791 grouped citizens into "active" and "passive" categories. The latter classification applied to those citizens who held property not conforming to acceptable standards. This group of people was thus deprived of the voting rights accorded to working people. The Ypres Act adopted in June 1791 banned the formation of trade unions by workers and their right to

strike. Commenting on this, Marx said: "The moment the revolutionary storm began, the French bourgeoisie moved forcefully to deprive workers of their right to form associations." ("On Primary Accumulation," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol II, p 246)

With laissez-faire capitalism becoming monopolistic in the imperialist stage of capitalism, politically the bourgeoisie also became increasingly reactionary. Some of them openly came forward to disavow the calls for individual rights, liberty and equality when the bourgeoisie was in the ascendancy. Kant, a bourgeois social reformer, for example, did not believe that any individual should have any rights at all, except obligations, from anybody else. A French legal expert also maintained that no member of society should have any individual rights, only obligations or "social functions." What best symbolized the ideology of the monopolistic bourgeoisie was fascism. From the 1930's to early 1940's, fascist countries like Germany, Italy and Japan flaunted the banners of "nationalism" and "the national spirit" while wantonly slaughtering communists, workers, Jews and intellectuals. This fully exposed the ruthless nature of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Some capitalist and imperialist countries recently made a great fuss about the question of "human rights." They did this with ulterior motives. Mounting antiwar and anticonscription movements that have swept capitalist countries since the 1960's, particularly the civil rights movement of the black people, have seriously challenged the rule of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Under these circumstances, bourgeois monopolists have had to change their tactics, such as by giving considerable publicity to "human rights," "democracy" and "freedom," to hoodwink people while using violent means to suppress dissenters. They have also used this tactic to contend for world supremacy and to hamper the national and democratic movements of Third World countries.

After examining the historical background and class nature of the bourgeois slogan of "human rights," it is not difficult for us to see that this slogan, a bourgeois catch phrase, is being used by individuals who harbor ulterior motives and who are neither Marxists nor patriots.

## II

Advocates of the bourgeois slogan have spared no efforts to embellish it, even portraying capitalist and imperialist countries as a haven and utopia for upholding "human rights." Now, let us see how Marx, Engels and Lenin defined "human rights" and whether the working people of capitalist and imperialist countries have them at all.

Marxism uses the viewpoint of class analysis to expose the hypocrisy of what the bourgeoisie terms "human rights." According to Marx, the individual referred to by the bourgeoisie is an "isolated individual shut up in his own surroundings." Such an individual does not exist in real life at all. In a class society everyone lives as a member of a particular

class, and everyone is closely associated by definite social relations. Since everyone is conditioned by definite production and social relations, it is quite absurd to talk about man and his social attributes in an abstract way, divorced from specific production and social relations. With regard to rights, it is also part of the social category and the superstructure, not of the biological category. In this sense, regardless of the particular rights of anybody, "rights can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development conditioned by that structure." ("Critique of the Gotha Program")

What the advocates of bourgeois "human rights" have said about man and his nature in fact is similar to the nature of those citizens to whom Engels referred in his work "Anti-Duhring." As regards the particular rights stated in that work, they were similar to the rights of egoists mentioned in "On the Problems of Jews" included in the collected works of Marx and Engels.

Marxism views human rights as being "shaped by history, not endowed by nature," as a manifestation of the capitalist relations of buying and selling commodities. In capitalist society all things, including labor, are commodities. Marx pointed out: "Buying and selling labor takes place in areas for the circulation and exchange of commodities. This domain is really a true paradise for naturally endowed human rights, where liberty, equality and rights predominate." ("Capital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 199) However, after one left the market for buying and selling labor, "those who carried money became capitalists and walked away proudly, while those who possessed labor became their workers and followed behind." (Ibid., p 200) By studying commodities, Marx discovered the secret of surplus value and how it came about. He thus exposed the nature of capitalist exploitation and the hypocrisy of the "human rights" of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois "human rights" are characterized by a recognition of the right of the bourgeoisie to own private property and their right to exploit others. Despite their differing views on "human rights," the advocates of such rights are unanimous in safeguarding private property. Locke recognized property as being of paramount importance in "human rights" and held that this was the main task of the government. He also considered exploiting hired laborers a part of "human rights." Even Rousseau defended the owners of private property and regarded this as an important part of "human rights." He said: "Property is the real base of a political society and truly provides guarantees for citizens signing contracts." ("The Social Contract") The constitution of the bourgeoisie also safeguards property and considers it to be the core of "human rights." The Declaration of Human Rights contains a clause on the inviolability of property which brooks no expropriation. In sum, the core of bourgeois "human rights" is to recognize and protect private property and the right to own it. As Marx said: "In practical application, freedom means the right to own private property...which is the right to be selfish and the

right to use and manage one's own property without society's imposing any restrictions." ("On the Problems of the Jews," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I, p 438) Since in capitalist society the capitalists control the greater portion of the means of production, the "right to protect private property" means safeguarding the system of the bourgeoisie exploiting the working people. The capitalist system of private ownership is a precondition and basis of bourgeois dictatorship. So long as the precondition for economic inequalities exists, safeguarding the political and legal "liberty" and "equality" of both the proletariat and property holders is simply a trick.

Judging by what has actually occurred in capitalist society, such as widespread unemployment, inflation, the rising crime wave, racial discrimination, assaults on women, drug addiction and trafficking, where is there any human dignity, universal liberty and equality and the right to happiness at all? According to available statistics, it is necessary in some capitalist countries to spend over U.S.\$1 million to be elected a representative and at least U.S.\$50 million to be elected president. This is a right enjoyed only by millionaires and multimillionaires in a country where the black people and other colored races are subjected to inequalities even if "human rights" are recognized by law. Only those who disregard facts and have no national self-respect will picture certain imperialist and capitalist countries as a haven for "human rights."

### III

With the Chinese people holding power, they have upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat and introduced socialist democracy. However, advocates of bourgeois "human rights" allege that in the new China there is no people's democracy and no civil rights. Let us answer these fundamental issues related to our country.

First, let us examine the "human rights" called for by advocates of such rights. Since they want to abolish class struggle, want revolution by violent means and "dictatorship" in all forms, it means that they do not want socialism, proletarian dictatorship, party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide. They have placed themselves in opposition to proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system, declaring that the "human rights" they want are irreconcilable with socialist democracy. They particularly want to promote Rousseau's idea of "human rights." According to Rousseau, all persons should participate and be involved in a democracy which would use training, guidance and propaganda, censorship and reduction of privacy to eliminate special-interest groups and to control ideas. They aspire to these "human rights." What Rousseau and other philosophers preached has been known to our people, who have naturally rejected this hodgepodge of bourgeois trash. The constitution of the PRC defines the basic principles of socialism, proletarian dictatorship, party leadership and Marxism, which champion the

fundamental interests of the people throughout the country. If these principles are repudiated, we cannot talk about the people's democratic rights. Those who call for "human rights" want bourgeois democratic rights. Those who call for "human rights" want the bourgeois type of individualistic democracy and freedom. For some time in the past they raised the slogan of "defending human rights" in disregard of stability and order and the people's interests. They ignored official exhortations and put forward unreasonable demands. They broke into government offices, hit and abused the cadres, blocked communications, halted trains and disrupted production. If these people are given such "human rights," then production and social order in our country will be disrupted, state assets will suffer losses and people's democracy and freedom will be impaired. Naturally, advocates of bourgeois "human rights" will not be permitted to have such rights.

Second, advocates of "human rights" allege that there is no people's democracy and civil rights in our country. They consider themselves to be "defenders" of and "democratic fighters" for "human rights." This is quite absurd. It is impossible for the "defenders" of "human rights" to do so in our country, which has upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, without giving the impression that they want a return to the capitalist society. We disapprove of the slogan "defending human rights" when capitalism is in the dominant position, but not because we do not want people's democratic rights. It is just the opposite. China is the first country in human history which has truly solved the question of people's democratic rights, because only socialist countries enjoy extensive people's democratic rights. This is beyond the reach of any capitalist country.

Economically, private ownership of the means of production has been abolished in China. This is a manifestation of socialist democracy. The constitution of the PRC protects public ownership of the means of production and prohibits exploitation. This has basically solved the question of people's democratic rights. Politically, the people are the masters of the country, and they have the right to run the country and the enterprises and supervise culture and education. These are basic rights for working people under socialism. The Chinese Constitution also safeguards freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration and the freedom to strike. It stipulates that working people have the right to material assistance in their old age and in the event of illness or disability. To insure that working people enjoy this right, the state has gradually expanded social insurance, social assistance, public health services, cooperative medical services and other services. These legal provisions show that citizens in China enjoy broad and extensive democratic rights.

In dealing with criminals and counterrevolutionaries, as well as class enemies and prisoners of war, we have followed strict laws and specific policies, such as banning the use of torture to exact confessions and



fascist ways of interrogation. Chairman Mao also approved of treating criminals as human beings and favored reforming them through labor so they could have a new lease on life. Our country is led by the proletariat, which is fired by the noble ambition to transform all mankind. Only the proletariat can treat unreformed people with revolutionary humanism. An example of this was provided by the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Fu Yi.

However, advocates of bourgeois "human rights" have several times appealed to the heads of state of bourgeois countries to intervene on behalf of "human rights" in China. This is not at all surprising. Those who set themselves up as advocates of this rallying cry in China could only have asked imperialist and capitalist countries to do something to defend "human rights" in China. However, it should be noted that the Chinese people have gained democratic rights after struggling for more than 100 years against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. In the past century or so, imperialism has brutally oppressed and committed aggression against China. The imperialists are not qualified to discuss "human rights" with us. The Chinese people have stood up since the new China was founded in 1949. They have shattered the shackles imposed on them. The advocates of "human rights" asked the imperialist and capitalist countries to do something to defend "human rights" in China. This request was irreconcilable with the sovereignty of our state, our constitution and the national self-respect of the great Chinese nation.

The current system of civil rights as opposed to bourgeois "human rights" is still imperfect, and the legal system needs to be strengthened. This task is being tackled. However, we should note that proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy were severely disrupted when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck. Still, there is no basis to the allegation that because of the disruption to socialist democracy and the imperfections in our work there is no people's democracy and civil rights in our country.

The supporters of "human rights" have been unable to understand the real meaning of the "human rights" slogan because of their youth. Perhaps it is because they have not seriously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that they do not understand what bourgeois "human rights" really mean. We should therefore strengthen ideological and political work concerning them so they can distinguish between capitalism and socialism and between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy. We should also understand that class struggle still exists in our country and that among the people there are still particularly evil elements against whom we have to be on our guard. The latter should be dealt with severely.

China is now engaged in socialist modernization. To realize the modernization program we must give full play to democracy and safeguard people's democratic rights. With the development of China's modernization program, the democratic system will be constantly perfected, and then socialist democracy will be promoted and our country will prosper.

DEFY DEATH TO DIG OUT TRAITORS AND SAVE CHINA--SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF THE  
MAY 4TH MOVEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 49-56

[Article by Xu Deheng]

[Text] The May 4th Movement occurred 60 years ago. For 60 years, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, our motherland has undergone earth-shaking changes. The Chinese people have overthrown the three big mountains and have initially changed a poor, backward and disaster-stricken old China into a prosperous new China. At present the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is leading the people throughout the country to begin a new Long March. Under this excellent situation, I, who went through the May 4th Movement, feel so excited when I look into the future and realize the motherland's prospects; and when I look back I am reminded all the more of great leader Comrade Mao Zedong, esteemed and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai and the revolutionary martyrs who gave their lives for the proletarian revolutionary cause. At this time, in commemorating the 60th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, it is not entirely meaningless to review the historical facts of that period as a means of arousing the younger generation today to strive for the four modernizations. Thus, I have written this memoir from what I can recall.

The Underlying Causes of the May 4th Movement

The May 4th Movement came into being under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and was bred in World War I. The most striking characteristic of the May 4th Movement was that the Chinese people from then on became the allied army of the proletarian world revolution and ceased to be the allied army of the bourgeois world revolution. The nature of the Chinese revolution from then on developed from the old democratic revolution into the new democratic revolution.

Although the May 4th Movement took place in May 1919, its underlying causes can be traced to the situation of Chinese society before the May 4th Movement and to the consequences of World War I. During World

War I the various countries of Europe and America were too busy to concern themselves with the Orient. Japanese imperialism wanted to occupy China totally, so it proposed to Yuan Shikai the 21 Demands, which would destroy China, and used them in exchange for assisting Yuan Shikai to become emperor. Because the bandit Yuan was so eager to rule, he accepted the demands, with the exception of article 5, which was to be left for further discussion. After the death of Yuan Shikai, Zhang Xun staged a comeback. The northern warlord Duan Qirui defeated Zhang Xun and, in order to seize political power in China, continued to collude with Japanese imperialism and continued to acknowledge the 21 Demands, as a result of which he obtained a large loan from Japan. Japanese imperialism also took part in the European war and stood on the side of the Allied Powers. Our country also took part in the war and also stood on the side of the Allied Powers. But using the pretext of Germany as the enemy, Japan proceeded to launch attacks against Shandong and Qingdao and took forcible possession of the German authority and interests in Shandong, which had been laid down in the 1901 treaty. This event became known to our country's students in Japan and aroused their intense opposition. On 7 May 1918 they held a meeting in Tokyo to protest the secret agreement between China and Japan. Many people were arrested by the Japanese military police. The entire body of foreign students expressed strong protests against Japan, quit their studies and returned to their homeland.

After the foreign students returned to their country, the students in Beijing immediately responded actively. In the middle of May their representatives Li Da (Heming), Gong Debo and others came to Beijing to meet with us. After several days of campaigning and exchanging views, we jointly initiated on 21 May a movement of demonstration against and petition to the reactionary ruling authority. This was an unprecedented movement. Participating in this movement were over 2,000 people from the Beijing University, the Higher Normal College, the Higher Industrial College, the Law College and the Business School. At first, only eight people were elected as representatives for the petition. Later five more people were added. They were Wang Jing, representative of the foreign students in Japan, and 12 student representatives in Beijing. This was the first movement of parading in demonstration and petition held by the Chinese students.

Because this movement of parading in petition was too hastily initiated and insufficiently prepared, nothing resulted. However, as a result of this, students in various places became organized. Some students in Beijing organized the Students Society for National Salvation (at first called the Patriotic Society of Students), in which not only students of Beijing University but also students of other schools in Beijing participated. During the summer holiday, Xu Deheng and Yi Keni, representing the Students Society for National Salvation, went south to establish connections, develop the organization and spread its influence. We first went to Tianjin. An organization had already been established there. A ceremony was held to welcome us, and many people attended the ceremony.

At the height of the welcoming ceremony, a student, Zhang Chuanqi, suddenly used a knife to chop off his fingers in an effort to arouse and encourage his fellow countrymen. Later they even organized an Awakening Society, which developed still further after Comrade Zhou Enlai returned from Japan. Participating in the society were male and female students, including Deng Yongchao, Ma Jun, Guo Longzhen, Ma Qianli, Zhang Tailai (who later changed his name to Zhang Tailei) and Zhang Roming. We even went to Jinan, Wuhan, Jiujiang, Nanjing and Shanghai. In Wuhan we met Comrade Yun Daiying, and in Jiujiang we met Comrade Fang Zhimin, a student at the Tongwen School. In Shanghai we paid calls on Messrs Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai and Zhu Zhixin, who sympathized with the student movement. By this time the Shanghai Students Association had also been organized. In Shanghai there were more women. We met female students who had returned from Japan. They included Li Guo, Cheng Xiaofu, Shu Huizhen of the Shenzhou Girls School, Huang Keqiang's wife Huang Zonghan, Zhu Jianxia of the Girls Society for National Salvation and Liu Jingyang from Tianjin. They had founded the Shanghai Women's Association, which aimed at propagating patriotism and boycotting Japanese goods. During the May 4th Movement the Women's Association joined the Shanghai Students Association and played a very big role. On a certain day in July the Shanghai Students Association held a rally at the Longhua Stadium to welcome the student representatives from Beijing. Several thousand people attended the rally, which was an extremely exciting one. The student representatives from Beijing were invited to give reports on the situation of the Students Society in Beijing. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong was carrying out revolutionary activities in Beijing and Shanghai. He had also organized the New People's Study Society in Hunan and had united many young people. Those who joined the New People's Study Society were Mao Zedong, Cai Heshen, Zhang Kundi and Li Weihai. Female members were Xiang Jingyu, Cai Chang, Li Sian, Zhou Dunxiang, Wei Bi, Lao Junzhan and Yang Runyu. As a result of this linkup, the Students Society for National Salvation in Beijing joined with the various circles throughout the country, almost enabling the student bodies in various places throughout the country to melt into one body.

To strengthen the links and do a good job of propaganda, the Students Society for National Salvation also prepared to publish the journal CITIZEN'S MAGAZINE. As far as I can recall, the editors included Deng Zhongxia, Huang Rikui, Gao Shangde and Xu Deheng. Comrade Li Dazhao was invited to be our guide; Shao Piaoping, chief editor of the BEIJING RIBAO, and the painter Xu Beihong were invited to be our advisers; and Mr Yang Changji (alias Huaizhong) was invited to contribute articles to our magazine. Comrade Li Dazhao frequently wrote articles for the CITIZEN'S MAGAZINE. Two of his articles criticizing Hu Shi were published in the CITIZEN'S MAGAZINE.

The Students Society for National Salvation also organized a civilian education lecture group, which was formally established in March 1919. The purpose of the lecture group was to "increase the knowledge of the

civilians and arouse their initiative." The students of Beijing University and a few students from other schools joined. At the founding ceremony this organization elected its staff members, with Deng Zhongxia as general secretary. After its founding the lecture group frequently gave talks in the streets. Each time, a group of three people or three or four people was formed, a topic was tentatively planned and a location was selected. The group waved the white banner of the lecture group, brought a small gong and went to a suitable place where there were more people. The chief speaker stood on a platform a little above the crowd, another person beat the gong and the lecture began. The temple was our best lecture room but was a place where we were often bothered by the police. By the time of the May 4th Movement, the lecture group had already become a popular activity in which many people participated. Almost every day we went into the streets to give lectures or to sell native products as well as the 7 MAY WEEKLY.

### The Decision on the Eve of the May 4th Movement

World War I concluded with the success of the October Revolution in Russia, the defeat of Germany and the victory of the Allied Powers. For a while such slogans as "right over might," "national self-determination" and "sanctity of labor" were shouted loudly, stirring the heart of every youth. Everyone believed that China would easily be able to achieve emancipation. In the period between November 1918 and April 1919 the students were almost mad with enthusiasm. The "Von Ketteler" Monument, the most shameful monument in the eastern quarter of Beijing erected during the Boxer Movement in 1900 as a submission and an apology to Germany, was pulled down and rebuilt as the monument to the "triumph of right." It was then moved to the Central Park (that is, today's Zhongshan Park; after the liberation its name was changed to "Safeguard Peace" Park). The VIP's frequently made speeches there. One day they would talk about how "democracy triumphed over militarism" and the next day about how "right triumphed over might." Cai Yuanpei once built a platform in Central Park from which he talked about the "sanctity of labor." Only Comrade Li Dazhao's loud cry of "victory of the common people" (the article "Victory of the Common People" carried in the CITIZEN'S MAGAZINE was derived from the text of the speech which Comrade Li Dazhao delivered at the time) joyously celebrated the success of the October Revolution in Russia and received a very positive response from the listeners.

Everyone waited eagerly for the "triumph of right" which the Paris Peace Conference could give us! Who would believe that the end result of too much hope would be despair! Toward the end of April the Paris Peace Conference, a conference in which the bandits shared their spoils, decided to let Japanese imperialism inherit the "authority and interest" in our country's Shandong, which Germany had arbitrarily occupied. At the same time it rejected the proposition to cancel the 21 Demands which had been drawn up between Yuan Shikai and Japan. On 2 May I heard the

above shocking news from Vice Chancellor Cai. I therefore assembled the student representatives of various schools who had joined the CITIZEN'S MAGAZINE press to an emergency meeting at the Xizhai Restaurant of Beijing University that afternoon to discuss what measures were to be taken. A student representative of the Higher Industrial College bit his finger until it bled and wrote a letter in blood. All the people were so excited that their eyes were filled with fiery rage. They were determined to dispatch a notice to Beijing University and the other institutions of higher learning asking them to send representatives to an all-student rally to be held at 7 o'clock in the evening of 3 May (Saturday) inside the hall of the Law School of Beijing University (later called the third school of Beijing University) north of the river. Attending the rally that day were all the students of Beijing University and some students from Qinghua University, the Higher Normal College and its affiliated high school, the China University, the Republic University, the Chaoyang Law School, the Higher Industrial College, the Agricultural Vocational School, the Law and Political Science Vocational School, the Medical Vocational School, the Business Vocational School, the Huiwen University (forerunner of the Yanjing University) and the Railroad Management School. All those attending the rally were extremely excited. At the rally, Liao Shuchang, fourth-year student of the Law School of Beijing University, was appointed provisional chairman; Huang Rikui and Mang Shaozhuang, liberal arts students, were appointed recorders; and Xu Deheng was appointed to draft the declaration. Ding Zhaoqing, Xie Shaomin, Xia Xiufeng, Xu Deheng, Yi Keni and many other representatives of the various schools delivered speeches. Four resolutions were drawn up: (1) Unite all circles to strive for national sovereignty; (2) send telegrams to our country's delegates to the Paris Peace Conference asking them to persevere in not signing the treaty; (3) send telegrams to all provinces and municipalities throughout the country asking them to parade on 7 May, the National Day of Humiliation; (4) meet at Tiananmen at 9 o'clock in the morning of 4 May (Sunday) to stage a large-scale demonstration by students of all schools in Beijing. At the climax of the rally, one first-year student took out a knife and intended to commit suicide on the spot as a means of arousing his countrymen. Xie Shaomin, a student of Beijing University, was so indignant that he bit his finger until it bled, tore his shirt, wrote in blood the four large characters "return Qingdao to us" and showed it to the crowd. This further aroused the emotions of all the students present. So they announced that on the next day, which was 4 May, all the students would assemble at Tiananmen and stage a parade. Applause resounded like thunder, and everyone was prepared for action. That night the students at Xizhai of Beijing University hardly slept a wink in making preparations for the parade the following day. Using bamboo sticks, they made large-character streamers and small-character banners on which they wrote slogans. After I tried my best to finish drafting the declaration, I also tore my bedsheets into long strips on which I wrote slogans. I spent the whole night doing that. Some students bit their fingers until they bled and wrote slogans in blood. The slogans put forth at that time were: Recover the sovereignty of Shandong and Qingdao, oppose the

Japanese warlords, struggle for national sovereignty abroad, eliminate traitors at home and topple the Confucian school.

#### The Mass Parade of the May 4th Movement

On the morning of 4 May 1919 the students of various schools in Beijing planned to assemble at Tiananmen Square. There were over 3,000 people. That day, students of the Higher Normal College and the Huiwen University were the earliest to arrive at Tiananmen. When the Beijing University students were ready to depart in ranks, representatives of the Ministry of Education and the military police came to the campus to persuade and obstruct them. They were thus delayed and were the last to arrive at Tiananmen. We made speeches at Tiananmen to explain the meaning of the parade. The masses who were passing by also joined our ranks. After the speeches and slogans, some people suggested going to the Legation Quarter to hold a demonstration there. So the parading ranks marched toward the Legation Quarter. At the western end of the Legation Quarter stood the U.S. Embassy. So we went first to the U.S. Embassy. At that time the Legation Quarter was an area in which embassies were located. Chinese people were never allowed to enter and leave in groups. On that day, amid throngs of military police, we first handed the English version of our petition to the U.S. Embassy, explaining the reason for our parade. After the masses had shouted slogans, the petition was handed over. Then we went to the Japanese Embassy, ringed by three or four ranks of military police. Among them were Japanese military police. It was as though they were faced with a big enemy. We spent a lot of time there. Everyone was reluctant to engage in an open conflict with the Japanese. When our approach produced no results, we shouted slogans there. At that point someone suggested: "Let us go and settle accounts with the traitor!" So everyone left the Legation Quarter, crossed the bridge to the Eastern Quarter and headed straight toward the residence of traitor Cao Rulin. This was because Cao Rulin at the time was chief of communications and the one who had signed the treacherous treaty of the 21 Demands. He was also concurrently the active vice minister of foreign affairs (while Minister of Foreign Affairs Lu Zhengxiang, who was abroad, did not exercise any real responsibility). So Cao Rulin was the major target of the masses' desperate struggle.

#### Hit Hard at the Traitor and Set Fire to Zhaojialou

When the ranks arrived at Zhaojialou Street, it was already past 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Several hundred military police had already blocked the entrance to the alley. The ranks could not enter. So we changed our plan and reasoned peacefully with the military police. We said: "We are patriotic students. We come here to discuss state affairs with Chief Cao, exchange opinions with him and ask him to love China. We students are unarmed. You, too, are Chinese. Do you not love China?" We made a great effort to convince and educate the military police, and our effort proved effective. The military police allowed us to enter the alley.

But the door to Cao Rulin's residence was shut tight. What could we do? Again we reasoned with the military police. We employed the method of having three or four students surround one military policeman, making it impossible for him to use his guns. This was tantamount to asking the police to surrender their weapons. Among the students were two tall fellows, one of whom was Kang Rixiu, student of the Higher Normal College. He stood under the window of Cao Rulin's residence, and, when unnoticed by the military police, we stepped onto his shoulders, reached the windows, opened them, leaped in and opened the main door. The crowd of students stormed in. We found out that Cao Rulin was having a meeting with two other traitors, Zhang Zongxiang (ambassador to Japan) and Lu Zongyu (chief of the Chinese Monetary Bureau), and Japanese reporter Ushikichi. They thought that the students could not possibly enter a place that was so heavily guarded. But when they saw the large group of students rushing in, the bandits Cao and Lu sneaked out the back door. The fat Zhang Zongxiang, Ding Shiyuan (head of the War Council) and Ushikichi were surrounded by the students in the sitting room and were unable to get away. When the students saw Zhang Zongxiang, they mistook him for Cao Rulin and went up to him and beat him severely. He fell to the floor and feigned death. Some careful students first disconnected the telephone. Later, when they took down Cao Rulin's portrait which was hanging in the sitting room, they realized that the beaten man was not Cao Rulin. So they dispersed. Because Ushikichi tried to protect Zhang, he was also relentlessly beaten by the masses. Ding Shiyuan succeeded in escaping in the midst of the confusion. Afterward we came to Cao Rulin's bedroom. There was a Japanese woman in his room, but the people did not beat her up. One student who smoked carried matches with him. When he saw how luxurious the bedroom was, he became very angry. So he lit the green screen with his match. At once the room was ablaze, and the whole house caught fire!

#### Students and Civilian Were Arrested

Because Ding Shiyuan had escaped and sent for help, in half an hour the police of the warlord Duan Qirui's government rushed to the scene and used force to disperse the masses. At this point we were about to leave. The military police, saying we had killed people and committed arson, immediately ordered our arrest. A large group of people had already left. Only a few of us, who were still at the scene because we wanted to return in orderly fashion, were arrested. The police particularly resented me and Yi Keni and insulted us vehemently. They tied us, one on each side, in the cart that transported pigs, and paraded us into the infantry command headquarters (Gongan Street inside the headquarters was called Hubu Street at that time). I remember that while in the cart Yi Keni was very angry and said: "I will become a hero in 20 years." It was already 5 o'clock in the afternoon. A total of 32 people--31 students from various schools and 1 civilian--were sent to jail. Here I also want to mention the incident involving Guo Qinguang, a student of Beijing University. Guo Qinguang was a first-year student in the preparatory year of



the Law School. He was a native of Wenchang County on Hainan Island, Guangdong. He was suffering from tuberculosis. Before the parade we persuaded him not to go, but he would not listen. Because of the strain of the day's events and the pursuit and beating by the military police, he died on 5 May in the dormitory of Beijing University. Guo Qinguang's death aroused a general strike by the students in Beijing to express their serious protest. They also notified Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong and other places to hold memorial rallies timed with the one in Beijing on 9 May and in so doing to launch a movement to oppose the warlords and arouse a fervor of patriotism. At that time, because of the poor transportation, the journey from Hainan Island to Beijing seemed a long one. The family of Guo Qinguang was unable to attend the memorial rally in Beijing. The students in Beijing even collected a pension for his family. Now, the 32 of us were locked up in a jail inside the infantry command headquarters. This jail was extremely small and filthy. There was only one large pit. Two large cans were placed at opposite ends of the jail, and the whole place smelled. Every half hour we were ordered to raise our heads and turn over to prove that we were still alive. Noon was "airing time," and we were allowed to empty our bowels and get a little fresh air. At mealtime the turnkey brought a bucket of water and distributed one piece of bread for each of us. That night I was extremely angry and wrote two poems to express my feelings:

(I)

Because I needed to vent my pent-up hatred,  
I am made a prisoner today.  
Among the 32 people caught,  
None is afraid to have his head cut off.  
We beat the traitors fiercely,  
We burned Zhaojialou.  
In eliminating the traitors, we do not fear death  
And we will save China.

(II)

Shandong is our land;  
How can we give up one inch of grass?  
Workers, peasants, soldiers, students, tradesmen,  
Form a population of 400 million.  
Why do the few bully the masses?  
Scattered sand is powerless;  
We unite from this day on  
And strive as we have never striven before.

That day I was so worn out that I did not care to eat or drink. So I fell asleep. Later we conducted persuasion and education among the turnkeys. But the most infuriating person was the chief turnkey. At that time we had a saying which ran like this: "We fear not heaven and we fear not

earth; but we fear most the lecture given by the chief turnkey." This faithful lackey of the warlords and bureaucrat traitors would come and lecture us every day after our "airing time." He would spout such garbage as obedience to the superior officer and prohibition against stirring up social disorder. Listening to him was both an infuriating and funny experience. It was infuriating to see his superficiality and ignorance and funny to look at his slavish appearance. The other jailer was different. He accepted our persuasion and education and sympathized with us. Sometimes he would even secretly tell us what was happening outside.

#### The May 4th Movement Spread Like a Prairie Fire

From what the jailer told us and from what we later learned about the situation, the day after 4 May all the students in Beijing were mobilized, and the students of Qinghua also came from outside the city to take part in discussing ways of rescuing the arrested students. Due to the obstinate obstruction of their principal, Chen Baoquan, the students of the Beijing Women's Higher Normal College were unable to take part in the 4 May parade. On the night of 4 May all of them assembled outside the entrance of the infantry command headquarters to wage a struggle of reason and expressed their desire to go to jail with us. At this time the Students Society for National Salvation of Beijing University had become the Student Union of Beijing University. On 6 May the Student Union of middle schools and institutions of higher learning in Beijing was founded. The headquarters of the union was at the second school of Beijing University at Mashenmiao Street. The term "student union" existed from that day on. The May 4th Movement spread like a prairie fire.

In handling the 4 May parade, the northern warlords were divided in opinion and methods into the "diehard faction" and the "mild faction." The faction which included Duan Qirui and Wang Huaiqing, who were supported by Japanese imperialism, advocated stern suppression and adopted a policy of massacres in handling the demonstrators. They were prepared to punish the students severely in order to warn others against bad examples. Another faction, including Xu Shichang and Feng Guozhang, on the other hand, believed that one should not underestimate the power of the masses, which foretold that the entire country was already on the move and that the tide was expanding. If the government adopted measures of massacre and suppression, it would mean pouring oil onto the fire, and the movement would expand beyond control. Thus they advocated adoption of the mild policy of freeing the students and at the same time urging the principals of various schools to impose stern supervision over the students, a way by which to appease the angry feelings of the masses. Although these two factions differed in their opinions, their purpose was to eliminate the student movement. They differed only in their estimation of the power of the masses.

## The Arrested Students Were All Released

On 5 May the Beijing warlord government at that time did order the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Education to interrogate the people who had stirred up the incident and to punish them according to the law. It also ordered the military police to "maintain order in the localities and sternly prevent the students from making trouble." It also consoled the three big traitors, Cao Rulin, Lu Zongyu and Zhang Zongxiang, saying that the three men "were selflessly and sincerely loyal to their country and were invaluable to the whole situation." The students were guilty of patriotism, while the warlord bureaucrat traitors were "invaluable" to the "whole situation" of the imperialist aggression against China. This was the consistent logic from Duan Qirui all the way down to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary ruling class. On the other hand, as a result of the righteousness of the May 4th Movement, not only were the young students enthusiastic in taking part in it, but widespread sympathy was won from various circles in society, from our revolutionary forefather Mr Sun Yat-sen to Lin Changmin of the National Socialist Party, all of whom sent telegrams voicing the appeal that "the students were not guilty." After the students were arrested, the political situation remained tense. The members of the House of Councilors and the House of Representatives of the Provisional National Assembly in Guangzhou were in a state of near collapse. The pro-Japan faction of Duan Qirui was weak. If it insisted on suppressing the students, this was sure to arouse a greater wave which would result in its own total defeat. Under the circumstance, on 7 May (the National Day of Humiliation commemorating the 21 Demands) they released the 31 students and 1 civilian who had been arrested.

We were released at 11 o'clock in the morning of 7 May. The entire student body of Beijing University was awaiting our return at the Honglou Square inside Hanhua Garden. We had no idea where they borrowed three automobiles. But we rode back separately in these automobiles. In the square, five large square tables had been set up. Twelve to 13 students who had been arrested were students of Beijing University. They stood on these square tables in meeting with their schoolmates. Vice Chancellor Cai also came. When they met, they were extremely emotional. Vice Chancellor Cai spoke a few words of consolation and encouragement, and all the people were touched to tears. Someone said: "Go quickly and take a rest." We jumped down from the tables and returned individually to our own dormitories. After that we took part in the publication work of the 7 MAY WEEKLY, because 7 May was the National Day of Humiliation commemorating the northern warlords' signing of the 21 treacherous demands.

### Vice Chancellor Cai Yuanpei Was Compelled To Resign His Position and Leave School

The struggle did not end after the students had been released. First, our country's delegates to the Paris Peace Conference did not express their intention not to sign the peace treaty; secondly, because the

students had burned his house and beaten people, Cao Rulin brought a charge against the students who had headed the action; thirdly, Duan Qirui instructed the cabinet members of the Anfu clique to clean up the academic atmosphere and launch retaliatory moves. The first thing to do was to dismiss and replace Cai Yuanpei as vice chancellor of Beijing University and send in Hu Renyuan as acting vice chancellor. So it happened that, on the third day after the students' release from jail, Cai was forced to resign and leave the school to return to the south. On departing Beijing he left behind a letter making such cryptic statements as "those who killed your horse are the children by the road" and "the people indeed are heavily burdened, but perhaps a little rest may be obtained for them. I want a little rest, too...." At that time we were just preparing for the holding of the memorial rally for Guo Qinguang. When we read this letter, we were greatly aroused and tried to guess at and discuss what those statements meant. Later he explained that they were sarcastic comments about the authority. To the student movement the departure of Vice Chancellor Cai, the appointment of Hu Renyuan and the counterattack of Cao Rulin were like oil poured onto fire. In addition to such slogans as "struggle for national sovereignty abroad and eliminate national traitors at home" and "recover sovereignty over Shandong and Qingdao," the students added the following strong demand for "striving for the restoration of Vice Chancellor Cai and opposition to the arrival of Hu Renyuan on campus." On the 9th the Student Union of Beijing University decided to "call off classes and await punishment" as an expression of their resolution to retain Vice Chancellor Cai. Following the example of Cai Yuanpei, all the principals of other institutions of higher learning in Beijing also turned in their resignations. On the day of our release from prison we published the 7 MAY WEEKLY and sold copies in the streets. Students of the various schools in Beijing also formed propaganda groups to make speeches in the streets. It was tantamount to close combat with the military police. So again they began to arrest people. While the students were making speeches on the one hand, the police were arresting people on the other. The greater the number of speakers, the greater the number of arrests.

#### Struggles After the May 4th Movement

On the question of "punishing according to the law the students who instigated the incident" which the Cao Rulin treacherous clique put forth, the entire body of students who had taken part in the 4 May parade jointly signed a letter to the procuratory department on 13 May. It stated: "If patriotism is a crime, then everyone is willing to confess. We cannot allow a few students to shoulder the responsibility. If the court summons the students, we are willing to be summoned collectively. A few students will never appear in court." This statement led to the collapse of the wishful plan of the treacherous Beijing government to handle the student movement in accordance with the "law." On 17 May, on the question of the government's suppression of the patriotic movement, students of 13 middle schools and institutions of higher learning in

Beijing assembled and passed a resolution to hold another strike beginning on the 19th and to make the following demands on the government: (1) Express to our country's delegates to the Paris Peace Conference our resolute refusal to sign the peace treaty; (2) punish traitors Cao, Zhang and Lu; (3) retain Minister of Education Fu Zengxiang and Vice Chancellor Cai Yuanpei of Beijing University. On 19 May the Beijing Student Union announced that all middle schools and institutions of higher learning in Beijing were to go on strike and issue their strike declaration. This was another large-scale struggle after the May 4th Movement which the students of Beijing staged against the treacherous clique. The Beijing warlord government charged that this act of the students amounted to "arousing the masses and stirring up incidents to disturb public order," and it ordered that all classes be resumed in 3 days. The students refused. Representatives of various schools held a meeting at the third school of Beijing University to discuss counter-measures. As a result, the third school was heavily besieged by the military police. At the meeting it was decided that the movement would be expanded. Representatives Xu Deheng and Huang Rikui were elected to go to Tianjin, Jinan, Wuhan, Jiujiang, Nanjing and Shanghai to appeal for assistance and to spread the word. Because the third school of Beijing University was besieged, we had to jump over the wall and leave Beijing in disguise. The Beijing Student Union issued a declaration which said, in summary, that an emergency situation had developed in foreign relations, that the national bandits had not been eliminated, that Japan had arrested Chinese students in that country, that the government not only had not protested but had prohibited students from parading in demonstration and arrested and killed patriotic compatriots, that because of this the schools had gone on strike unanimously in protest, and that it was hoped that compatriots throughout the country would adopt unanimous action.

We carried out propaganda in Tianjin, Jinan and Nanjing and finally arrived in Shanghai. Student unions had already been founded in various places, and the Shanghai Student Union had long since been founded. On 21 May a rally was held at the Longhua Stadium to welcome and hear reports by the delegates from Beijing. A parade followed the reports. Furthermore, street unions were founded, with the Nanyang Commercial Vocational School as the headquarters of the unions. Student representatives from various places who came to Shanghai lodged and boarded at this school. Over 100 student representatives from various places came to Shanghai. Adding these to the students in Shanghai and the students who had returned from Japan meant that the number of people had increased, as had their power. At that time the major target of our opposition was only the Japanese warlords. We only dug up and smashed the signs placed on the beaches outside Shanghai which read, "Chinese people and dogs are not allowed," an insult to the Chinese people. At this point our meetings proposed slogans voicing such basic demands as: (1) Punish the traitors severely; (2) recover sovereignty in Shandong and Qingdao; (3) release the arrested students and apologize to them; and (4) restore the post of vice chancellorship of Beijing University to Cai Yuanpei.

## The Outbreak of the 3 June Movement

The Beijing warlord government continued to adopt stern suppressive measures against the students, and the students continued to persevere in their principled struggle. The movement intensified day after day. Amid an atmosphere of overwhelming common will, the students in Beijing decided that as of 3 June all the students who were sent out to give lectures would stand straight, speak aloud and struggle resolutely. The lecturers would stand in the through streets and give lectures in a grand manner. If the military police came to arrest them, they would let themselves be taken. If all the students on the first day were taken, then on the second day twice as many students would be sent forth. If the same thing happened on the second day, then again twice as many would be sent forth on the third day, until the total of some 25,000 students in Beijing and the broad masses of sympathetic civilians had all been arrested. Between 1 and 3 June, 2,000 to 3,000 students were arrested in Beijing. Because the prisons could not hold them all, the third school of Beijing University was even converted into a temporary prison to detain students. On the 4th, twice as many students as the number arrested went forth. The military police therefore launched arrests on an even larger scale. Over 7,000 people were arrested that day. Even the third school of Beijing University could not hold them all. So the school of sciences in Beijing University had to be converted into a temporary prison where students were to be locked up. The news of large-scale arrests of students in Beijing spread rapidly throughout the country. Students in Tianjin were the first to respond; then students in Nanjing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Fujian and Guangdong and Guangxi all responded one after another. On 3 June the various circles in Shanghai held a mass rally calling for nationwide strikes and citywide strikes in support of the students. The Shanghai water supply company also launched a strike, and the whole city was without water. In this manner the May 4th Movement expanded from one of young intellectuals to a countrywide revolutionary movement with the participation of industrial and commercial circles and of all civilians. On 5 June the Beijing warlord government received the news of the city strike and the water supply company's strike in Shanghai. In the face of strong protests from various circles throughout the country, it had to change its policy, order the withdrawal of the military police who were in charge of arresting the students and release all the arrested students. At this time some students suggested the organization of a student government. After due consideration they realized that the views among the students were not yet unanimous and that bad consequences might ensue once they lost the sympathy of their supporters. Jian Zhaonan and his brother, national capitalists of the Nanyang tobacco company, donated 100,000 taels of silver to us to be used as operational funds, but we returned the money. Following that, the cotton yarn tycoon Wang Muou also gave us some 100,000 yuan, which we likewise returned. From this point on it was decided that the Student Union would not accept donations from anyone so as to remain uncorrupted.

## The Birth of the National Student Union

The strikes held in various large cities throughout the country finally made the Duan Qirui government realize the seriousness of the situation. On 10 June it was compelled to dismiss Cao, Zhang and Lu from office. Over 10,000 students from Beijing and Tianjin besieged the president's house, Hualrentang. Under the threat of the masses, Xu Shichang, who was then president of the Beijing government, was forced to go to Paris to order the Chinese delegates to the peace conference to refuse to sign the peace treaty. At the same time, Cai Yuanpei was restored to his position as vice chancellor of Beijing University. But the students were not satisfied with the concessions the northern warlord government had made. They further demanded that Duan Qirui resign and apologize to the students throughout the country. Shanghai by this time had become the political center of the country. On 16 June it was tentatively planned that a rally to mark the founding of the National Student Union would be held at the Universal Student Union. Later, because Zhu Shaoping, responsible person of the Universal Student Union, said this would be inconvenient, we changed our plan and convened the rally in the hall of Dongya Restaurant of the Xianshi Company in Shanghai. Attending the rally were several hundred people, including student representatives of some 30 units and guests, such as Huang Yanpei, from various circles. The executive members, arbitration members and an editorial committee for the daily journal were elected. Thus, the National Student Union came into existence. Mr Sun Yat-sen, who had been invited, did not appear on this day. He was therefore scheduled to give a talk the following day at the Universal Student Union. In early September the various schools in Beijing began classes, and Vice Chancellor Cai Yuanpei of Beijing University also promised to return to the school to resume his duties. The National Student Union elected a seven-man administrative council. The council was located in Shanghai and was responsible for implementing the affairs of the student union. On 20 September we returned to Beijing, after having been away some 4 months. Thus, this resounding May 4th Movement finally concluded. But the curtains were then raised for the prologue of the new democratic revolution.

## The Majority of Youths Embrace the October Revolution

Although the resounding May 4th Movement manifested the heightening of the people's political consciousness and dealt a severe blow to the treacherous pro-Japan Anfu authority, the entire political situation of China was still enveloped by dark forces. The northern warlord clique was still the core of the reactionary Beijing government, and the people were still trapped in the abyss of suffering. What was to be done about such a society? The question of "where China should be heading" was brought before every patriotic youth. The majority of youths embraced Russia's October Revolution. They realized that in solving China's problem it was necessary to undergo the socialist revolution, for only socialism could save China. At this time some people in Beijing

University had organized socialist study groups. I also attended one of these group meetings before I went abroad. Later, in Beijing and Shanghai, Marxist study groups were established one after another. At first Marxism was purely academic in nature. But when it became integrated with the revolutionary practice of the time, Marxism rapidly developed into a program for action. Later, when integrated with the Chinese workers movement, it developed into the proletarian political party. The May 4th Movement was a movement initiated by progressive students. The slogan proposed in the May 4th Movement for building China was "science and democracy." We wanted to build a scientific new China, but more than that we wanted to build a democratic new China. In the upsurge to pursue progressive thinking, Marxism spread among the people; the practice of the mass movement also opened people's eyes day by day. In this situation, many believers in Marxism emerged, and a large group of petty bourgeois intellectuals was aroused.

With the conclusion of the May 4th Movement, the awakened individuals were divided into two groups. One group included people like Comrades Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Yun Daiying and Deng Zhongxia, who continued to carry out revolution at home. They were all progressive elements who persevered in staying at home and studying the Marxist thinking penetratingly. The other group included a large group of patriotic youths who embraced revolutionary thinking. They went separately to France, Germany and Belgium on the work-study program, whereby they could further seek revolutionary truth, study Marxism and research and learn the experiences of the proletarian struggles in Europe. Among them were Comrade Zhou Enlai, whom the people esteemed and loved most highly, and Comrades Zhao Shiyan, Xiang Jingyu and Chen Yi. Many comrades later also went to study in the Soviet Union.

Today is the 60th anniversary of the May 4th Movement. In these 60 years, Beijing, the cradle of the May 4th Movement, has become the capital of the great People's Republic of China. Our socialist motherland has become the giant of the Orient and has stood in the forest of the world nations. This cannot be separated from the great historical achievements of the May 4th Movement. The May 4th Movement held aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism and proposed the slogan of science and democracy. In particular, from it sprang the Marxist movement, which continued to shine with revolutionary splendor. To commemorate the date now is still of great significance.

The defense and counterattack by our country this time have dealt a severe blow to the enemies, aroused the party, the army and the people, and inspired the will for struggle of the people of our nation. This defense and counterattack have shown that our army has still maintained its fine qualities. Like Dong Cunrui and Huang Jiguang, heroic figures such as Li Chengwen have emerged from the struggle and are good examples for our youths today to emulate. Once again the Chinese People's Liberation Army has proved that it is deservedly a faithful, courageous and



combative people's army and deservedly a great iron wall in defending our modern socialist construction. In the days of the May 4th Movement, the industrial, academic and commercial circles united closely to fight a common enemy. With the spirit of unity in combat, they resolutely struggled against Japanese imperialism and attained victory. Today, one basic reason why we can in such a short time destroy the obstinate enemy and blow bugles of triumph is that the people up and down the nation are united. The experience of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle in the 60 years since the May 4th Movement proves that unity is strength and unity is victory. The safety of the nation and the happiness of the people hinge on this. We must further strengthen unity and develop the state of stability and unity. At the same time we must, from first to last, maintain high vigilance and be prepared to drive away any enemy.

Let us unite closely around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. With the same heart and the same morality, and under the four basic principles of persevering in the socialist road, persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat, persevering in the party leadership and persevering in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must advance courageously toward the great victory of realizing the four modernizations in the Chinese manner!

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## THE DEMOCRATIC AND SCIENTIFIC TRENDS OF THOUGHT DURING THE 'MAY 4TH' PERIOD

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[Article by Hou Wailu [0186 1120 1687]]

[Text] The May 4th Movement was a great revolutionary movement of epoch-making significance in the contemporary history of China. Its outstanding historical significance is to be seen in a feature which was absent from the 1911 Revolution, namely, its thorough and uncompromising opposition to imperialism and feudalism, which marked the beginning of the new democratization.

The May 4th Movement was also an extensive and intensive movement of ideological liberation unparalleled in the contemporary history of our country. If we say that the ideological feature of the 1889 Reform Movement was a demand for constitutional monarchy, while that of the 1911 Revolution was a demand for the replacement of a feudal system of monarchy by a republic, then the special features of the ideological liberation movement of the "May 4th" period was to show what democracy and science really are, to criticize old ideas, old ethics and old culture which no longer corresponded to the requirements of the age, and to create new ideas, new ethics and a new culture. These new ideas of democracy and science, like a violent storm, engulfed the entire sphere of ideology and learning in China. They encouraged people to break the fetters of old ideas and to actively plunge into the democratic revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

### I

What is democracy? What is science?

The term "democracy" was transliterated as "de-mo-ke-la-shi" during the "May 4th" period. The concept of democracy, like the concept of people, has had different contents in different ages. There have been many forms of democratic system in history, such as the military democracy as a transition from the primitive to the class society, the democratic system of slaveowners in the city-states of ancient Greece, the democracy of

autonomy by urban residents in the medieval age, the contemporary bourgeois democracy and the present socialist democracy of the proletariat.

Democracy belongs to the political sphere and is rooted in certain social and economic relations. Bourgeois democracy is a product of the relations of the exchange of bourgeois commodities. Its main theoretical basis was the theories of the social contract and innate human rights by Rousseau, a noted French Enlightenment thinker of the 18th century. Rousseau even considered his ideal democratic republic a government of "reason." Engels said: "The government of reason, Rousseau's 'Social Contract,' came into being, and could only come into being, as a bourgeois democratic republic."<sup>1</sup> Proletarian democracy stands opposed to bourgeois democracy, because the former is based on the substitution of the system of exploitation by an economic system of socialist public ownership. So far it is the broadest democracy for the people.

During the 1911 Revolution the Chinese revolutionary democrats attempted to materialize their ideal of a bourgeois democratic republic. Their democratic views had the character of the old democracy.

The special feature of democratic ideas at the time of "May 4th" was its aim to transform the old to the new democracy. Before the propagation of Marxism in China, the slogan of democracy was basically a revolutionary slogan of the old bourgeois democracy. After the propagation of Marxism, this slogan took on a new content and had the characteristics of new democracy.

The term "science" in the "May 4th" period was transliterated as "sai-en-shi." In Europe, along with the birth and development of capitalism, a revolution in natural science took place. This revolution began with the publication of Copernicus' "The Revolution of Heavenly Spheres." Before this, science had served only as a handmaiden of medieval theology. The publication of Copernicus' immortal work marked the beginning of the liberation of science from theology. After that, science gradually became a system independent of theology. From Copernicus, Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, Newton and down to Darwin, the revolution in the natural sciences took altogether three centuries. Since the natural sciences are themselves radically revolutionary, it is inevitable that they oppose theology in the process of development. Thus, the development of the natural sciences led to a struggle against theology. This not only provided a basis for the development of philosophy and materialism, but also served as the forerunner of political revolutions. When the bourgeoisie had successfully gained political power, the natural sciences again gave a strong impetus to the capitalist industrial revolution and to the development of the social productive forces.

Sciences in the "May 4th" period referred mainly to the contemporary natural sciences of the West. They included classical mechanics and other sciences newly discovered in the second half of the 19th century,

such as physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics and so forth. Among them, the most important were Darwin's Theory of Evolution and Einstein's Theory of Relativity. At that time, however, many people treated and defended Western bourgeois idealism and other sociopolitical doctrines as "sciences." In fact, true social sciences appeared in China only after the introduction of Marxism.

In contemporary China, democracy and feudal autocracy were opposed to each other, and sciences were antagonistic to feudalist superstition about idols and all other obscurant and backward ideas. Democracy and sciences were ideological weapons for people not only to oppose feudalism but also to express their demands and desires for modernization of their political life and ideological concepts. However, China was then a semi-colony and a victim of imperialist aggression. Under such historical conditions, the slogans of democracy and science implied a desire for national liberation, independence and prosperity, and in some way meant patriotism.

## II

The democratic and scientific trends of thought did not emerge by coincidence in the "May 4th" period. They were the products of political and economic relations in modern Chinese society and an inevitable outcome of the development of the Chinese democratic revolution.

First, in modern world history democracy and science were the products of capitalist development. In contemporary China they were related to the development of national capitalism. However, because of contemporary China's status as a semicolonial and semifeudal society, the birth of national capitalism came quite late. It was only in its infancy during the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, the bourgeoisie ascended the political stage, and the 1889 Reform Movement, led by Kang Yuwei, took place, followed by the democratic revolutionary movement led by Sun Zhongshan. They propagated the ideas of democracy and science of the Western bourgeois revolutionary age--the theory of evolution, the theory of gifted human rights and the political platform of bourgeois democratic countries.

During World War I, national capitalism in China for a time developed fairly rapidly. Therefore, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals felt an even more urgent need for democracy and science. Meanwhile, along with the development of capitalism, the Chinese proletariat began to expand. After "May 4th," the proletariat ascended the political stage and became the leading class in democratic revolution. The proletariat was in even more urgent need of democracy and science, so the upsurge of democratic and scientific trends of thought became inevitable.

Secondly, in contemporary China capitalist development was so slow that it not only was powerless to whip up a revolution in the natural sciences but also led to the failure of the 1911 democratic revolution. Despite its historical success in overthrowing the Qing dynasty, ending the monarchical system, and founding a republic, the fruits of the revolution soon fell into the hands of the big warlords and the big landlord and compradore classes represented by Yuan Shikai. As a result, feudal warlordism replaced feudal monarchy, and the so-called "republic" had only a signboard. People could not raise their voice and had no democratic rights. It was a "republic without people."<sup>2</sup> The people of the "May 4th" period learned a lesson from the failure of the 1911 Revolution and realized that "a republican government's duty should not be confined to overthrowing an emperor" and "to continuing to sell 'imperial' goods under a 'republic' signboard"; otherwise the revolution could never be a success.<sup>3</sup> They criticized the revolution for its "racial feelings" of overstressing "opposing Manchus" and its failure to propagate "democratic ideas," as a result of which the emperor's image could not be erased from the people's minds even though the emperor had actually abdicated. In their opinion, therefore, there should have been an intensive ideological and cultural revolution along with the political revolution. In fact, the ideas prevalent at the time of "May 4th" were a "supplementary lesson" for the 1911 Revolution as well as a development of the Chinese democratic revolution under historical conditions.

Thirdly, after the failure of the 1911 Revolution the reactionary forces at home and abroad made a joint onslaught on the revolutionary forces. After Yuan Shikai's suppression of Sun Zhongshan's "second revolution," China again entered a dark reactionary age. Following the establishment of the Hongxian monarchy of Yuan Shikai came the farce of restoration of the Qing dynasty with the support of Zhang Xun [1728 0534] and Kang Yuwei. At the same time, numerous reactionary organizations, including the Confucian societies and the spiritualist societies, emerged, all fanatically promoting a "back to the ancient" movement and spreading superstition about ghosts and spirits as an adverse ideological current against the revolution, democracy and science.

The democratic and scientific trends of thought of the "May 4th" period developed in their struggle with this adverse current. In 1915, when the careerist and traitor Yuan Shikai plotted the restoration of the monarchy and the reactionary forces were on their rampage, NEW YOUTH (originally named YOUTH MAGAZINE) appeared, with Chen Duxiu as its chief editor. Its inaugural announcement stressed the "equal importance of both science and human rights."<sup>4</sup> Taking up democracy and science as its weapon, NEW YOUTH violently attacked all the dark forces that opposed democracy and science and thus became the most powerful enlightener in the mental liberation movement. This greatly inspired the young people. They said: "Since we began reading NEW YOUTH we have gradually awakened and can see a beam of light in darkness."<sup>5</sup>

The development of democratic and scientific trends of thought terrified the reactionaries. They treated these new ideas as fierce monsters and subjected them to various forms of slander, derogations and attacks. They particularly attacked NEW YOUTH for destroying Confucianism, the codes of propriety, national quintessence, religion, the old government under the "rule of privileged persons" and so forth. These provocations from the reactionary forces made NEW YOUTH even more determined to uphold the distinctive banner of democracy and science. At the beginning of 1919 the article "A Rebuttal of the Charges Leveled at Our Journal" sternly pointed out: "The personnel of our journal are actually not guilty of any charge. Only their defense of Messrs De-mo-ka-la-shi (democracy) and Sai-en-shi (science) constitute 'monstrous crimes.' In defense of Mr De, we must necessarily oppose Confucianism, propriety, chastity, old ethics and old politics. In defense of Mr Sai, we must oppose old arts and old religions. In defense of both Messrs De and Sai, we must oppose old national quintessence and old literature." The article added: "In defense of Messrs De and Sai, foreigners have struggled for many years and shed much blood.... We are convinced that only these two gentlemen can rescue China from darkness--politically, morally, academically and ideologically. We cannot shirk our responsibility for the defense of these two gentlemen, even though we are persecuted by the government, attacked and ridiculed by society, or forced to sacrifice our lives."<sup>6</sup> This manifesto in defense of democracy and science was also a call to arms to attack feudalism and despotism. It vividly reflected the intensification of the new cultural movement and the fierce and dauntless spirit of the revolutionary democrats in their struggle with the old forces, old ideas and old culture during the "May 4th" period. As Lu Xun, the great cultural fighter, said, "With our increased experience, we no longer fear any restoration of the past or anything about national quintessence."<sup>7</sup> After that the names of Messrs De and Sai became well known and soon found their place deep in people's hearts.

### III

In the contemporary history of China, both during the 1889 Reform Movement and the 1911 Revolution, advanced Chinese people invariably propagated democratic and scientific ideas to a certain extent. However, they did not, or could not, hold high the banner of democracy and science then as the new cultural forces did later in the "May 4th" period. Therefore, the democratic and scientific trends of thought at the time of "May 4th" had some new advantages and new historical features.

The most striking feature of the new "May 4th" ideas is the appearance of the slogan "Down with the Confucian Shop" and the comprehensive, unprecedented and fierce repudiation of feudalist ideas and culture represented by Confucianism. Summing up the struggle on the contemporary ideological and cultural front, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that all imperialist culture embodying a slave ideology and all semifeudal culture with the worship of Confucius, the study of Confucian canons, the old

ethical code and the old ideas as its main substance "serve the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away."<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle was a continuation of the struggle between Western and Chinese learning and between the new and the old learning on the contemporary ideological and cultural front, and a real political struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

As we know, during the 1889 Reform Movement the reformists once raised the banner of Western learning to criticize the old literature. For instance, Yen Fu attacked Song and Han classics as being "impractical" and "useless." Tan Sitong attacked feudal "guidelines and constant virtues" and raised the slogan "Break through the dragnet." Yet they never dared to touch Confucius. Kang Yuwei, Tan Sitong and some others even attempted to found a new Confucian sect by following Martin Luther's style of religious revolution. During the 1911 Revolution the revolutionary democrats discarded the Confucian banner and promptly used Western democratic and scientific ideas to repudiate feudal royal rights, the feudal ethical code and feudal ideas and culture. Proceeding from their democratic and antiroyalist stand, they began with the negation of the idea that the traditional idol was "most sacred," and they exposed Confucius as the grand ancestor advocating "loyalty to the emperor" and "following ancient rites." They also exposed Confucianism as a mental tool "for the monarch to fool the people." These democrats were therefore a step ahead of the reformists. However, they themselves had been poisoned by the remnant feudal influence. While "opposing Manchus" they advocated the spirit of "national quintessence," and some of them even held that "the illustrious teaching on the constant ethical obligations" and "kindliness, righteousness, propriety and wisdom" were "our national soul." Thus, we can see that their repudiation of feudal ideas and culture was far from thorough, and this unfinished task had to be left to the May 4th Movement.

After the 1911 Revolution there was a close relationship between the conspiracy of feudalist reactionary forces to restore the monarchy and Confucian worship. Restoration required the help of Confucian worship, and Confucian worship required restoration as a goal. Both restoration and Confucian worship were in effect opposed to democratic revolution. In his article "The Backward Europe and the Advanced Asia" published in 1913, Lenin pointed out: "To strangle democracy in Asia, imperialism formed an alliance with all Chinese reactionary forces and the medieval forces."<sup>9</sup> Imperialism not only politically supported Yuan Shikai's restoration of the monarchy by trumpeting that "autocracy is the only form of government capable of providing a permanent policy to rule China"<sup>10</sup> and that "monarchy is more suitable than democracy in China,"<sup>11</sup> but also praised Confucianism to the skies and supported the remnants of feudalism in Confucian worship. "Shangxiantang" [1424 6343 1016], an imperialist organization for spiritual aggression, and Kang Yuwei's Confucian Society collaborated with each other. Gilbert Reid, leader of "Shangxiantang" declared: "Confucianism is concerned primarily with

loyalty, patriotism, respect for the authorities and obedience to laws... However, the revolution in the past 2 years (referring to the 1911 Revolution) was influenced purely by the American and European atmosphere and was not the outcome of Confucian essence."<sup>12</sup> Imperialism used Confucianism to oppose China's democratic revolution, and so Confucian worship became an important link in the alliance of imperialism and Chinese feudal culture. We can even say that the "Confucian Shop" in the early years of the republic was formed jointly by foreign and domestic reactionary forces.

During the "May 4th" period the revolutionary democrats were sensible enough to discover from their experience in struggle the relationship between the reactionary forces of restoration and Confucian worship. In his article "The Sage and the Emperor," Li Dazhao said: "I feel that there is some relationship between the Chinese sage and the emperor. Before the appearance of the Hongxian Emperor, there were Confucian worship and other sacrificial ceremonies. Then, following the arrival of the Sage of Nanhai and the Pigtail Marshal in Beijing, emperors returned to their thrones. Now some people are again desperately trying to work for the cause of the sage. I am now afraid. I am worried for the Chinese Republic!"<sup>13</sup> Chen Duxiu held that Confucian ideas of worshipping the monarch and his ethical code concerning people of different strata were "utterly incompatible" with contemporary republican and democratic theories, and that "upholding Confucianism necessarily means rejecting democracy" while "faith in democracy automatically rejects Confucianism." The reason was that "advocacy of Confucian worship will inevitably mean the installation of a monarch and 'back to the ancient.'" This was only "natural" and should be no surprise. Therefore, all Confucian societies and Confucian groups were called "restoration parties."<sup>14</sup> Although Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu were still unable to scientifically analyze the class essence of feudal ideas represented by Confucianism, they nevertheless proved one point: Feudal autocracy is opposed to democracy, so that people believing in democracy must reject Confucianism and oppose restoration.

Iconoclasm against Confucius was an important aspect of the "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle. Proceeding from the mutual intolerance of freedom and autocracy, Li Dazhao pointed out that Confucius was "an idol carved by monarchs of various dynasties." The monarchs "worshipped and offered sacrificial rites to him, respected him as a great teacher and exalted him as a sage." Thus Confucius "is no longer the name of a person but an idol to protect monarchy" and a "talismán for monarchs of all dynasties." Therefore, the destruction of this idol means "the rejection of the soul of monarchy." Based on his interpretation of the theory of evolution, Li Dazhao proceeded to show that "the Confucian way" was no longer applicable, and he added: "In looking for the amenities of a new life and in promoting new ethics, we should not hesitate to risk the charge of sacrilege."<sup>15</sup> Li Dazhao was a real champion of the "Down with the Confucian Shop" movement.



Advanced elements at the time of "May 4th" also advocated "freedom of thinking," opposed the deification of Confucius and repudiated feudal autocracy over culture. They said that for thousands of years in China people had regarded Confucius as a competent authority to decide right or wrong in view of the "highest esteem" for the Confucian way. Nobody dared express his own views or criticize Confucius lest he be "violating the canons and challenging the codes" and "committing a major crime of insubordination." "In fact, not every sentence uttered by ancient sages or philosophers can be true. Even though it might be true for a time, it cannot survive the changes of ages." They said: "Because of the prohibition of criticism, Confucian doctrines have been a kind of mental shackle."<sup>16</sup> These views are quite impressive. From them we can see that, according to the democratic and scientific trends of thought at the time of "May 4th," people had to repudiate the "Confucian Shop" in order to break the mental shackles and emancipate their minds.

The criticism of feudal ethical canons was another important aspect of the "Down with the Confucian Shop" movement. After the 1911 Revolution the feudal reactionary forces had to rely on Dong Zhongshu's [5518 0112 5289] reactionary philosophy, "The Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao changeth not," as a support for their Confucian worship and for restoration. They fanatically declared that "although the form of government may change, the basic principles must always remain the same," and they defended feudal ethical guidelines and constant virtues with great zeal. In view of this adverse current of Confucian worship and restoration, the revolutionary democrats of the "May 4th" period criticized the feudal ethical canons with unprecedented severity. The most outspoken criticism was contained in Lu Xun's story "A Madman's Diary," a militant summons to war against the "Confucian Shop." In this story he clearly showed that the history of Chinese feudal society in the past 2,000 years and more has actually been the history of "man-eating" by the feudal rulers, and that between the lines about "kindliness, righteousness and morality" are bloodstains of the people under their domination. This Chinese revolutionary literary creative work was like a javelin pointing at the heart of the old society and served as an effective means of mobilization and struggle. Inspired by "A Madman's Diary," Wu Yu [0702 5713] followed with an article, "The Ethical Canon of Man-Eating," in which he declared: "We do not live for either the monarch or the sage! ... We should understand now! Those who talk about ethical canons are cannibals! And only cannibals talk about ethical canons!"<sup>17</sup> Thus Lu Xun and Wu Yu whipped up an upsurge in the criticism of feudal ethical canons and in the "Down with the Confucian Shop" movement.

#### IV

The democratic fighters at the time of "May 4th" also launched a struggle between science and superstition simultaneously with the "Down with the Confucian Shop" movement. Democracy and science are interrelated, just as autocracy and superstition are inseparable from each other. Since the

"Confucian Shop" was the defender of feudal autocracy and the advocate of feudal superstition, Confucianism openly preached Heaven's will and ideas of ghosts and spirits, saying: "If people do not fear ghosts in the other world and do not respect propriety and discipline in this world, violence will run wild."<sup>18</sup> Later, spiritual societies considered it their duty to encourage superstition about ghosts and spirits and to oppose science. They babbled: "If talks about ghosts and spirits are not popularized, the state will quickly come to an end."<sup>19</sup> At the same time, imperialism took advantage of Christianity as a means of fostering the slavish idea of fear of "God." They attempted to fetter people's minds with superstition about ghosts and spirits and to preserve their domination over a semicolonial and semifeudal society. From this it can be seen that the struggle between science and superstition on the cultural front was, in the final analysis, a political struggle.

This struggle was prominently featured in the debates between the 'NEW YOUTH and the spiritualist school. The Spiritualist Society was different from the Confucian Society in that, aside from giving magical performances on platforms as a means of spreading superstition, the spiritualists also respected contemporary "science" as referred to in "Natural Science and the Spirit World,"<sup>20</sup> which was then popular in the Western world. In his article "The Theory of Ghosts Questioned," Chen Duxiu exposed their fallacy and said: "While science is flourishing today, scholars are still trying to prove through devious ways from European and American spiritualism that the existence of ghosts is beyond question. Thus books and articles have been published all talking about ghosts. They claimed to be able not only to see ghosts but also to take pictures of them to be shown to others."<sup>21</sup> He sternly denounced this deceptive propaganda as being counter to scientific principles.

Using the methods of natural science and formal logics, Chen Duxiu raised a series of questions on the theory of ghosts. On the other hand, the advocates of this theory used the methods of subjectivism and sophistry to allege the existence of ghosts "in a spiritual world" (that is, a supernatural agnostic world beyond us) which "can never be seen by us." They also dished out the Western theory of spiritualism and trumpeted about "supernatural logics which can never be scientifically explained."<sup>22</sup> The atheists at the time of "May 4th" applied the theories of natural science to expose the whole set of fallacies about the "spiritual power" of the spiritualists, saying: "There is not much difference between today's China and medieval Europe. Besides materialist monism, there is no effective cure."<sup>23</sup> Thereupon, they translated Haeckel's "Theory of Gods and Spirits" and used materialist monism in the natural sciences to refute the fantastic ideas of the spiritualists and all forms of superstition. What is noteworthy is that in opposing science and spreading superstition those believing in ghosts even attacked the "Critical Essays" of Wang Chong [3769 0339], a materialist of the East Han dynasty, because in these essays the author rejected the theory of the existence of ghosts. The atheists at the time of "May 4th" defended Wang Chong's materialism,

and this aspect of the controversy reflected a struggle between different philosophical groups.

However, in the absence of a revolution in natural science in contemporary China, there was a corresponding lack of materialism as a philosophical system. Although compared with their counterparts in the 1911 Revolution the atheists at the time of "May 4th" were more advanced in the natural sciences and philosophy, they all had a common weakness because of the lack of a highly comprehensive theoretical generalization. While upholding the ideas of democracy and science, the revolutionary democrats relied only on spontaneous materialism in the natural sciences in opposing superstition about ghosts and spirits and religious idealism. This resulted in many theoretical loopholes which allowed their ideological enemies to escape unharmed.

## V

The great achievement of democratic and scientific trends of thought at the time of "May 4th" lay not only in their opposition to feudal autocracy and religious superstition, but also, and more important still, their success in blazing a trail for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism. Influenced by the October Revolution in Russia led by Lenin, a large group of radical democrats represented by Li Dazhao welcomed Marxism-Leninism while acclaiming the Russian Revolution. In 1918 Comrade Li Dazhao published two articles in NEW YOUTH. These articles were entitled "A Triumph of the Citizens" and "The Victory of Bolshevism." In them the author pointed out that the Russian Revolution in 1917 was a prelude to a world revolution of the 20th century and that this current could only be met, not resisted. With full confidence he declared: "The Russian Revolution is but a falling leaf heralding the arrival of autumn in an alarmed world." "Try to see for yourself. Red flags will be planted all over the world!"<sup>24</sup> In May 1919, when Comrade Li Dazhao was chief editor of NEW YOUTH, a special section was added called "Marxist Study" in which Marx' life and doctrines were introduced. This whipped up a movement to study and propagate Marxist ideology. Translated works of Marx, Engels and Lenin also began to appear, and in this movement of study and propaganda a number of people embraced Marxism and became intellectuals with an initial communist world outlook. The notable ones among them were Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. This paved the way for the founding of the CCP in 1921 both in ideology and in the matter of cadres.

In his article "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," in which Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the historical experiences of the May 4th Movement and drew lessons from them, he said: "In its development the May 4th Movement divided into two currents. One section inherited its scientific and democratic spirit and transformed it on the basis of Marxism; this is what the communists and some nonparty Marxists did. Another section took the road of the bourgeoisie; this was the development of formalism

toward the right."<sup>25</sup> So this was how things stood. Marxism added new content to democracy and science. Democracy was no longer that formalistic democracy of the bourgeoisie but the proletarian democracy or the people's democracy based on the elimination of the exploiting system, or, as Li Dazhao said, the democracy of citizens and the laboring people. Sciences, except the natural sciences, were concerned mainly with social history. With the substitution of the Marxist theory of class struggle for the vulgar theory of evolution, and of the materialist conception of history for the idealist conception of history, genuine social sciences were born. In his article "My Conception of Marxism," Comrade Li Dazhao introduced the Marxist materialist conception of history, political economy and scientific socialism, and he pointed out that the doctrine of class struggle was "exactly like a golden thread fundamentally linking these three major theories."<sup>26</sup> Speaking of history, he said: "Only the appearance of the Marxist materialist conception of history has made it possible to raise history to the level of the natural sciences. This achievement actually marks a new era for history as a science."<sup>27</sup> These changes in the contents of democracy and science are one of the important signs of the transformation of the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution.

## VI

Sixty years have passed since the May 4th Movement. During these years the destiny of democracy and science has been closely linked with the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people. In the stage of the new democratic revolution in the first 30 years, a new scientific ideological system--Mao Zedong Thought--in which Marxism is integrated with the Chinese revolutionary practice, was born in the struggles under our party leadership with the three archenemies, namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. This system has become a fine tradition and good work style of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice, close relations with the masses, and criticism and self-criticism. This is a brilliant development of the "May 4th" spirit of democracy and science.

The 30 years since the founding of our country are a new period of socialist revolution and construction in our country. The founding of new China has brought about a fundamental change in the political standing of our people, and democracy and science have developed with unprecedented speed. However, because of the long feudal domination and the economic poverty and cultural backwardness of a semicolonial and semi-feudal society in the contemporary age, there is a serious lack of democratic tradition and scientific spirit. A tremendous liability has been left behind by old China. Therefore, at the present stage of socialism, further development is still a great task confronting us. We must say that without democracy and science there is no socialism.

If it is claimed that democracy and science were needed during the transition from feudalism to capitalism, then they are even more urgently needed for the transition from capitalism to socialism. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," by their perverted actions, betrayed the "May 4th" spirit and trampled on party tradition. With their feudal-fascist "overall dictatorship," they stifled socialist democracy and destroyed proletarian science through modern superstition. Since the struggle to smash Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people have become more aware than ever of the importance of democracy and science and the need to take some "supplementary lessons." Only through development of the people's democracy can we prevent careerists, conspirators and sham Marxist political swindlers like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" from usurping party and state power. Only thus can we supervise the personnel of the state machinery, overcome the evils of bureaucracy, prevent "people's servants" from degenerating into "people's masters" and consolidate our socialist state. Only by fully developing science can we wipe out blind faith, raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation, speedily develop the productive forces of a socialist society and lay a firm material foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we must further develop socialist democracy, perfect the legal system, enrich science and struggle for the accomplishment of the four modernizations.

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3. Gao Yihan, "Against Monarchs and Teachers," NEW YOUTH, Vol 5, No 6.
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5. Letter from "Xinshengshe" of Chonghua University, Wuchang, NEW YOUTH, Vol 6, No 3.
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7. "To Chien Xiantong" (5 July 1918), "Letters of Lu Xun," People's Literary Publishing House, 1976, p 17.
8. Mao Zedong, "On New Democracy," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," 1966 Combined Volumes, p 688.
9. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 450.
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17. "Quotations From Wu Yu's Works," Vol 1.
18. Chen Huanzhang, "Preface to the 'Confucian Society,'" "Confucian Society Magazine," Vol 1, No 1.
19. Reprinted from Chen Daqi's "'Spiritualism' Refuted," NEW YOUTH, Vol 4, No 5.
20. See Engels' "Dialectics of Nature."
21. NEW YOUTH, Vol 4, No 5.
22. Yi Yixian, "Reply to Mr Chen Duxiu's 'Theory of Ghosts Questioned,'" NEW YOUTH, Vol 5, No 2.
23. Liu Shuya's appendix to "Theory of Gods and Spirits," NEW YOUTH, Vol 6, No 2.
24. "Victory of Bolshevism," NEW YOUTH, Vol 5, No 5.
25. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" 1966 Combined Volumes, p 833.
26. NEW YOUTH, Vol 6, No 5.
27. "Marxist Philosophy of History," "Selected Works of Li Dazhao," p 294.

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## WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE SPIRIT OF THE 'MAY 4TH' LITERARY REVOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 64-72

[Article by Wang Yao [3768 3852]]

[Text] The "May 4th" literary revolution took place during the transition from the old democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie to the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat in China. As an important component of the "May 4th" new cultural movement, it had a widespread impact on the mental liberation of the broad masses and hastened the brewing of the patriotic movement in prepared conditions in the same period. Thanks to the May 4th Movement, the literary revolution found a popular base, and the new literature spread its influence throughout the country. Because of its positive and uncompromising opposition to imperialism and feudalism, this revolution became a powerful wing of the new democratic revolution by the Chinese proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement."<sup>1</sup> It was important simply because it was closely related to the Chinese people's revolution, decided the main ideological trend and the language form of literary works and indicated the direction for literary pursuits. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Because of the leadership of the proletariat, the politics, the economy and the culture of the new democracy all contain an element of socialism, and by no means a mere casual element but one with a decisive role."<sup>2</sup> The "decisive role" here refers mainly to the direction of progress. Although the new cultural movement of the "May 4th" period had a new democratic character, social practice has proved that the course of progress it indicated was toward socialism. Furthermore, since the beginning of the "May 4th" literary revolution this movement has been consistent with the character of the Chinese people's revolution, the demands of literature and the requirements of literary creation for reflecting real life and "reforming the society." (Lu Xun's words.) The "May 4th" literary revolution was born to fulfill this historical task.

In the preface to his "Self-selected Works," Lu Xun said: "I began writing novels in 1918 when NEW YOUTH was promoting the 'literary

revolution.' This movement has now become a historical relic in literature. However, at that time it was undoubtedly a revolutionary movement." "My works published in NEW YOUTH were generally 'in step' with those of others. Therefore, I think they were all revolutionary literature." In the 1930's, when Lu Xun recalled the "May 4th" literary revolution, he still held the view that it was a generally "in-step" revolutionary movement, because it brought about a closer relationship between our literature and the people and started our literature on its way to modernization. "At that time, this movement was lively, progressive and revolutionary."<sup>3</sup> Like all great historical events, this movement could not possibly be without its weakness and historical limitation. Yet, if we study it in the light of its dominant spirit, of the theories of the literary revolution and of the creative writing in practice, as well as the harmonious "steps" of the forerunners, we can see that this movement not only had a very distinctive revolutionary character but also can serve as a precious source of enlightenment. Its dominant spirit is still of great practical significance in enriching and developing our socialist literature.

#### Promotion of Vernacular Style and Opposition to the Classical Style of Writing

The "May 4th" literary revolution began with the promotion of the use of the vernacular language. At that time it was a great movement which produced a severe repercussion. Some Chinese classics, such as "Water Margin," the "Dream of the Red Chamber" and "The Scholars," were written in the vernacular style. In the late Qing dynasty some bourgeois reformists also advocated the vernacular style and published many journals or books in the vernacular language. Why did not this movement cause such a social repercussion as the "May 4th" literary revolution did? The reason is that, before this revolution, social opinion and the advocates themselves merely regarded the vernacular language as a popular educational method to "enlighten people," and publications in the vernacular language were intended only for readers who did not have much educational background. Therefore, Lin Shu [2651 4782], an opponent of the literary revolution, slandered the vernacular language as being only the "language of rickshaw pullers and peddlers," and at the same time he bragged that way back in the late Qing dynasty he had already "expressed his feelings in plain language" in BAIHUA RIBAO.<sup>4</sup> However, the literary revolution not only advocated it but also favored "the use of vernacular style as the medium of orthodox literature."<sup>5</sup> This meant, in effect, the positive rejection of the classical style and its complete replacement by the vernacular style. The advocates' attitude was distinctive and firm, because they held that "since the issue of right or wrong is quite clear, no room should be left for discussion with the opponents."<sup>6</sup> This was a sharp thrust at the strong shield on which feudal culture relied for protection, and it certainly caused a serious repercussion. In creative writing, adherents of the literary revolution first used the vernacular language for writing poems, and these writers were the backbone elements



of NEW YOUTH, including Li Dazhao and Lu Hsun. These poems were intended to serve as a battleground of the literary revolution and to prove through practice that the vernacular language could be used in any form of literature. They contended that, in addition to novels and articles, this language could be used for poems and essays, which, according to the old literature, were highly valued as a means of depicting human emotions and scenery. The writers had to prove this point if the vernacular language were to occupy the field of orthodox literature and to overthrow, or completely replace, the classical style. Thus, Lu Xun said that he wrote new poems because he wanted "to beat the drums to break the silence in the field of poetry."<sup>7</sup> He also said that the appearance of "beautiful and concise" essays at the time of "May 4th" "was a demonstration against the old literature and a proof that the vernacular style can accomplish whatever the old literature claimed as its specialty."<sup>8</sup> During the "May 4th" period there was a debate on the question of whether poetry belonged to the "aristocrats" or to the "common people," as well as a discussion on whether "beautiful works" could be produced in the vernacular style. This shows that the vernacular language at that time was used only as a means of explanation, storytelling, or, in fact, a popular means of propaganda. This much was generally affirmed. However, many people doubted its value as a powerful literary language for artistic expression. Unless this obstacle was removed, it would be impossible to overthrow the classical language and very difficult for the vernacular language to gain a foothold in the orthodox literary field. This could only be done through achievements in literary creation, and Lu Xun regarded his stories, like "A Madman's Diary," as the "real fruits" of the literary revolution.<sup>9</sup> Creative works after "May 4th" served to prove that the vernacular language was a literary language and a powerful medium in depicting people's real life as well as their ideas and sentiments. Thus, the basis of the opponents' argument was destroyed, the doubts of some people removed, and the replacement of the classical language by the vernacular language in the field of orthodox literature confirmed. This resulted in the accessibility of literature to many more readers and a closer relationship between literature and the masses.

Why should "vernacular language be the medium of orthodox literature"? This was decided by the revolutionary character of the Chinese people and their demand on literature. After the "May 4th" literary revolution, the main concern of modern Chinese literature was with the way to serve the people more effectively and fruitfully, or to bring about a closer relationship between literature and the people. Comrade Mao Zedong's use of "popularity" as one of the special features of the new democratic culture precisely indicated the people's basic demand on literature. All events, from the promotion of the vernacular language as an important task in inaugurating a new literature to the questions of a popular language and popular literature raised by the leftwing in the revolutionary movement of literature and art, the discussion on the national form in popular literary and artistic creation during the early

stage of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, and, finally, Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching that literature and art should be oriented toward the workers, peasants and soldiers, were actually a continuous process of historical development. This was a question of the relationship between literature and its readers. Yet no matter how history has developed and how the importance of this question has varied, it still deserves the great attention of literary workers today. Our criticism of Hu Shi's subjective idealism and literary formalism in the past was entirely necessary. However, this should be no reason to ignore, or underestimate, the revolutionary significance of the promotion of the vernacular language during the "May 4th" period. The "May 4th" literary revolution was a great historical movement. Far from being the outcome of any individual's will, its appearance was closely connected with the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles. We certainly cannot share the view that promotion of the vernacular language was the entire, or the main, content of the "May 4th" literary revolution, as trumpeted by Hu Shi. However, the dominant spirit behind the promotion of the vernacular and rejection of the classical language as an important aspect of the "May 4th" literary revolution should, after all, be fully appreciated and correctly evaluated.

#### Facing Realities Squarely Encouraged; Concealing and Deceiving Opposed

Lu Xun generalized the old literature as the "literature of concealing and deceiving," and he demanded that in dealing with the "human, or at least the social, phenomena," new literature and art should adopt the attitude of "facing realities squarely."<sup>10</sup> In fact, he was revealing the main essence of revolutionary realism in "May 4th" literature. At that time many in-depth arguments against the old literature could be summarized as opposing "concealing and deceiving." The critics pointed out that the old literature was divorced from the realities of life, attempted to conceal social contradictions and used figments of the imagination to embellish reality. This kind of literature could not make any positive contribution to society, aside from "deceiving themselves as well as others," as Lu Xun put it. Chen Duxiu said: "Its substance cannot be anything beyond emperors, kings, aristocrats, spirits, monsters and the author's own merits. The universe, the experience of human lives, or the society were something "beyond their imagination."<sup>11</sup> Liu Pannung [0491 0584 6593] attacked old novels as "invariably beginning with 'So-and-so was brought up in such-and-such a place' and concluding with scenes of 'reunion of husbands and wives,' 'wives and concubines receiving royal favors,' and 'the sun rising in the sky,' or with the remarks 'nobody knew how it ended.'"<sup>12</sup> According to Shen Yenbing's [3088 7159 0593] generalization, the special feature of the old literature was that it "hates reality but talks about mysterious things and favors compromises in all problems" and has "the defects of being unnatural in pretending to cry or laugh."<sup>13</sup> The main target of their criticism was, of course, its feudal ideological content but they also pointed out that the old literature's method of creation was a

violation of the principle that literature must truthfully reflect social life. In other words, old literature basically opposed realism. Two main currents of literary thought were strongly criticized during the "May 4th" period. One of them was the theory that "literature is meant to convey the way of sages" which upheld feudal ideology; the other was the conception of creative writing which treated "literature as a form of entertainment in moments of pleasure and a form of diversion in moments of depression." Both of them belonged to the category of "concealing and deceiving" and had harmful effects on the readers. On the other hand, the new literature reflected social realities from the very start and strived to promote social progress as the goal. Lu Xun said that when he began to write stories he "only wanted to improve the society through their influence." Therefore, the materials for his stories were "drawn mainly from among the unfortunate people in a sick society. The idea was to reveal their suffering and draw attention to the need for relief."<sup>14</sup> Shen Yenbing said: "In the past few years the new literary movement invariably has attacked falsehood and endeavored to seek truth. This has now become a universally recognized feature." "Realism in the new literature calls for meticulous care in the choice of materials and for truthfulness in portrayal."<sup>15</sup> Many progressive writers at that time were generally striving for the goal of being truthful to reality. Since they were living in a new age of the people's revolution, they naturally had an ardent desire to reform the society. Therefore, they wanted to depict what they were familiar with, or had personally experienced, in realistic terms in the hope that the readers would share their feelings and help promote social progress. To accomplish this the writers must stand at the forefront of the age, emancipate their minds, face realities squarely, and be courageous in exposing social contradictions and expressing their feelings for or against them. This has been the main traditional spirit of revolutionary realism, with Lu Xun as its outstanding champion, since the beginning of the "May 4th" literary revolution. This spirit had a typical character which was widely recognized at the time of "May 4th." There might be differences or discrepancies among different literary groups, different writers or their different works. Yet the general tendency was that the spirit of the age was prevalent in the literary sphere. In creation, for example, the Society for Literary Studies took the attitude that "the literature of blood and tears" should be promoted, and "writers should note the call of the age, be sensitive to social suffering and write accordingly."<sup>16</sup> Shen Yenbing held that "literature depicting social life is genuine literature and the kind of literature related to mankind. In victimized countries it is even more necessary to note the social background." He demanded that "attention be paid to social problems and sympathy be shown to 'victims of injury and humiliation.'"<sup>17</sup> Even the Creation Society, which advocated romanticism stressed the need to discard ugly realities in the search for a beautiful ideal and to face realities squarely, considering that need as a starting point. It held that "the mission of the new literature is to provide spiritual food for the newly awakened nations so that it may serve a great cause. It is right to work

with great sentiments but wrong to work from a mean and selfish motive."<sup>18</sup> "Great sentiments," in Guo Moro's words, "mean not contentment with what we already have but the quest for new expressions of new life by breaking down our inherited conventions."<sup>19</sup> Because of the conditions of the new age, according to Comrade Mao Zedong's analysis, the revolutionary intellectuals had "already entertained a new hope for China's national liberation."<sup>20</sup> So, as shown in literary creation, there was a strong desire for brightness and reform, as well as the spirit to strive for them. Even though some literary works described the seamy side, they generally did not portray objective realities or pessimistic appeals. This was the main feature of "May 4th" revolutionary realism, although it might have included some element of romanticism according to the preferences of different schools of writers. Ye Shaojun [5509 4801 6874], a famous author of that time, said: "The present writers' conception of life is way above the horizon, and their works can be said to have a general tendency, that is, the tendency to resist dark realities. This is seen mostly in their portrayal of family distress, social tragedy and war disasters with strong disapproval."<sup>21</sup> Therefore, as far as the spirit to face reality squarely and to oppose concealing and deceiving is concerned, all progressive new writers had a basically identical tendency.

While criticizing the "concealing and deceiving" type of literature in his article "Open Our Eyes and See," Lu Xun pointed out the harm which "leads Chinese people into a quagmire without their even knowing it." Therefore, he demanded that "all traditional ideas and methods be broken down" and that realities be faced squarely. This precisely reflected the historical demands by the new democratic revolution. "A Madman's Diary," the first "fruit" of the literary revolution, not only for the first time described the history of a feudal society as the history of "cannibalism," but also questioned, "Is it right because it has been so all along?" This embodied the characteristic of the age which unequivocally opposed feudalism, as well as the spirit of the "May 4th" literary revolution. Thus, speaking of literary creation in general, although the social aspect reflected was rather narrow, and defects of one kind or another existed, we can still see from their general trend that these literary works were quite firm and thorough in exposing and opposing dark realities and had a keen desire for progress. This basically set right the relations between literature and art on the one hand and life experiences and the people's revolution on the other. In 1923 Yun Daiying [1926 0108 5391] demanded that the new literature "be able to arouse the national spirit to serve the cause of national independence and revolutionary movement,"<sup>22</sup> thus showing the need for literature to play a social role in the cause of the people's revolution. On the interrelationship between literature and this "national spirit," Lu Xun offered this interpretation: "Literature is a light produced by the national spirit and at the same time a beacon for the future course of the national spirit."<sup>23</sup> This means that the people's spirit of active participation in the cause of "national independence and democratic revolution" is a

necessary condition for the birth of new literature, and, at the same time, new literature leads this national spirit onto a bright future course. Although their statements were not quite scientific or accurate, they nevertheless showed that the trail blazed by the "May 4th" literary revolution would lead to socialism. Therefore, Lu Xun appealed loudly: "Since the world is changing day by day, it is now time for us to drop our masks and seriously, profoundly and boldly observe life and write about the flesh and blood. There should have been a brandnew literary world and a few powerful pathbreakers!"<sup>24</sup>

#### Promotion of Creativity Advocated; Imitation Opposed

Literary work is a creative labor and is valued because of the new ideas it embodies. Therefore, the "May 4th" literary revolution particularly stressed the importance of innovation. Imitation was one of the important features of the old literature at that time. At the very beginning of the "May 4th" literary revolution, the "Black Sheep of Tongcheng School" and the "Demon of Wenxuan School" became the targets. The attack was not actually directed against the eight schools of the Tang and Song dynasties or against the book "Anthology" itself, but rather at the old-style men of letters who at that time specialized in imitation. In writing classics they followed the "Wenxuan style" or the style of Tang and Song; in writing poems they also imitated the poems of the same dynasties. After all, imitation was their line. Lin Shu, Chen Sanli, Yi Xunding, Fan Zhengxiang, all famous personages, were warmly praised in "a letter to the editor of NEW YOUTH" signed by Wang Jingxuan, but they were considered by NEW YOUTH as "hopelessly absurd" representatives of the old literature. Chen Duxiu attacked their works as "deliberate imitation" and "groaning when not really in pain." He said: "After long prattling they could not make themselves understood. These authors have neither creative talent nor any original idea. Their only skill is to deceive people by imitating ancient literature. Not a single word from them deserves to be preserved."<sup>25</sup> Liu Bannung even appealed: "If we want to lay the foundation of a new literature, we must first wipe out blind faith in the old literary form," because "if we do not think of ourselves, but only follow the ancient people, we will be the offspring of ancients. If we follow the contemporaries, we are contemporary slaves."<sup>26</sup> From this we can see that the dominant spirit of the literary revolution also was to oppose imitation and promote creative work from the very beginning.

Lu Xun felt that his stories could be the "fruits of the 'literary revolution' only because their 'depth of expression and unique form' could somehow stir the readers' feelings."<sup>27</sup> In other words, these works embodied the spirit of "creation." Actually, creation as a name for literary work was used only after the "May 4th" literary revolution. (Previously, it was customary to call it "composition" or "chanting of poems" and so forth.) Although this was certainly due to foreign influence, it nevertheless embodied the spirit of creation of the age. In

1923 Shen Yenbing said in his article "After Reading 'Call to Arms'": "In China's new literary world, Mr Lu Xun was always in the van in creating 'new forms.' All the 10 and more stories in 'Call to Arms' have new forms of their own, and these new forms invariably produced profound effects on young writers." These creative efforts laid the cornerstone of the new literature, produced widespread effects and embodied the spirit and demands of the literary revolution. Since NEW YOUTH was an all-purpose journal intended mainly for discussion of issues, it did not carry many articles. When the SHORT STORY MONTHLY was reorganized after the founding of the Society for Literary Studies, it included a new section specially intended for promoting literary creation. Besides organizing discussions, it also carried many articles on creative writing. Another very influential literary group, the Creation Society, gave even more prominence to the significance of creative writing in its journal CREATION. In the first issue of CREATION QUARTERLY, Guo Moro, using the pen name "Creator," wrote a warm eulogy to creative writing in which he earnestly hoped that "there will be a flash of light in the dark world." So creation came to have a dual meaning: First, as expected, it demanded innovation "from ideological content to form" and exploration as a contribution to the new literature; at the same time it demanded that the new literature encourage the overthrowing of the old and creation of a new world. Therefore, innovation not only concerned artistic expression in literary works but also provided a method of studying problems through the social aspect of literature.

With the increase in literary works, the problem of imitation cropped up again. This was particularly noticeable in the imitation of foreign works as a common phenomenon. The appearance of foreign stereotypes at a time when ancient stereotypes were being opposed certainly violated the spirit of creation and had to be opposed. Criticizing short stories at that time for "lacking vitality and originality," Shen Yenbing said: "The trouble is that people took up their pens to write stories immediately after reading the translated or original works. This is pure imitation instead of independent creation."<sup>28</sup> Lu Xun also pointed out that "even the better ones among the creative works cannot help chiseling something from the technique and spirit of foreign works. The phraseology used may be beautiful, but the ideas embodied are far behind those in translated works."<sup>29</sup> This shows that the dominant spirit behind the "May 4th" literary revolution had all along advocated independent creation and opposed imitation, no matter whether the writers imitated Chinese or foreign works. At that time Wen Yiduo [5113 0001 1122] insisted that writers should have "creative power" so that their works "will not resemble either old Chinese or current foreign artistic works. Only these are the real new artistic forms we have been praying for."<sup>30</sup> The imitation of foreign works in fact was not promoted by anybody, but rather grew out of the writers' limited experience of life. Consequently, they suffered from a lack of inspiration, and their creativity was checked. Those engaged in creative works then were mostly intellectual youths.

Their social experience and daily life inspiration were by no means rich, and they had similar backgrounds. That was why their insight into life and ability to reflect life were adversely affected. At that time Shen Yenbing pointed out that creative work "requires a certain amount of life experience." "If a person is confined in a small room, reads stories day and night and is guided by what he has read, he cannot produce any good work even though he may be a genius."<sup>31</sup> Criticizing the works of the Misa [1736 3155] Society, Lu Xun said: "All these literary works show great efforts in striving for excellence, as can be seen from the scenes of 'elegant dancing and sweet singing.' But the impression produced is confined within a small circle, and as a result the reader can only feel the mild pains or pleasures immediately around him. Yet these scenes of mild pains and pleasures are regarded as a picture of the entire world."<sup>32</sup> This clearly pointed out the common defects in literary works of the "May 4th" period. Many writers at that time had a genuine desire for artistic excellence in order to help found a new literature. The reason they committed the mistake of imitation, aside from their own artistic cultivation, was their limited life experience and knowledge. Their imitation was, however, basically different from that of the old literature, which as a rule preferred whatever was ancient. To improve the quality of creation, many writers have made great efforts to improve not only their skill of expression but also their ideology and knowledge. They have succeeded in varying degrees in these respects and helped to promote the development of new literature. Therefore, the spirit behind the promotion of creativity, the opposition to imitation and the development of this spirit since the "May 4th" literary revolution were inspirations for writers to explore and observe people's life experience as the only source of literary creation.

#### Encourage the Spirit of Criticism and Oppose Eclecticism and Reconciliation

The "May 4th" literary revolution was also a distinctive ideological revolution. It not only firmly opposed the old literature but also, with literature as a weapon, strongly resisted all feudal culture and ideas with an uncompromising attitude toward antiquities. Lu Xun used his essays as a unique form of criticism which was thoroughgoing and comprehensive, and this was how he became the "commander in chief of the Chinese cultural revolution." The results of his militancy fully testified to the spirit of criticism during the "May 4th" literary revolution. Lin Shu considered "the rejection of Confucius and Mencius and the destruction of ethics and constant virtues" as the major crimes committed by NEW YOUTH.<sup>33</sup> "Confucius and Mencius" and the "ethics and constant virtues" were regarded as sacred and inviolable. Yet, "Down with the Confucian Shop" was an inspiring slogan during the "May 4th" period. Lu Xun wrote many essays criticizing "the disciples of sages." The "three cardinal guides" included in the "ethics and constant virtues" referred to royal rights, paternal rights and the husband's rights. Since the emperor had already been dethroned in the 1911 Revolution,

Lu Xun wrote two long articles, "My Views on Chastity" and "What Is Required of Us as Fathers," directly dealing with the questions of the husband's and the father's rights. The "Miscellaneous Thoughts" contained in "Hot Air" was first published in the "Rambling Thoughts" Section of NEW YOUTH. This section began in April 1918 as a new feature specially intended for short articles of a critical nature. The writers for this section were then all backbone elements of NEW YOUTH, and the scope of criticism included social and literary topics. In Lu Xun's words, "civilized criticism" and "social criticism" were stressed.<sup>34</sup> The dominant spirit behind the criticism can be summarized in Lu Xun's later remarks on the character of the "Thread-of-Talk" Society, namely, "Talk freely and have no hesitation. To hasten the growth of the new, it is necessary to vigorously attack the old which is harmful to this growth."<sup>35</sup> This special feature of the "Thread-of-Talk" Society embodied the continued firmness of the "May 4th" spirit of criticism. Lu Xun's miscellaneous essays were convincing proof of this militant tradition and its social role.

To serve the literary revolution, Qien Xiantong [6926 3763 0681], who was praised by Lu Xun for having fought a "hard battle," and Liu Bannung [0491 0584 6593], who answered the "faked letter" written under the pseudonym of Wang Jingxuan,<sup>36</sup> identified the principal opponents of the literary revolution and their theories and subjected them to strong criticism, thus clearing the way for the revolution's progress. Despite the serious persecution suffered as a result of their outcries, which broke the general silence, the vanguard did not lose heart. Even today, the documents about them are still a source of great inspiration. The "Black Sheep of Tongcheng School" and the "Demon of Wenxuan School" were the first targets of their attack, which was also aimed at the theses of Lin Shu and the other scholars of the old schools. However, as in the progress of all revolutionary movements, some views favoring eclecticism and reconciliation appeared at a time when both sides were sharply opposed to each other. Some people said: "Since we plan to use the vernacular language as the medium of orthodox literature, we are talking about a reform and should follow this direction. However, if we use the vernacular style as a substitute for all other styles, the demand, in my opinion, may be excessive and may alienate us from the people. Since haste means less speed, it would be better to go slowly... Therefore, we should, on the one hand, be prompt in improving academic subjects on morality and, on the other hand, go along with the present current by using words which are simple and easy to understand, but not necessarily the colloquial language. Then we can be sure of a suitable national language in future."<sup>37</sup> NEW YOUTH published a few similar articles favoring the idea of compromise which outwardly seemed to support, though actually opposed, the use of the vernacular language. The attitude of the supporters of new literature, however, was that "what we advocate must be considered absolutely right and should permit no revision."<sup>38</sup> They were firmly opposed to eclecticism and reconciliation.



In fact, this form of submissive reconciliation was impracticable, as had already been proved by the experience of the literary reform movement during the old democratic revolution. The "revolution in poetry" launched by Xia Cengyu [1115 2585 0147] and Tan Sitong [6223 0843 0681] meant only the addition of some new terms to old poetry. Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] proposed "giving new substance to the old style."<sup>39</sup> In effect, they all meant learning from the ancients. As a result, they were all defeated by the old poets of the "Tongzhi-Guangxu" School. Furthermore, Liang Qichao's miscellaneous essays of the "New People" style and his new dramas of the "New Roman legendary type," "written with a pen of emotion," all died an early death, along with the denunciatory stories of the "Group Rule" School, which enjoyed a brief popularity in the late Qing dynasty. At the time of the "May 4th" literary revolution, "denunciatory stories" degenerated into stories about the seamy side of the "Male and Female Butterfly" School, and the new dramas became "Civilized Dramas" with a comedic character. Poems of the "Tongcheng" School still dominated as imitations of the ancient. Because of the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the fact that these reformists themselves maintained close contact with feudal culture, they were afraid to see any direct confrontation between antiquities and their reformist proposals and hence dared not be critical. On the contrary, they tried to seek some common ground with them and then resorted to the methods of eclecticism or reconciliation. This bourgeois literary reform movement was exactly as Comrade Mao Zedong described it: "It was only able to last a few rounds" and then "lowered its banners, muffled its drums and beat a retreat, retaining its outer form but losing its soul."<sup>40</sup> "May 4th" marked the beginning of a new revolutionary epoch, and the literary revolution launched the struggle of this epoch with a thoroughgoing antifeudal and critical spirit which permitted no eclecticism or reconciliation with the old forces.

Besides continuing its attacks on the "Critical Review" Group and the "Tiger Group"--feudalist groups which opposed the new literature--the "May 4th" literary revolution, in the course of development, also criticized the "Male and Female Butterflies" Group represented by the journal SATURDAY. SATURDAY also used the vernacular language for its stories and sometimes for poems of the burlesque type. But the contents were vulgar and catered to the taste of the leisure class. It was liked by those living in a corrupt social atmosphere of semicolonial cities and leading dissolute lives. Therefore, besides criticizing burlesque literature and stressing literature's social role, the literary revolution also repudiated the unhealthy social phenomena and ways of living. Thus, Zheng Zhenduo [6774 2182 6995] condemned these writers as "literary prostitutes," saying that "people regarding burlesque writing as literature are insulting not only literature but also themselves."<sup>41</sup> Shen Yenbing said: "After all, we must take a more serious view of life... It is a pity that there are so many abnormal people, and the writers of SATURDAY are their prophets."<sup>42</sup> Criticism of the "Male and Female Butterflies" group did not provoke any literary debate, because the

members of the group were not interested in debating. They knew only how to peddle other people's wars. Therefore, Zheng Zhentuo said indignantly: "Heated denunciations and attacks may change a person's thinking. Those who don't care about being denounced or criticized have frozen internal organs, for which there is no cure."<sup>43</sup> However, this criticism was still highly important, because, in addition to propagating literature's social significance and stressing the need for a more serious attitude toward life, it also educated the readers and weakened the baleful influence of these publications. 1

The new "May 4th" literature matured in struggles. Its uncompromising spirit of criticism cleared the way for its development.

#### Progressive Foreign Literature Advocated; Doctrine of National Quintessence Opposed

Speaking of the causes of the "May 4th" literary revolution, Lu Xun pointed out: "On the one hand, it was a social demand; on the other hand, it was influenced by foreign literature."<sup>44</sup> Many people criticized the old literature on the ground that, compared with progressive foreign literature, our old literature did not suit the present world current. Their idea was related to the historical mission of the democratic revolution. While deploring their own ideological and cultural backwardness, they wanted to promote modern democratic and scientific thoughts and naturally demanded that literature have modern features. Therefore, as Chen Duxiu said earlier in his "On Literary Revolution," Europe "owes its present progress in no small measure to men of letters." Because the primary stress was on the ideological content and role of literature in social revolution, the introduction or translation of foreign literature was decided mainly by the practical needs of China. Lu Xun said that in translating foreign literary works he was "only broadcasting the outcries of the victims of oppression and arousing the people's hatred and anger toward the oppressors, instead of stretching out his hand from the 'art palace' to pluck the precious flowers and rare plants overseas to be transplanted in the Chinese garden."<sup>45</sup> His words aptly represented the spirit of the main trend of the movement to learn from progressive foreign literature. In effect, the first requirement was to study the progressive content of works which could arouse enthusiasm for reform, and the second requirement was to learn the methods of artistic expression which are rich in "stimulating" power. This was the criterion for the selection of foreign works to be introduced into China, as well as the indication of what the new literature should learn from foreign works. Because of the numerous literary works in different countries and in different ages, there was a natural bias toward contemporary European works on pragmatism. For example, in 1918 NEW YOUTH was the first to introduce the works of Ibsen, and the image of Nora had a widespread effect in awakening the youths of the "May 4th" period. Ibsen's creation in dramas had a strong impact on Chinese literary creation. Why Ibsen first? Lu Xun said: "Because there was

the desire to produce dramas on a foreign model; because people wanted to raise dramas to the level of literature and use the vernacular language for scenario writing; and, above all, the situation was urgent, and it was only proper to use concrete examples to arouse the scholars' interest. This was certainly correct. However, I think there was still another reason: Ibsen dared to attack the society and to fight many people singlehandedly. At that time, those who introduced Ibsen into China were afraid that they would become an isolated army surrounded by the old forces. Now, when we look at their tombstones there is still a sad feeling. But their will was strong."<sup>46</sup> These words were written in 1928, when Lu Xun recalled the development of the art of dramas and the breaking of the encirclement by old ideological forces as the two reasons for the introduction of Ibsen to the public by NEW YOUTH. This shows the spirit of the "May 4th" literary revolution in promoting learning from progressive foreign literature. Although Hu Shi later encouraged the writing of individualist articles under the pretext of "Ibsenism," and although Engels' commentary on Ibsen's classicism had not yet been introduced into China, Ibsen's works did play a social role in encouraging the people to struggle against the dark forces, besides providing reference materials for drama as a new form of art. The achievement of those who introduced and promoted these works should be entirely affirmed. This also shows that, despite some defects of literary dogmatism in the course of the new literature's development, progressive foreign literature, on the whole, did encourage the development of new literature by propagating democratic ideas or providing certain patterns of artistic expression.

Lu Xun's practice in creative writing fully illustrated this point. He said that when he started writing stories, "I relied on 100 or more foreign works which I had read, in addition to some medical knowledge." He also regarded his essay "Reading Foreign Short Stories"<sup>47</sup> as one of his typical experiences in creative writing. His "A Madman's Diary," "Medicine" and other earlier works were certainly deeply rooted in the soil of Chinese real life, but their significance or success were far behind those of Gogol and Andreyev. As he himself admitted, he was enlightened and influenced by some foreign writers when he was engaged in creative writing then. Lu Xun also said that his later stories, such as "Soap," and "Divorce" were "free from the influence of foreign writers."<sup>48</sup> Thus, his learning from and reference to foreign literature and to freeing himself from its influence were in effect a process of adding national characteristics to the useful portions of foreign literature and then using them to depict Chinese people's daily life. His experience in learning from progressive foreign literature was by no means negligible.

This type of spirit naturally led to the hostility and opposition of the advocates of national quintessence, who favored a self-imposed blockade of China. Stubborn and conservative, these advocates regarded feudal culture as a rare treasure and rejected any form of innovation. Therefore,

one of the important tasks of the "May 4th" literary revolution was to oppose the doctrine of national quintessence. In his burning satire on these people, Lu Xun said: "Anything is precious as long as it has been the same all along. If an abscess happens to form on a Chinese body, they will say 'the red swelling is as pretty as a peach flower; when it bursts, the pus is as beautiful as cream.' As long as it is national quintessence, its excellence is beyond description."<sup>49</sup> These people by no means respected our fine national tradition or our literary heritage which had a democratic essence. What they wanted to preserve were all feudal trash and all traditional customs and bad habits. In his article "Thoughts Before the Mirror" Lu Xun showed how in different periods of Chinese history people's attitudes toward foreign culture were related to the national strength or weakness, and he summed up valuable historical experiences of "capturing them as prisoners of war" and then becoming their masters. He favored "boldly and dauntlessly assimilating new culture to the fullest extent with a wide-open mind." He added: "If we have to worry about everything, take every possible precaution, and go through every trouble to avoid offending our ancestors on the one hand and keep ourselves from becoming barbarians on the other; and if we spend our lives in anxiety, as though we are walking on thin ice with no time left even for trembling, how can we possibly do anything good?" With revolutionary mettle, Lu Xun's article expounded the necessity of independently assimilating new foreign culture for our own innovation, and it forcefully criticized the "National Quintessence" Group for their "cowardice" in living behind closed doors. This can be called the most succinct exposition of the "May 4th" spirit in advocating the study of progressive foreign literature and opposing national quintessence.

This spirit by no means contradicts the need for literary creation to inherit the fine traditions of Chinese literature and develop national characteristics. On the contrary, it offered a new evaluation of the Chinese literary heritage and raised stories, dramas and popular literature to the level of orthodox literature, thanks to the "May 4th" literary revolution. NEW YOUTH was the first to propose the holding of discussions on such classical novels as the "Dream of the Red Chamber," and popularizing them. Lu Xun was the first person to study the history of Chinese novels and to express profound regret that "in China stories were not considered a form of literature."<sup>50</sup> Shen Yenbing proposed that "classical songs, folk songs and stories written in the vernacular style be included as orthodox literature," and he asked the old "classical scholars" to "look for other patrons and set up new homes."<sup>51</sup> Since "May 4th," Beijing University has included "History of Chinese Novels" and "History of Chinese Operas" in its curriculum, established a popular literature research society, and begun to collect folk songs. All these were the direct results of the literary revolution. Thus, we can see that, even according to the interpretations of that time, we still cannot say that the promotion of foreign literature and the inheritance and development of fine national traditions conflicted with each other. Since Chinese classics were produced in a feudal society, the essence

and artistic forms must have modern features in order to meet the requirements of the new literature in truthfully portraying modern life. That was why people at that time attached special importance to those novels, songs and popular literature which were comparatively closer to them in history, were written in simple language and reflected wider aspects of the society. This is altogether different from what the National Quintessence Group advocated but consistent with the spirit behind the promotion of progressive foreign literature, because of their identical purpose of initiating a new literature for the new age.

The spirit of the "May 4th" literary revolution, according to the language of its advocates, was that, in order to "defend Messrs De and Sai, it was necessary to oppose national quintessence and the old literature."<sup>52</sup> Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The cultural movement which grew out of the May 4th Movement was only one of the manifestations of this revolution."<sup>53</sup> Therefore, when we talk about what was advocated and what was opposed by the "May 4th" literary revolution, the simplest thing is to say that it promoted democracy and science and opposed imperialism and feudalism. The characteristics of the new age and the nature of history decided not only the distinctiveness and thoroughness of the "May 4th" literary revolution, but also its place as "cogs and screws" in the entire revolutionary machine and the direction of its development toward socialism. Needless to say, any revolutionary literary movement of great magnitude has its weakness, and the "May 4th" literary revolution, because of the limitations of history, was no exception. Its weakness was particularly shown in the formalistic way of viewing problems among many people. Now we can also see that many documents on the study of problems were one-sided and that the conclusions reached in these documents often were not quite scientific. These defects had their effect on subsequent developments. However, from the standpoint of its guiding spirit, the "May 4th" literary revolution not only played the great role of turning a new page of history but also had a strong impact on the main current of the history of the new literature in the past 60 years.

Why was this spirit so rich in vitality? The main reason is that it corresponded with the laws of development in literature. If we do not confine our observations to certain specific views at that time, we can say that the basic strength of this spirit lay in its promoting the form of language preferred by the broad masses and in facing realities squarely and reflecting life experiences faithfully, so that literature could enlighten the people and speed up social reforms. As a form of creative labor, it must have new significance to be able to shoulder the responsibility of criticizing antiquities. It should also popularize the study of artistic experiences of progressive foreign literature and then give them a national form, while inheriting and modernizing the fine Chinese literary traditions. In so doing it will create a new and different literature which is rich in the spirit of the age. Conditions now are greatly different from what they were in the "May 4th" period.

Yet, in the face of the great historical mission of developing socialist literature and serving the Chinese people's new Long March, it is still worthwhile to review the course of development of the "May 4th" literary revolution throughout the past 60 years and ask ourselves: Is its dominant spirit still a precious source of enlightenment to us?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art."
2. "On New Democracy."
3. "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing."
4. See Lin Shu's letter "To Grand Tutor Zai Heqing" and "On the Ups and Downs of Classical and Vernacular Languages."
5. Chen Duxiu, "Reply to Hu Shi."
6. Ibid.
7. "Preface to 'Miscellaneous Writings.'"
8. "Mixed Dialects: The Crisis of Short Articles."
9. Demi-Concession Essays, Vol 2: "Preface to 'Main Section of New Chinese Literature' Stories."
10. "Tomb: On 'Open Our Eyes and See.'"
11. Chen Duxiu, "On the Literary Revolution."
12. Liu Bannung, "My Views on Literary Reform."
13. Shen Yenbing, "Literature and Life" and "Naturalism and Modern Chinese Novels."
14. "Mixed Dialects: 'How I Began Story Writing.'"
15. Shen Yenbing, "What Is Literature?"
16. Zheng Zhenduo, "Main Section of New Chinese Literature: Preface to 'Collected Articles on the Literary Debates.'"
17. Lang Sun, "Social Background and Creative Writing," and Shen Yenbing, "Naturalism and Modern Chinese Novels."

18. Zheng Fangwu, CREATION WEEKLY's "Announcement of Suspension of Publication."
19. Guo Moro, "Our New Literary Movement."
20. "On New Democracy."
21. Ye Shaojun, "Essentials of Creative Writing."
22. Yun Daying, "Stereotype?" CHINESE YOUTH, No 8.
23. "Tomb: On 'Open Our Eyes and See.'"
24. Ibid.
25. Chen Duxiu, "On the Literary Revolution."
26. Liu Bannung, "My Views on Literary Reform."
27. Demi-Concession Essays, Vol 2: "Preface to 'Main Section of New Chinese Literature' Stories."
28. Shen Yenbing, "Responsibility and Efforts of Students of New Literature."
29. "Tomb: 'Before There Was Any Talent.'"
30. Wen Yiduo, "The Local Coloring of the Goddess."
31. Shen Yenbing, "Responsibility and Efforts of Students of New Literature."
32. Demi-Concession Essays, Vol 2: "Preface to 'Main Section of New Chinese Literature' Stories."
33. Lin Shu, "Letter to Grand Tutor Zai Heqing."
34. "Two Places: 17."
35. "Three Leisures: All About Me and 'Thread-of-Talk.'"
36. Demi-Concession Essays: "Mr Liu Bannung Remembered."
37. Fang Xiaoyue, "My Views on Literary Reform," NEW YOUTH, Vol 3, No 2.
38. Chen Duxiu, "Reply to Hu Shi."
39. Liang Qichao, "Cold Drinks Saloon Poems."

40. "On New Democracy."
41. Xi Di, "Literary Prostitute" and "Chinese Writers' (?) Basic Misinterpretation of Literature."
42. Shen Yenbing, "Is There Really Any Representative Work of the Old Literature and Arts?"
43. Xi Di, "Harmony Between New and Old Literature."
44. Demi-Concession Essays: "Preface to 'Straw Sandal Feet.'"
45. "Tomb: Miscellaneous Reminiscences."
46. "Miscellaneous Writing: 'Drifting' After Third Edition."
47. Mixed Dialects: "How I Began Story Writing."
48. Demi-Concession Essays, Vol 2: "Preface to 'Main Section of New Chinese Literature' Stories."
49. "Hot Air: Record of Random Thoughts," No 39.
50. Demi-Concession Essays: "Preface to 'Straw Sandal Feet.'"
51. Shen Yenbing, "One Step Forward; Two Steps Backward."
52. Chen Duxiu, "Apology for the Crimes of NEW YOUTH."
53. "May 4th Movement."

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## IT IS NECESSARY TO VIGOROUSLY DEVELOP THE FOOD AND SERVICE TRADES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 4 May 79 pp 73-76

[Article by Wan Dianwu [5502 0368 2976]]

[Text] The food and service trades is an important component of the national economy. It is closely linked with the life of the masses and the four modernizations. With the shift in the emphasis of the party's work and the readjustment of the progressing national economy, vigorously developing the food and service trades is the eager hope of the broad masses and a requirement of industrial and agricultural production.

### An Ancient Trade With a Bright Prospect

With the development of social production and the expansion of commodity circulation, such service trades as restaurants and hotels emerged. The "Analects of Confucius" mentioned "not drinking wine and eating dried meat from the market"; therefore, one can see that shops selling wine and meat existed as far back as the Warring States period in China. According to "On Salt and Iron," "cooked food is displayed everywhere, and delicacies fill the market," indicating that more than 2,000 years ago, during the West Han dynasty, shops selling cooked food and meat dishes were quite numerous. The long history, rich experience and colorful varieties of China's cuisine are part of the dazzling cultural heritage created by our laboring people.

After liberation our food and service trades developed apace and greatly contributed to the people's livelihood and the improvement of production. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted an ultraleftwing line, contended that "good service will produce revisionism," replaced serving the people with "self-service" and brought an unprecedented calamity to the food and service trades. The networks and centers were abolished or merged, well-known chefs, barbers and photographers were hauled out and struggled against as "bourgeois technical authorities," famous dishes and pastries and traditional service items were considered sinful, and increasing the designs and varieties was reprimanded as "restoration." As a result, the management pattern was "governmentalized," the varieties

"simplified" and tastes made "uniform." Restaurants were no longer like restaurants and hotels no longer like hotels, thus creating inconveniences and difficulties for the people's livelihood. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the staff and workers of the trade, through study and criticism, have further realized that the food and service trades is an indispensable component of socialist economic life. The purpose of socialist production is to satisfy our material and cultural needs, and the final goal of production, distribution and exchange is consumption. The greater the development of production, the greater will be the amount of commodities supplied to the people and the greater the need for "service." As Marx aptly pointed out, "the term 'service,' generally speaking, merely indicates the unique use value produced by such labor, like the unique use values of other commodities. However, that the unique use value of such labor acquires the unique name of 'service' is because such labor renders service, not in term of things, but in term of activities. On the other hand, on this point it is no different from certain machines (such as watches and clocks)." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book 1, p 435) The development of production and the progress of society will inevitably produce changes in our living and consumption patterns, making it necessary for the food and service trades to continuously expand the scope of their services, increase their contents, improve quality, and gradually realize modernization. These ancient trades will become rejuvenated and turn into a brandnew enterprise with a bright future.

Since the Fifth National People's Congress issued the call to advance on the four modernizations, such glorious tasks as "the problem of food on the new Long March" confront these trades. The food and service trades today are not adapted to the development of the situation. On the one hand, the staff and workers have to spend much time and energy on shopping, cooking and doing laundry, making it impossible for them to concentrate on work and study. On the other hand, many plants, organs, schools and scientific research units have to operate their own dining halls, barbershops, bathhouses, nurseries and kindergartens, thus dispersing the energy of the leadership. Engels said: "If we closely study household chores, the superiority of the public economy becomes obvious." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 612) Lenin pointed directly to the need to socialize household labor. In the course of the gradual realization of the four modernizations, the masses urgently hope for the greatest possible development of the food service trade and the operation of such other service trades as dining halls, barbershops, laundries, tailor shops, bathhouses, and repair and recycling services by specialized industries, thus gradually realizing the socialization of household labor, emancipating the staff and workers from tedious household chores, and enabling the enterprises and industrial units to concentrate their forces on their own specialized work. For years many plants, organs and schools have turned into "miniature societies," dispersing their strengths and each displaying its own wares, and result has been a low equipment efficiency rate and great waste. This situation must not be permitted to continue.

The pattern of economic development of various nations of the world shows that the food and service trades develop in step with the development of the national economy, and the ratio of their personnel among the employed population grows continuously. Among the employed population in America in 1976, 3.8 percent was engaged in agriculture and 26.6 percent in industry, while 47 percent was engaged in commerce, the food and service trades, banking, communication, transportation and public utilities. This pattern is also rather obvious in the developed capitalist nations such as Japan, France and West Germany. The food and service trades of capitalist society has aspects of serious extravagance, waste and decadence which we do not wish to follow. However, with the development of production and the rise in the people's consumption level, the ever-growing demands for all kinds of service trades and the increase in the ratio of personnel engaged in such trades to the total employed population are similarly an inevitable trend of economic development. At present the number of wristwatches, radios, televisions and refrigerators in use in China is still relatively small. If such articles become items of daily need in every household, the need for repair services will be much greater than at present. The food and service trades will furnish large numbers of employment opportunities. With a small increase in investment we will be able to absorb a relatively large number of laborers. We must fully utilize the favorable conditions and actively develop the trade. Some cities have organized manpower for such services as building and repairing houses, installing water and power lines, repairing furniture and mending clothes, both expanding employment opportunities and performing service work, thus killing several birds with one stone and satisfying all sides. So what is there against it?

What deserves our attention today is the rapid development of international tourism, which has become a newly developed industry of growing importance in many countries. China is an ancient civilization, and many of its places of historic interest and scenic beauty are famous throughout the world and have long been admired by foreign tourists. Therefore, the "export of scenery" provides favorable conditions for developing international friendship and acquiring foreign exchange for the four modernizations. If China receives over 6 million foreign tourists annually as does Yugoslavia, or over 40 million foreign tourists as does Spain, how gigantic will be the task of our food and service trades! As a result of the development of tourism, the need for such service personnel as cooks will increase several times, or even several dozen times. Foreseeing this prospect, we must firmly and constantly conduct technical training, promptly reopen and establish some cooking and service schools, and establish technical centers for mass training by means of such modern equipment as television.

#### Modernization and Superior Tradition

The gradual modernization of the food service trade is the goal of our effort. In the course of modernization, how to carry on and develop the

superior tradition of China's food service trade is an important issue which requires conscientious handling. As China has a large population but a weak foundation, it is impossible for the state to immediately make large increases in its investment in the food and service trades. We must rely mainly on the full utilization of existing equipment and conditions, activate the broad masses of staff and workers, evoke the spirit of arduous struggle, exhaust all means to unearth potential, innovate and remodel, continuously accumulate experiences and gradually realize modernization. Meanwhile, in regard to the traditional service items, we must follow the policy of "making the ancient serve the modern" and "discarding the obsolete and creating the new," inheriting and developing the good and reforming or discarding the undesirable, neither simplistically negating everything nor resuming everything without change. Since the Tang and Song dynasties there have been books on cooking. Besides giving the details of recipes, menus, ingredient selection and handling, methods of treatment by diet, food hygiene and nutrition are also discussed. They are the crystallization of the laboring people's long practice in production and living. However, as a result of the long control by the exploiting class, China also has some dishes which were created for the needs of the emperors and gentry, landowners and officials. Those with feudal coloring must, in accordance with the principle of "taking the essence and discarding the dregs," be selectively developed or discarded. Generally speaking, more attention is given to the color, flavor, taste and form in our traditional dishes, while nutrition is overlooked, thus reflecting a certain one-sidedness. Naturally, if we only consider nutrition and ignore taste, this will also be one-sided. Therefore, cooks must learn the art of cooking and something about nutrition in order to make the food both palatable and nourishing. We must not only make use of the old recipes of the past and the historical heritage of the art of cooking, but also, in keeping with good nutrition and modern science and technology, create new recipes and the modern art of cooking. These constitute the glorious task of China's food service scientific research work: to continue the past and open up the new.

One outstanding feature of the food and service trades is the relatively large amount of manual labor involved. Therefore, there is wide scope for technical innovation and technical revolution. Making noodles and stuffed dumplings and washing laundry by machinery instead of by hand have become a reality. The vacuum cleaner gradually replacing the broom, machine cleaning of wristwatches, and machine processing of films are the inevitable trend of development. Especially in the food and service trades, much can be done in the gradual mechanization of the processing of certain staple and nonstaple foods, the creation of more finished and semifinished products, the realization of centralized production and dispersed operations, and direct supply to individuals and households. In the course of gradually realizing the modernization of the food and service trades, we must start from the reality of the current industrial and agricultural production level and the people's living standard and

concretely solve the practical problems of the people's livelihood. While actively employing the new achievements of modern science and technology to improve our food and service trades and raising labor efficiency, we must preserve and develop the superior tradition of certain categories of manual labor and guard against the erroneous tendency of negating all manual work. We must adopt effective measures to carry on and develop the outstanding "art" of cooking and unique creative techniques in the traditional skills of our food and service trades. Many old chefs underwent long and arduous tempering and practical work and mastered superb skills in the old society. Having eliminated exploitation, the socialist society, under the party's concern, has more conditions for training large groups of experts and talents similar to theirs. Our problem is to formulate concrete measures to train more talents speedily.

In the modernization of the food and service trades the distribution of networks and points and the operation of specialty shops deserve serious attention. During the process of converting China's food and service trades from private to joint state-private and then to state operation, too many networks and points were abolished, the merging was careless and too few of the specialty shops with unique features were retained. Such methods are not adapted to the characteristic of half production-half service and of serving freshly cooked hot meals and are not favorable to the development of special skills to satisfy the people's multiple needs. The food and service trades of a city, of a region, must be placed under overall planning and a unified arrangement which combines specialty features and comprehensive operations, with priority given to the former. Meanwhile, we must do our best to preserve the superior tradition of scattering the service points for the convenience of the consumers.

#### Developing the Enthusiasm of the Enterprises and Personnel

The food and service trades engage mainly in furnishing food and service directly to the customers, and the shops are generally small and scattered. To turn the food and service trades into establishments praised by the masses which "ingeniously handle the chores of a thousand households and warm the hearts of 10,000 people," the key is in activating the enthusiasm of the staff and workers and cadres. For this reason we must launch work in the political and economic aspects and properly combine the two.

In the political aspect, party committees at all levels and government departments must reinforce their guidance of the trade, giving special attention to the political-ideological education of the enterprise leadership teams and staff and workers. When the staff and workers realize the important role their work plays in the national economy and its tremendous effect in bringing closer the relationship between the party and the masses and in manifesting the superiority of the socialist

system, their initiative and enthusiasm will rise. In the old society the work of this trade was looked down upon as lowly, as waiting on others. Traces of this traditional concept still fetter the minds of some people today. We must strengthen propaganda education and make everyone realize that, except for the division of labor and work posts, in socialist construction the staff and workers of the food and service trades, like workers, peasants, scientists and teachers, are in the service of the people and the party. We must teach and encourage the staff and workers to make extraordinary achievements in their everyday posts and bring the warmth of the party and the superiority of socialism to the hearts of the masses. We must also clearly realize that the class struggle still exists in the economic and ideological realms. In extensive daily contact with society, the staff and workers will also suffer the corruption of certain undesirable ideological tendencies and living styles. Thus, we must launch meticulous and intensive political-ideological work and vigorously promote the new ethics and new trend of serving the people heart and soul and gaining happiness by helping others. We must teach the staff and workers to resist bourgeois ideas, nip the evil in the bud and repel corruption.

In the economic aspect, we must handle the business according to objective economic laws. Like other economic enterprises, our food and service trades are part of the socialist public ownership economy, and, under unified leadership and planned management, it has fundamentally avoided the basic evils of the capitalist economy. However, if it is not handled properly, the defects of simple reliance on administrative orders and eating large-pot rice may also appear and will affect the enthusiasm of the enterprises and the staff and workers. The positive and negative experiences since the founding of the nation have proved that the state's method of giving a percentage of the profit to the enterprise and the system of basic wage plus bonus, integrating the interests of the staff and workers, the enterprise and the state, will make the staff and workers have a more positive interest in the management and administration of the enterprise. Enterprises with better management should get greater material benefits than those with inferior management; staff and workers performing better labor should receive more income than those performing inferior labor. The quality of work should make a difference. Bonuses are rewards for above-norm labor, and the encouragement of individual staff members and workers must embody the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." We must not follow egalitarianism, but there also must not be excessive disparity. The percentage of withheld profit received by local administrative units and food service corporations may be used to build small and medium-size food service networks and points, supplement the circulating fund, and establish certain enterprises of a professional nature. The percentage of withheld profit received by basic-level enterprises should be considered an enterprise fund and, in keeping with a prescribed ratio, should be spent on repairs and new service facilities and on collective welfare.

The contents of the food and service trades are relatively complex. Due to the different varieties and service categories of the various enterprises in the trade, or due to their different locations, whether busy or remote, the conditions and results of their management will differ greatly. Therefore, when introducing the measure of encouragement by withholding a percentage of the profit, we must, in accordance with the special characteristics of the various enterprises, start from practical conditions, make careful investigations and studies, combine the superior and inferior levels, and, on the foundation of successful quota management, formulate relatively rational percentage ratios, with the goal of giving consideration to the interests of the state, the enterprise and the individual. Since last year, the trial introduction in some areas of the method of withholding a percentage of the profit of restaurants has had a relatively marked effect in improving enterprise management and administration and raising the quality of service. If the local administrative units collect all the profit, leaving the enterprise with no room for activity, it will dampen the enthusiasm of the cadres and staff and workers. Naturally, it will be extremely wrong to ignore the development of the enterprise and place undue emphasis on increasing the income of the staff and workers, even to the extent of letting the state suffer a loss.

In the 2 years or more since the "gang of four" was toppled, under the leadership and concern of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, China's food and service trades have made certain improvements. Especially after the third plenary session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, and with the implementation of the two documents on agriculture, the broad masses of commune members are jubilant, and the rural situation is excellent. With the development of agricultural production, the supply of staple and nonstaple foods will gradually improve. As the national economy is readjusted, the service industry will be strengthened. We believe that, with the encouragement of this excellent situation, the cadres and staff and workers of our food and service trades will bring forth the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle, exhaust all means to unearth potentials, improve their attitude toward service, raise the quality of service, satisfy even better the needs of the people and make greater contributions to the state and the people.

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## PROPERLY USE AND MANAGE IMPORTED TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

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[Article by Hu Maozhou [5170 2021 3166], chief of the Sichuan Chemical Industry Plant]

[Text] Our chemical industry plant, which produces mainly chemical fertilizer, was built during the Second Five-Year Plan, chiefly by relying on our own strength. To satisfy the need for developing agricultural production, our plant in 1973 imported a large chemical fertilizer unit with an annual capacity of 480,000 tons of urea from 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia. The construction and installation were relatively good. After the equipment was put into operation and the supply of raw material and power was amply assured, the staff and workers concentrated on the proper use and management of the equipment and initially mastered the operation techniques and production management. The principal norms of operation of the plant have reached a relatively good international level.

Compared with the old multiple-series equipment, the degree of interlocking and automation of the imported equipment, a large single-series model, is higher, and its level of production technology is more advanced. After the equipment was put into operation in May 1976, we learned advanced technology in practice and probed for the method of scientific management. The production level of the equipment rose year after year, bringing the productive efficiency of the advanced technical equipment into full play and achieving relatively good economic results. Its 1978 output surpassed the design capacity, and profits equaled one-third the investment. Compared with the old equipment, energy consumption per unit product dropped by 50 percent, the workers' labor productivity rose 800 percent, the quality of the chemical fertilizer improved, and costs went down 40 percent.

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In dealing with large single-series equipment with a high degree of interlocking and automation we must, in our management work, assure its normal operation and prolong the duration of its continuous operation in order to bring its efficiency into full play. On this point we



underwent a process of understanding and probing. At the beginning we concentrated on mastering the technology and failed to pay adequate attention to management. Even though the leaders stayed on the work site day and night and the workers concentrated on the operation, toiling intensely, we were unable to extricate ourselves from the passive situation in production. In some months, due to the many interruptions in production, the operational rate was low, and a situation of low output and high consumption and cost appeared. When the operation of the automatic packaging machine became abnormal, we had to suspend production or engage in manual packaging by huge numbers of workers. Practice has made us realize that the more advanced the technical equipment, the stricter are the requirements. Thus, we must, in accordance with objective laws, scientifically, carefully and effectively organize all conditions to assure its normal operation. If such organizing falls behind and fails to adapt to the situation and the equipment is constantly damaged and production constantly interrupted, then not only will it be impossible for the equipment to attain its designed rate of efficiency, but the result will be great waste. Management and production technology are always closely linked and mutually promotive. The development of production technology inevitably requires corresponding changes in management, while an improvement in management will promote the further progress of production technology. To use and properly manage advanced technical equipment, we must change all the management patterns, organizational forms and ideological methods which are not adapted to advanced technology.

In the past few years, by practice and probing, we have studied the proper use and management of the imported technical equipment, and we have found that, to reorganize and improve management, we must first solve several ideological issues.

First, just as we pay attention to advanced technology, so we must pay serious attention to scientific management. The scientific method of enterprise management is determined by the state of the production force. The old equipment of our plant was comparatively backward, and the management methods we developed over many years apparently could not satisfy the demands for operating the imported equipment either in competency or efficiency. Because of this, plus the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years, the incompatibility between advanced technical requirement and backward management became even more aggravated. For a long time we one-sidedly considered management an issue of the production relationship and failed to organize rationally this extremely important aspect of the production force. Many comrades did not have much knowledge of advanced technology and even less of management. They even one-sidedly felt that management could be handled according to subjective desires, that one could manage whatever one wished to manage and do whatever one wished to do. Thus, punishment by the objective laws became inevitable. Therefore, we must study anew, recognize the nature of management, master the necessary

technical knowledge, probe for the laws for managing advanced technical equipment, give management the same importance as advanced technology and continuously reorganize and improve.

Second, we must learn the scientific management methods of foreign countries. One important reason for our lack of understanding of capitalist enterprise management was that we confused the class and scientific essences of management and thought that management involved the production relationship and the superstructure. We thought that the capitalists managed for the purpose of plundering and plundered on the excuse of managing; therefore, if we learned from them, it would be deviating from the socialist principles. Such an understanding is too narrow. Marx once pointed out that capitalist enterprise management had its duality. Besides serving as an ingenious means of exploitation, capitalist enterprise management is also a series of rich scientific achievements commensurate with the objective needs of socialized large production. Motivated by the desire for greater profits, the capitalists, within certain limits, can carry out scientific management, and they have accumulated considerably rich experiences in managing modern enterprises. Why can't socialist enterprises, built on the public ownership system, adopt the same management methods and techniques which are based on science as they did? In the assembly and operation of the imported equipment we cooperated and worked with foreign technical personnel, learning from them not only technology but also management methods, such as formulating plans and procedures, setting up standards, organizing the work, and collecting and analyzing technical data, and we also learned the beneficial things in their work methods and efficiency. If we selectively adopt foreign management methods and techniques and conscientiously evaluate them in practice, we will be able to discard the dregs and retain the essence, attaining the goal of "making the foreign serve the Chinese."

Third, we must integrate our study of foreign scientific management methods with our own experiences and bring into full play our own strong points. When we say that the scientific management methods of capitalist enterprises can serve as our reference, we do not mean that all things foreign are good or that we should swallow everything whole and copy exactly, while we ourselves are devoid of any merit. Not only will this be incompatible with reality, but also it will be impossible for us to truly learn advanced and scientific things and turn them into our own. We have a superior socialist system, and our worker class is the master of the equipment. The functions of enterprise management are organizing, directing, supervising and regulating production. In technical activities, man always has a determining effect. To properly use and manage imported technical equipment, we must also rely on revolutionization to command modernization. We must carry on and develop our own valuable experiences and superior traditions in this respect, such as the principles of the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company and the basic experiences of Daqing. If we apply Daqing's experience,

its tradition in building the ranks and its work style to our attempt to master imported technical equipment, we will have higher standards, stricter requirements and greater conscientiousness than do the foreigners. If we apply Daqing's experience in paying serious attention to the work of the basic level, foundational work and basic training, we will lay a firm foundation for strengthening and improving management. If we persevere in the revolutionary tradition of self-reliance and arduous struggle, follow the mass line, develop the tradition of democratic management, and practice the system of cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and of close cooperation among cadres, workers and technicians, we will draw on the collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas, overcome technical bottlenecks and lay a firm mass foundation for strengthening management. We deeply realize that only when we start from China's actual conditions and combine our study of foreign scientific management methods with a correct summation of our own experiences will we raise our management level and create management methods suitable to China's socialist industrialization.

Fourth, to carry out scientific management we must devote our efforts to the words "learn" and "use" and produce results in organizing the production force. To make the scientific management methods produce relatively good economic results we must start from the existing foundation of the enterprise, instead of ignoring the foundation and the conditions the moment scientific management is mentioned and considering the use of such advanced technical means as the electronic computer as the only indicator of scientific management. The contents of scientific management are extensive, but the main points may be generalized as follows--raising the efficiency of the structure, using experts to serve as the backbone and modernizing the techniques. Based on the practical conditions of the enterprise, we concentrate on the following tasks: Raising the scientific and cultural levels of the staff and workers as rapidly as possible, educating them in management knowledge and making the cadres, staff and workers understand and pay serious attention to modern management; expanding the use of such effective management methods as optimization and overall planning; properly performing quota and computation work, commensurately readjusting the management organization, laying the foundation for accuracy, strictness and timeliness in controlling technical economic activities, and actively creating conditions for the use of advanced means of control and management.

With the above in mind, we pay constant attention to rationally organizing the production force when trying to properly use and manage the imported technical equipment, while also commensurately readjusting the production relationship and the superstructure according to the needs of the development of production, and we have performed the following work.

1. We give priority to personnel training. It is both a prerequisite and a strategic task. By importing advanced foreign technical equipment

and introducing scientific management methods, we pose higher demands on the quality of the various categories of personnel. Due to the high degree of interlocking and automation in the production process of the imported chemical fertilizer equipment, productive operations of the plant are carried out by the operators by means of their observation, supervision, adjustment and control of the instruments and meters and the automation system. On the surface, productive operations are no longer dependent on the workers' direct participation, but, as a matter of fact, man has an ever more determining effect on the control of the equipment. An operator must not only do his part of work in the division of labor, but also look ahead and behind, understand the entire situation and become familiar with the entire technical process. The various categories of maintenance, inspection and repair personnel must understand the operational characteristics of the equipment as well as its structure. The specialized management personnel must know how to master the operational condition of the equipment by reading meters for technical data so that they can determine the condition and make an instant diagnosis in case of abnormality or trouble. The leaders must master the objective law of the operation of the equipment and be able to analyze the pros and cons when a problem arises and make a decision. As regards the various categories of personnel, besides learning a certain amount of theoretical knowledge, they must, according to their particular responsibilities, undergo specialized training. In such training we firmly follow the principle of giving priority to on-site training and organize the production personnel to participate, as soon as possible, in installation, trial runs, adjustment, and experimentation; after the equipment has been operated on a trial run basis and then put into productive operation, we continue to stress on-the-job training for advancement in operational practice, including training on one job and on several jobs by rotation, so that the personnel can master the entire situation and advance from "knowing it is so" to "knowing why it is so." Based on the complexity of the technology, the amount of responsibility, the degree of safety and the intensity of labor involved, we have formulated methods of evaluating the different jobs, selecting and promoting the superior performers and continuing to train those who fail to qualify. This method enhances the improvement of skills and the enforcement of the job responsibility system.

2. We concentrate on raising the operational rate of the equipment. The operational rate indicates whether the equipment has brought into full play its designed efficiency. After it was imported, the chemical fertilizer equipment was in operation for 351 days in 1978. Including the two scheduled inspections and repairs, it was stopped a total of four times in the entire year. The longest uninterrupted operation was more than 200 days, and the operational rate reached 96.1 percent. Due to the high operational rate, the annual output exceeded the designed capacity by 15 percent, the energy consumption per unit product was 5 percent lower than the design called for, and the profit surpassed the plan by 14 percent. This shows that the efficiency and potential of a

piece of equipment can be fully developed only by raising the operational rate. In production management we must concentrate on raising the operational rate in order to realize a long-term stable operation. In the work process we must strictly follow the technical requirements of the equipment and not lower the prescribed standards in the least; we must follow the procedure, not omitting even one step. In sum, we must refrain from seeking current convenience at the expense of future trouble.

3. We have introduced overall quality control. High quality is a major characteristic of modernization. The quality standard of the projected products of the imported equipment was higher than that of our products of the same type. How would we attain this quality standard? From the point of view of production technology, whether the quality of products can be assured is focally determined by whether the various spheres and sequences of operation of the enterprise have reached their required levels and specified standards. To lower the quality standard of the projected products would signify lowering the technical level of the equipment and the requirements of enterprise management. On the other hand, as long as the entire production process, including the various links--such as the supply of materials and raw material, the supply of water, power and gas, the manufacture and supply of spare parts and accessories, maintenance and repairs, technical operations, packaging and shipping and marketing of the finished products, and plant sanitation--the quality of products will be assured. By means of overall quality control, we shifted from inspection of finished products to overall control and tackled quality management as the central link of enterprise management. Our method is to provide clear quality standards for the various links of production and to make strict inspections. We have also clarified the quality responsibilities of the various categories of personnel in the job responsibility system, so that quality is directly linked with the enterprise leaders and staff and workers of the entire plant. As practice has proved, if we enforce overall quality control, adhering to high standards in the various stages of work and making strict demands, the equipment will have a long operational cycle, and safety, high yield and economic results are assured.

4. We have introduced the management pattern of "giving priority to prevention." In the past we concentrated on current production and ignored work which involved foresight and prevention. This was because the old equipment of our plant was a collection of components of different makes, and the individual units were turned on and off individually. But when it comes to the large single-series imported equipment, any failure or mishandling of any small link may lead to interruption of the entire equipment. How to shift attention from current production to foresight and prevention in management is an objective requirement of the operational law of modern equipment. Only by mastering this objective law and gaining clear knowledge of conditions with correct judgment and great determination can we prevent trouble before it occurs. For this reason,

we have instituted such systems in the maintenance and repair of the equipment as rotational inspection, observation of operation, and preventive maintenance in order to recognize the symptoms as early as possible and nip the hidden trouble in the bud. In operation we have formulated measures for extraordinary conditions and emergency handling and have systematically launched activities to anticipate mishaps. In specialized management we have created a system for scheduled examination of crucial units and key processes, and, by accumulating data and analyzing tendencies, we can forestall hidden troubles or abnormal factors which may become aggravated and promptly take preventive measures. In technical logistics we adhere to the systems of "serving the interests of productive, maintenance and safe operations" and "going personally to persons or places to solve problems under five conditions." In sum, we want to shift from guesswork based on experience to the foundation of large volumes of firsthand material in forming judgments and to learn the work method of probing for abnormal factors in "normality," so that the data are accurate and sound and the productive activities orderly. We have summarized our practice in four rules: "Technical operation must be steady, equipment maintenance must be frequent, trouble elimination must be accurate, and preventive measures must be followed."

5. To benefit production, raise efficiency and facilitate management, we have readjusted the management organization. As modern technical equipment is complex in structure, sensitive in reaction, and high in productive efficiency, it requires a relatively high management efficiency and more flexible production direction. The multilevel management followed by our plant, involving the plant departments, workshops, work sections, and teams and groups, revealed such defects as too many layers, duplication of functions, lack of clear division of responsibilities, and inefficiency. To bring production direction and specialized management as close to the frontline of production as possible, we must reduce the layers and avoid duplication as much as possible. The development of technology inevitably leads to specialization of the various parts of production; therefore, it calls for the development of specialized workshops, work sections and work sites. Meanwhile, what we have in our enterprise are "small yet complete" workshops, which are incompatible with the requirements, so reorganization is necessary. The management of modern technical equipment requires the creation of a strict responsibility system, yet the responsibility system followed by our plant consists of many slogan-type articles, the provisions are ambiguous, and the responsibilities are not assigned to particular individuals. We must therefore revise it anew according to unified functions, responsibilities and authority and simple, concise and concrete requirements, both "qualitatively" and "quantitatively," so that everything is taken care of by someone and everyone has his special responsibilities.

To thoroughly understand and master imported technology, we have, starting from actual conditions, organized a contingent consisting mainly of scientific research, design and information personnel. Their main task

is to study and solve, in close conjunction with productive reality, the technical problems arising from incomplete or immature consideration of parts of the imported technical equipment or from changes in concrete conditions, and to digest, absorb, improve and elevate, in coordination with the specialized scientific research and design ranks, the imported technology.

To adapt to the needs of managing modern equipment, improving the leaders' thinking and style is extremely important. We ask the leading cadres to assign the direction of daily production and routine business and technical work to the specialized departments for performance as routine management work, so that the former may concentrate on the major problems in production. We firmly follow the mass line and perform concrete work; we do not resort to mass manual labor to solve production problems or "strengthen" management by means of crash projects; we do not attempt to achieve formality but seek actual results.

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