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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 7, 3 July 1979



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

CONTENTS	PAGE
Opening Speech at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC (p 2) (Ye Jianying).....	1
Report on the Work of the Government at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC (pp 3-27) (Hua Guofeng).....	3
Closing Speech at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC (pp 28-30) (Ye Jianying).....	35
Opening Speech at the Second Session of the CPPCC Fifth National Committee (pp 31-32) (Deng Xiaoping).....	40
Carry Out Socialist Modernization With Stability and Unity (pp 33-36) (RED FLAG commentator).....	43
Realizing the Four Modernizations Is the Biggest Politics for the New Period (pp 36-40) (Tan Huazhe).....	48
Study Dialectics, Continue To Emancipate the Mind (pp 41-46) (Yang Yichen).....	56

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Deepen the Discussion of the Question of the Criterion of Truth (pp 47-48) (RED FLAG contributing commentator).....	68
Learn From Comrade Zhang Zhixin's Revolutionary Spirit of Fighting for Truth (pp 49-51) (RED FLAG contributing commentator).....	71
Forever Keep Up the Yanan Work Style--Communists Must Serve the People Heart and Soul (pp 52-58) (Ma Wenrui).....	76
Strengthening Party Unity Is the Major Guarantee for the Realization of the Four Modernizations (pp 59-63) (Tie Ying).....	91
Clear Up Misunderstanding, Strengthen Unity (pp 64-68) (Xu He).....	101
How Did Lenin Combine Collective Leadership With Individual Responsibility in State Management (pp 69-74) (Lin Jizhou).....	108
We Should Allow Some Leeway in Doing Things (pp 75-77) (Lu Kuihong, Zhang Guiyue).....	121
A Discussion on What Are Advanced Machinery Products (pp 78-80) (Shen Hong).....	127
It Is Imperative To Oppose Special Privileges and Improve the Party's Style of Work (inside back cover).....	135

OPENING SPEECH AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTH NPC

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 p 2

[Speech by Ye Jianying on 18 June 1979]

[Text] Fellow deputies: This is the first year of the shift in the emphasis of work of the whole country to socialist modernization. The convocation of the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress at this time is of particular importance.

This session will hear and discuss Premier of the State Council Comrade Hua Guofeng's report on the work of the government and examine and approve the national economic plan for 1979, the 1978 final accounts of state revenues and expenditures and the 1979 state budget.

This session will formulate several laws. They are the PRC organic law of the local people's congresses and local people's governments, the PRC electoral law of the National People's Congress and local people's congresses, the PRC organic law of the people's courts, the PRC organic law of the people's procuratorates, PRC criminal law, the PRC criminal procedure and the PRC law on joint enterprises with Chinese and foreign investments.

This session will also examine and discuss the reports of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate. It will make some decisions on personnel arrangements.

Fellow deputies: The fundamental guarantee for doing the work of the government and the state well and effectively promoting China's socialist modernization lies in giving full scope to democracy, pooling correct ideas from the masses and arousing the enthusiasm of wide sections of the people. It is my belief that you fellow deputies will definitely be able to reflect fully the opinions of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots; display the spirit "say all you know and say it without reserve" and give criticism and suggestions on the work of the government and the state.

The people want to strengthen and improve China's socialist legal system. An improved legal system can effectively guarantee the people's democratic rights provided for by the constitution and constantly develop stability and unity and a lively and vigorous political situation in the interest of socialist construction. Following the development of economic construction, we need all kinds of economic laws. The National People's Congress must see to it that conscientious investigations and study and careful discussions are carried out and necessary laws formulated so that these laws truly represent the will of the people, reflect the supreme interest of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and conform to the needs of growth of socialist economic construction. The laws must be firmly implemented after they are promulgated. The National People's Congress and local people's congresses at various levels must all play an important part in upholding the dignity of the socialist legal system.

The tasks of this session of ours are arduous. People throughout the country attach great importance to this session. During this session we must score achievements which will satisfy the people.

CSO: 4004

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTH NPC

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 3-27

[Report by Hua Guofeng on 18 June 1979]

[Text] Fellow deputies:

I have been entrusted by the State Council to report to you on the work of the government and will now do so.

I. A Historic Turning Point

Fifteen months have elapsed between the conclusion of the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress in March last year and the convening of our present session. They have been fifteen months of united struggle, dynamic endeavor and outstanding achievement. Owing to the sustained efforts made during this period, the nation-wide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the gang of four has in the main been completed, and marked success has been attained in putting the country in order with this movement as the key link. In accordance with the policy decision of the third plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in December 1978, the State Council has, since the beginning of 1979, shifted the focus of the work of the whole nation to socialist modernization. This is a historic turning point.

At the last session we assessed our achievements after the smashing of the gang. Since then, under the impetus provided by the third plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the party at which the principles of emancipating the mind or "starting up the machinery," seeking truth from facts, and uniting and looking forward were laid down and a series of important political, economic and organizational measures adopted. We have multiplied achievements on all fronts in the course of implementing the tasks defined at our last session.

In the sphere of politics and ideology, the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have conducted conscientious investigations into the factional set-up of Lin Biao and the gang of four and have by and large crushed this counter-revolutionary political force which for ten years wrought havoc and brought the nation untold misery. Thanks to organizational readjustment in the party, government and army, leadership is now largely in the hands of cadres whom the people trust. The counter-revolutionary line of Lin Biao and the gang of four has been subjected to deep-going criticism in every field. The nation-wide discussion on the criterion of truth has helped to emancipate the minds



of cadres and masses alike, speaking the mental chains fastened on them by Lin Biao and the gang and reviving and carrying forward the style of study long advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, that is, the style of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice. Numerous cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced when Lin Biao and the gang were in power have been redressed. Large numbers of cadres from the very top down to the grass roots and model workers, experts and people in all spheres of endeavor who had been persecuted have been or are now being rehabilitated. A series of major political issues of right and wrong which arose during the Cultural Revolution have in the main been clarified. The government has taken measures to carry out one after another policies which were either seriously distorted or thrown out by Lin Biao and the gang, policies concerning the cadres, the intellectuals, the nationalities, religion, Overseas Chinese affairs, former industrialists and businessmen, and former Kuomintang personnel who came over to our side.

The work of removing the rightist label from those designated as such has been completed, and most of those who were wrongly labelled have been rehabilitated. The work of changing the status of those landlords and rich peasants who have long engaged in labor and abided by the law is in progress. Unity among the people has been enhanced and broadened. Socialist democracy is being practiced and the socialist legal system is being improved. Democratic centralism and the style of work known as the mass line are being revived and carried forward in state organs at all levels and in grass-roots organizations. Thus we have eliminated the root cause of the prolonged political turmoil and splitting, and instead a lively political situation of stability and unity long yearned for by the people is becoming reality. The present political situation is totally different from what it was when Lin Biao and the gang of four were on the rampage. Moreover, in many respects, a spirit which is unprecedented has emerged as regards the democratic life of the nation and the emancipation of people's minds. And this new spirit is spreading.

In the sphere of economics, things have been rapidly improving since we repudiated the ultra-left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four, put into effect various correct policies laid down by the party and the government and formulated a series of new policies suited to present conditions. In 1978, our agricultural production suffered a succession of natural calamities, yet we still brought in a good harvest. Per capita grain output is the highest since the founding of the People's Republic, and total grain output reached 304,750,000 tons, an increase of 22 million tons or 7.8 percent over 1977. The output of edible oil, sugar, cotton and other cash crops increased markedly, compared with the previous year. The peasants and rural cadres responded warmly to the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (draft) and Regulations Concerning the Work in the Rural People's Communes (preliminary draft) adopted by the third plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the party when these were relayed to the rural population. A jubilant mood, absent for years, prevails throughout the countryside. In 1977, the gross value of industrial output registered an increase of 14.3 percent over 1976, and in 1978 an increase of 13.5 percent over 1977. In those two years,

The output of steel went up from 20 460,000 tons to 31,780,000 tons, an increase of 55.3 percent;

Coal, from 483 million tons to 618 million tons, an increase of 28 percent;

Crude oil, from 87 million tons to 104 million tons, an increase of 19.5 percent;

Electricity, from 203 billion kWh to 256 billion kWh, an increase of 26 percent;

Chemical fertilizer (estimated according to effectiveness), from 5,240,000 tons to 8,690,000 tons, an increase of 66 percent;

Chemical fibers, from 146,000 tons to 285,000 tons, an increase of 95 percent;

And the volume of rail freight, from 820 million tons to 1,070 million tons, an increase of 30.5 percent.

With the restoration and expansion of production, our domestic and foreign trade and state revenues also rapidly expanded, and living standards in both town and country improved. In the last two years, the total volume of retail sales rose by 16 percent, that of imports and exports by 53.7 percent, and state revenues by 44.4 percent; the average income of the peasants across the nation, derived from the collectives, rose by 17.7 percent; and 60 percent of the country's workers and staff had their wages raised in varying degrees. In capital construction, a number of major projects are already completed and in operation and others are under construction. In 1978, housing newly built for workers and staff and already occupied totalled over 37 million square metres in floor space, an increase of 33 percent over the previous year. In the past two years we have made a good start at importing advanced technology and using funds from abroad and the results have been positive. Never in the past decade have we witnessed such a flourishing and gratifying situation on the economic front as a whole. We still face quite a few difficulties and many problems in our work remain to be solved, but compared with the grave situation in which we found ourselves immediately following the smashing of the gang of four, we have certainly achieved a lot in rehabilitating and expanding our economy. This is obvious to all; it is not easy to come about.

In the sphere of science, education and culture, the convening of the National Science Conference and the adoption of the draft outline programme for the national development of science and technology (1978-1985) have sparked fresh enthusiasm for the study of science and technology among scientists and technicians and among the youth and other people all over the country, and this has yielded initial results. The reform of our enrolment system for institutions of higher education and the criticism of the "two appraisals" concerning our work in education during the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution have promoted an over-all consolidation of educational work, swiftly remedying the chaotic situation created by Lin Biao and the gang, basically restoring order and bringing into play the initiative of the vast numbers of students and teachers. With the repudiation of the fallacy of the "dictatorship of a sinister line in literature and art," a host of good films, operas and other works, Chinese and foreign, long banned by Lin Biao and the gang, have again been made available to the masses; there has been increasing activity in the various branches of literature and art, and a number of good works welcomed by the masses have appeared. The prospect of a flourishing garden of literature and art where a hundred flowers blossom is already before us. Research in the social sciences, centering on the summing up of historical experience and the question of socialist modernization, is making steady headway, guided by the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, and the interest shown by the masses in theoretical questions is at its keenest since the founding of the People's Republic. Our press, broadcasting, television and publications are developing in a lively manner. Major achievements have been attained in health work, physical culture and other areas of culture.

In short, the efforts made in the two years and more since the smashing of the gang of four have brought signal victories on all fronts, including the military and diplomatic,

and fundamental changes have taken place in our country as a whole. At the Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, a general task for the new period was set, thus heralding a shift of emphasis in the work of the whole party and the whole nation to socialist modernization. Now, thanks to the unity and concerted efforts of the entire people, the time for this historic change has come.

Once the proletariat and the other working people have seized state power and established their political rule, economic construction must be given top priority. In the early years of the People's Republic, and especially after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out time and again that economic work and technical revolution should become our central task. Under the brilliant leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai we achieved major successes in socialist construction, while triumphantly carrying out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, socialist revolution on the ideological and political front and socialist education in the rural areas, and we rapidly transformed China into an industrial-agricultural country of some consequence. The rate of our economic progress in this period far exceeded not only that of the old China but also that of many capitalist countries at the time. While this was to a large extent due to the low level of development from which we started, such speed is certainly proof of the superiority of the socialist system. Of course, the level of our economic and cultural development is still far below that of the advanced industrial and agricultural nations. At the end of 1964, acting on the suggestion of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai formally put forward to the whole nation for the first time in his report on the work of the government delivered at the Third National People's Congress the grand concept of modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of this century, so that our economy could take its place in the front ranks of the world. However, owing to continuous sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four, the concept failed even to take shape as a detailed plan, to say nothing of being realized. At the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, Comrade Zhou Enlai once again put forward this concept, and the gang of four once again rose in fierce opposition, throwing our economy into serious disorder. They did all they could to vilify and attack the idea of modernization, alleging that "capitalism will be restored the day the four modernizations are realized." Thus it is clear that we could not really effect the shift of emphasis in our work and embark on the four modernizations without first smashing the gang of four, crushing the counter-revolutionary forces of Lin Biao and the gang and liquidating their ultra-left line.

In the present period and for a considerably long time to come systematic and planned socialist modernization will be our main task. Whether we succeed or fail in our endeavour to modernize China by the end of the century will decide the future of our country and people. Led by the Chinese Communist Party and by the great leader Comrade Mao Zedong and his close comrades-in-arms Comrade Zhou Enlai and Zhu De and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries, the people of all our nationalities have, through more than half a century of arduous efforts and heroic sacrifices, carried out first the new-democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. The fundamental aim has been to liberate the forces of production from the shackles of imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and the system of small-scale production and to expedite their growth so as to turn China into a modern, powerful socialist country and bring about steady improvement in the material and cultural life of the whole nation. Almost thirty years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic, yet to this day the superiority of socialism has not been consistently and effectively brought into play and we have achieved far less than we should have.

This has been due mainly to sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four but there were also errors in the guidance of our work at one time or another. Much time has been lost and we must speedily make up for it. We have finally created the internal and external conditions favorable for rapid, peaceful construction. If we do not make good use of this precious, hard-won opportunity, go all out and do everything possible to speed up socialist modernization, our generation will be unworthy of our country and people. We will have failed in our duty to the cause of socialism in China and the world, to our revolutionary martyrs and to posterity.

Thus the realization of the four modernizations, amid stability and unity, is in the fundamental interests of the people of all our nationalities. It is a matter which affects the well-being of the whole nation; it is the supreme political task for the present and for a considerable time to come. I believe that the current session of the National People's Congress will surely help to mobilize and unite the people of the whole country to work with one heart and contribute their utmost to the planned fulfilment of this historic task.

At this point it is necessary to say a few words about the class situation and class struggle in China, a topic of concern to all. Practice shows irrefutably that in our country (except for Taiwan) the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation have been abolished and the system of small-scale production has been transformed through appropriate and reasonable measures favoured by the vast majority of the people, and that the socialist system, having undergone rigorous tests, has finally become firmly established. As classes the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist. For historical reasons, the capitalists of our country constitute a part of the people. Our government adopted a correct policy of buying them out and successfully transformed the capitalist industry and commerce. The capitalists no longer exist as a class. After nearly thirty years of struggle and education, most members of these classes who are able to work have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. The masters of socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals and those other patriots who support socialism. There are contradictions of one sort or another among them but no conflict of fundamental interests, and the building and growth of socialism is to their common advantage. All this is the historic victory we have won, and it is an indisputable, objective fact. Of course, there are still counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents, criminals and political degenerates who seriously disrupt socialist public order, and new exploiters such as grafters, excessers and speculators. Remnants of the gang of four and of the old exploiting classes including the few unreformed landlords and rich peasants will persist in their reactionary stands and carry on anti-socialist activities in the political and economic spheres. What is more, class struggle at home is closely connected with class enemies of all kinds in China for a long time to come, and we must exercise proletarian dictatorship over them. Although they are few in number, we must under no circumstance relax our vigilance or lower our guard. Within the ranks of the people, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies will continue for a long time. In face of these influences we must engage in long-term struggle and education. While carrying out the four modernizations, boosting our productive forces and raising labour productivity, we must continue to wage class struggle economically, politically and ideologically in correct ways so that "it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." This, too, is an indisputable, objective fact. Starting from these two basic facts we maintain that we should uphold the following principles:

First, we recognize both that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that at the same time there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses, and therefore we should not try to wage such a struggle in the future. Both the view that class struggle has died out and the view that it should be magnified are at variance with objective reality at the present stage and consequently go against the wishes of the people of the whole country. According to Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings, 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. They are, however, fundamentally different in character and have different features from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies. Under socialism, our fundamental task has shifted from liberating the productive forces to protecting and developing them under the new relations of production. The aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to safeguard the peaceful labour of our people as they strive to make China a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and technology. The present level of our productive forces is very low and falls far short of the needs of the people and the country. The realization of the four modernizations by the end of the century, the raising of our present low level of productivity to that befitting a modern nation and the consequent transformation of those parts of our present relations of production and superstructure which hamper modernization and the eradication of all old habits detrimental to it--these constitute the principal contradiction to be resolved, the central task to be performed by our entire people at the present stage to perform this central task, we must persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat and in class struggle. But class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society, in waging it we must centre around and serve the central task of socialist modernization. Of course in promoting socialist modernization the ultimate aim is to realize the great communist ideal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." I don't think there is any doubt on this score among the deputies present here.

Second, we recognize that in socialist society there are contradictions between the enemy and the people as well as among the people themselves and that these two kinds of contradictions must be rigorously differentiated and correctly handled. Contradictions between the enemy and the people are resolved by means of dictatorship while those in the ranks of the people are resolved by democratic means, through unity--criticism--unity. In the handling of either kind we must rely fully on the masses and abide strictly by the socialist legal system. Thus we shall be able to preserve revolutionary order--stability and unity--for a long time and prevent chaos which would hamper socialist modernization. Comrade Mao Zedong held that except for special, local and temporary instances, contradictions in socialist society, unlike those in capitalist society, do not find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts but can be resolved by the socialist system itself. To bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play we must strive to raise the political consciousness of the people, and of the youth in particular, raise their level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and promote socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system.

All this we must do, and certainly can do. For the masters of our country and society, that is, the people and most of the working personnel entrusted by them with various responsibilities, including old, middle-aged and young, have acquired experience in many fields after having undergone the vicissitudes of the old society and the new. They know where the fundamental interests of their country lie and how these can be promoted and defended. They know too where the fundamental dangers lie and how these can be avoided or averted. We shall continue to improve and consolidate the socialist state system and the political system of democratic centralism, so that no minority will ever be able, by any means, to impose their will on the majority but will have to obey the majority and submit to their interests and will. Struggles over the past decade have shown that the four modernizations constitute the supreme interest of our country at the present stage and represent the unshakable will of our people and youth, and that no force whatsoever can stop us and the next generation from working unswervingly to promote and defend the great cause of socialist modernization.

## II. Win the First Battle for the Four Modernizations

Since the third plenary session of the eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council has made an over-all analysis of our economic construction and concluded that, on the basis of the solid achievements in economic recovery and growth during the past two years and more, the country should devote the three years beginning from 1979, to readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy in order to bring it, step by step, onto the path of sustained, proportionate and high-speed development. This is the first battle for the four modernizations which we must fight, following the decision to shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization. We must win this battle.

To modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in a big country like ours with over 900 million people is a highly complex and difficult task. Further strengthening of the groundwork is an important pre-condition for smooth development later. Sustained effort over the years since the birth of the People's Republic has laid down the foundations for our industry. Much has also been done to develop agriculture in our country with its large population and limited arable land. The work of recovery and development in the previous two years has yielded results far in excess of our expectations. But the grave effects of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four cannot be eliminated in a short period. We did not take this into full account and some of the measures we adopted were not sufficiently prudent. The main problem now facing us is that our agricultural expansion cannot as yet keep up with the needs of industrial development, and at times cannot even keep up with the demands of a growing population. Many important products of the light and textile industries are insufficient in quantity, poor in quality and limited in variety, so there are not enough marketable goods. Although the coal, petroleum and power industries and the transport and communications services have grown at a relatively swift pace, they still lag behind what is required by our expanding economy. Co-ordination within and between industrial departments is lacking in many respects. In capital construction, far too many projects are being undertaken at the same time and many will not contribute to our production capacity for years. There are obvious shortcomings in the structure of our economic and enterprise management which seriously dampen the enthusiasm of their workers and staff, and of the enterprises, localities and central departments as a whole.

These shortcomings also hinder us from making better use of our manpower, equipment and circulating funds. Taking the country as a whole, 43 percent of our major industrial products turned out by key enterprises have yet to reach the best quality levels previously attained, and 55 percent have still to match the lowest past levels of consumption of raw and semi-finished materials. Twenty-four percent of our state industrial enterprises are run at varying degrees of loss. The facts just cited make it absolutely necessary that we concentrate our efforts within these three years on readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving our economy.

By readjustment we mean making conscientious efforts to rectify the serious disproportions in our economy caused by long years of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four, to bring about relatively good co-ordination in the growth of agriculture and light and heavy industries and of the various industrial branches, and to maintain a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption. Readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement are interrelated and mutually complementary. But today it is readjustment that is crucial for the economy as a whole. For the three years of readjustment, we have set these major aims: (1) To achieve a relative correspondence between the growth of grain production and other farm and side-line production on the one hand and that of population and of industry on the other. (2) To achieve a growth-rate for the light and textile industries equal to or slightly greater than that of the heavy industry; to bring increases in major products of the light and textile industries into general correspondence with the rise of domestic purchasing power while greatly increasing exports. (3) To alleviate the current tense situation in the fuel and power industries and the transport and communications services by increasing production and practising economy. While increasing production in the metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and other heavy industries, to put the emphasis on better quality and more variety. (4) To resolutely narrow the scope of capital construction, concentrate our forces on major projects, improve their quality, reduce cost and shorten construction periods. (5) To bring about, on the basis of rising production, a further increase in the average income of all peasants from the collectives, and in the average wage of all non-agricultural workers and staff.

By restructuring we mean an over-all reform of the structure of economic management, carried out firmly and step by step. The trouble with the present structure is that in many areas and in varying degrees it violates objective economic laws. In the fields of production and circulation, in commodity production it overlooks the law of value, and in distribution it fails to implement properly the principle of "to each according to his work."

After exploration, experiment and practice over the coming three years, we must formulate a series of measures which will give industrial, agricultural, transport and communications and commercial enterprises the necessary power to make their own decisions and take initiatives in production and management in accordance with the needs of society, so that production will be closely linked on the one hand with supplies of raw and semi-finished materials and on the other with the marketing of their products, thus correcting the dislocations between supply, production and marketing. The principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," must be effectively implemented.

The earnings of an enterprise and the income of its workers and staff must be commensurate with their contribution to the state. The egalitarian tendency in which no distinction is made between those who do a good job or a poor one and between those who do more work or less, must be resolutely checked. Various specialized companies and complexes of an entrepreneurial nature must be formed in a planned way after due preparation so as gradually to change the present backward state of many enterprises which, whether "big and all-embracing" or "small but all-embracing," are economically very inefficient, and gradually to change the out-of-date way of running the economy by many administrative organs that are unwieldy, overlapping and inefficient. Lastly, under unified leadership by the central authorities, the local authorities must be given greater powers in planning, capital construction, finance, materials and foreign trade so that they can play their part in the development of the national economy in ways suited to local conditions and in conformity with the requirements of socialized mass production and the principle of economic efficiency. Thus, the relations of production can become better suited to the needs of the growing productive forces, the superstructure to the needs of the economic base, and the superiority of the socialist system can be exploited to better advantage.

By consolidation we mean a resolute and effective shake-up in the existing enterprises, and especially those in which management is in confusion. To realize the four modernizations, new enterprises must certainly be built. But we must rely mainly on tapping the potential of the large numbers of existing enterprises, renovating and transforming them and enabling them to reach or approach modern standards. Let there be no wavering on this point. To this end, we must make a big effort to put existing enterprises in order. Within three years, each enterprise should have a leading body which is strong politically and vocationally and which includes technical experts who can really play their role; it should resolutely put into force a system whereby the director of a factory takes responsibility for production under the leadership of the party committee, so that both in name and in fact he really becomes the chief administrator directing production in the whole factory. We should restore and perfect those rules and regulations, adopted since the founding of the people's republic, which have all along proved effective. We should ensure a system of clearly defined job responsibility for every one from the top down in every enterprise, so that there is a person responsible for each link in the production process, and production and operation will be organized along rational, efficient and civilized lines. Unified national laws and rules governing enterprises should be successively enacted in the light of the experience and demands of the new period. Every locality and department must make concrete demands for rectification, with time limits on those enterprises which have failed in their management. If they fail to rectify well within the stated period, the leading bodies of those enterprises must be resolutely reorganized. Badly-managed enterprises which have shown deficits over a long period should reverse the situation and turn from deficits to profit within a year or must stop operation and undergo a shake-up; they will get no subsidies from the government or credits from the bank. We must see to it that after such consolidation all enterprises which have made a poor showing reach or surpass their previous best performance both economically and technically. Only in this way can our fairly large contingent of enterprises, built up through thirty years of hard work, fulfil the earnest expectations of the country and people, and lend real strength to our drive to realize the four modernizations.



By improvement we mean raising as much as possible the levels of production, technology and management. We shall see to it that those already running properly, including industrial, construction, transport and communications, agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries, commercial and various service trade enterprises, take a big step toward modern standards, that is, to improve the quality of their products or services, develop new products, increase variety, reduce waste and consumption of material, raise labour productivity and make more effective use of capital. We shall see to it that economic managerial organizations at various levels, and persons working in this sphere, greatly improve their ability to organize and direct socialized mass production, raise their level of scientific management and vocational skills, and strive to become in due course experts in their own jobs. In three years, by learning from foreign countries, importing technology, and exerting our own efforts in innovation and invention, we should enable a number of enterprises in the main branches of the economy to adopt the world's advanced technology and employ it in key areas of production. In branches essential to the national economy and the people's livelihood, we shall build up a number of model enterprises that can set the pace in adopting modern management methods. In this way, our people will be able to see for themselves in real life the step-by-step modernization of more and more enterprises and its tangible results. This will pave the way for popularization and further improvement on a nation-wide scale.

It can thus be seen that the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement is a necessary and entirely positive key policy to ensure China's steady modernization. Along with this policy, we shall carry out the policy already adopted of actively importing advanced technology and making use of funds from abroad. The view that this policy of readjustment is a negative retreat and the view that its implementation will lead to a termination of the importation of advanced technology are both wrong through and through. To do in three years all that is required by our policy will make extremely exacting demands on us. After this session the State Council will work out programmes for implementation one by one, make a determined and systematic effort to properly organize all our forces and go forward unwaveringly towards our goal, striving for all-round victory in this major battle on our new Long March. Once this battle is won, we shall have relatively favourable conditions for gradually moving our economy onto the path of high-speed and proportionate development.

The State Council holds that, in the light of the above policy, our main task in developing the economy is to do successfully the following ten things:

First, uphold the guiding idea of taking agriculture as the foundation of our economy and concentrate effort on raising agricultural production. Agriculture is the foundation of our economy. If agriculture is gradually modernized in ways appropriate to the actual conditions of our country, it will provide a great deal of commodity grain, meat and other non-staple foods for China's urban and industrial population and an ever increasing quantity of cash crops and other raw materials for the light and textile industries and for domestic and foreign markets, and it will provide industry as a whole with a vast and ever more flourishing market. Furthermore, agriculture, industry and science, and technology will become more and more mutually supportive and move forward complementing each other.

For the step-by-step modernization of our agriculture, we should first of all bring into full play the initiative and creative spirit of our 800 million peasants and the superiority of the collective economy, continue to promote the spirit of self-reliance and hard work, and strive for sustained big increases in agricultural output. Liquidation of the pernicious influence of the ultra-left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four should go on; the three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit, should be stabilized; the rights of ownership and of decision-making by these three levels should be respected and protected; various systems of responsibility which suit local conditions, promote production and strengthen the collective economy should be introduced; the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" should be strictly enforced; commune members should be allowed to farm small plots for personal needs and go in for household side-line production; and legitimate trade at village fairs should be permitted. Practice over the years has shown that these basic policies meet the aspirations and interests of the peasants and help to boost the productive forces in agriculture. Hence, the State Council is of the view that they should remain unchanged for a long period and be enforced without fail throughout the country, allowing of no violation. While upholding these rural policies, the government will increase agricultural investments and credits, appropriately raise purchase prices of farm and side-line products, reduce or remit the agricultural tax in places where economic conditions are poor and reduce or remit the tax on enterprises run by communes, reduction brigades and production teams.

It will also give greater material and technical support to agriculture, develop agro-scientific research and popularize agro-technique, continue to promote the mechanization of farming, and speed up the building of commodity-grain production bases, state farms, forestry centres, livestock farms and fishing grounds. The proportion of government investment in agriculture has increased from 10.7 percent in 1978 to 14 percent for 1979, and counting all other funds used in agriculture, the total figure comes to 17.4 billion yuan. Appropriate increases are also expected in the next two years. Agricultural departments at all levels, and rural communes, production brigades and production teams should strive to improve management so that the funds and materials for agriculture can be put to good use, with the best results.

Never have China's several hundred million peasants shown such enthusiasm for production. Now is the time to act and we should strengthen our organizational leadership and do a good job of planning agricultural development at the commune level and above. The State Council has already initiated a general survey of the country's agricultural resources and a study of regional programmes for agricultural expansion. All county governments should undertake to guide and spur the people's communes, production brigades and production teams to work out plans for the gradual modernization of commune farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fisheries. This should be done in accordance with local conditions, and through democratic discussion by the commune members. On this basis, county, provincial and national programmes for agricultural modernization will be formulated successively through the striking of an over-all balance and, with the co-operation of the departments concerned, will be implemented step by step and in a down-to-earth manner.

We must forge ahead with farmland capital construction, increase the acreage with high and stable yields, and reclaim wasteland in a planned way; promote afforestation everywhere and effectively protect and rationally exploit lumber resources; open up and develop pastures and improve livestock breeds; protect aquatic resources and develop marine fisheries and sea- and fresh-water breeding; adopt varied means suited to local conditions to spread the rural use of methane gas; utilize local resources fully and in accordance with the principle of economic rationality and promote enterprises run by communes, production brigades and production teams so as to bring about a general upsurge in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fisheries. In this way, agriculture, the foundation of the national economy, will be more rapidly strengthened, and our 800 million peasants will become well-off more quickly.

After its trial application, the regulations concerning the work in the rural people's communes (preliminary draft) will be submitted to the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and adoption in 1980.

Second, adopt resolute and effective measures to speed up the growth of light and textile industries. Light and textile industries require relatively small investment and bring quick returns. Their expansion can satisfy the daily needs of the people and of foreign trade and accumulate funds for modernization. We must take resolute and effective measures to change their present backward state. Supply of fuel, power and raw and semi-finished materials necessary for their production must be guaranteed. In 1979, the state has increased the proportion of its investment in these industries and has allotted more foreign exchange for their growth, and there will be suitable increases in the future. The light and textile industries should make the most of these funds to get the best results. The construction of key modern enterprises in these industries must be stepped up and they must go into operation on schedule. Meanwhile, greater efforts must be made to renovate and transform existing enterprises, tap potentials, raise production, improve quality and increase variety. We must strive to turn out large numbers of top-quality, brand-name products to meet market needs at home and abroad. We must give stronger leadership to the handicraft industries and bring into full play their role in making goods for daily use, as well as art-handicraft products. Many heavy industrial enterprises, while redoubling their efforts to provide increasing amounts of equipment and raw and semi-finished materials for light industry, should make use of all available conditions to turn out high-quality articles of daily use which the domestic and foreign markets require. After producing military supplies of the required quality and quantity, the defence industries should also strive to turn out more products for civilian use, especially consumer durables.

Third, effectively overcome the weak links in our economy: the coal, petroleum and power industries, transport and communications services, and building material industry. In order to make good the acute shortages in fuel and power supply as soon as possible, we must ensure that increases in production go hand in hand with thrifty use. The coal industry must overcome the present tension or even imbalance between excavation and tunnelling in some coal pits, do a good job of technical transformation of existing pits and speed up the construction of new ones.

In the petroleum industry, geological survey and prospecting must be stepped up and more oil deposits found so as to maintain a rational balance between extraction and reserves. In the power industry, existing generating installations must be supplemented and equipment improved, the building of new power stations must be hastened, and, besides the building of thermal power stations, more hydro-power stations must be built. All industries and trades, on their part, must reduce consumption of material, save energy and put an end to waste. This is, and will be for some years, the most important and surest means of removing the pressure on fuel and power supplies. Every means should be used to get the best results resolutely and promptly, with careful calculation and strict budgeting, and with appropriate rewards and penalties. The government will enact unified regulations concerning the allocation and supply of electricity, and plans to formulate as soon as possible an energy act. According to a rough estimate by the departments concerned, our industrial enterprises and transport and communications services waste about 20-30 billion kWh of electricity and tens of millions of tons of coal each year. We now call on all regions and departments to save 2-3 percent of the coal and electricity and 5-10 percent of the petrol allotted to enterprises this year. This can certainly be done if we make the effort. The State Council requires that planning commissions at all levels size up, strictly and responsibly, the supply situation in fuel, power, raw and semi-finished materials, strictly review and control the setting up of new enterprises; and firmly halt the operation of those enterprises which, producing low-quality, overcostly or unwanted goods, have long remained in the red. This will enable those enterprises which produce urgently-needed, good-quality, low-cost products and yield large profits to operate at full capacity so that our limited amounts of fuel, power, raw and semi-finished materials can be used rationally and more effectively. In transport and communications we must accelerate the technical transformation of the trunk railway lines to increase their carrying capacity; double our efforts to build new highways while transforming existing ones; speed up the construction of harbours; develop inland river transport; and strengthen the postal and telecommunications services. The building material industry must rapidly overcome its present backwardness, speed up growth and pay special attention to research in new building materials and their manufacture.

Geological work, another weak link in the chain, should be in the van. Exertions should be made to carry out geological survey and general exploration and prospecting of mineral resources and achieve better results so as to find resources of all kinds and provide geological data for our modernization.

In the metallurgical industry, the fluctuations and stagnation in iron and steel production, which had gone on for many years, were brought to an end in 1978. During the three years beginning from 1979, the stress should be on improving quality and increasing the variety and specifications, and earnest efforts should be made to improve smelting and rolling techniques, to produce more high-grade and alloy steels and to resolutely push the output of non-ferrous metals and steel products that are rare or in short supply. It is in these areas that the industry can make a greater contribution to the state.

To meet the needs of the developing economy, the machine-building industry should do its utmost to produce more high-grade machinery--urgently needed by the state to equip agriculture, light industry, the textile, mining, petroleum, power, metallurgical, chemical and building material industries--and to turn out more vehicles, ships, communication equipment, precision machine tools, large lathes and other equipment, and spare parts and fittings. The electronics industry has an important role to play in modernization and therefore must be vigorously developed.

Fourth, resolutely curtail capital construction and try to get the best results from investment. We must rationally arrange the scale of capital construction to accord with our financial and resource capabilities, concentrating our forces to accelerate modernization. All localities and departments should bear over-all interests in mind and resolutely halt projects not urgently needed at present or for which appropriate pre-conditions do not exist. This will ensure that those projects urgently needed by the country can be built and go into operation on time. Priority should be given to the construction of key projects in agriculture, light industry, the fuel and power industries, transport and communications and the building material and metallurgical industries, and proper arrangements should be made for construction in other sectors so that our economy will develop in a co-ordinated way. The siting of capital construction projects must follow a rational plan and maintain an over-all balance, for only thus can investment yield fairly good results; otherwise serious waste will occur. When actual construction on a project begins, it must follow strict procedure. We must resolutely discard such erroneous practices as starting construction or even putting part of a project into operation before the whole design is completed. Environmental protection must be taken into account in the construction of new projects, and the pollution problems caused by existing enterprises must be solved step by step. The vast army of workers and staff in capital construction should go all out, pool their wisdom and make concerted efforts to shorten building times, reduce construction costs and assure that all projects are completely up to required standards, and raise the proportion of increase in fixed assets to over-all investment. Units and individuals of outstanding achievement should be commended and rewarded. In short, we must overcome the serious waste in our capital construction so that our investments in it, which came from the hard work of all our people, can play a full and great role in our modernization.

Fifth, vigorously develop science, education and culture and speed up the training of personnel for construction. Limited in number, to start with, the ranks of our scientists, technicians and economic managerial personnel were further reduced by the prolonged wrecking activities of Lin Biao and the gang of four to the extent that there is at present a serious shortage of qualified young people in these fields. As we accelerate economic construction, we must step up the development of science, education and culture. We must continue to restore and strengthen the main scientific research institutes, set up a number of new ones, replenish the laboratories in a number of key universities and, while attaching importance to the study of basic theory, strive harder to solve pressing scientific and technological problems in our modernization programme. All economic departments and production enterprises should encourage technological innovations, develop scientific research and, provided it meets practical needs, adopt advanced technology in production and management to the greatest extent possible.

Intermediate and industrial experimentation and the spreading of technological benefits must be stepped up in a planned way. In education, we have done good work in the rectification of universities and colleges in the past two years, and we must make greater efforts to develop these institutions as well as senior specialized institutes. As for secondary school education, various types of vocational schools must be set up according to plan to fill the urgent needs of many fields in our socialist construction. Such schools will also help solve the employment problem for large numbers of middle school graduates. It is very important to press on towards the elimination of illiteracy and the universalization of primary school education. These tasks were on the point of completion when sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four set them back many years. We must rely on the leaders and the educational departments of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to actively co-ordinate their efforts, overcome these difficulties in the way and pool their forces to accelerate the fulfilment of this task. Great attention should be paid to expanding nurseries and kindergartens and promoting pre-school education. Schools and colleges of all types and at all levels must make an effort to improve the quality of teaching. In the press, and in broadcasting, television, publishing, libraries, museums, the arts and literature, health and physical culture, concerted plans for a new expansion must be worked out to meet our growing needs in so far as our financial and material resources allow.

In order to raise the level of management and of technology in enterprises throughout the country, and the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation facilities must be provided for everybody to take part in spare-time educational courses while continuing at their regular work, or even to leave their posts for a period to attend scientific-technological, economic managerial and cultural courses. All departments and localities, and those enterprises which have the necessary conditions, should run various types of courses and study classes for the general training of all leading cadres, managerial personnel and technicians in rotation. Cultural studies and technical training for workers and staff members must be stepped up at the same time. There must be strict examinations at the end of study or training and the results should serve as an important criterion for judging the competence of trainees and whether they should be promoted or upgraded. This should be done in industry, transport and communications, and capital construction and also in agriculture, commerce, science, education and culture.

Sixth, continue to do a good job in importing technology, make active use of funds from abroad and strive to expand exports. Economic exchanges between countries and the import of technology are indispensable major means by which countries develop their economy and technology. It is all the more necessary for developing countries to import advanced technology in a planned way in order to catch up with those economically developed. In order to accelerate the four modernizations, while resolutely maintaining independence and self-reliance as our main premise, we must work hard to learn all that is worthwhile from foreign countries, selectively import advanced technology of which we are urgently in need, and not wall our country off from international exchanges. Both in the three-year period of economic readjustment and in subsequent years, we shall be taking energetic steps to develop foreign trade, expand economic co-operation and technical exchange with foreign countries and employ various appropriate means, current in international practice, to absorb funds from abroad.

This is a firm, important policy of our government. The "Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures With Chinese and Foreign Investments" has already been submitted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to the current session for examination and approval, after which the State Council will work out regulations and specific measures concerning the expansion of economic and technological exchanges. What needs emphasizing is this? Planned import of advanced foreign technology and the use of funds from abroad do not stand in contradiction to our country's policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement over the next three years; they play important complementary roles. We must do a good job of importing advanced technology in order to strengthen the weak links in our economy and transform and improve our existing enterprises. If conducted in a rational way, our co-operation with foreign countries in production technology, compensatory trade and joint investment enterprises will promote the restructuring, consolidation and improvement of our enterprises. In actively importing advanced technology, of course, we must take the practical conditions in our own country into consideration, make over-all plans and proceed on the priority principle. While it is important to import the essential complete sets of equipment, it is even more important to bring in advanced manufacturing technology and skills. Under all circumstances, we must lay stress on organizing vast numbers of technicians and workers to study, assimilate and master advanced foreign technology. We must do a good job in China of manufacturing parts and accessories for imported equipment and constantly raise our own ability to produce industrial equipment; we must try hard to combine learning from foreign experience with our own creative effort. Only thus can we catch up with and surpass the world's advanced levels. In order to import more advanced foreign technology. We must raise our ability to pay, and here the major and most reliable approach is a vigorous expansion of exports. The group in charge of import and export under the State Council and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must supervise and help each and every department and locality to draw up short-term and long-term export plans, and must make conscientious efforts to broaden the variety of products, raise quality and improve design and packaging. Once a plan is mapped out, its implementation must be checked, and fulfilment as to quality, quantity and timing must be guaranteed. At the same time, we should make a big effort to expand tourism.

Seventh, adopt a resolute attitude and take active and steady steps to reform the structure of economic management. The restructuring of economic management concerns the national economy as a whole and is of enormous scope. On the basis of previous investigations and studies, the departments concerned under the State Council have produced initial drafts on several of the most urgent matters: Some trial measures for the enlargement of the power of decision of enterprises, trial regulations concerning rewards and penalties for workers and staff, a preliminary programme for reform of the financial system, regulations for the control of foreign trade and the sharing of foreign currency earnings, and measures for the step-by-step replacement of investment by bank credits in capital construction. I hope our deputies will suggest improvements to these documents. After this session, these reform measures will be tried out in various areas and then revised and published by the State Council.

At the same time, the State Council and the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will organize the departments concerned to carry out special investigations and studies on other matters relating to the restructuring of economic management, trying out reform measures at selected points and then quickly devising practical measures.

Eighth, preserve basic price stability; readjust those prices that are irrational, while strengthening price control. Prices must be kept basically stable; otherwise, there will be chaos in the economic life of our country. But wherever called for, timely readjustments should be made; otherwise production growth will be adversely affected. Earlier this year, the State Council decided to raise the purchase prices of main farm and side-line products such as grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops and pigs by a fairly big margin. This decision, which answered the longstanding wishes of our 600 million peasants, is certain to give a big and protracted boost to the development of agriculture, the improvement of market supplies and the rapid growth of the entire economy. From the point of view of the situation as a whole, this is beneficial to the whole nation. Though the purchase prices of farm and side-line products have been raised this year, the state has nonetheless tried its utmost to allocate funds for improving the livelihood of workers and staff and the urban population in general. But since the state's revenues are limited, the sums diverted for this purpose cannot be very large. These are the difficulties we face, and we hope our workers and staff and other urban inhabitants will understand. After raising the purchase prices of farm and side-line products, the selling prices of grain and edible oil have remained unchanged, but there will be appropriate adjustments in the prices for a number of other products in this category. The government will take necessary measures to increase the income of the workers and staff, and except for a very few families whose livelihood will unavoidably be slightly affected for the time being because they have more mouths to feed, the actual living standards of the great majority of workers and staff and other urban inhabitants will not suffer. We must take great care in these matters, for price fluctuations affect huge numbers of families. The scope and range of price readjustments must be strictly governed by the related regulations of the State Council. No locality or department is allowed to go its own way. Price control must be effective and increasing selling prices at will, or inflating them in disguised ways, is strictly forbidden.

Ninth, raise the living standards of the people step by step as production rises. This year, the income of the rural people's communes, production brigades, production teams and the individual peasants will increase by an estimated 13 billion yuan, as a result of higher purchase prices for farm and side-line products, reduction or remission of agricultural tax in some areas and expansion of agricultural production. This is historically unprecedented and such a big increase in a single year will certainly boost the peasants' labour enthusiasm, but will also considerably increase the task of the industrial and commercial departments and banks in meeting their demands for goods. Thus, the communes, production brigades and production teams face the important question of how to guide the peasants in using this money judiciously and in a planned way so that it is turned into a motive force stimulating the all-round flourishing of the rural socialist economy.



It is planned that a part of the urban workers and staff will receive a raise in their wages and salaries this year. The reward system will remain in force, so that those workers, scientists, technicians and cadres who have done a good job and contributed more to the state will be encouraged with commendations and material rewards. However, the handing out of bonuses without regard to merit must be corrected. The state will spend 3 billion yuan on building living quarters for workers and staff (exclusive of those constructed by enterprises themselves), and over 30 million square metres of housing will be completed. Local expenditures on developing public utilities, and cultural, educational, health and other welfare undertakings will also increase as compared with last year.

Employment is a prominent question at present. Because of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four, economic and other development in the past decade has been slow, and now the people waiting for work outnumber the available jobs. The government is very much concerned about their employment and livelihood and will make appropriate arrangements in accordance with the principle of over-all consideration. It will try to multiply the opportunities for employment by efforts to develop handicrafts, repair and renovation services, commerce, service trades, fish breeding and poultry farming, restaurants, tourism, urban public utilities, parks and public gardening and other undertakings that are needed and feasible, so that those waiting for jobs can be gradually and suitably placed. This year's plan is to employ over 7 million people in state-owned or collective-owned units, and to allocate a certain amount of funds to large and medium-sized cities to run service companies. Through many different ways, all those waiting for jobs will be organized in due course for vocational training or labour service. Valuable experience has been gained in these respects in a number of cities, and we should lose no time in spreading it to other parts of the country. As to those school-leavers who should go to the countryside, further efforts should be made to mobilize them to go, and the villages and other quarters concerned should make suitable arrangements for their well-being, take a keen interest in their studies and healthy growth, and earnestly encourage and help them to contribute their energies to building up our socialist countryside.

This year the government has made a big effort to improve the livelihood of the people and will continue to make appropriate arrangements to this end in accordance with financial and material resources possibilities. We are still confronted with many difficulties, and the many problems affecting the people's livelihood which have accumulated over the years cannot be solved at one stroke, but only step by step as production rises. We are putting the situation before our fellow deputies and the whole nation, and we are sure all will respond with understanding.

Tenth, continue to do a good job of family planning and effectively control population growth. In the 1970's, we have done remarkably well in bringing our population growth under control, yet the growth rate must be brought down still further. Since there was a bigger growth of population in the late 1950's and 1960's, the number of men and women of marriageable age will also show a marked rise in the last two decades of the century.

Further exertion in reducing our population growth rate in order to accelerate the four modernizations and foster the health and well-being of the whole nation is of strategic importance, and there must be no relaxation in this effort. We must conscientiously carry out ideological, educational and technical work as well as child care and health work throughout the country so that people can practise family planning willingly, safely and effectively. Practical measures should be taken to reward couples who limit themselves to a single child and gradually to institute social insurance for aged people who are childless. In the countryside the system of fixing the amount of distributed grain according to age should be adhered to and in the urban areas suitable measures in the allocation of housing and welfare of workers and staff should be adopted so that our social and economic policies are conducive to family planning. Correct measures will produce desirable effects. The natural population growth rate in Sichuan Province dropped from 29 per thousand in 1971 to 6.1 per thousand in 1978, while in Shanghai it fell from 7 per thousand to 5.1 per thousand. Their experience should be popularized in all urban and rural areas. This year, we must do everything we can to lower the country's population growth rate to about 10 per thousand and we must continue to lower it year by year in the future. By 1985, it should drop to 5 per thousand.

In addition to work along the ten lines cited above, the tasks for consolidating and improving our economy, of course, must also be strictly carried out.

Fellow deputies! Acting on the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, the State Planning Commission has revised the plan worked out last year for developing the national economy in 1979. The fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1979 plan is of special significance since it is the first year of shifting the focus of our work and also the year of the 30th anniversary of the founding of our great socialist state. Let us all mobilize as one and immediately unfold nation-wide and in all trades and professions, a broad and deep-going movement to increase production and practise economy, with high output, fine quality, wide variety and low cost as its outstanding features. Let us also unfold mass movements for socialist labour emulation and for the raising of proposals for work improvement. Let us strive for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of this year's plan. All regions, departments and enterprises must do what they can to set clear targets and to adopt concrete measures to increase production and practise economy. In the movement to increase production and practise economy, leading government organs and leading cadres at all levels must set the masses an example, strengthen ideological and political work, and lead the whole people in keeping up the glorious traditions of plain living and hard work and building the country through diligence and thrift. They must lead them in emulating and fostering the revolutionary drive and self-reliant spirit pioneered by those hard-working trail-blazers, the people of Deqing and Daxhai. They must emulate and foster the indomitable spirit of our heroes in the self-defensive counter-attack against the Vietnamese aggressors, heroes who gave no quarter to the enemy, and who looked death in the face as they advanced and filled the breach left by fallen comrades. They must go all out and vie with one another to achieve top-notch results in the movement to increase production and practise economy and in the four modernizations.

All enterprises, establishments and administrative organs must promptly adopt every possible measure to practise economy and relentlessly combat such despicable exploiting class conduct as indulging in extravagance, waste and excessive feasting, giving parties and sending gifts to curry favour, ostentatious display and squandering state property.

Besides striving to perform its current work in various fields of economic development, the State Council is carefully studying the practical experience gained in the past two years and the actual conditions in China, and is, where necessary, supplementing and amending the original draft outline of the ten-year plan. At the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress to be held in 1981, the State Council will put forward the sixth five-year plan for the development of the national economy (1981-1985) and submit it for examination and approval. By that time, we believe, we shall be able to announce that the task of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy has been crowned with triumph, and that our economy can develop more steadily and rapidly from then on.

### III. Strengthen Socialist Democracy and the Socialist Legal System

Strengthening of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system is urgently needed for the sake of consolidating the socialist state system which is led by the working class and has as its masters the entire working people, for the sake of solidifying the political foundation on which the country can carry out socialist modernization in stability and unity, for the sake of bringing into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of our whole people in modernization and for the sake of ensuring that there are no further serious loopholes in our political system which can be taken advantage of by conspirators like Lin Biao and the gang of four in their attempts at counter-revolutionary restoration.

Socialist democracy is first of all a question of the state system in socialist countries. Socialist democracy, or people's democracy, implies that the entire people wield supreme power of running the country on the basis of the rights of ownership and disposal which they exercise in various forms over the means of production. This is an unshakable socialist political principle. Deviation from this basic principle is sabotage of the socialist state. We call the four modernizations China's socialist modernization because we are modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology under socialism and not capitalism. Therefore, as a social process, our modernization in its aim, course, procedure and method has the hallmarks of socialism and, first of all, socialist democracy. That is to say, our modernization is inseparable from the needs, interests, wishes and efforts of the broad masses of the people. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party calls on the whole nation to uphold the four fundamental principles in the course of modernization, namely, to keep to the socialist road, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. None of these four principles can do without socialist democracy. Without a high degree of political democracy, without the pooling of the wisdom and efforts of the masses on the basis of such democracy, and without a high degree of such centralization as is necessary on this basis, there can be no sustained and proportionate development of the socialist economy at top speed and no four modernizations.

Only with full democracy can the people emancipate their minds, feel at ease and, as masters of their country, display a sense of responsibility, initiative, creative spirit, dedication and self-sacrifice. Only with full democracy will they generate the drive to study and solve the various problems of the national economy, to put forward every kind of practical and imaginative proposal and strive unrelentingly to carry them out, and to make important innovations, inventions and discoveries which require great perseverance, so that our economy and culture can move rapidly forward. Only with full democracy can the masses criticize and supervise leading bodies and leading cadres so as to overcome bureaucracy and conservatism, promptly expose political degenerates, grafters and embezzlers, counter-revolutionaries and criminals, and consolidate the socialist cause and the socialist state. In short, the more socialist democracy develops, the better can modernization be achieved, and the more the cause of modernization advances and the higher the economic and cultural standards of society and the level of the people's political consciousness become, the healthier socialist democracy will be.

Since the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, we have adopted a series of measures to strengthen democracy and the legal system. Not only have we removed most of the hard-core elements of the factional formations of the gang of four who rode roughshod over the people, we have also initiated the election of leaders at the grass-roots level in enterprises and establishments so that the democratic rights of the working people in managing state affairs and economic and cultural undertakings are being gradually expanded. We are striving to carry out the mass line in all fields of work, to promote the people's freedom of speech and to heed suggestions from various quarters and criticisms made responsibly and based on strong evidence and give them publicity in the press. We are strengthening the work of attending to the letters and visits from the masses and encourage the people to supervise the work of the government and its cadres at every level. As you all know, the drafting of laws which concerns the whole people is being speeded up under the sponsorship of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The present session of the congress will discuss and adopt several important laws. After their promulgation the government personnel at all levels must uphold and resolutely enforce them. Moreover, the various government departments and local governments have been issuing certain rules and regulations in accordance with the spirit of the constitution and the law and will continue to do so.

It should be admitted, however, that our country has a long feudal tradition and is relatively backward economically and culturally and that in the past we did not do enough to appropriately publicize and practise democracy. Moreover, there are defects in our rules and regulations. In these circumstances autocracy, bureaucracy, love of privilege, the patriarchal style of work and anarchism are apt to spread. It was precisely this that gave an opening to conspirators like Lin Biao and the gang of four to usurp state power. Although they have been overthrown, their pernicious influence, as shown particularly in factional and anarchic tendencies, must not be underestimated. Grave defects in the structure and methods of our management still exist. In some regions and departments, the enthusiasm and initiative of the people are still held in check to varying degrees. Their democratic rights, freedom of the person and legitimate economic rights and interests are not always secure, and actions detrimental to socialist politics and economy and to the people's democratic rights and democratic centralism are sometimes not effectively restrained and investigated.

All this shows that we still have to make tremendous efforts before socialist democracy is given full play and becomes institutionalized and embodied in laws, public order and discipline. Since political democracy is essential to the four modernizations, it is our long-term policy to steadily expand and foster democracy and strengthen democratic centralism as we develop production and raise the standards of the people's material and cultural life, a policy which our government and cadres at all levels should unswervingly follow.

As far as government work is concerned, the expansion and fostering of socialist democracy means above all that leading cadres at all levels must genuinely understand that the people are the masters of the country while they themselves are only public servants whose task is to serve the people's interests by properly exercising the powers entrusted to them. The four modernizations are something entirely new. In order to make fewer mistakes and minimize damage to the interests of the country and the people, it is particularly necessary that we firmly act on Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching: "Shed the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and become a willing pupil." Every level of government must respect the masses and trust and rely on them and provide the political and material conditions for the people to exercise their rights to manage state affairs through various channels and means. We must hold ourselves responsible to the people's congresses at all levels, report to them regularly on our work, listen attentively to criticisms and suggestions from the people's deputies and give considered explanations and answers to their questionings. Governments at various levels must provide all possible facilities to ensure that the people's deputies can effectively perform their duties, such as making inspection tours and gathering the voters' opinions on government work. It is absolutely impermissible to conceal information from people's deputies or to lie to them. In regard to important decisions and important tasks in its day-to-day work, every government department, enterprise and establishment must try to pool the wisdom of the masses, gather rationalization proposals from all quarters and give particular attention to the role of those with expert knowledge and technical knowhow.

A draft of the organic law of the local people's congresses and local people's governments of the People's Republic of China, submitted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, shall be examined at the present session. The implementation of this organic law is an important measure towards the broadening and developing of socialist democracy. The establishment of Standing Committees of the local people's congresses at the county level and above will not only greatly enhance the role of the local people's congresses at all levels, but greatly strengthen control and supervision over the local governments by the people. The change of the local revolutionary committees into local people's governments will substantially improve the independent work of all the local administrative organs. Following adoption of this organic law by the present session after deliberation, the local governments at all levels should carry out reorganization speedily in accordance with the resolution. During reorganization, the administrative structure must be simplified and the responsibilities of every post clearly defined so as to bring about much higher efficiency in our work.

In order to extend and foster socialist democracy, governments at all levels must attach great importance to raising the status of our minority nationalities and safeguarding and giving effect to their democratic rights.

Lin Biao and the gang of four committed many grave crimes against the minority nationalities and were responsible for many appalling cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced. Although most of these have now been redressed, we still need to work hard to heal quickly the wounds of the past, conduct a general and deep-going re-education in policies on the nationalities, and effectively strengthen the unity of our nationalities. Leading cadres in the minority nationality areas, and particularly leading cadres of Han nationality, must resolutely implement the policies of our party and government on the nationalities and religion, respect the customs and folk-ways of the minority nationalities, foster and promote cadres from among the nationalities and do all they can to bring about speedy recovery and growth in the economy and culture in these areas.

In order to extend and foster socialist democracy, governments at all levels must also attach great importance to elevating the status of women and youth and safeguarding and giving effect to their rights, and particularly the right to equal pay for equal work. Close attention should be given to constantly promoting outstanding women and young people of positions of leadership at all levels. Due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four, there are shortages in varying degrees of younger cadres qualified for leading posts. Therefore, it is a most pressing task for governments at all levels to stress the training and promotion of young and middle-aged cadres.

In order to extend and foster socialist democracy, governments at all levels must, moreover, attach great importance to strengthening democracy in the administrative departments and enterprises and establishments. We should introduce a system of workers' congress in enterprises, where leading personnel should make reports on work to the congress at regular intervals and listen to its view. We should popularize and improve the system of electing cadres. Leading members should be elected by the masses not only in the rural people's communes, but gradually at the basic levels in enterprises and establishments such as factories, mines and stores. Besides, elections should be gradually extended wherever they are needed and possible. In units where it is inadvisable to institute elections, opinion polls may be tried out at regular intervals (say, at the end of each year), as a method of mass assessment and examination of the work of leading cadres. These measures will help to promote outstanding people who are selfless, well versed in their work, highly efficient and able at organization to leading posts. On the other hand, they will help in promptly transferring to other posts or taking action against those leading personnel who are divorced from the masses, seriously neglect their duties, or even violate the law and discipline. We should make an extensive study of domestic and foreign experience and establish and improve systems concerning the examination, assessment, supervision, reward and punishment, removal, rotation and retirement of cadres. We must make a determined effort to abandon the "iron rice-bowl" practice under which no one needs to worry about his job because there is no checking on his performance, no distinction is made between those meriting rewards and those deserving punishments, and cadres can only be promoted but not demoted and can only be assigned to one place or unit but not another. We must strictly prevent our cadres, who are the public servants of the people, from becoming overlords sitting on their backs.

Leaders in government departments at all levels and in enterprises and establishments must heed the voice of the masses, have their well-being at heart and personally attend to the letters and visits from the masses. We should foster healthy tendencies and combat unhealthy ones by continuously encouraging the masses to expose errors and violations of the law and discipline by government departments, enterprises and establishments or by their personnel.

Democracy in its original sense means rule by the majority, and socialist democracy is rule by the overwhelming majority both in name and in fact, something without parallel in history. If the individuals or the few are not subordinate to the decisions of the many or to the discipline laid down by organizations genuinely representative of the majority and if organizations at the lower level are not subordinate to those higher up, that is not socialist democracy at all, but anti-democratic and anti-social behaviour that must be stopped and set right under socialist democracy. As there is still class struggle in our country and the pernicious influence of the factionalism and anarchism spread by Lin Biao and the gang of four has not yet been eliminated, governments at all levels should, in the course of promoting socialist democracy, do educational work among the cadres and the masses so that they will correctly understand and handle the relationships between democracy and dictatorship, democracy and centralism, and freedom and discipline.

It is necessary to combine democracy among the people with dictatorship over the enemy. These two aspects must not be confused or reversed, or separated from each other. Governments at various levels must at all times steadfastly protect the people and never exercise dictatorship over them. Within the ranks of the people, we must firmly implement the principle of three don'ts, i.e., don't pick on people, don't put political labels on people and don't wield big sticks, a principle repeatedly affirmed by Comrade Mao Zedong. We must encourage the free airing of views and strictly forbid the practice of making things tough for people who have voiced differing opinions as well as any other form of repression or persecution. As a matter of fact, adherence to people's democracy is the only way to unite the people in effectively combating the enemy and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. All conspiracies and acts of sabotage by anti-socialist elements must be resolutely suppressed; otherwise it will be impossible to safeguard socialist democracy and socialist construction. Naturally, in striking at the enemy, it is essential to be accurate, strictly observe the state legal system, avoid making mistakes as far as possible and promptly rectify them whenever discovered.

In handling the relationships between higher and lower levels and between the leadership and the masses within the ranks of the people, we must combine democracy with centralism and combat bureaucracy and anarchy. Of course, in accordance with democratic centralism, it is entirely necessary for leading cadres at various levels to make decisions of all kinds, basing themselves on facts and following the mass line, including decisions in day-to-day work that fall within the limits of their responsibility. Entrusting us with public office, the people want us to stand fast at our posts, be brave in shouldering our responsibilities, dare to combat indiscipline and inefficiency, strive to surmount all difficulties and work uncomplainingly and selflessly for the people. Such cadres are faithful fighters for socialist democracy and pillars of the socialist society.

The more such cadres we have, the more our socialist democracy will progress and the brighter our hopes for the four modernizations will be. On the contrary, nothing but infinite harm will be done to the people's cause if leading cadres shirk responsibility in the face of problems, are afraid of giving offence, slough off their duties, do nothing but eat three square meals a day or, in the name of democracy, engage in endless discussion without making any decision or take no action after decisions are made, so that everything gets lost in empty political talk and the odyssey of official papers. Such conduct is totally incompatible with the demands of socialist democracy, and it is one type of bureaucracy characterized by serious neglect of duty to the people. The other type is the placing of oneself above the organization, acting dictatorially, disregarding objective laws and messing things up by issuing subjective orders. Unless an implacable struggle is waged against these two types of bureaucracy, socialist democracy cannot possibly develop, the superiority of the socialist system cannot be manifested, and the enthusiasm of the people for modernization will be dampened. To remove these bureaucratic obstacles, we should adopt effective measures and firmly eliminate such unhealthy phenomena as overlapping organizations and the dilatory style of work. We should rigorously enforce, from top to bottom, the system of democratic centralism and the system of division of labour under collective leadership, and allow no one to make arbitrary decisions on important matters, lord it over others or shirk responsibility. As for those bureaucrats who have caused enormous damage to the interests of the state and the people through serious neglect of duty or malfeasance, it is essential to call them to account administratively, economically and legally.

Socialist democracy demands that we steadfastly defend centralized and unified leadership by the people's government, safeguard policies and decrees embodying the will of the people, uphold the authority of the leaders and managers executing their will and preserve the order in which work, production and the life of the people are organized. Without all this, socialist democracy cannot possibly be realized. The gang of four did its utmost to incite an anarchic trend of thought, rejected all necessary centralism and authority, and regarded actions that were harmful to the interests of the state and to the people's lives and property as the exercise of individual "freedom." In many parts of the country, beating, smashing and looting were perpetrated [and] assaults made on government offices and production and transport disrupted, resulting in terrible suffering among the people. The pernicious influence of anarchism remains at present an important factor in disrupting stability and unity. It is the archenemy of socialist democracy, an enemy which we must never forget. In order to consolidate stability and unity and develop socialist democracy, we must continue our resolute struggle against the scourge of anarchism in all its forms.

The unity of democracy and centralism is in a large measure the unity of freedom and discipline. A citizen should be protected by the government against any restraint in enjoying and exercising the rights to freedom of the person, of speech, correspondence, publication, assembly, association and religious belief, as long as he does not violate the Constitution or the provisions of specific laws based on it.



The full enjoyment of these freedoms by the individual is entirely consistent with his observance of necessary discipline. No individual freedom can be guaranteed without order and discipline of some kind. In essence the unity of freedom and discipline means also the unity of rights and duties. Marx put it well that there is no right without duty nor duty without right. Clearly, whoever wishes to enjoy personal freedom must respect the personal freedom of speech, must undertake to enjoy the right to freedom of speech, must undertake to refrain from mud-slinging and rumour-mongering, and whoever wishes to enjoy the right to work and to receive wages from society must observe labour discipline, obey managerial direction and act according to work rules. To enjoy rights and freedoms a citizen must fulfil his duty to society and to other people. This is the sole basis on which to define and enhance the public morality, public order and public interests in socialist society. Therefore, in safeguarding the rights of citizens and at the same time maintaining public order and work discipline, our governments at all levels are properly discharging their duties and have thus enjoyed the support of the whole people.

The overwhelming majority of our government personnel are good or relatively good. They work hard, observe law and discipline and serve the people as best they can. But there are some who think that obligations and discipline are laid down for the common people, while cadres, and high-ranking cadres in particular, have only rights without obligations and need not observe discipline. This is entirely wrong. It would mean a feudal, and not a socialist, order. According to socialist principles, every ordinary worker has his inviolable rights, and every leading cadre must fulfil his obligations and observe discipline. As a matter of fact, we cannot possibly expect the people to fulfil obligations and observe discipline if certain leading cadres are exempted from both. Although we eradicated feudal class rule long ago, malpractices left over mainly by the feudal order, such as the pursuit of privilege, "back-door dealings" and suppression of democratic rights, still remain to a considerable extent to this day. These malpractices gravely corrode the healthy organisms of our state departments, impair the flesh-and-blood ties between government and people and dampen the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. Therefore, we must educate all government personnel in the need to abide by law and discipline, and we must warmly commend good people and (?good cadres) while waging a serious, persistent struggle against malpractices.

In order to wage this struggle effectively, we urgently need to perfect our socialist legal system with all speed. Apart from the laws and decrees to be enacted by the National People's Congress (?and its) Standing Committee, governments at all levels should formulate, within the scope of their powers, necessary rules and regulations with the force of law and require administrative organs and enterprises and establishments to follow them where applicable. Every effort should be made to perfect various systems, standards and procedures, and governments at all levels should widely publicize them so that, with supervision and support from the masses, they will be firmly adhered to. Only by setting an example in the observance of laws and regulations can our government departments and personnel truly arouse and lead the masses in resolute struggle against bad people and bad deeds that undermine socialist democracy and the legal system and harm the interests of the state and people.

Through strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system and by intensifying the struggle against bureaucracy, factionalism, anarchism and malpractices, we will certainly be able to make further advances on the lively political situation of stability and unity and ensure that the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots of all our nationalities can work with both ease of mind and drive, dedicating themselves to the great cause of socialist modernization.

#### IV. Oppose Hegemonism, Safeguard World Peace

As the movement to criticize Lin Biao and the gang of four deepened, the line in foreign affairs formulated by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai was implemented even better than in the past. Since the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, China has opened up a new prospect in her international relations and scored remarkable successes in this field, holding high the banner of struggle against hegemonism and in defence of world peace. In the past year, Chinese leaders have visited more than 50 countries on the five continents. We have also played host to visiting leaders from more than 30 countries. These mutual visits have strengthened our ties of amity and co-operation with other countries. We have increased our trade with many of them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, developed scientific, technological and cultural exchanges and co-operation, and signed a number of agreements on long-term trade and on cultural, scientific and technological co-operation. Contacts between the Chinese people and those of other lands have notably increased, enhancing mutual understanding and friendship.

We are pleased that the unity between China and other socialist countries has become closer and our co-operation with them in various spheres has developed further. Our friendship with many Third World countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions has been strengthened. Our good-neighbourly ties with many south and Southeast Asian countries have become stronger. Our relations with countries of Western Europe, North America and Oceania have also made marked progress. There have been major developments in our relations with Japan and the United States of America. A treaty of peace and friendship was signed between China and Japan last August, following persistent efforts on both sides. The treaty reflects the aspirations of the two peoples to live in friendship now and for generations to come and has laid a sound foundation for friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. China and the United States, after over two decades of estrangement and antagonism, established diplomatic relations on January 1 this year, thereby ushering in a new phase in their relationship. Both the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship and the Sino-U.S. communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations contain anti-hegemonist provisions, a fact of great significance in the world situation today.

The extension of our work and our achievements in this field have had a positive effect on the international situation. They have contributed to endeavours of the people of the world in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, defending their own independence and sovereignty, and safeguarding world peace; and they have created favourable international conditions for China's socialist modernization.

The past year has seen big changes in the world situation which, viewed as a whole, is becoming more turbulent and tense.

The two superpowers are intensifying their rivalry for world hegemony, and the factors for war have continued to grow. Social-imperialism has become more adventurist. In Europe it has been steadily increasing its offensive military forces, threatening and blackmailing the West European countries. In Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf area and South Asia, it has made use of agents, enlisted mercenary troops and resorted to infiltration and subversion and even incited armed invasion and military coups in its attempt to seize strategic areas and resources and control sea lanes with the aim of dominating these areas and throttling Europe by encircling it from the perimeter. In the same period, it has quickened its expansion in the Asian-Pacific region, where it has beefed up its naval and air forces, established and sought more military bases and continually flaunted its military strength. It has encouraged and assisted the Vietnamese authorities and even got directly involved in their assertion of control over Laos, their aggression against Kampuchea and their rigging up of an "Indochinese federation," in order to realize step by step its fond dream of an "Asian collective security system" with Indochina as the base area. The aggressive and expansionist pursuits of the greater and the lesser hegemonists in Indochina, far from being a regional matter, are part and parcel of social-imperialism's global strategy for world hegemony. A host of facts proves that social-imperialism is the main source of tension in the international situation today.

In this turbulent world, there have been new developments in the struggle of the people of all countries, first of all of the people of the Third World, against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for political independence, economic and social progress and world peace. The broadly-based non-aligned movement is playing an important role in international affairs as a significant force against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The peoples of Africa are resolutely combating foreign intervention, maintaining that African affairs should be solved by the Africans themselves. The peoples of southern Africa are persevering in their fight for national liberation, and imperialism, colonialism and racism are in a worsening predicament there. The peoples of the Arab countries and Palestine, seeking a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East question, are struggling ceaselessly against the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel and superpower rivalry in that region. The army and people of Democratic Kampuchea are carrying on, under extremely difficult conditions, valiant resistance against the aggression of the regional hegemonists and are striking repeated blows against Vietnam's aggressor troops. In face of the increasingly serious military threat from hegemonism, Western Europe and Japan are paying more heed to enhancing their defence capabilities to safeguard their security. The West European countries, too, are strengthening their economic alliance, political co-ordination and military co-operation. The people of all countries, waging struggles against hegemonism under different circumstances and in various ways, have contributed positively to the containment of hegemonist aggression and expansion and to the defence of world peace.

The defence of world peace against wars of aggression is the common aspiration and pressing demand of the people of all countries. Historical experience and today's realities both show that peace is not won by begging, war is not prevented by making concessions and often unprincipled compromises with aggressors only accelerate the advent of war. The SALT agreements can in no way check the arms race, much less fundamentally solve the problem of safeguarding peace. Only through a great deal of solid, conscientious work can the forces for war be checked effectively.

Such work includes: informing the people accurately about the danger of war to heighten their vigilance and prepare them for repelling aggressors; adopting effective measures and taking concrete steps to constantly upset expansionist plans of the schemers of war; and opposing policies of appeasement and taking tit-for-tat actions against the aggressors when necessary. We believe that it is possible to put off the outbreak of war so long as all the peace-loving countries and peoples close ranks and co-ordinate their efforts.

China has always pursued a policy of peace in foreign affairs and is making unwavering efforts to safeguard world peace, develop friendly co-operation between the people of all countries and promote the progress of humanity. We uphold proletarian internationalism and support all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for liberation and social progress. Adhering to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of the three worlds, we will strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the progressive forces of the world, with the socialist countries and various Third World countries, and unite with all the forces in the world that can be united in a joint effort to oppose the hegemonist policies of aggression and war. We are ready to establish and develop relations with other countries to the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. China will never seek hegemony or strive to become a superpower. The peaceful reunification of Korea is of great importance to peace in the Far East. The latest four-point proposal put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for opening dialogue between the North and the South demonstrates once again that it is sincere in its search for an independent, peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and that there is no such thing as a "threat from the North." The Chinese Government and people resolutely support this major effort of the Korean people.

The aggression and expansion by the greater and lesser hegemonists in Indochina has made that area one of the hot spots in the currently tense international scene, and has focused the world's attention on the growing threat posed by them to the security of the Southeast Asian countries. We resolutely demand that the Vietnamese authorities withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea, stop their intervention, control, aggression and threats directed against neighbouring countries and put an end to the forced exodus of refugees they created. We resolutely support the just struggle of the Kampuchean people to safeguard their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We pledge full support to the proposal of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to establish a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality," and we support their measures to defend their national independence and regional peace.

We persist in our support of the just struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries and Palestine, and reaffirm that we will have no relations with the Israeli Government which has invaded the territories of Arab countries and refuses to recognize the sacred national rights of the Palestinian people. We are opposed to superpower shielding of and connivance with Israel as well as superpower sowing of dissension among the Arab countries; we are against the arrogant attitude of Israel in obstructing a comprehensive solution to the Middle East question.

Occupied Arab territories must be recovered and the national rights of the Palestinians, including their right to return to their homeland and establish their own state, must be restored. Only thus can the Middle East question really be solved. Such a solution depends on the great strength of the unity of the Arab people. We hope wholeheartedly that all parties of the Arab world will show mutual understanding, and rebuild their unity in the fight against the common enemy, and thus hasten their victory.

We resolutely oppose the colonialist and racist rule in South Africa and Rhodesia and firmly support the people of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their struggles for national liberation.

The Third World countries strongly demand that the old international economic relations be changed and a new international economic order be established. We are ready to join the other Third World countries in making sustained efforts to attain this goal.

We hold a high opinion of the policy of independence and not joining any bloc pursued by the non-aligned movement, and we support its just stand in opposing imperialism, colonialism and all types of foreign domination and hegemonism. A superpower has been doing its utmost to exert pressure on and split and undermine the non-aligned movement and change its political direction by machinations through one or two of its lackeys. We believe that through the joint efforts of the many non-aligned countries, the movement will uphold its unity, overcome outside interference and advance victoriously along its set course.

We hold that the development of economic, technological, scientific and cultural exchanges and cooperation among various countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit will help to promote their friendly relations and preserve world peace. China will, as always, continue to develop trade and economic co-operation and technological and cultural exchanges with other countries according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

China and Vietnam were both victims of imperialist and colonialist enslavement and bullying in the past, and by supporting each other in their protracted revolutionary struggles the two peoples forged a time-honoured friendship. The Chinese Government and people have consistently done their utmost to preserve this friendship with the Vietnamese people. But the Vietnamese authorities, emboldened by support from social-imperialism, wantonly stirred up an anti-China, anti-Chinese campaign while pushing hegemonism in Indochina and Southeast Asia. They laid fantastic claims to our territory and committed flagrant armed provocations, severely jeopardizing security of China's southwest border. Driven beyond forbearance, we were forced to act in self-defence and make a limited counterattack. In spite of all this, we still stand for settling the issues between the two countries through negotiations and have proposed in the talks with Vietnam eight principles. Hegemony is the root cause of the strained Sino-Vietnamese relations and the deterioration of the situation in Indochina and Southeast Asia. This fundamental issue cannot possibly be avoided if Sino-Vietnamese relations are to be normalized. The insatiable hegemonism practised by the Vietnamese authorities in their relations with neighbouring countries not only is something intolerable to the Chinese people but also something the Southeast Asian countries and many other Asian and Pacific countries cannot turn a blind eye to.

Wouldn't calling for the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations while this issue remains unsettled be tantamount to calling upon China to work in the service of Vietnamese hegemonism? The Chinese people want to build up their own country as do the Vietnamese people after their thirty years of devastating wars. We would like to urge upon the Vietnamese authorities to treasure the long-term and fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples as well as the fundamental interest of the Southeast Asian countries in peaceful coexistence, and give serious consideration to the eight principles proposed by the Chinese side so that the negotiations may yield fruit.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States of America has opened up new vistas for their mutual relations. Cooperation and exchanges in various fields will further develop. We hope that the American side will strictly implement all the principles in the Sino-American agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations, remove certain obstacles that hamper the process of developing our normal relations and refrain from any action harmful to the return of China's territory Taiwan to the motherland, so that Sino-American relations will continuously progress in a direction that conforms to the wishes of the people of both countries.

China and the Soviet Union were once friendly neighbours and the Chinese people have all along cherished friendly feelings towards the Soviet people. It is no secret to anyone as to who caused the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations and where the threat along China's borders comes from. The Soviet leaders know very well how the damaged relations between the two countries can be restored to normal by deeds and not by any amount of words. When we declared that, after its expiry, we would not extend the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance, which had long ceased to exist except in name, we made a proposal for negotiations to solve outstanding problems and to improve the relations between the two countries; this once again clearly showed our principled stand. The Soviet Government has now agreed to hold negotiations and even expressed its willingness to include the anti-hegemonist principle in these negotiations. But has this changed the essence of the matter? Anti-hegemonism has its well-known objective meaning which brooks no arbitrary interpretation. Whether one is genuinely against hegemonism can only be judged by one's deeds. No ambiguity is permissible on this important issue of principle. The Chinese Government has all along adhered to principle and will continue to do so in the future. The prospects for Sino-Soviet negotiations depend on whether the Soviet Government makes a substantive change in its position.

China's socialist modernization requires an international environment of prolonged peace. Our defensive strength has always served the cause of world peace and our socialist construction. At times we were forced to do what we would rather not do, but the whole world knows that we have never asked for a single inch of other countries' territory, nor have we a single soldier stationed on other countries' territory. Of course, we will not permit others to occupy an inch of our land either. Faced with the present turbulent world situation, the Chinese People's Liberation Army must work hard to carry on and develop its fine traditions and adapt itself to new circumstances. It must intensify its military and political training and the education of its ranks in science and general culture, heighten its combat capability, actively participate in and defend China's socialist modernization, and strive to modernize our national defence on the basis of a modern economy.

Fellow deputies, Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause." We must strengthen the great unity of the peoples of all our nationalities, [and] develop further the revolutionary united front of socialist labourers and patriots supporting socialism, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This united front is a very broad political alliance embracing the various democratic parties, our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang, (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Maccao) our countrymen residing abroad, and all those who love the motherland. We must bring into full play the power of the united front, mobilize all positive factors and unite with all forces that can be united so as to ensure the success of the glorious and arduous work of socialist modernization.

In the present fine situation both at home and abroad, as the people of the whole country are working with one will for the prosperity of the motherland, we constantly remember with longing our compatriots in Taiwan. Things are now very favourable for the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland, and for the great cause of the reunification of the motherland. On January 1 this year the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a message to compatriots in Taiwan, which proclaimed our fundamental policy on Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland. This policy expresses the fervent aspirations of the people of the whole country, the people in Taiwan included. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will comply with the aspirations of the people, get a clear understanding of the trend of events and respond positively to the call in that message and make valuable contributions to Taiwan's early return to the motherland, so that we can work together for the great cause of national construction--the four modernizations. We hope that postal, transport and trade relations between the mainland and Taiwan will be established and that exchanges in the spheres of economy, science, culture and sports will begin as soon as possible. People of all walks of life in Taiwan and compatriots from Taiwan residing abroad are welcome to return to the mainland for visits and to see their relatives and friends. We guarantee them freedom to come and go as they like, give them convenience and guarantee that they will be treated with courtesy. The door of the motherland always remains open to all patriots and to all those willing to revert to a patriot stand.

Fellow deputies, I have reported on the main work of the government in the past year and more and have set forth its major policies for future work. Now I submit this report to the session for your deliberation and approval. I hope that after the report has been discussed and adopted, all the deputies will inform the people throughout the country about the government's work and policies. That will be a great help to the government. You are the representatives of more than nine hundred million Chinese people. Your confidence in and support for the government will ensure confidence and support from the people of the whole country, and this will inspire us with inexhaustible strength and faith in our great struggle to build up and defend our motherland.

Let us unite as one, rally closely round the banner of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and march forward valiantly to turn China into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology.

CSO: 4004

**CLOSING SPEECH AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTH NPC**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 28-30

[Speech by Ye Jianying on 1 July 1979]

[Text] Deputies, due to the common efforts of all deputies, the second session of the Fifth NPC of the PRC has successfully fulfilled its various tasks.

You have conscientiously considered the report on the work of the government delivered by Premier Hua Guofeng, the report on the 1979 national economic plan by Vice Premier Fu Quli, the report on the 1978 final account of the state and the 1979 state budget by Minister Zhang Jingfu, and the work reports by the NPC Standing Committee, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The session approved these reports and adopted corresponding resolutions.

You have freely expressed your views, fully discussed various fields of work of our country, and not only affirmed the progress our country has achieved since the first session of the Fifth NPC but also pointed out existing problems. All of you agreed that Premier Hua Guofeng's work report scientifically analyzes the present conditions of classes in our country, the current situation and the principal contradiction at the present stage in our country, and correctly mapped out the policy and tasks for the political, economic, foreign affairs and other fronts after the shift in the emphasis of the country's work. You also agreed that this report is a programmatic document for guiding the people of China to carry out the program of socialist modernization.

The readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement of the national economy in 3 years, beginning 1979, is a positive policy that suits the present conditions of our country. In the light of the present situation at home and abroad, it is extremely important that we race against time, avoid detours and quicken the tempo of our modernization. Resolute and effective implementation of this policy will insure a sustained, high-speed development of our economy on a firm footing. In order to strive to fulfill and overfulfill the national economic plan



for 1979, the first year in which this policy is being implemented, we must launch an extensive countrywide movement to increase production and practice economy in agriculture, industry and all other trades and services. Let the people of the whole country use their brains and work with one heart and one mind and greet the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC with tremendous achievements in increasing production and practicing economy.

This session has achieved important results in strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. The session adopted the resolution on the amendments made to relevant provisions of the constitution of the PRC and passed seven important laws. After this session, the PRC Standing Committee, at the suggestion of many deputies, will organize forces from various fronts to press on with the drafting of the civil law, the law of civil procedure, the marriage law, the family planning law, as well as the factory law, the labor law, the contract law, the energy law and the law of environmental protection. The State Council, the local people's congresses at various levels and the local people's governments at various levels should also enact necessary rules and regulations within the scope of their powers. The financial regulations of leading organs at various levels must be implemented in a strict manner. The standard of living conditions for leading personnel at various levels must be clearly defined at an early date. It is imperative to insure that all administrative organizations, enterprises and other units throughout the country act and operate in accordance with laws, rules and regulations. When we enact laws and formulate rules and regulations, we should solicit opinions from the masses in an extensive manner and take specific situations into full consideration. It is necessary to select trial points or to implement things on a temporary basis before deciding on certain complicated laws, rules and regulations. Laws, rules and regulations, once they are framed and adopted, must be stable, have continuity and enjoy full authority. They must not be subject to the will of any leader and can be revised only through proper legal procedure. The perfecting and strengthening of the socialist legal system promote protection of the people's right to administer the country and other democratic rights, whip up the enthusiasm of cadres and the masses for socialism, increase working efficiency of leading organizations at various levels and promote the development of socialist modernization.

The laws of the state must be observed by everyone. All citizens are equal before the law, whether or not they are party members and whatever their rank, social position and class origin. Whatever is in conformity with the law shall be protected by it, and whatever is in violation of the law shall be investigated. All leading cadres, no matter how highly placed, are public servants of the people. They are under obligation to serve the people diligently and conscientiously and have no right whatsoever to place themselves above the law. In particular, leading cadres who are members of the Communist Party must be

exemplars in abiding by the law and submitting themselves to supervision by the masses. While most of our leading cadres at all levels are good or rather good, it is also true that there are a few who, by flouting the laws and institutions of the state or by taking advantage of certain imperfections in our legal system, have abused the power entrusted to them by the people to seek personal gains. The party and government must take resolute and effective measures to rectify such bad practices as bureaucracy, the pursuit of privilege, "back-door dealings" and suppression of democratic rights. Those who have committed serious offenses and caused grave damage to the state and the people should be disciplined or even punished according to law. Similarly, we shall not tolerate the assertion of anarchism and factionalism, which lead to a weakening of public order and order in work and production, or even to chaos. Government functionaries who are faithful to their duties at their posts and resolutely oppose actions in violation of laws and discipline should be commended and rewarded, while those who attack and persecute cadres and the masses because of their struggle against violation of laws and discipline must be strictly punished in accordance with law.

In our socialist country, the power to make the laws belongs to the people, and it is again the people who must be relied upon in enforcing the laws. The people have the right and responsibility to supervise the enforcement of laws and safeguard the dignity of the legal system, but they also have the duty to abide by the socialist legal system. We must effectively strengthen propaganda and education concerning democracy and the legal system, so that the people will understand and be familiar with the laws and institutions of the state. We believe that through practical experiences the people will form the habit of correctly exercising their democratic rights and abiding by the laws and discipline. To insure the implementation of the legal system, we must further strengthen the judicial front. Our courts and procuratorates must be absolutely faithful to the laws and institutions of the state and to facts, and they must maintain their independence in conducting trials and in procuratorial work. We must replenish the judicial organs with sufficient numbers of well-qualified cadres. We demand that the judicial organs cadres maintain close ties with the masses, strengthen investigation and study, and become dauntless judicial fighters who have uprightness and tenacity and who serve the public selflessly.

To develop socialist democracy and insure that the people are really the masters of their country, we must constantly strengthen and improve the system of people's congresses and give full play to the role, as organs of state power, of people's congresses at all levels and the permanent institutions of these congresses. This session has decided that deputies to the people's congresses at the county level are to be directly elected by the voters and that the people's congresses at and above the county level should set up standing committees as their permanent organs. This is a very important measure for promoting people's democracy and enhancing

the people's supervision over the government, the courts and the procuratorates. The general election of deputies to the people's congresses at the county and lower levels must be well prepared and effectively carried out in order to insure that outstanding persons who truly represent the people's interests are elected to the satisfaction of the broad masses. This is an important event in the political life of the Chinese people. While efforts are being made to thoroughly and strictly implement the electoral and organic laws of the people's congresses at all levels adopted by this session, we must continue to sum up related experiences and add relevant provisions to them so that they will gradually become systematic and perfect laws for the benefit of the deputies to the people's congresses. Armed with these laws, the deputies will know how to establish continuous contacts with the voters, how to fully exercise their powers, and the people's congresses at all levels will know how to schedule their regular meetings, and their standing committees will know how to exercise their authority and operate effectively.

In our country, a broadly based union of socialist workers and pro-socialist patriots led by the working class and founded on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants is being consolidated and developed. Now a lively political situation of stability and unity, earnestly desired by the people, has initially taken shape. This represents a giant step forward in the political life of our country since the downfall of the "gang of four." Comrade Hua Guofeng's report on the work of the government and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the second session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in which they made profound, realistic Marxist elaborations on the class situation in our country, will undoubtedly play a tremendous role in further unifying the minds of the people throughout the country, eliminating the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and arousing all positive factors to carry out the modernization program in the spirit of stability and unity. We must always vigilantly stand guard against every kind of class enemy who tries to sabotage our socialist cause, and the dictatorship of the proletariat should be exercised over them in an effective way. In dealing with the contradictions among the people, we must solve them in a gentle, mild way in accordance with the principle of unity-criticism-unity; under no circumstances should we adopt the method of ruthless struggle and merciless blows. Unity among the people and social political stability are among the most important prerequisites for developing socialist modernization, and they also represent the fundamental interest of the people throughout the country. All our actions and work must proceed from this fundamental interest. We are convinced that with the common efforts of the people of the whole country we will surely be able to unceasingly consolidate and develop the situation of stability and unity which has already taken root.

At the present stage our country's central task is to achieve the four modernizations. This is an extremely arduous struggle. We may encounter hardships of all descriptions along the road of advance, and there may also be many new problems and new work which must be solved and studied by us.

Imbued with a socialist consciousness, the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities in our country do take the situation as a whole into consideration. They are also diligent, brave and fearless. The broad masses of youth of all nationalities in our country harbor a lofty revolutionary ideal. As in the period of revolutionary war, the leading cadres at all levels must be good at listening to the masses' opinions, wholeheartedly working for the people, sharing weal and woe with the masses, and working together with the masses to study new problems, learn new skills and launch an unremitting struggle to achieve the four modernizations. The people of the whole country must launch a protracted struggle to gradually build our socialist motherland into a prosperous, powerful and revolutionary bulwark with high levels of culture and democracy which will always adhere to socialism and internationalism and unceasingly advance toward communism.

After this meeting is over, thoroughly conveying its guidelines to all parts of the country by each and every deputy will definitely provide great inspiration to the broad masses of people. We are convinced that by closely rallying around the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and around the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the people of all nationalities throughout the country will surely be able to implement the various policies and tasks adopted at this meeting and achieve still greater victory in socialist modernization.

I now declare the successful conclusion of the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

CSO: 4004

**OPENING SPEECH AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE CPPCC FIFTH NATIONAL COMMITTEE**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 31-32

[Speech by Deng Xiaoping on 15 June 1979]

[Text] Committee members and comrades: The second session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is now open.

We are holding this session following the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to shift the focus of the work of the party and state to socialist modernization. The aim of this session is to further mobilize and unite with people of all nationalities throughout the country and all patriotic forces to push the development of socialist modernization forward.

This year, 1979, marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China as well as the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Our country has entered a new historic period centered on the realization of the four modernizations, and our revolutionary united work front has also entered a new historic stage of development.

In the past 30 years, fundamental changes have taken place in the circumstances of the social classes in our country. The social position of our nation's working class has been strengthened greatly, and the peasants of China have been collectivized workers for more than 20 years. The worker-peasant alliance will be further consolidated and developed on the new basis of socialist construction. The intellectuals in China, including the overwhelming majority of those elderly ones who experienced the old society, have become a sector of the working class and are consciously working hard for the cause of socialism.

Through democratic reform and socialist transformation, the various fraternal nationalities in our country long ago took the socialist road one after another and have developed a new type of socialist national relationship marked by unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and

cooperation. Patriots of different nationalities and religious beliefs have made considerable progress. The socialist uniformity of all nationalities will be further developed and the great unity among all nationalities will be further consolidated in the course of achieving the four modernizations.

The means of production formerly owned by the capitalist class in our country were turned over to the state long ago and the payment of fixed interest ended a full 13 years ago. Most of the able-bodied capitalists have been transformed into working people earning their own living in a socialist society. China's successful completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is one of the most brilliant victories in the history of socialism in China and in the world as a whole. It has won because the Communist Party of China led the entire working class in implementing the Marxist policies formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the light of China's particular circumstances and because the progressive elements of the capitalist class and the majority of people played a beneficial, cooperative role in accepting the transformation. As working people, they are now contributing their share to the socialist modernization program.

China's democratic parties have a glorious history in the democratic revolution and have made important contributions during the period of socialist transformation. These are things which the Chinese people will never forget. They have now become the political alliance in touch with a part of the socialist workers and a part of the patriots supporting socialism. All of them are political forces serving socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The hearts of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and of Overseas Chinese are turned to the motherland, and their patriotic consciousness has been constantly raised. They are playing an increasingly important, positive role in realizing the great cause of the reunification of our motherland, in supporting the country's modernization, and in strengthening the international struggle against hegemonism.

The above-mentioned changes in all fields indicate that China's united front has become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots supporting socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The task of the united front and the people's consultative conference during the new period is to bring into full play all positive factors, strive to turn negative factors into positive ones, unite with all the forces that can be united, work with one heart and one mind, pool all efforts, safeguard and develop the political situation of stability and unity, and work hard to build China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

To realize the four modernizations, it is imperative to promote socialist democracy and strengthen socialist legality. The people's political

consultative conference is an important organization for promoting people's democracy and for maintaining links with people of various walks of life. The cause of socialist modernizing construction continues to require the CPPCC's consultations and discussion on the nation's guiding principles, on the political life of the country, and on the various social and economic questions related to the four modernizations; it requires the CPPCC to exercise mutual supervision and to play a supervisory role in the enforcement of the constitution and the laws. We must encourage the free airing of views, open broad avenues to able people and persistently refuse to seize on others' faults, slap labels on people and wield the big stick. We must encourage unreserved raising of opinions, demands, criticisms and suggestions from all quarters so as to help the government in concentrating correct ideas and in promptly discovering and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in its work.

To achieve the four modernizations, it is essential to strengthen ideological and political education among the people on a broad scale, while persisting in carrying out proletarian dictatorship over the few anti-socialist elements. The CPPCC will undoubtedly play an important role in this work. The united front and the people's political consultative conference should carry forward the tradition of self-education and self-transformation, carry on ideological transformation in accord with the formula unity-criticism-unity, and help the masses and personages in various fields to continuously strengthen unity and make new progress on the common basis of serving socialism.

The current international and domestic situations are very favorable to the great cause of reunification of the motherland. The Chinese Government has clearly proclaimed the general principles concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland. The people's political consultative conference should work actively to promote the patriotic united front for Taiwan's early return to the motherland and for the accomplishment of the great cause of reunifying the motherland. At the same time, it should actively carry out activities of people's diplomacy, strengthen friendly exchanges with foreign friends and exert its efforts to develop the international united front against hegemonism.

During the new historic period, the tasks of the people's political consultative conference as an organization of the united front are extremely glorious. There is plenty of room for development in our work. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the party Central Committee by Comrade Hua Guofeng, let us unite and march forward along the socialist road to achieve our magnificent goal of realizing the four modernizations!

I wish this session every success.

CSO: 4004

## CARRY OUT SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION WITH STABILITY AND UNITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 33-36

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The second session of the Fifth NPC was convened at a time when the "gang of four" had been smashed and an excellent situation was prevailing in which the people of the entire country, united as one, were working hard for the prosperity of the motherland and winning great victories on all fronts. The main objectives of the session were, first, to call upon and unite the people throughout the land to work with one heart and one mind and carry out socialist modernization in a planned fashion; second, to strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, and develop the lively political situation of stability and unity to ensure that all the nationalities in China will work with both ease of mind and drive and dedicate themselves to the great cause of socialist modernization. It was an important conference at which our people got together to discuss matters of vital importance to the four modernizations. As time passes, the important resolutions, plans and laws passed at the conference will surely show their far-reaching significance more clearly for the future of our country and people.

In his "Report on the Work of the Government," Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "In the current period and for a considerably long time to come, systematic and planned socialist modernization will be our main task." "The realization of the four modernizations, amid a situation of stability and unity, is in the fundamental interests of the people of all our nationalities. It is a matter which affects the well-being of the whole nation; it is the supreme political task for the present and for a considerable time to come." This has been the focus of discussion at the conference.

Before liberation, old China was a backward agricultural state. Since liberation, the superior socialist system has been established. Under the able leadership of comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, we have victoriously carried out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist revolution on the ideological and political front and the socialist education movement in the rural areas. At the same time, major successes have been achieved in socialist construction and China has been rapidly built into an industrial-agricultural country of some consequence. For a certain period, our socialist motherland was thriving and our achievements in construction once inspired the oppressed people and nations the world over in their struggles for the cause of liberation. However, due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and errors in the guidance of our work at one time or another, we have encountered setbacks in the course of our socialist construction. We have failed to timely shift the focus of our work onto economic construction and technological revolution according to the forethought of Comrade Mao Zedong and much time has now been lost. As a result, the superiority of socialism has not been consistently and effectively brought into play and we have achieved far less than we should have. However, we have finally created the internal and external conditions favorable for the rapid realization of the four modernizations. We must not let the opportunity slip through our fingers. We must make good use of our time, go all out and speed up the pace of socialist modernization by all means. [paragraph continues]



We must build up a substantial material foundation for the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship, gradually satisfy the people's ever increasing cultural and material needs, strengthen national defense and create conditions for the future transition from socialism to communism. This is where the fundamental interests of all nationalities in China lie and an extremely great and glorious cause that will decide the future of our country and people.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There are many contradictions in the process of developing a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determines or influences the existence and development of the other conditions." He went on to say: "Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." In China the current principal contradiction is to realize modernization by the turn of the century; raise our very low level of productivity to that of a modernized state, transform our current relations of production as well as that part of our superstructure which hinders the realization of the four modernizations and clear away all old forces of habit detrimental to the realization of the four modernizations. This is also the central task at the present stage for the entire people; there can be no other central task. To bring about socialist modernization, it is imperative to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle. But class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society. Class struggle must center around the central task of socialist modernization and serve this task. Comrade Hua Guofeng said in his "Report of the Work of the Government:" "We recognize both that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that at the same time there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses. Therefore, we should not try to wage such a struggle in the future." This is the principle for our party to adopt in the new historical period. Our comrades must adapt themselves to this transition and learn to correctly handle class struggle and the two different types of contradictions under new historical conditions.

Our strategic objective is to realize the four modernizations. The first battle for the four modernizations which we must fight is to devote three years beginning from 1979 to readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. We must win this battle.

It is a very arduous and pioneering undertaking in history to carry out socialist modernization in a big country like ours with over 900 million people. In the past 2 years and more, outstanding achievements have been made in the restoration and development of our economy and this is the plain truth. However, the serious consequences of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for 10 years cannot be eradicated within a short period. Currently there are serious disproportions in the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and those between accumulation and consumption in our national economy. There are disproportionate developments inside and among the different sectors of our economy. In some of our enterprises, there is confusion in management and lots of waste and productivity is low. There are obvious shortcomings in the structure of our economic and enterprise management which seriously dampen the enthusiasm of the workers and staff, and of the enterprises, localities and central departments as a whole. Therefore, we must readjust, restructure, consolidate and improve our national economy. Readjustment means making conscientious efforts to rectify the serious disproportions in our economy caused by long years of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," ensuring relatively good coordination in the growth of agriculture and light and heavy industry and of the various industrial sectors and bringing about a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption. By restructuring we mean an overall reform of the structure of economic management, carried out firmly and step by step. By consolidating, we mean a resolute and effective shake-up in the existing enterprises, and especially those in which management is confused. [paragraph continues]

By improvement, we mean greatly raising the levels of production, technology and management. Readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving are interrelated and mutually complementary. However, readjustment is currently the key to the general situation of the national economy. This is a farsighted decision and active principle for promoting the four modernizations in a down-to-earth manner and proceeding from reality. Only when this principle is conscientiously implemented and the overall victory is won for the first major battle will we be able to completely gain the initiative, promote the lasting, proportional and high-speed development of the national economy and make great strides toward the goal of the four modernizations.

The present political situation is very favorable for realizing the four modernizations in our country. The great victory of the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has put an end to prolonged political instability and splits and enabled us to begin bringing about the lively political situation of stability and unity long yearned for by the people. In many respects, a spirit which is unprecedented has emerged as regards the democratic life of the nation and the emancipation of people's minds. This provides the political foundation from which we can bring the enthusiasm of the entire people into full play and encourage everyone to take an active part in the cause of socialist modernization. It has not been easy for a lively political situation of stability and unity to take shape today. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d session of the 11th Central Committee, the party Central Committee has proceeded from the general situation with great foresight; resolutely uprooted the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four;" readressed cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced; revived and carried forward the fine tradition of our party advocated by Chairman Mao in Yanan; and safeguarded and strengthened party unity. At the same time, according to the actual situation during the past 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the party Central Committee has made correct analyses on the class situation in our society at present. In the "Report on the Work of the Government" Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: As classes, the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist. The capitalists no longer exist as a class. After nearly 30 years of struggle and education, most members of these classes who are able to work have been transformed into working people earning their own living in our socialist society. At the current stage the masters of our socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals and those other patriots who support socialism. In this way our united front has extended to become an extensive alliance comprising socialist laborers and patriots upholding socialism under the leadership of the working class and with the alliance of workers and peasants as the foundation. Through such an alliance it is possible to bring every positive factor into play, turn negative factors into positive ones, unite all the forces that can be united, pool everyone's strength and wisdom and work with one heart and one mind in safeguarding and developing the political situation of stability and unity and in promoting the four modernizations.

To protect and give scope to the enthusiasm and initiative of our whole people in modernization, it is imperative to strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. Socialist democracy implies that the entire people wield the supreme power of running the country on the basis of the rights of ownership and disposal which they exercise in various forms over the means of production. This is an unshakable socialist political principle and also a fundamental difference between the socialist system and the capitalist system. Socialist modernization differs from capitalist modernization first of all in that socialist democracy is characteristic of socialist modernization. It is impossible to realize socialist modernization without socialist democracy. Our country has a vast territory and a big population but we are relatively backward economically and technologically. [paragraph continues]

To bring about the four modernizations within less than a quarter of a century, we must give full scope to democracy. Only then can we bring into full play the entire people's sense of responsibility as masters of the country, their enthusiasm, initiative and spirit of self-sacrifice. Only then will our entire people be bold in tackling all sorts of problems concerning our national economy, be daring in making inventions and discoveries and be dauntless in overcoming setbacks and difficulties encountered in our road of advance. Only when democracy is given full play is it possible for the broad masses of people to exercise their right of criticism of and supervision over leading bodies or cadres, help combat bureaucratism and conservatism, timely expose any would-be political degenerates, grafters and embezzlers, counterrevolutionaries and criminals so as to avoid the repetition of the tragedy in which our state leadership was usurped by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The great significance of the Paris commune principle lies in the fact that it was the first time laborers realized their direct management of and supervision over the state, preventing the degeneration of government functionaries from being public servants to being the masters of society. Comrade Hua Guofeng's discussion in his "Report on the Work of the Government" on the exercise of democratic rights by the people and the system for the assessment, examination and promotion of cadres, precisely reflect this principle of the Paris commune. Naturally it does not mean doing away with centralism when we say we must give full play to democracy. Class struggle still exists in our country and the pernicious influences of anarchism and factionalism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not yet been completely eradicated. In the current process of fostering socialist democracy, attention should be given to educating the cadres and masses on the correct understanding and handling of the relationships between democracy and the dictatorship, democracy and centralism, and freedom and discipline, so as to safeguard the unified and centralized leadership of the government, the policies and decrees reflecting the will of the people, the authority of leading comrades and administrative personnel carrying out the will of the people and maintaining work, production, and social order for the people.

The socialist legal system aims at maintaining revolutionary order and protecting the people's interests and socialist modernization. The recently held NPC passed the organic law of the local people's congresses and the local people's governments. The electoral law for the NPC and the local people's congresses, the organic law of the people's courts, the organic law of the people's procuratorates, the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and the law on joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment. The promulgation of these seven laws marked a new page in the history of the development of our legal system. Along with progress in modernization, the socialist legal system in our country will become more and more perfect. It takes time from the enactment of laws to their execution. Before the laws take effect, we can only act upon the party's policies and decrees as well as the practical situation at a given time when we deal with certain problems. Once the laws are put into practice, it is imperative to strictly abide by them, seriously enforce them and punish anyone who contravenes any of them. An extensive propaganda and education movement must be carried out among the cadres and the masses. Party and government cadres must set an example in observing and enforcing the law; this is especially important with regard to leading cadres at all levels. Only then can we truly mobilize and lead the masses in our unremitting struggle against bad people and bad deeds that undermine socialist democracy and the legal system and harm the interests of the state and the people. In our socialist country, all men are equal before the law and--no one can be an exception no matter how great his seniority or how important his office. The privilege of placing oneself beyond or above the law is impermissible.

The second session of the Fifth NPC and the second session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC have concluded triumphantly. Everyone feels that our country has now really put an end to the period of turmoil created by the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A political situation of stability and unity is becoming a reality and we have now whole-heartedly embarked upon the road of our new and historic march. Protected by socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, a political situation is forming in which there is democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, and both unified will and personal ease of mind. Since Comrade Mao Zedong put this ideal forward, our entire people have craved it and it is now coming true. How can we not feel greatly inspired by it: We are full of confidence in the future of our motherland. We are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system over any other system. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and closely united around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the more than 900 million Chinese people will surely work with one heart and one mind, realize the four modernizations, completely change the state of poverty and backwardness and enable our national economy to rate among the leading countries in the world by the turn of the century.

CSO: 4004

**REALIZING THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS IS THE BIGGEST POLITICS FOR THE NEW PERIOD**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 36-40

[Article by Tan Huazhe [6223 5478 6568]]

[Text] How to correctly understand and view the four modernizations is a problem of prime importance. We must make clear the problem of realizing the four modernizations and find out whether it merely involves economic or political issues and whether it centers on economic or political efforts. This is because only by fully recognizing the great political significance of realizing the four modernizations can we be united in the battle with one heart and one purpose to transform China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

I

For a long period the relationship between politics and economics was disrupted beyond recognition by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who split politics from economics by placing one in opposition to the other. In their view, politics was of primary importance, while economics was nothing. To them the four modernizations were nothing more than billions of jin of grain and millions of tons of steel. The pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is so deep rooted that even to this day it has confused a number of people. While it is true that some comrades found the issue incomprehensible, others believed that politics would be neglected when the party Central Committee decided to shift the focus of party work to socialist modernization. This shows that considerable ideological and theoretical work has to be done before people can be freed from the ideological yoke imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

It is common knowledge that economic activity involves the production and reproduction of available material resources, while politics is a concentrated expression of economic activity. The relationship between them is one of the unity of opposites. For a long time people have stressed the importance of politics to economics but neglected the effect of

economics on politics. This is one aspect of the issue. In their contradictory relationship, what position should economics take?

Economics is the base for engendering politics. In ancient times people were ignorant of politics, which began to assume an embryonic form only when property became privately owned, when the gap between the rich and the poor in the primary communes widened and when there were strivings among the privileged stratum as well as among commune members for their own personal interests. The emergence of classes and states thus enabled politics to assert itself. Upholding or fighting for the economic interests of their own class is bound to result in fierce strife among hostile classes in a class society. Class struggle has thus developed into struggles of a political nature.

Although politics is an outgrowth of economics, its content and form are determined by economics. In feudal society the feudal landlords' rule over the peasantry was based on the gradation system. The emperors rewarded meritorious ministers with titles and estates, and feudal princes did the same for their loyal subordinates. Politically, the peasants became the broad base of the feudal gradation system, which later developed into a pyramidal ruling structure that was characterized by the possession of fiefs and a self-sufficient economy. Monopolizing this economic base thus made it possible for imperialist countries to exercise bourgeois dictatorship internally and to carry out frenzied aggression and expansion externally. This was aimed primarily at oppressing the people of colonies and backward countries.

Under certain circumstances, economics is no different from politics. Many instances can be cited. When we divided the landlords' land among the peasants during the land reform, the division of land itself was an economic measure as well as a political revolution to uproot feudalism. When we expropriated the national bourgeoisie of the means of production through purchase, we had the means to establish the socialist economy while wiping out the bourgeoisie. In these circumstances, economics and politics served identical purposes, and so economics was just politics.

Since the relationship between politics and economics is one of the unity of opposites, economics can also be transformed into politics. For example, during the period when revolutionary base areas had been set up, the masses were engaged in agriculture and industry and developed trade outside the base areas. These pursuits were in fact part of economic construction. However, since this was led by the CCP, it was aimed at supporting the revolutionary war and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance based on democratic dictatorship. As such, it took on a new significance and became an important segment of the great political struggle. It was precisely because of this that Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Laying firm material foundations for economic construction in the Red areas is a great task, a great class struggle." ("Pay Attention to Economic Work") To transform economics into politics naturally requires that adequate conditions be available.

It is not the object of this article to discuss the relationship between economics and politics. The purpose is to show that economics, compared with politics, is by no means negligible. Politics is embodied in economics which can be transformed into politics. Under given conditions, economics can even become primary politics. It is wrong to belittle economic work and regard it as routine. It is also wrong to view participation in economic construction as abstaining from politics. It should be pointed out that in examining the problem of modernization, which is a problem of crucial importance, we must not confine it to economic considerations but must relate it to politics. Only by so doing can we comprehend its whole substance and political significance. This is like surveying an afforested area. Without penetrating the afforested area and ascending higher ground, it will be impossible to gain an unobstructed view of the forest.

## II

At the third plenum of the party Central Committee it was decided to shift the focus of party work to the modernization program. This is a logical step in line with the laws of development. Generally, the law on revolution begins with creating public opinion. This is then followed by seizing political power, solving the problems of ownership and finally vigorously developing the productive forces. Revolution aims at releasing productive forces. When the proletariat has seized state power and controlled the means of production, the development of production should take an important position. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "Not until the civil war is over will it be possible and necessary to regard economic construction as the center of all our work." ("Pay Attention to Economic Work") After the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production had been completed in the main, he again pointed out: "Our basic task has changed from releasing the productive forces to that of protecting and developing the productive forces under new relations of production." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") He proposed uniting the whole country in waging a new war--battling the natural world. However, as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other factors, this was deferred. Carrying on the last wishes of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Chu De, the third plenum of the party Central Committee decided to shift the focus of party work to socialist modernization. This reflected the urgent desire of hundreds of millions of people and won countrywide support.

Realizing the four modernizations has a bearing on our country's destiny and its future prospects. It represents the people's greatest and most fundamental interests. This important economic task and a great revolutionary struggle is the greatest politics for the new period because:

First, only by realizing the four modernizations will it be possible to greatly strengthen the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China has a large rural population. The peasants are the working class' principal ally, while the worker-peasant alliance forms our country's political base. In the past we relied on the peasantry as an ally to win victory in the revolutionary war. Without the participation of the peasants it is unthinkable to carry out socialist construction. We must therefore be very careful in safeguarding and developing the worker-peasant alliance until the gaps between the workers and peasants disappear. Currently the worker-peasant alliance cannot be said to be very stable. Our alliance with the peasants during the agrarian revolution is a thing of the past, while that based on cooperativization was likewise not altogether satisfactory to the peasants. We must therefore develop our alliance with the peasants on a new basis--modernizing agriculture. This calls for raising the entire national economy, particularly industry and science and technology, to a very high level before modernization can be achieved. If in the next 20 years or so we are unable to help the peasants achieve the modernization of agriculture, greatly increase the productive forces and improve the peasants' material and cultural lives, then the peasants will blame and distrust us. If we are alienated from them, the socialist system will be in danger of collapsing.

Second, only by realizing the four modernizations will it be possible to greatly raise labor productivity and enable socialism to finally triumph over capitalism.

Internally, China's current level of industrial development is not high. As a result, manufactured goods are far insufficient to meet the needs of production and improvement of living conditions. Despite the collectivization which was completed long ago, China's agriculture in particular remains very low in developing the productive forces, is characterized by the use of manual labor and semisufficient production and still retains the small producer's attributes. Whenever economic difficulties have occurred in the past 20 years, capitalist tendencies in the cities and countryside have reared their heads. This shows that our economic foundations are still unsound and that capitalist forces are still potentially assertive. Lenin once said: "In the final analysis, the productivity of labor is the most important and primary thing for guaranteeing a new social system's success." ("A Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 16) Only by rapidly developing the national economy, including shifting industry, agriculture and other economic enterprises to the latest scientific and technological methods and modern extensive production and by building up powerful material and technological foundations, can we completely eradicate capitalism and consolidate the socialist system.



Internationally speaking, two radically different social systems coexist in the world. Whether people acknowledge it or not, these systems are using various forms to struggle against each other. With the development of China's international contacts and increased economic relations with the rest of the world, bourgeois concepts, material inducements and the decadent Western way of life, like opening a floodgate, will erode us. To enable our people, particularly the younger generation, to withstand the onslaught, we must modernize our country's agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. This is more important than strengthening socialist ideological education, equipping them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and raising their ideological awareness and theoretical level. If our country's labor productivity is raised much higher than that of capitalist countries, its poor and backward features will quickly disappear. This will enable the masses, particularly younger people, to personally experience the incomparable superiority of the socialist system. This explains why socialism has eventually been consolidated.

Third, only by realizing the four modernizations and greatly stepping up China's economic and defense strength can the country effectively cope with the possible attacks launched by social and capitalist imperialism.

In the postwar years many capitalist countries have recovered economically, while some have made significant progress. This is the result of the new technological revolution, a third revolution exemplified by the electronic application of nuclear and space technologies. This has spawned a number of new industries and contributed to the large-scale renovation of many old industrial sectors. As a result of the expanding markets, certain contradictions of the capitalist world have been eased to some extent. However, the new technological revolution cannot eliminate the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. On the contrary, from a long-range view it can only aggravate the conflicts between the productive forces of capitalist society and the relations of production. Consequently, the peaceful development of capitalism cannot last long. Once the disequilibrium between economic and political development among the imperialist powers intensifies, capitalism's inherent contradictions will sharpen. This will cause new and violent scrambles for world markets and thus heighten the prospects for a full-scale war. The Soviet Union and the United States have in fact not stopped contending for world supremacy. Soviet revisionists in particular have not given up conquering China and are stepping up preparations to encircle our country. Comrade Mao Zedong cautioned us as early as 1963, saying: "If no efforts are made in the next decade or so to alter our country's economic and technological backwardness, it is inevitable that we will be trounced." (Taken from "The Report on the Work of the Government at the First Session of the Fifth NPC") Only by displaying the spirit of seizing every minute in increasing our country's economic and defense strength can we effectively cope with possible invasion by social and capitalist imperialism.

Fourth, only by realizing the four modernizations and developing social productive forces can we lay powerful material foundations for eliminating classes and attaining communism.

Marxism holds that the engendering of classes is conditioned on the development of production, while their existence is linked with insufficient production. Without rapidly raising the productive forces, it will be impossible to wipe out classes. Experience shows that it is impossible to eradicate capitalism, along with the filth that goes with it, unless the productive forces are raised and the means of subsistence become abundant. It is likewise unworkable to use the egalitarian way of distribution to eliminate class distinctions. To completely wipe out classes, merely abolishing private ownership of the means of production is not enough. It is also necessary to completely transform the small producer, wipe out the concepts of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and exploiting classes and eliminate the three major differences. This will take a very long time. To achieve this, the productive forces must be greatly developed.

When we say that the four modernizations are the greatest politics, we do not mean that class struggle no longer exists and that the four modernizations are the only politics. In our country there are still counterrevolutionaries, criminals who are bent on disrupting the socialist order, new exploiters and unreformed landlords and rich peasants. As a result, class struggle will remain for a long time. However, class struggle in the new period, generally speaking, is no longer the Chinese society's principal contradiction. It should now center on the four modernizations and be in their service.

Since the four modernizations are the greatest politics, we should view economic and technological work that serves the four modernizations from political considerations. We should respect and encourage those with political consciousness to work hard to realize the four modernizations. However, if any kind of economic or technological work is mistaken for politics, instead of being linked with the great goals of realizing the modernization program, consolidating and developing the socialist system and achieving communism, and if these great goals are forgotten in one's preoccupation with immediate or specific work, then the danger of becoming divorced from proletarian politics may arise.

### III

In trying to realize the four modernizations, we must do so strictly according to objective economic laws. However, to do this does not mean repudiating political and ideological work. This is because doing things according to economic laws and strengthening political and economic work complement each other. Only by doing things according to economic laws will it be possible to speed up economic development and successfully achieve our political objectives. Since political and ideological work

aims at raising people's ideological awareness and insuring that economic work is to be undertaken according to objective laws, it is wrong to neglect political and ideological work. Neglecting this will only reduce the pace of economic development and may even lead economic work astray.

Since the founding of the PRC, both bourgeois and feudal concepts have prevailed to a large extent. Petty bourgeois ideas, force of habit and traditional ways of operation in particular have persistently manifested themselves in factories, enterprises, economic departments and various quarters of society at large, seriously inhibiting the development of the productive forces. How seriously these tendencies have asserted themselves over the past dozen years is very obvious if we look back at the serious disruption of rational ways of distribution, such as the principle of "to each according to his work." Ours is a socialist country. As such it must fully use the superstructure's functions to serve economic development. Only by strengthening ideological work and education in communist ideology, eliminating all reactionary and decadent ideas and changing all outdated ways of operation will it be possible to insure the high-speed development of our economic work according to objective laws.

With the growing development of the productive forces, new contradictions will continually arise between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. These contradictions appear because sectors in the relations of production and in the superstructure that are not compatible with the development of the productive forces are to be adjusted and improved. This is a broad and deepgoing revolution in which the readjustment and reform will inevitably involve certain people, departments and units and affect their economic interests. This entails many practical problems and ideological issues. It will be necessary to strengthen political and ideological work to solve these problems appropriately, so that reform and readjustment affecting the relations of production and the superstructure will be carried out smoothly in line with socialist principles and orientation. It will be necessary to educate the masses and leading cadres at all levels so that they will consciously and firmly uphold the four basic principles.

To quicken the pace of the four modernizations, it is necessary to use material interests to mobilize the laborers' enthusiasm for work. However, material interests may motivate the development of production, but they are not the only motivating force. Spiritual encouragement is also important to promoting production. Revolutionary teachers have attached great importance to the effect of spirit on matter, that is, the development of production, pointing out that spirit can be transformed into matter. Once advanced ideas are grasped by the masses, they will become powerful material forces for transforming the world and changing society. In our daily life we can always find people who, with higher ideological consciousness than others, can do better under similar material conditions. Those who place ideological work in opposition to economic work

and who regard political and ideological work as mere rhetoric and not essential are very wrong indeed. To turn China into a modern, powerful socialist country as quickly as possible, we must attach great importance to doing things according to economic laws as well as strengthening political and ideological work.

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## STUDY DIALECTICS, CONTINUE TO EMANCIPATE THE MIND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 41-46

[Article by Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591]]

[Text] In the past 2 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has put forward correct guiding principles about emancipating the mind and breaking down fetishes and superstitions and has adopted a series of relevant major measures. To counter the modern superstitious belief that "every line is truth" or "one line is the equivalent of 10,000 lines," a timely proposal that the ideological system of Mao Zedong Thought be understood and mastered in a complete and accurate manner was made. Political life within and outside the party and the thinking of the masses of people began to come alive as a result. Since the beginning of May last year, the whole country has initiated a discussion on the criterion of truth, smashed the mental shackles that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" imposed on the masses of cadres and people, and restored and carried forward the study style of seeking truth from facts, doing everything with reality in mind and linking theory with practice. This has stimulated the effort on all fronts to turn chaos into order and paved the way for ideologically shifting the focus of party work to the four modernizations. At the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee it was strongly pointed out: "For a party, a country or a nation, if everything has to be done according to books and thinking becomes ossified, progress would become impossible, life itself would stop and the party and country would perish." This session also clearly put forward the guideline of emancipating the mind, moving ahead, seeking truth from facts and acting in unity. Under the impetus of the third plenum, people showed an upsurge in their political enthusiasm. They became full of life and were active ideologically. A lively political situation appeared. Work in all fields of endeavor advanced quickly. This gave a big boost to the victories already scored. However, before and after the third plenum there appeared both "left" and right trends of thought within the party and on the social scene. Due to the influence of these two erroneous trends of thought, certain problems arose. The party Central Committee paid timely attention to these problems as they appeared. Many times it

stressed the "four nondepartures" (nondeparture from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in explaining how to emancipate the mind; nondeparture from the constitution in explaining democracy; nondeparture from the development of production in improving the standard of living; and nondeparture from state and collective interests in discussing personal interests) and the strengthening of "three-sided order" (production order, work order and social order). This played a tremendous role in solving ideological differences and problems in work. Especially the party Central Committee's reaffirmation of the four basic principles of upholding socialism, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the leadership of the party and upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought fundamentally criticized the two erroneous trends of thought, "left and right," and enabled certain cases of ideological confusion to be gradually solved.

Judging from the conditions in Heilongjiang, solving the basic problem of the Marxist theory of knowledge about practice being the sole criterion for testing truth still requires a great amount of effort. For a certain period in the past, the discussion of this problem was not universal and penetrating enough. Certain major problems of ideological awareness existing at present, be they "left" or right trends of thought in any form, are in the final analysis linked with the question of the criterion of truth. With this fundamental question solved, other problems would lend themselves to a relatively easy solution. Therefore, the discussion of the criterion of truth must be continuously deepened and can in no way be given up halfway. Meanwhile, we gradually realized that to emancipate the mind and break down fetishes and superstitions calls for the study of dialectics and metaphysics. The reason is that both "left" and right trends of thought, with their erroneous viewpoints, are peddled through metaphysics. An important reason why some of our comrades became confused and indecisive when confronted with these two erroneous trends of thought was that they had not emancipated their minds metaphysically and lacked the ability to apply dialectics in analyzing problems. With this understanding, in a discussion of the question of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth we suggested that we restudy Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works such as "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and so forth. Later we countered the erroneous "left" and right trends of thought by stressing the study of more dialectics and less metaphysics. We combined materialism with dialectics and the theory of knowledge with methodology in the study program. We guided people to apply dialectics to analyzing certain problems on which opinions were then divided. This played a positive role in distinguishing between right and wrong and unifying awareness of the spirit of the third plenum. This made us further realize that the right or wrong way of thinking has a great bearing on understanding the party's general lines and specific policies. A person may take the right stand, but wrong or one-sided thinking is likely to lead to the wrong direction and result in political mistakes. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, if we look at a problem one-sidedly, "it is impossible to

find the method for resolving a contradiction, it is impossible to accomplish the tasks of the revolution, to carry out assignments well or to develop inner-party ideological struggle correctly." ("On Contradiction") Therefore, studying dialectics and criticizing metaphysics helps to better uphold the viewpoint that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. It also helps the emancipation of the mind in the right direction.

Studying dialectics and criticizing metaphysics is also required in thoroughly smashing the reactionary ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and basically eliminating their remnant poison and influence. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went wild metaphysically. Those modern superstitions and fallacies they concocted were all metaphysical sophistries. They practiced many formulas with absurd logic, such as "We would rather have...than..." This caused serious harm and left a deep-seated remnant poison over a wide area. Certain comrades still consciously or unconsciously observe and study problems according to the logic of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They put things in absolute terms and carry them to extremes. Those relatively deeply affected by poison have developed a habit of "looking to the left." They hardly know how to analyze problems when divorced from the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, to thoroughly criticize the ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we must use materialist dialectics to thoroughly criticize their metaphysical fallacies. This is of great importance in distinguishing between right and wrong in line and thoroughly eliminating the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that affects us politically, economically and organizationally.

Studying dialectics and criticizing metaphysics is required in fostering a complete proletarian world outlook. The dialectical-materialist world outlook represents the unity of materialism and dialectics. Its thoroughness and its revolutionary nature find exact expression in such close unity. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In philosophy, materialism and idealism form the unity of opposites. The two struggle against each other. There are also two things called dialects and metaphysics which also form the unity of opposites and struggle against each other. The very mention of philosophy always reminds us of these two pairs." ("Speech at Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees") By the "two pairs," Comrade Mao Zedong also meant that materialism and dialectics are inseparably linked and that the struggle between materialism and idealism is interwoven with that between dialectics and metaphysics. Therefore, while criticizing idealism we must criticize metaphysics. While studying materialism we must study dialectics. Comrade Mao Zedong always attached great importance to the study of dialectics. He pointed out: "Dialectics must be given wide publicity. I mean letting dialectics go from the circle of philosophers to the midst of the masses of people." He also suggested "the discussion of this problem at local party committees." ("Dialectics on Inner-Party Unity") Positive and negative experiences in the past 20

years and more have made us feel deeply the great theoretical and practical significance of this thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. Today our country is at a crucial historical juncture: our central task is the realization of the four modernizations. Accomplishing this glorious and arduous task requires a large number of people who are willing to use their heads and are capable of quickly and accurately solving various complicated problems. Bringing dialectics from the circle of philosophers to the midst of the masses of people is a measure of strategic significance in training millions upon millions of such people.

Practical experience for a certain period in the past shows that to firmly carry through the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee in an overall manner and continue emancipating the mind we must pay proper attention to the following several points:

1. We must persist in seeking truth from facts. Seeking truth from facts, doing everything with reality in mind and linking theory with practice--this is a fundamental Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought viewpoint and a materialist ideological line. If we have an ossified or semi-ossified mind or a mind inhibited by the bonds of modern superstitions and various old habits and influences, do everything according to books and depart from revolutionary practice in realizing the four modernizations, we just cannot seek truth from facts. Emancipating the mind calls for restoring and carrying forward the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts, respecting materialism or dialectics and reflecting it according to the true features of things without adding anything extra. This calls for thoroughly eliminating the remnant poison of modern superstitions created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," thoroughly getting rid of the remaining influence of bureaucratism and small production, closely linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with our revolutionary practice in realizing the four modernizations, and studying new conditions and solving new problems. To act according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must persist in making a concrete analysis of concrete things. Our approach to erroneous trends should be one of opposing all such trends. Our approach to problems that arise in the work process should be one of neither underestimating nor exaggerating their importance. We cannot use the two erroneous trends of thought now existing as an excuse to write off all problems as ones related to trends. Nor can we treat problems related to trends as ones related to the line. Due to the harmful influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some comrades in our party acquired a very bad habit. Once something happened, they raised it to the high plane of principle and freely put it under various headings, thus making a mess of things. We should promote giving more attention to analyzing and studying problems and to suggesting ways and means of solving problems. We must guard against freely criticizing this or that trend. For many years, in opposing trends, we often criticized a trend that was "left" in nature as one that was right in nature. Sometimes we also criticized what was not a trend as a trend and failed to



draw a clear line of distinction regarding those trends that should be criticized. We also paid very little attention to studying concrete problems and concrete measures for solving problems. We just destroyed without doing anything constructive. We replaced construction with destruction or destroyed more than we built. As a result, we could not guide things in the correct direction. We should draw a lesson from this. Under all circumstances we must persist in seeking truth from facts. This is a manifestation of party spirit and an attitude that a communist must adopt.

2. We must foster the viewpoint that "truth is a process." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Things (economic, political, ideological, cultural, military, and so forth, or things related to the party) always advance as processes." ("Strengthen the Effort To Learn From Each Other and Guard Against Staying in a Rut and Showing Arrogance and Self-Complacency") People's knowledge of truth is a repeated process of practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. At present we must unify awareness of how to treat the four basic principles reaffirmed by the party Central Committee and the question of readjusting the national economy. The party Central Committee's timely suggestion of shifting the focus of the party's entire work to socialist modernization was closely followed up with a call for a 3-year readjustment of the national economy. To counter trends of thought marked by doubts about or opposition to the four basic principles, the need for upholding these four basic principles was reaffirmed. All this is in line with objective laws. As far as the whole national economy is concerned, the "gang of four" collapsed when the national economy was on the verge of collapse. But the primary task then was to investigate the factional system of the "gang of four," purify our ranks organizationally, turn chaos into order and get at the root of things ideologically and theoretically. Only by so doing did we bring about a situation of stability and unity in developing the national economy. Concerning national economic work, we had no time then to sum up the experiences and lessons of the past three decades. Many problems had not been understood thoroughly. But summing up experiences--which is the whole party's business to be taken up at all levels--involved a process. Moreover, due to the restraining influence of the viewpoints represented by modern superstitions and a mind that was not emancipated, we could not really achieve much by summing up experiences and lessons. Later, with the economy revived and the disproportionate development of the national economy made more obvious, our knowledge further increased. Only then was it possible to make a policy decision about readjustment. Things develop in a tortuous and not a smooth manner. Their development is a continuous process of deepening from the lower to the higher level. Moreover, correct knowledge of certain problems could be gradually arrived at only after repeated tests and comparisons and even at a certain price. With the normalization of the democratic life of the party and the state, such a process can be shortened. But it is still a process. To stress the viewpoint of "truth being a process" is to give play to people's initiative in understanding objective things.

People's knowledge of objective things cannot transcend historical conditions or skip a process. Nor is it a purely passive exercise about which nothing can be done. Due to subjective factors, the process of understanding things can be shortened or lengthened. We must consciously apply the viewpoint of "truth being a process." On the one hand we must take the whole process of work into consideration in acquainting ourselves with the strategic plans and major policy decisions for every period of work made by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. In no way should we take any new problem raised by those above as a sign of "an about-face" or as an excuse to say, "Why not bring it up earlier?" On the other hand we must at all times guard against an ossified mind. We must keep our thinking from falling behind the progress of work. We must always pay attention to studying new conditions and new problems and achieve more freedom and initiative in acquiring knowledge.

Certain comrades say that we "are always witnessing some changes." There are several reasons for their raising such a question. Some of them have worried that current policies may change from good to bad. Some have not acquired an adequate understanding of general lines and specific policies geared to new conditions. Some are just criticizing certain acts of carelessness in actual work and in propaganda work. Any "change" must be subjected to concrete analysis. In the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" worked every day on toppling everything and smashing everything. A well-organized socialist country was reduced to a shambles. The economy was brought to the verge of collapse. This was a "downward" change—a change for the worse. After the smashing of the "gang of four," chaos was turned into order. Right and wrong in theory, once reversed, were set straight. This was indeed a great change—a change for the better. Now, making timely changes in certain impractical decisions and plans is also a change in the right direction—a change that allows us to do things in a more down-to-earth and confident manner. Devoting 3 years' time to readjusting the national economy to solve the problem of a serious imbalance in proportional relations is dialectically linked with shifting the focus of work to the four-modernizations effort. It is a first battle in achieving the four modernizations. It is precisely because of a desire to speed up the four-modernizations effort that we have called for readjusting proportional relations. Only proper readjustment will help shift the focus of work and speed up the realization of the four modernizations. Our turning chaos into order calls for changes. We cannot just restore everything to what it was before the Great Cultural Revolution. We should also adopt an analytical attitude about things as they were before the Great Cultural Revolution. There are things which were then backward. There are also things which were then good but have become backward after more than a decade or two decades and which call for a change. For instance, can the economic system and other problems be restored to what they were like before the Great Cultural Revolution? No, there must be a change. Of course, a change may be made for another reason. It may be due to a

lack of prudence in deciding problems. Because of poor planning, an order may be given in the morning only to be changed in the evening. This is especially so when there is a lack of continuity and stability in certain policies. Changes may even be so frequent that the confidence of the masses is eroded. In effecting a shift in emphasis in the whole party's work we should pay particular attention to the stability of certain fundamental party policies. If we fail to do so, we cannot consolidate and carry forward the situation of stability and unity. Nor can we give full play to the enthusiasm of the people. Of course, what should be changed should be changed. Settling for no change would also inhibit people's enthusiasm and have a harmful effect on stability and unity. But what should be changed should also not be changed in a haphazard manner. It must be a well-led, systematic and orderly change. A change may also be preceded by a period of fermentation so that people can be adequately prepared ideologically.

For a long time some of our comrades have been in the habit of following a set pattern, listening for a sound and "applying the same knife to everything." In their opinion, things do not vary, knowledge is not a process but what is accomplished at one time, and methods do not change but follow a single fixed and unchanging pattern. They remind us exactly of what Engels pointed out in criticizing Hegel: Truth is an accomplishment at a time. We can do nothing but watch on the sidelines and puzzle over the mysteries of that ultimate truth. Therefore, on hearing the least sound, they make a big fuss about it. This is a marked manifestation of ossified or semi-ossified thinking. To admit that "truth is a process," we should not blame people for saying what is wrong. In the long process of knowing truth, it is just impossible to demand that all people say nothing wrong. On hearing something wrong in someone's speech, we should not criticize it indiscriminately without analyzing its contradictions and without studying the motives behind it. We should not so discourage people from speaking out that they become as quiet as mice. Only by admitting that knowledge is a process and allowing methods to vary can we bring about a lively and dynamic political situation. Only in this way can we guide people to think independently and properly and correctly carry through the spirit of the third plenum and do a good job.

3. We must see through the appearance to get at the essence. In real life, and especially in a critical situation or with the appearance of certain erroneous trends of thought, people often deviate from the right direction because they are not able to distinguish between phenomena and the essence, between minor and important problems, and between the part and the whole. They judge the situation wrongly. This causes losses in our work. It can thus be seen that distinguishing between phenomena and the essence provides an important condition for emancipating the mind, understanding the situation and correctly determining the work direction and the ways to solve problems. For a certain period in the past, some comrades considered that things had been "carried too far" in emancipating the mind, promoting democracy and carrying out policies and that it would

"be dangerous not to call a halt." This is an erroneous view. As far as the countryside is concerned, certain problems did arise some time ago in carrying out the party Central Committee's two documents on the development of agriculture, due to a lack of attention to publicity and education, certain carelessness in our work, a lack of an overall and correct understanding of policies on the part of certain cadres and people, and other factors. These problems of course could not be neglected. However, viewed in light of the situation of stability and unity after the thorough implementation of policies and the excellent situation prevailing, with the enthusiasm of the masses of commune members aroused, they are minor problems. However, even minor problems of this kind cannot be lumped together under the same heading. They must be subjected to a concrete analysis. Some of these problems existed before the party Central Committee's two documents were carried out and are old ones appearing in a new form. Some left over from before, due to the sabotage and interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," must be solved on the strength of the spirit of these two documents. Some have to do with a small number of people who have borrowed revolutionary slogans with ulterior motives and committed bad deeds. Some also concern new conditions and new things. But they have nothing to do with policy itself. They are the very result of policy not having been carried out in an overall manner. For instance, in discussing the production team's right to self-determination, we may have failed to clarify things about the "three prerequisites" (upholding socialism, upholding state laws and accepting state plans as a guide). In discussing personal interests, we may have failed to stress at the same time the need to contribute to the state and the collective. In discussing the introduction of foreign technology, we may not have laid sufficient emphasis on the importance of self-reliance. In discussing the use of austerity measures to manage the economy, we may not have laid sufficient stress on the importance of political and ideological work. In discussing democracy and freedom, we may have failed to make things clear about their relation to concentration, discipline and the legal system. In a word, in light of the actual conditions of our province, we still have a large amount of work to do in emancipating the mind, promoting democracy and carrying out policies. The idea of "carrying things too far" is not in line with objective realities. Certain comrades judge objective conditions wrongly and fail to distinguish between phenomena and the essence and between minor and important problems. This, in an ideological sense, is a case of taking individual phenomena as universal ones and taking superficial phenomena as essential problems. As a result, they get confused ideologically and reverse right and wrong. We must learn how to be good at seeing through the appearance to get at the essence. Phenomena are what can be perceived. The essence often lurks behind phenomena and is not easily detectable. Only by taking phenomena as a guide and making investigations and studies can we detect the essence. We should realize that concrete phenomena assume various forms, some true and some false. There are individual phenomena and also universal phenomena. There are phenomena that can reflect the essence and also phenomena that cannot.

There are phenomena that manifest themselves in a direct manner and also phenomena that do so in a tortuous manner. The relations between phenomena are also complicated. The development of things is often marked by the following situation. Before a certain policy or measure has been really carried out by a large number of areas or people, it has already been acted upon by individual areas or people. If we make a fuss about it after noticing such a special situation, then we will get nowhere in everything we do. Therefore, if we want to avoid being puzzled by individual phenomena, we must exert great efforts in making penetrating investigations and studies and undergo a thought process of discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside. Only by grasping the essence of things can we distinguish between major and minor problems and between the parts and the whole and avoid being one-sided in awareness and blind in action.

4. We must have a firm and correct political orientation. By a firm and correct political orientation we mean upholding the four modernizations and upholding the four basic principles. Due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years, a practice of stirring up gusts of wind or trends has appeared in our party. The attitude toward every trend is also taken as an important yardstick with which to judge the political stand of a party member, a cadre or a party organization. Anyone who does not follow a trend or is slow in doing so is taken to task. Thus there has appeared a strange phenomenon: any trend is blindly followed, regardless of its origin, its scope and the kind of people among whom it has occurred, and it is followed without regard to the concrete conditions of a given area or unit. Such a practice of swimming with the current or acting at the first sign of a trend without thinking independently and without taking reality into consideration has taught us a lesson. We should seriously sum up what we have learned. In the future we must first of all avoid stirring up gusts of wind. Second, we must not blindly follow trends. But the appearance of a trend is independent of human will. Under conditions in which there is still class struggle, some gusts of wind have reflected certain political intentions. "A tree may wish to be left alone, but the wind keeps blowing." It is difficult for us to keep completely out of the way of the wind. The important thing for a revolutionary is to maintain political firmness. Our party is a solemn Marxist-Leninist political party. Political firmness is the most cherished revolutionary quality and combat style of us communists. Come hell or high water, or any pressure, we must in no way sway to the east or to the west like grass in the wind. Political firmness rests on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of a correct analysis of objective conditions. At present we must proceed from the general political situation of realizing the four modernizations and take practice as the criterion in distinguishing between right and wrong. More important, we must take the realities of given areas or units into consideration and solve such problems as they appear and solve them within their given scope without freely carrying

then beyond that scope. Such viewpoints as unavoidably overdoing it in righting a wrong, something "left" being unavoidable in what is right, something right being unavoidable in what is "left," one trend covering up another, and so forth must also be closely linked with reality, so that we can understand them realistically and dialectically and not metaphysically. Otherwise, there will be wind where there is no wind. Thus, people are kept busy finding out how the wind blows and watching the climate. They have no peace of mind in their work lest a sudden gust of wind should spring up and be their ruin. Under all circumstances, we should play fair and square. All jobs should be done in a down-to-earth manner. We cannot use emotion as a substitute for policy and as a basis for determining general lines and specific policies. In drawing up plans and formulating and carrying out policies, we must take account of not only their necessity but their feasibility. We must also take into consideration not only the level of the leaders but the level of the masses of cadres and people, not only the consciousness of advanced elements but the consciousness of the masses of people. In a word, our plans, policies and measures cannot exceed the limits of objective conditions. Nor can they be detached from the masses of people's degree of consciousness or exceed our own capacity. Otherwise, good may turn into bad things, resulting in chaos. We must link the progress of publicity work mainly with the progress of actual work and pay particular attention to two aspects of a matter. For instance, we cannot publicize just one of the two--the promotion of democracy and the strengthening of the legal system, or ideological education and material incentives. This is to keep people from understanding just one aspect of a matter. In the study of theory and the discussion of scientific matters, we may air views freely. But in publicizing the party's general lines and specific policies, we must be bound by the unified rules and regulations of the party Central Committee.

5. We must act in unity as we look into the future. To effect a shift of emphasis in the party's work, we must seriously solve problems left over from history. In solving such problems we must inevitably look back over the past, because without undergoing a serious process of reviewing the past and analyzing, examining and summing up things, we cannot distinguish between right and wrong and draw proper lessons from experiences. But reviewing the past is for the very purpose of looking into the future. We cannot put the former in isolation. Nor can we review the past for personal reasons, seeing this as a chance to redress grievances. Due to an ultraleftist line long pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there has been a lot of disagreement or misunderstanding between comrades in the party and within the revolutionary ranks. This hampers the effort to carry through the spirit of the third plenum. To solve problems left over from history we must eliminate ideological differences, strengthen unity and share the same will in achieving the four modernizations. To this end we must show both the spirit of looking into the future and the wish for unity. This requires those comrades with traumatic experiences in previous movements to be openminded, let bygones be bygones and look

into the future. We must solve all problems. But among the people we must not think of personal wrongs suffered and must try to understand problems in the context of then prevailing historical conditions. Only in this way can we forgive and forget, dispel misunderstanding relatively easily and unite all people that can be united. Those comrades who committed mistakes in previous movements must set themselves strict demands, seriously review their own mistakes, try to profit by their own experiences and draw lessons from them, seriously correct themselves and take the initiative to discuss unity with everyone else. In this way we can bring about a lively and vigorous political situation in which all people in the whole country up and down will unite as one in achieving the four modernizations.

A very important problem in strengthening unity is to assume a correct attitude toward different views and mutual criticisms between comrades. It is nothing unusual that views sometimes differ among leading squads, comrades, seniors and juniors. In discussing and studying work problems, one must dare to air one's own views and have a debate with those holding different views. This is a manifestation of a lively and vigorous situation. Since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for a long time promoted "taking a person as a basis of judgment in drawing a line of distinction," "equating the faction with the party," and "basing accusations against a person on his every speech and every act," some people have sweepingly interpreted a clash of views in a leading squad as a sign of disunity. Some have taken a difference of views as an indication of people dividing into opposing groups. Those who differ with them are regarded as villains. Those who make mutual criticisms, in their opinion, are liable to split up and purge one another. We must thoroughly eliminate the influence of such remnant poison and restore and carry forward the normal democratic life of the party and the state. We must encourage and support people in their speaking out, their speaking their minds freely and their speaking openly at the table. Only by allowing all views to be aired can there be comparisons, can we benefit from each other's opinions, can we pool the wisdom of all, and can we have a deeper understanding of problems and get closer to objective realities.

Today we are trying to achieve the four modernizations and fighting the first battle in a 3-year readjustment effort. New conditions and new problems keep appearing. This especially requires a study of things by one and all. We must not be afraid of views and differences. So long as all comrades proceed from the interests of the four modernizations and from the need to thoroughly carry out the guideline of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, persist in seeking truth from facts, respecting objective realities and seriously considering others' opinions, refrain from obstinately clinging to their own views and supply each other with more information that should be known, it is not difficult to iron out all differences or unify all views. We must take account of people's differences in experience and in position, the different sources of their information and the different angles from

which they view problems, and allow a small degree of disagreement where agreement has been reached on a wide area. Everything divides into two. Contradictions often appear in political life. But in our work we take unified awareness and harmonious steps as our starting point. Otherwise, there will be no end to our debate, with no time left for anything to be done. Where complete agreement on certain problems cannot be reached immediately, we should also allow a process to run its course. Where complete agreement has been reached on something, an individual must resolutely obey the organization and cannot make any change in the course of its execution. He is allowed to maintain his own views and to continue airing them according to the set principles of an organization. Criticism and self-criticism are a powerful weapon in achieving unity within the party and among the revolutionary ranks. We must wield this weapon well. A prerequisite to wielding this weapon well is staying on good terms with people. Those who criticize and those who are criticized should not take criticism as a means to attack others. We must view the situation as a whole, bear collective interests in mind, pay attention to discipline, party spirit, friendship and understanding, and support and help each other. We must focus on the great future ahead, dare to think, explore and create the new and find a Chinese-style road to modernization. Only in this way are we really raising high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

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## DEEPEN THE DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION OF THE CRITERION OF TRUTH

Beijing **RED FLAG** in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 47-48

[Article by **RED FLAG** contributing commentator]

[Text] Participants at a recent theory forum called by the Philosophy Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences suggested that the discussion of the question of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth be deepened so that it penetrate into the world of actual work and into the midst of the basic-level masses. This is very necessary and very meaningful. The discussion of the criterion of truth which started over a year ago actually has to do with whether we want to emancipate the mind. Since the beginning of the century, our people have undergone three major movements for emancipating the mind. The first was the May 4th movement and the second the Yanan rectification movement. The third is the movement for emancipating the mind which is now being launched. Every movement for emancipating the mind has involved many abstract and actual problems. A common fundamental problem is the ideological line. The discussion of the criterion of truth is an important part of the current movement for emancipating the mind. It has raised the criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to the high plane of ideological line and the high plane of the theory of knowledge related to philosophy. Only in this way can we completely shatter the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and thoroughly eliminate their remnant poison to emancipate people's minds and bring about the smooth progress of our socialist modernization. It was exactly in this sense that the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee highly appraised the discussion of the criterion of truth. It was held that such a discussion is of far-reaching historical significance instimulating the emancipation of the mind and setting forth a correct ideological line. This is a political problem, a matter bearing on the future and destiny of the party and the state.

Judging from how things went with the discussion in the past year and more and the tremendous impact produced, this discussion has become increasingly important. The discussion has clarified the fundamental Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, exposed the pseudo-Marxist ideological line pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," shattered such mental shackles of their making as modern superstitions, neo-obscurantism and neoslavishness, clarified the confusion they had created in ideological and theoretical fields, and restored the true features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as scientific ideology. The discussion has restored and carried forward the style of study long promoted by Comrade Mao Zedong--a style calling for seeking truth from facts, doing everything with reality in mind and linking theory with practice. People have been given the courage to explore and sum up our

positive and negative experiences in socialist revolution and construction in a down-to-earth spirit and the courage to study new conditions and study and solve new problems guided by reality and not textbook dogmas. The discussion has played an unusually beneficial role in implementing a series of major policy decisions and various specific lines and general policies of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, in promoting democracy and carrying forward the political situation of stability and unity and in rehabilitating those victims of trumped-up charges, false accusations or wrong judgments. Some people say, "Thanks to the study and discussion of the criterion of truth, we have a key to the emancipation of the mind and the raising of our consciousness in upholding the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee." This gives expression to what the masses of cadres and people think of this discussion.

The development of things is always unbalanced. The same applies to the discussion of the criterion of truth. Certain areas and units have not paid serious attention up to now to its discussion. Some even doubt or oppose our doing so. Some people also remain ideologically indifferent or partially indifferent to the whole thing. The poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" runs relatively deep or even very deep in them. Others welcome the specific lines and general policies that have been issued since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, but they are [un]sure whether these specific lines and general policies are Marxist and correct. They are afraid that future changes may result in their being purged. Obsessed with lingering fears, they neither dare nor wish to do anything constructive. Thus, they forfeit the spirit of a revolutionary who should have nothing to fear in marching forward. Some people even have doubts about the specific lines of the third plenary session and have even opposed them or attacked them as "rightist" or "lopsided." Others erroneously think that things have been "carried too far" in emancipating the mind and promoting democracy. They even attribute certain temporary social phenomena to the emancipation of the mind and the promotion of democracy. In fact, how can the emancipation of the mind and the promotion of democracy be "carried too far"? It is just "the beginning" of what should be done. We still have a long way to go. Some people do not study the new meaning that the four fundamental principles reaffirmed by the party Central Committee have taken on under the prevailing situation. They erroneously think that their announcement means an about-face. They do not understand that the guideline for emancipating the mind put forward by our party is long term and not temporary. Are all these not manifestations of an ossified or semi-ossified way of thinking?

Many people have emancipated their minds, but they still have the problem of doing so continuously and uninterruptedly. How can we emancipate our minds? This calls for mastering Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a sharp ideological weapon, getting deeply involved with reality and the masses, observing new conditions and unearthing, studying and solving new problems. Every problem solved means a contribution toward emancipating one's mind. Emancipating the mind is by no means a case of talking big. Still less can talking nonsense be equated with emancipating the mind. In the four modernizations, in readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, in struggling to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system and in struggling against hegemonism and for the maintenance of world peace, new conditions and problems will continue to arise and in large numbers. If emancipating the mind falls behind the times and no effort is made to continuously study and solve new problems, then an emancipated mind of today will become an ossified one tomorrow.

A new problem on the ideological front at present is to combat two erroneous trends of thought. One follows an ultraleftist pattern. Those so affected pay lip service to the four basic principles and even claim to have already put these principles into

practice. In fact, the principles advocated by them are nothing but the line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Such a line is advocated in a vain attempt to drag us back to the old road represented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Another trend of thought follows a rightist pattern. Those so affected openly attack the four basic principles and vilify the socialist system in a vain attempt to follow the capitalist road. These two trends of thought, though different in form, actually interfere with and disrupt the socialist modernization effort. An extremely small number of people affected by these two trends of thought are the enemies of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Some are the remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we have an ossified or semi-ossified mind and do not further eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it will be difficult for us to win an increasingly big victory in the struggle against these two erroneous trends of thought.

To further emancipate the mind and set forth a correct ideological line and to eliminate interference from "left" and rightist trends of thought, we must let the discussion of the criterion of truth further penetrate into the world of actual work and into the midst of the basic-level masses.

A penetrating discussion of the criterion of truth is a universal education in the Marxist ideological line and the Marxist theory of knowledge. In the course of discussion we must seriously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Comrade Mao Zedong. We must look up what Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong say about this problem and try to completely and accurately understand the fundamental Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. We must seriously link the effort with the actual situation in a given area or unit and our own actual work and thinking, and sum up experiences and lessons. We must act along these lines: What has been proven correct by practice must be doggedly upheld. What has been proven wrong by practice must be resolutely corrected. This must be applied not only to problems involving others but also to problems involving ourselves. We must resolutely carry out the guideline of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, practice the "three don'ts" and conduct discussions in a comradely and friendly spirit and on an equal footing. We must engrave this discussion on the minds of the people and further restore and carry forward the study style of seeking facts from truth, doing everything with reality in mind and linking theory with practice. This is to push forward the current movement of emancipating the mind.

Every movement of emancipating the mind has historically been a strong driving force behind the revolution. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the present movement for emancipating the mind can surely further help the people throughout the country unify as one in a struggle for a great victory on the new Long March!

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**LEARN FROM COMRADE ZHANG ZHIXIN'S REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF FIGHTING FOR TRUTH**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 49-51

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] The 58th anniversary of the birth of the great and glorious CCP fell on 1 July. Under the CCP's leadership over the past 58 years, countless fine communists and revolutionary martyrs have fought bravely and advanced wave upon wave to revive the Chinese nation and realize communist ideals. By shedding blood and laying down their lives, they have filled the history of the Chinese revolution with shining pages. Heroes like Li Dazhao, Fang Zhiming, Liu Hulan, Jiang Zhujun, Dong Cunrui, Huang Jieguang, Lei Feng and Qiao Youlu have inspired tens of millions of communists and people to win fresh victories. The appearance of martyr Zhang Zhixin in the 1970's and the media's portrayal of her shining deeds have given a powerful impetus to the current effort to advance socialist modernization. Our party and people are proud of this.

Martyr Zhang's spirit of fighting for truth bore the stamp of the era. Instead of ferocious Japanese imperialists or KMT reactionaries, she faced highly placed counterrevolutionaries who posed as communists and donned Marxist-Leninist cloaks. Struggling against this type of counterrevolutionary conspirator, one must have a high sense of Marxism-Leninism and a keen political perception. It was under these historical circumstances that Comrade Zhang struggled against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A worthy forerunner in emancipating the mind, she was a model in seeking truth from facts and a hero who laid down her life for truth. We should learn from Comrade Zhang's spirit of fighting for truth and from her noble qualities, such as her devotion to the party and people, her unyielding spirit and communist integrity, her conscious effort to transform her world outlook and her constant vigilance against the erosion of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas.

Learning from Comrade Zhang is to learn from her firm adherence to basic Marxist-Leninist principles and her firm upholding of Mao Zedong Thought. As early as 10 years ago, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were

promoting feudal and fascist concepts as well as religious superstition, she unhesitatingly came forward to defend basic Marxist-Leninist principles on problems having a bearing on the destiny and future prospects of the party and state. She had correctly recognized those problems that we had only begun to understand after the collapse of the "gang of four," particularly those issues that came to the fore after the ultraleftist line was repudiated and blind faith eliminated. It was not accidental for an ordinary communist to have the political foresight and consciousness to visualize problems. Like all well-intentioned people, she joined the Cultural Revolution movement when it was first launched, without harboring any impure motives. However, the movement got out of control when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" acted perversely to undermine the party and disrupt the country. Comrade Zhang began to raise doubts in her mind. She applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to guide her thinking and actions, instead of blindly following others. She studied assiduously and pondered every problem in the practical spirit of seeking the facts. During those trying days she remained firm in her conviction and in her quest for truth, despite jeers and invectives hurled at her at denunciation rallies, unending interrogations, periods of hard labor or humiliating treatment in prison.

Her approach to understanding revolutionary theory was not confined to words or phrases taken from books. Instead, she scientifically based her observation of problems on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought before she found the right answers to the problems she was trying to solve. In addition, she clarified the essence of things from their original attributes. In the light of the gross distortion and fabrication of a number of problems of prime importance by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," she studied the problems the party encountered during the democratic revolution period along with similar problems that occurred in the socialist revolution stage, such as the campaign against the rightists, the Great Leap Forward, the Lushan meeting and, particularly, the Great Cultural Revolution and the ninth party congress. Her lengthy report, running to more than 100,000 words, revealed problems related to class struggle during the socialist period, doubts about problems that arose during the Great Cultural Revolution and the relationships among the masses, classes, political groups and the leadership. Comrade Zhang perceived that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were counterrevolutionary conspirators promoting an ultraleftist line. She foresaw the inevitable consequences of this doomed line. She reaffirmed her distrust of Lin Biao and was not sure of Jiang Qing's earlier background. Blaming her for banning revolutionary literature and art, Comrade Zhang feared that the country's cultural heritage would be ruined if more than 120 films produced since the founding of the PRC were unjustifiably withdrawn from public showings. She studied the laws governing class struggle during the socialist period and asserted that it would be wrong and anti-Marxist to deny the existence of class struggle in the socialist stage. She said: "It is also wrong to go from one extreme to another by identifying everything with class struggle and by

subjectively and mechanically applying the theory of class struggle. This will result in more class struggle, undermine the party's normal democratic life and confuse two different types of contradictions." She defended Comrade Peng Dehuai by alleging that "party charter and party discipline permit one to air one's views on the three red banners. It was therefore justified for Comrade Peng to present his written views at the party meeting. It was against party principles to dismiss him from office and brand him as an antiparty element." She was also against bringing down the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and regarded the repudiation of the so-called "adverse February current" as an attack on party and national leaders. Defending the problems of the so-called "61-member renegade clique," she said the members themselves had implemented the party's decisions and therefore must not be accused at all of defecting to the enemy side. Comrade Zhang had profound proletarian feelings for Comrade Mao Zedong. While fully reaffirming Comrade Mao's tremendous contributions, she also opposed any effort to deify the leader. Commenting on Lin Biao's "peak theory," she said it was unscientific and went too far. With regard to efforts to show devotion to Chairman Mao, such as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had gone out of their way to do for personal reasons, she believed the consequences would be beyond repair if they were given a free hand to encourage blind faith among the populace. In her opinion, deifying the leader now would appear as ridiculous to future historians as it would to us in recalling how people in the past revered deities. She believed that even if such views were considered "reactionary" in those days, "time and practice will be the best judge." In her we find an unyielding spirit of fighting for truth, a scientific approach to integrating theory with practice and an abiding faith in the eventual triumph of Marxist-Leninist truth. Since this embodies the essence of the proletarian party spirit and that of communists, we should learn from Comrade Zhang.

Learning from Comrade Zhang means learning from her selfless and undaunted spirit of fighting for and laying down her life for truth. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were governing the country, her every appeal for truth was considered "open defiance." She was therefore atrociously man-handled and persecuted. However, she adhered to truth and never gave it up, convinced that she would become "the Copernicus of the 1970's." Marx once said that on entering the threshold of science, like entering the threshold of hell, one must not show cowardice in any way. Comrade Zhang was aware of this, so she unhesitatingly laid down her life when she had to defend Marxist truth. That is why she said: "To make revolution, one must have strength." She believed in a person's meaningful life or death as long as he dedicated it to revolution. The interests of the party and revolution were important to her, because their destiny and future prospects were constantly on her mind. For the sake of the interests of the party and people, she could bear hardships and give up everything. For their sake, she would go anywhere to do credit to a communist's revolutionary heroism and his unyielding revolutionary spirit.

Marxist truth embodies and champions the fundamental interests of the masses, and fighting for truth is to defend the people's fundamental interests. Where there is struggle there will be sacrifice. As Lenin said: "Whoever thinks that no temporary and major sacrifice will be experienced before victory is won is not a revolutionary, nor will he be freed from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectuals but will be absorbed by the counterrevolutionary bourgeois camp." ("Letter to American Workers," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 49) In one of his early poems, our respected and beloved Premier Zhou Enlai wrote: "Without the seeds of revolution, how can communism flourish? How can the red flag flutter unless dyed in martyrs' blood?" He meant that nothing came cheaply, including the desire to be a communist. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, for the sake of the destiny and future prospects of the party and state, boldly came forward and openly struggled against them. Such a revolutionary spirit based on revolutionary principles was esteemed by the whole party and people throughout the country. Moreover, a large number of revolutionary cadres and masses employed every available means to struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their revolutionary spirit deserves our admiration. Comrade Zhang was one of them in fighting for truth. We should learn from her unyielding spirit.

In learning from Comrade Zhang, we should learn from her noble qualities such as her openmindedness. She was true to the party and never indulged in big talk or acted like a political doubledealer or hypocrite. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were pushing an ultraleftist line detrimental to the party and country, she felt she should correct what was wrong and stop flattery and unprincipled praise. However, when she aired her views based on truth, she was criticized, struggled against, arrested and detained. She nevertheless remained unyielding, asserting that communists should be open and aboveboard in confronting political struggle. She believed that devotion to the party was an essential attribute of every communist who upheld the party spirit and principle in line with the party's glorious tradition. If a communist surrenders everything to the party, there is nothing else he should keep away from the party. Every communist should therefore be as openminded as Comrade Zhang in opposing doubledealing tactics and in waging uncompromising struggles against deception and falsehood.

Learning from Comrade Zhang means learning from her spirit of being unsparing of herself and of consciously transforming her world outlook. Her noble actions were based on solid ideological foundations. Like tens of thousands of heroes, she was educated by the party and matured under the nurturing influence of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. In her revolutionary practice she made conscious efforts to eliminate nonproletarian ideas and establish the proletarian world outlook. In her younger days she took Zhao Iman, Liu Hulan and Zhuo Qian as examples in promoting her progress. When she went to college she studied

assiduously and developed a strong interest in Marxist-Leninist theories. This enabled her to assimilate abundant political experience from the works of revolutionary teachers. After joining the CCP, Comrade Zhang was unsparing of herself, never forgetting that she was a communist and the pledge she had made at the time of her initiation. Communist ideals inspired her to impose exacting demands on herself and to combat self-interest and other nonproletarian ideas. Even when she was in jail, she did not relax her efforts to remold herself. She said: "To be tried in the crucible of imprisonment helps transform one's world outlook. Only through struggle can one fight fearlessly for truth." Without being corrupted by opportunist and petty bourgeois influences, she became a communist of noble qualities. Comrade Zhang's growth shows that a revolutionary must transform the objective world while transforming his subjective world and must strive to uproot nonproletarian ideas before he can become a firm communist fighter. As a result of the great damage to the party caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in past years, the party's prestige has suffered. It is no longer pure ideologically and organizationally. In addition, the vanguard role of party members has also declined. We must follow Lenin's teaching by "constantly raising the designation and roles of party members." ("Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 458)

Martyr Zhang was a fine communist and outstanding daughter of the Chinese nation. The appearance of martyr Zhang at a time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild shows that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as well as the party's fine tradition and work style had taken root among the vast number of communists. There are successors to the cause of our party, which has great future prospects and is invincible. At the same time we should see that, because of China's prolonged period of feudal despotism and the unsound state of its socialist democracy and the legal system, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were able to persecute and liquidate revolutionaries. We must therefore continually strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system to avoid a recurrence of a tragedy like that of Comrade Zhang. Let us take Comrade Zhang as an example, carry forward her spirit and dedicate ourselves to socialist modernization in the new Long March.

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**FOREVER KEEP UP THE YANAN WORK STYLE—COMMUNISTS MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE  
HEART AND SOUL**

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[Article by Ma Wenrui [7456 2429 3843]]

[Text] The issue of the party's work style concerns the attitude that should be adopted toward fulfilling the tasks and implementing the policies of the party. It is also an issue of vital importance which determines whether our party is able to lead the revolution in a victorious march forward. Today we have entered a great historical period when the focus of the work of the entire party and country has been shifted to socialist construction and when the central task for the people throughout the country is to bring about the four modernizations. Laying emphasis on strengthening the construction of the style in the party's internal and external relations and on continuing to carry forward the Yanan work style is now of very great significance in insuring the realization of the four modernizations.

After they reached northern Shaanxi in October 1935, the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao lived and fought in Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region for 13 years. During that period the party summed up the experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolution and set great store by the construction of the style in the party's internal and external relations. Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other revolutionaries of the older generation nurtured and promoted the Yanan work style, which is still dearly cherished to this day. It was this kind of work style that insured the implementation of the correct line of our party, safeguarded the unity of the entire party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and helped us tide over the most difficult years, win the anti-Japanese war and the war of liberation, and establish new China. After the founding of the People's Republic, the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao stressed the need to continue strengthening the construction of the style in the party's internal and external relations. They repeatedly urged the entire party and people to carry forward the glorious tradition and work style of the Yanan era in order to prevent the socialist revolution from being given

up halfway and to insure that our socialist revolution and construction would continue its advance.

The Yanan work style is extremely rich in content. Mainly I would like to touch upon questions concerning democratic work style, the style of plain living and hard struggle and the style of seeking truth from facts. These work styles are the manifestation and application in many fields of the proletarian revolutionary outlook on life; they are permeated with the spirit of serving the people heart and soul. Therefore, the Yanan work style can also be summarized in simple terms as the work style of wholeheartedly serving the people. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests" ("Serve the People"), and "the only objective of this army lies in closing ranks with the Chinese people and serving them heart and soul." ("On Coalition Government") This is the pivot in talking about the party's work style, and any departure from it will make high-sounding remarks about work style empty talk. With their counterrevolutionary purpose of usurping party leadership, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" seriously undermined the party's fine tradition. Under their pernicious influence, some party members and a number of our cadres forgot that our cause and all our work was entirely aimed at serving the people and not any individual; and if they did not forget, at the very least the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused the revolutionary will of these party members and cadres to flag.

On the issue of work style, we must rectify things which were thrown into disorder. In the final analysis, this serves the interests of the masses of people. Therefore, in preserving and carrying forward the Yanan work style we must focus our efforts on wholeheartedly serving the people.

#### On Democratic Work Style

At the mention of democratic work style, the Yanan era naturally comes to mind. Old comrades, in particular, who spent years in Yanan prior to the liberation, still cherish deep feelings for the democratic political life in Yanan. At that time many people came to Yanan from all over the country. Was it because the material life in Yanan was excellent? No, it was not. People were attracted to Yanan because of the high communist ideal, the revolutionary practice for the liberation of the nation and society, and the democratic spirit being given full play there.

The Yanan democratic work style was based entirely on the historical materialist belief that the masses are the creators of history, and it entirely served the aim of giving scope to the historical initiative of the masses of people. In the Yanan era there was only the division of labor and no difference in social status among comrades, between the leaders and the masses, or between those in higher and those in lower

positions of responsibility. All people were comrades who had come together for a common revolutionary goal. When anyone had a complaint, he would unburden himself and freely exchange opinions with his comrades; when a problem cropped up, criticisms and self-criticisms were carried out to help one another. Nothing was taboo to talk about, and nobody concealed anything from his comrades at that time. That was right was upheld, and what proved wrong was rectified. No one thought of picking on anyone, putting political labels on anyone or wielding big sticks against anyone. Everyone dared to think and to act, conscientiously identified himself with the masses of people, competed with others in being a servant of the people and made strenuous efforts to overcome and clear away anything which did not belong to the proletariat. There was a little story that can well explain the democratic work style in Yanan. After Comrade Mao Zedong moved from Yangjialing to Zaoyuan in 1943, he specially paid a visit to Comrade Yang Chengfu, who was the head of Zaoyuan village. Comrade Mao Zedong told him: "You are in charge of the village, and I have become one of the residents here. From now on, when you are having a meeting, please let me know." This episode shows that the democratic work style was practiced extensively in Yanan. Everyone, from the leading cadres to the ordinary people, shared the same determination to give play to the democratic spirit in his words and deeds. Democracy and equality between leaders and the masses and between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility characterized the Yanan democratic work style. This is of great significance to a class or a political party in power, but at the same time this is hardest to achieve.

In essence, the issue of the democratic work style is one concerning the relationship between the individual and the masses. Is the revolutionary cause a cause for the masses in their millions or the work of a few heroes? There are two antagonistic viewpoints which take two absolutely different attitudes toward the masses. One truly treats the masses as the masters of history, while the other considers them ignorant and incapable and treats them as if they were slaves. Hence, there are two different work styles, one being the democratic work style and the other the autocratic work style. In their struggle against feudalism, bourgeois revolutionaries used democracy to counter feudal autocracy. It is true that they once used democracy as a weapon with which they succeeded in bringing the people's enthusiasm into play and overthrowing the feudal classes. However, the bourgeoisie cannot practice democracy from beginning to end, because it is an exploiting class and in essence opposed to the masses. The masses were only treated as a tool which is discarded once the bourgeoisie achieves its aim. The proletariat is utterly different from the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is the class that thoroughly practices democracy and keeps to the democratic work style. The proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, always stand together with the masses of people in their revolutionary struggles. After the capture of political power, if a comrade in a higher position considers himself wiser than the masses and becomes

arrogant and bossy toward the masses, this signals that he is beginning to lose his proletarian democratic character.

As any revolutionary task must be concretely performed by individuals, it is important to pay attention to the democratic work style in one's work. But the question of democratic work style concerns far more than personal behavior. The work style of the whole party is much more important, as all personal behavior is subject to the restriction and influence of all kinds of rules. More often, the masses get to know the Communist Party by judging the degree of democratization in our system. Therefore, the party's democratic work style is closely linked with the system of our party. The Yanan democratic work style is praiseworthy because party organizations at all levels there earnestly practiced democratic centralism.

China is a country devoid of a democratic tradition. The evil ways of dictatorial and autocratic rule, which lasted several thousand years during the feudal era, have yet to be eradicated today. Under their bad influence, some people are still unwilling or find it difficult to mobilize the masses and bring their initiative into play according to the principle of democratic centralism. In view of this, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong adopted a series of measures in an attempt to safeguard everyone's freedom of speech. These measures included putting forward the principles "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Do not blame the speaker but be warned by his words," and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not," as well as the principle of the "three not's" advanced in 1962. According to these principles, all opinions, whether correct or not, are allowed to be aired; one is allowed to correct oneself if one has said anything wrong. If we refrain from advocating democracy for fear of hearing different opinions, it is as if we give up eating for fear of choking. On the basis of extensive democracy, we should gather the scattered and unsystematic opinions of the masses and reorganize and systematize all kinds of correct opinions among them through the process of differentiation, rearrangement and induction, so that these correct opinions can be raised to the level of theory or become policies providing everyone with guidance. This kind of proletarian democratic system and proletarian centralism are complementary and indispensable to each other. The absence of either one will wreak havoc on proletarian democracy.

Our revolutionary history shows that the degree of democracy practiced in a given period is in direct proportion to the enthusiasm of the masses during that period. In the history of our party, we obtained the best results in promoting democratic political life during the Yanan era. At that time, especially after the Yanan rectification movement when we summed up historical experiences and furthered our study of Marxism-Leninism, our entire party reached unanimity of opinion. Our actions were unified under the discipline of democratic centralism, the

enthusiasm of the entire party and the masses of people was brought into full play and we were able to make ideological and organizational preparations for scoring our victory on a national scale. With the counter-revolutionary ambition to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sometimes engaged in stirring up anarchist troubles under the banner of "democracy." Sometimes they hurled all kinds of abuse against democracy and carried out fascist rule, seriously undermining our party's democratic work style and suppressing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. Currently, while the party is advocating the strengthening of democracy, certain people fail to distinguish between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy and between democratic centralism and anarchism and intend to deviate from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist road, the proletarian dictatorship and the leadership of the party. This runs counter to the interests of the masses and is in opposition to the true essence of proletarian democracy. Such people do not understand that our purpose in advocating democracy is to further uphold the four basic principles, make fewer mistakes and do a better job in serving the people. Certain people are desperately opposed to fostering democracy; they fail to understand or get used to the principle put forward by the party Central Committee to emancipate the mind, start up the machines, seek truth from facts, get united and look forward to the future. A few people have even gone so far as to oppose and attack this principle. This is very wrong. There can be no enthusiasm of the masses without democracy. Likewise, the political power of the proletariat cannot be consolidated without democracy. If we were to follow the same road taken by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our party would completely alienate itself from the masses, ruin itself and incur national subjugation. Currently there is no question of too much democracy. What we should do is extend and further foster democracy. We must take forceful measures to continue seriously implementing the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and publicize democracy and the democratic work style, taking the democratic work style of the Yanan era as the model.

When talking about the democratic work style today, we would be forgetting our original purpose if we failed to center our efforts on the goal of realizing the four modernizations and to bear in mind that wholeheartedly serving the people is the focus of all our work. If we fail, promotion of the party's democratic work style would be demeaned and become an act of commercial marketing, just like the talk about love of humanity which becomes a madman's useless ravings once it departs from the class theory.

#### On the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle

In replying to a message of congratulations from the people of Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "I wish the people of Yanan and the Shaenxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region continued unity, speedy recovery from the wounds of war and progress in your economic and cultural

construction. I hope that the revolutionary personnel of the whole country will always keep to the style of plain living and hard struggle maintained for more than a decade by the working personnel in Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region." ("Always Keep to the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle") At the second session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CCP on the eve of the nationwide victory of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." The style of plain living and hard struggle has been one important requirement for preserving the true revolutionary qualities of our party, winning the trust of the masses, overcoming difficulties and defeating the enemy.

The Yanan era was a period of extreme adversity in our party's history. The period after the anti-Japanese war reached the stage of stalemate and, in particular, posed immense difficulty for us. At that time Japanese imperialism carried out its savage policies of "mopping up," "cleaning up," and the three atrocities: burn all, kill all and loot all. At the same time the Kuomintang more openly put into operation its anticommunist and antipeople policies, whipped up three anticommunist high tides in succession and subjected the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region to water-tight encirclement, embargo and sabotage. What great hardships we experienced at that time! We had barely enough clothing, no edible oil, no shoes or socks for the soldiers, and the working personnel had no quilts to sleep under in winter.

Somehow we managed to tide over the difficulties and carry the revolution forward, because we made up our minds to use our own hands and be self-reliant. The comrades emulated one another in revolutionary work and productive labor and competed at being good models. Everyone, including the party and government leaders, took part in reclaiming land, farming, spinning or weaving. Comrade Mao Zedong himself kept a plot in Yangjialing and declined the villagers' offer to look after the crop. Comrade Zhou Enlai took an old woman as his teacher and learned how to spin wool into thread. Everyone maintained the style of plain living and hard struggle and selflessly worked in the interests of the people. I remember once inviting Snow to a meal. I bought only 10 eggs, beat them up, mixed them with maize, Chinese sorghum and black bean flour, and steamed and served them. Snow was satisfied with the meal, and he told Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai: "Your life is so difficult and you are so hardworking. I am convinced that the Chinese revolution will succeed and that you will contribute a great deal to the world revolution." It was our work style of sharing weal and woe with the masses that forged the harmonious relationship among all the revolutionary comrades within our ranks, between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility and between the leaders and the masses, and helped form an invincible fighting force.

The spirit and style of plain living and hard struggle are a part of the high qualities of the proletariat. It has always been hard to make revolution. The successes of many revolutionaries in history should be attributed in one way or another to the style of plain living and hard struggle, while the failures have generally resulted from a love of pleasure and a comfortable life which corrupted them and alienated them from the masses of people. We have read about a multitude of heroes in many fiery peasant revolutions who failed in their great undertakings when they were on the verge of success. The uprising led by Li Zicheng and the Taiping revolution both ended in failure. It was not because the leading figures in such revolutions failed to fight the bitter battles shoulder to shoulder with the masses, but toward the end, especially once some victory had been won, the leaders became conceited and degenerated. Only the proletariat has the merit of self-discipline and is capable of keeping up the style of plain living and hard struggle. Lenin once made the pointed comment that forgetting the past means betrayal. Therefore, the vanguard of the proletariat always educates communists and the cadres on the importance of acquiring a firm mass viewpoint and maintaining the style of plain living and hard struggle. Under no circumstances must we ever put personal interests in first place. We must always subordinate personal interests to those of the nation and the masses and serve the people heart and soul. Communists are servants of the people; they must never ask for privileges, especially when there still are difficulties in people's lives. This applies particularly to comrades in leading positions, because they wield more power and can exert greater influence, and their conduct, good or bad, never escapes the discerning eyes of the people. The masses will treat our leaders, cadres and party members as their own people only when our leaders, cadres and party members are "the first to show concern for the state and the last to enjoy life." If a person revels in a high position and indulges himself in comfort, or if he puts on the airs of a bureaucrat and shows no concern for the well-being of the people in his work, then no matter how high-sounding his slogans about his intention to work in the people's interests, they will certainly appear very ridiculous in the eyes of the masses and be rewarded with snickers.

The style of plain living and hard struggle is an important requirement if a political party, a leading organization or a party cadre desires the trust of the masses. In this respect, the majority of our cadres, whether old, middle-aged or young, have been doing well or relatively well. They still preserve the spirit and work style of the Yanan era and command the trust and support of the people. This is clearly shown in the large number of cadres taking part in socialist construction, in the many comrades working hard at the grassroots and in the work of those who are mixing with the masses to redress unjust, wrong and false charges and sentences. Despite their advanced age, some old comrades have repeatedly asked for work assignments in northern Shaanxi where the conditions are most arduous in order to devote their sunset years to transforming the backward conditions there. Other comrades have taken

the initiative in persuading their families to their way of thinking and eagerly requested permission for them to work in border regions. This kind of determination, action and spirit to work where conditions are arduous and to work at the grassroots level or in the border areas deserves emulation and is especially commendable in the current situation.

However, among the ranks of our cadres there is still an undesirable trend. Currently there are some cadres, including some old cadres occupying rather high positions, who think more about themselves and their "small circles" and less about the cause and future of the party and nation and the well-being of the masses of people. Some comrades, when suppressed and persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past, received the sympathy and support of the masses. Now that the "gang of four" has been smashed, these comrades fail to show their enthusiasm for energetically working for the party and the people. Instead, they have made excessive requests during the period of implementing the party's cadre policy. At the time of job placement they openly complained that they had been assigned to positions that were too low for them, wanted accounts squared in every detail concerning their rank, or even refused to accept assignments. Others are afraid of hardships; they prefer working in the big cities to working in the localities. It cannot be denied that these comrades have made self-interest the first consideration and do not have the spirit of dedicating their lives to the revolution.

On the issue of cadres, some comrades at first took an aversion to the ignominious practice of "appointing people by favoritism" as it existed during the "gang of four's" heyday; but later, after they themselves assumed certain leading posts, they left much to be desired in implementing the principle of "appointing people on merit." A few of them even abused their offices and practiced nepotism, in complete disregard of the interests and prestige of the party, giving the masses a very bad impression. In a certain mine, when the higher authorities, out of consideration for the needs of the staff, agreed to recruit new miners from among the families of the miners, 31 percent of the quota for new recruits was used by certain people to establish contacts and render favors. As a result, some recruits came from the families of officials of a certain government organization in the province, some were from the area where the mine was located, and some were from families living in a nearby county, while sons and daughters of the miners who were entitled to such vacancies were left out. This aroused a strong reaction among the masses, who said this was the Kuomintang style of work and a revival of the old society's practice of "one's dear ones reaping windfalls once one becomes an official." The director of the supply cooperative in a certain county secured dozens of jobs in the sector where he worked for members of his family, his relatives and friends. Such evil phenomena of entering through the back door reflect the selfishness and improper work style of some cadres. They run counter to our party's work style.



They also point to the fact that the "gang of four" has done much harm to our party's work style and that bourgeois ideas have penetrated the minds of some of our comrades. Such ideas will certainly corrode the healthy organisms of our party if we are not on the alert.

Some comrades are indifferent to such undesirable practices. In their opinion, it does not matter if leading cadres establish some "contacts" and occasionally go in for ostentation and extravagance. They think there are good reasons--a big country like ours should act in style; a socialist country like ours should not appear in such a way that capitalist countries look down upon it; leading cadres may have some privileges that only people in power can enjoy; and so on. These comrades do not understand the way in which we should compete with foreign countries; nor do they understand that socialist revolution has to undergo an arduous and protracted process. The development of productive forces cannot gain high speed as soon as the takeover of political power is completed. It will take a whole lifetime for us to change China's conditions, with its poverty and backwardness, through plain living and hard struggle. The leading cadres of the party are by no means lords high above the masses, but public servants who serve the people heart and soul. Otherwise, there would not be much difference between them and past rulers who belonged to exploiting classes. Therefore, the promotion of the style of plain living and hard struggle must be combined with strengthening the education on ideals and the four basic principles. We must insist on the class viewpoint, the mass viewpoint, the attitude of labor and the sense of organization. Only when one acquires a firm and correct political orientation will one be able to foster the style of plain living and hard struggle. First, leading comrades must set an example, and party committees at all levels must take the lead. Once the leading organs purify their thinking and acquire the correct work style, the party members will also have their work style improved. Once the work style of the party is corrected, it will be easier to deal with erroneous thinking and evil trends in society.

To promote the style of plain living and hard struggle it is imperative to criticize hedonism. Hedonism is the reflection of individualism in material life; it is corroding our organization. Corruption and embezzlement, waste and extravagance, the squandering of state funds and materials and other forms of decadence have their origin in individualism. It is very true that "individualism gives rise to all forms of vice." Naturally, in advocating the style of plain living and hard struggle we do not mean to oppose improving the material life of the people. Improving the living conditions of the people and hedonism are two entirely different matters. Even under adverse conditions such as those experienced in the Yanan era, we advocated improving our material life on the condition of developing production. At that time we put forth the slogan "Ample food and clothing through self-reliance." It is another one-sided viewpoint to speak only of plain living and hard struggle without giving attention to improving the life of the people. This viewpoint is equally harmful and should be rejected.

There is another erroneous viewpoint at present which places the style of plain living and hard struggle in opposition to the four modernizations. Among comrades holding such a viewpoint, some consider that the style of plain living is no longer needed now that we are working to realize the four modernizations. These comrades want to import foreign technology and equipment at the slightest opportunity. They completely disregard our abilities and are unwilling to find use for our existing capacity. This kind of mentality of regarding all foreign things as good will only bring harm. Ours is a country with a big population and weak foundation. We have rich material resources in our vast territory, but these must be explored and utilized in the course of the four modernizations. In the Yanan era we obtained ample food and clothing through self-reliance. Today we must use our brains and under the system of socialism blaze a trail to Chinese-style modernization. For a fairly long period to come we must use both indigenous and foreign methods; big enterprises must coexist with semimechanized industries. We must unfold the movement to increase production and practice economy. We must encourage old enterprises to tap their potentials, introduce renovations and transform themselves. Some other comrades suffer from petty-mindedness in understanding the style of plain living and hard struggle. They seem to consider the transfer of foreign advanced technology and equipment to China unnecessary because we believe in self-reliance and the style of plain living and hard struggle. They indiscriminately reject all imports. They are utterly at a loss once they discover difficulties or problems in such transfers, which are inevitable on our road to progress due to our lack of experience. They often exaggerate the degree of difficulty encountered. All this manifests itself in inertia. No revolutionary should ever panic when he experiences difficulties or problems on his road of advance. Taking a casual attitude toward our difficulties or problems is, of course, also wrong. Difficulties will be overcome and problems solved if we take a correct and serious attitude toward them, seek truth from facts and adopt appropriate measures. We must make use of such a spirit in accelerating the four modernizations, and we are convinced that with such a spirit we will be able to surmount all difficulties.

#### On the Style of Seeking Truth From Facts

The style of seeking truth from facts is the style of integrating theory with practice, which constitutes our party's ideological line and its fundamental attitude toward its work.

Seeking truth from facts was given special emphasis during the rectification movement in Yanan in 1942 in order to counter Wang Ming's opportunist line. As the party's ideological line and its fundamental attitude toward its work, the style of seeking truth from facts was the result of summarizing both the positive and negative experiences of the Chinese revolution, especially amid the struggle against "left" and right opportunist lines. Comrade Mao Zedong represented those who insisted on the

ideological line of seeking truth from facts. He had long paid attention to social investigations. In his "Oppose Book Worship," written in 1930, he raised the slogan "No investigation, no right to speak." Later, during the rectification movement in Yanan, he developed this idea to perfection and put it forward as the world outlook and methodology for communists. At his instigation, and through the rectification movement, the practice of energetically making investigations and studies began to thrive among the cadres and masses in Yanan and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. In dealing with any work, everyone would proceed from the practical situation, resolutely oppose giving blind directives before getting to know true situations, strive against empty talk, lying and bragging, and combat dogmatism and empiricism. As a result, life in Yanan was full of vitality, and every front was flourishing. Making revolution is different from putting up a show and does not aim at winning applause from an audience. In making revolution we want to serve the people. The reason behind our ineffectiveness in some aspects of our work lies in our failure to seek truth from facts, the separation of our theory and practice as well as our alienation from the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong gave the most brilliant expositions of the style of seeking truth from facts. In his "Reform Our Study" Comrade Mao Zedong said: "'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, province, county or district and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary. That is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us." This attitude is the concentrated expression of the proletarian party spirit and the guarantee that we will be able to do a good job in our work, win the support of the masses and achieve victory in our revolution. Beginning in 1935, our party spent nearly a decade before we were able to officially establish the position of this scientific ideological line and discreet attitude in the party. In between we experienced the rectification movement in Yanan and the seventh party congress. In the party constitution passed at the seventh party congress, Mao Zedong Thought—which embodies the unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and the Chinese revolutionary practice—was designated the guiding ideology of our party. In the past decade and more, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the party's style of seeking truth from facts was subjected to serious damage. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and the subsequent movement to expose, criticize and investigate the activities of the "gang of four," especially through the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, the party scored another important victory by once more affirming the great significance of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts.

Historically our party has suffered a great deal from "left" and right opportunist lines, but the harm done to our party by "left" dogmatism

has been especially serious. Our party achieved a large-scale expansion around 1930. Later, however, due to the reign of the "left" opportunist line represented by Wang Ming, our party's work in the Kuomintang-controlled areas suffered a 100 percent loss, while 90 percent of our revolutionary bases fell back into the enemy's hands. We have obtained many experiences and learned many lessons during the three decades and more since the founding of the People's Republic. The gravest losses we suffered were caused by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wrought extremely great havoc on the party's prestige and brought our national economy to the brink of collapse. That the "leftist" line was able to cause such havoc for such a long time and bring about enormous damage without being checked in time lies not only in the fact that it took on the appearance of a revolutionary line by donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, which made it difficult to be seen through by people who are politically naive, inexperienced and devoid of a thorough understanding of revolutionary theory, but also in the fact that our country in the past was one full of petty bourgeoisie. Even today petty bourgeois thinking is still very common among our people, and this helps "leftist" thinking grow and spread. That is why it takes more effort to correct "leftist" errors.

In promoting the style of seeking truth from facts, the most important thing is to respect matters of objective reality. To a revolutionary the most important objective reality is the presence of the people. In "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking about problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600 million, and we must never forget this fact." If we depart from the great presence of the masses of people, we will never accomplish anything. It is on this problem that those people within our party who committed "leftist" or rightist errors went wrong. They either went beyond the limits allowed by the masses' level of political consciousness at the time and forced the masses to do what they were unwilling to or what they were not ready to do; or they lagged behind the masses' level of political consciousness, accused them of cherishing wishful thinking and suppressed their revolutionary enthusiasm. The effective way to guard against both kinds of errors is to drop pretentious airs, go among the masses to make investigations, share joys and sorrows with them and throb with the pulse of our times. The mass viewpoint is the focus of our style of seeking truth from facts. We will be able to foster the style of seeking truth from facts only when we trust and rely on the masses, think highly of their initiative, constantly have the interests of the people at heart and make ourselves willing pupils of the masses. People who are in the habit of issuing blind directives and arbitrary orders may not have true respect for the people. During the rectification movement in Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong specially brought up the question "for whom?" He pointedly stated: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." ("Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art") This is even more important today when we

have just put an end to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the past 10 years and more. We must pay special attention to it.

We seek truth from facts; we must follow the principle of one dividing into two when we evaluate our work. Despite the fact that we are determined to serve the people heart and soul, there is no need for alarm if we find that we often make mistakes due to our inexperience, one-sidedness in our understanding of the reality or the wrong methods we adopt in our work. What matters is not whether we make mistakes but whether we can take a correct attitude toward mistakes once they have been made and whether we dare correct what is wrong. The insistence on unfolding criticism and self-criticism itself represents an attitude of seeking truth from facts. In this respect Comrade Mao Zedong also set an example for us. In November 1941 at the second assembly of representatives of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, Mr Li Dingming proposed a motion on "better troops and simpler administration." Comrade Mao Zedong copied it in his own notebook and earnestly wrote down his comments on it. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the method proposed in Mr Li's motion was very good and that it provided an excellent antidote against our bureaucratism and formalism as well as the practice of having overstaffed and overlapping organizations. Our party accepted the criticisms from outside the party and improved its work. As a result, our administrative organizations were streamlined, the burden on the people's shoulders was reduced and our party was able to function more efficiently. Currently some of our comrades are excessively self-confident. They seldom take the initiative in finding out whether their own work needs improvement and what opinions the masses have about it. They fail to keep cool when confronted with criticism from the masses and are unable to benefit from correct criticism from the masses by analyzing these criticisms. A few even try to conceal faults and gloss over wrongs. As a result, normal political life is hindered, mistakes develop unchecked and the progress of our work is held up. If criticism and self-criticism are frequently unfolded, and if what is right is upheld and what is wrong is rectified in the interests of the people, we will be able to have a lively political life and our revolutionary forces will surely flourish. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong always attached great importance to criticism and self-criticism and took it as a clear criterion for distinguishing between the Communist Party and other political parties.

There are currently two erroneous ideological trends inside the party. One disguises itself as being "left" and opposes the principles adopted by the third plenum. These people have been deeply influenced by the ultraleftist ideological trend of the "gang of four." They have become accustomed to a set of wrong ideological and working methods formed in the past decade and more and dislike the idea of strengthening democracy. An extremely small number of people among them have even spread lies and slanders, charging that the series of principles carried out by the

Central Committee after the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the third plenum, are against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The other erroneous ideological trend is that of attacking the principles adopted by the third plenum from the right. These people are infatuated with superficial appearances and the way of life of capitalist society. They mistake the results of the sabotage by the "gang of four" as a reflection on the practice of the socialist system and begin to suspect the superiority of the socialist system. Both of these erroneous ideological trends originate from the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." They were in existence long before the third plenum. However, they have exposed their features in recent months.

Some who suffer from one or the other of these two erroneous ideological trends have shown their irresolute political character. We must analyze them according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, differentiate between cases and treat them differently. The great majority of such cases belong to the category of cognitive ability and should be classified as contradictions among the people. The persons concerned have ossified thinking and are isolated from life and alienated from the people. Ideologically their errors fall within the category of idealism and metaphysics. They have been misled by superficial phenomena. They suffer from the ossified viewpoint that a good thing must be good throughout and a bad thing must be rotten to the core. They are devoid of the mass viewpoint, the dialectical viewpoint, revolutionary ideals and the revolutionary spirit of courageously bearing hardships. In short, they are devoid of the attitude of seeking truth from facts. Therefore, we must strengthen our ideological and political work and educate them in dialectical and historical materialism. It is particularly important to organize young people in the study of the history of social developments and enable them to acquire high ideals and the revolutionary outlook on life. In the course of education to overcome erroneous thinking, we must resolutely implement the "three don'ts"--don't pick on people, don't put political labels on people and don't wield big sticks. We must reason things out and do meticulous and painstaking ideological work so that all who cherish erroneous thinking can be brought to see their errors and return to the correct standpoint. We must also resolutely deal blows to the extremely small number of black sheep and unrepentant followers of the "gang of four," seriously criticize them and bring to justice those who have violated the law.

All in all, the issue of work style is a very important one. It is through the work style of the party and its leading organs that the masses can understand the nature of our party and its line and policies. The Yanan work style embodies in concrete terms the proletarian political party's nature of wholeheartedly serving the people and its function as the vanguard of the proletariat. Therefore, the Yanan work style has enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory on party building. Now that the

"gang of four" has wreaked havoc on the party's work style and done much harm to the party's prestige, it is imperative for us to energetically strengthen the Yanan work style and serve the people. In this way we are sure to win the trust and support of the people, bring the enthusiasm of the broad masses into full play and speed up our socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

**STRENGTHENING PARTY UNITY IS THE MAJOR GUARANTEE FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS**

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[Article by Tie Ying (6993 3841)]

[Text] The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the whole party's work to socialist modernization. The people in Zhejiang, just as in the whole country, have warmly supported this policy decision of the CCP Central Committee. Developing socialist modernization amid unity and stability represents the fundamental interests of the people of various nationalities in our country. It provides a general picture of the whole party and the whole country and is the greatest demonstration of politics at present and for a fairly long historical period to come. An important problem confronting us now is to further strengthen party unity and thus strengthen the unity of the whole proletariat and the people throughout the country. We must really make the whole country up and down unite in a concerted effort to realize the four modernizations.

In the past 2 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we have triumphantly waged a great struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," basically destroyed their counterrevolutionary political forces and eliminated the causes of a long period of party disunity, national disorder and social trouble. We have reorganized and strengthened leading groups at various levels. We have reinforced leading groups with new and old cadres who had long been subjected to attack and persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and who emerged in struggle against them and won the support of the masses. This has enabled leadership at various levels to be basically put in the firm grasp of cadres whom the people can trust. We have aroused the masses to penetratingly criticize the counterrevolutionary line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This has helped considerably in strengthening party and mass unity. The traditional work style of the party has been restored and carried forward. Factionalism or anarchism, once the order of the day when the "gang of four" threw



their weight around, has become the anathema of the masses and proven increasingly unpopular. A political situation of stability and unity is being strengthened and carried forward. However, we still cannot underestimate the remnant poison and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who pursued factionalism and splittism in a big way. The "internal injuries" inflicted on people's minds cannot be overlooked. Such internal injuries have not just affected those comrades who once pursued Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" line. They are even reflected in those comrades once subjected to the attack and persecution of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Factionalism is also assuming new forms in continuously corroding the party's organism. Some comrades still make a practice of dividing into groups or cliques with our party, their words and deeds inseparable from factional viewpoints. Some comrades have not completely dispelled misunderstandings traceable to historical factors. They suspect and distrust each other. Some cadres and even leading cadres for personal reasons have favored one group and discriminated against another. In individual cases they have even supported certain people openly or secretly in carrying out factional activities. In ordinary times, factionalism is not so prominent. But it does rear its head in such matters as policy implementation and cadre selection. Especially at the first sign of something in the wind, certain people launch activities under such banners as "two-line struggle," "promotion of democracy," and so forth. In all those areas and units where factionalism has not been eliminated, it happens that the party's general lines and specific policies cannot be thoroughly implemented, the party's centralized leadership and its organizational discipline suffer, and anarchism, individualism and various other erroneous ideas get a chance to rear their heads or spread unchecked. So it can be said that factionalism remains the archenemy of the party and the people. It is an important indication of an improper party work style and has the corrosive effect of disintegrating the party organization and weakening the party's militant power. Thoroughly eliminating the remnant poison and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who vigorously promoted factionalism, is an important current problem in rectifying the party's work style, strengthening party unity and properly working toward the "four modernizations."

/To overcome factionalism and strengthen party unity, we must further criticize ideologically and theoretically various splittist fallacies spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," draw a clear line of distinction between party spirit and factionalism and raise the consciousness of resisting and opposing factional activities./ For a long period, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cast themselves in the role of representatives of "the correct line." Under the banner of "two-line struggle," they advocated "spurning the party committee in making revolution." They called for the existence of a party outside the party and groups within the party in an attempt to find a legal basis for recruiting followers and justify their launching of factional activities. They also attached the "proletarian" label to factionalism, passing it off

as party spirit. Under the very influence of such remnant poison, some of our comrades even today still equate factionalism with party spirit and take the factionalist work style as that of the party. In carrying out factional activities they also think that they are waging a "two-line struggle" and representing the masses' "revolutionary demands." This is extremely wrong.

The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee affirmed the guideline of emancipating the mind, getting ahead, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in our advance. A main task confronting us at present and for a fairly long historical period to come is to carry out socialist modernization in a systematic and planned manner. To remove obstacles to the development of the four modernizations amid stability and unity, we must continue to penetratingly criticize the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we make no effort to eliminate the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line and do not uphold or carry out the general lines and specific policies of the third plenary session of the party Central Committee, if we disregard the four modernizations and use "two-line struggle" as an excuse to set up various factions within the party, and if we lay claim to representing "the correct line" and equate different views with "the wrong line," how can we wage a struggle for the correct line? What these comrades claim about representing the masses' "revolutionary demands" actually reflects their factional interests and aspirations. Historical experience shows that in waging two-line struggle within the party we must adhere to the three basic principles, "practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite and do not split; be open and aboveboard and do not intrigue and conspire," and observe party rules and regulations. Within the party we must give full play to democracy. Any party member who has a different view of the party's general lines and specific policies and resolutions may put it forward at a party meeting and is allowed to maintain what he thinks. But in action he must resolutely obey and uphold the party's centralized leadership. In no way can he proceed from factional viewpoints, carrying out those policies that please him and neglecting those that do not, complying in public but opposing in private, and even refusing to carry out what he is expected to do. Still less can he carry out activities behind the party committee's back. Doggedly waging principled struggle should be combined with observing party discipline. A Communist Party member must play an exemplary role in not only doggedly waging principled struggle but also observing party discipline.

Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat and a unified combat unit. No factional activity of any kind is allowed within the party. This is our party's consistent rule. Under conditions marked by class struggle, the appearance of factional activities in the party is inevitable. However, this does not mean that factional activities are legal. Instead, it means we must be on guard against such a risk and consciously wage a struggle against factional activities. A strictly upheld party spirit is a concentrated manifestation of proletarian spirit. Factionalism is

a manifestation of the spirit of the exploiting class. To serve private and factional interests, all exploiting classes always set up sects and groups, deceiving each other and contending for power. The party spirit of the proletariat and the factionalism of the exploiting classes are as irreconcilable as fire and water. The factional viewpoint of praising exploiting-class factionalism as "proletarian" and confusing proletarian party spirit with exploiting-class factionalism runs entirely counter to Marxism. Marx pointed out: "As long as the working class has not matured enough to be capable of an independent historical movement, sects are (historically) justified. Once the working class reaches such a stage of maturity, all sects are in essence reactionary." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 394) A communist must draw a clear line of distinction where reactionary sectarian concepts are concerned and thoroughly break away from them. Not doing so, continuing to apply the viewpoints of feudal factions and bourgeois politicians to our proletarian political party and consciously or unconsciously carrying out sectarian activities of one kind or another is a manifestation of absence of party spirit and is incompatible with the glorious title of a Communist Party member.

Our party organization has now just resumed normal political life and restored order after the ruinous sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Its success has been dearly bought and paid for in blood. Though various shortcomings and mistakes are likely to appear in the future work of party committees at all levels, they should be solved through such proper forms of inner-party struggle as promoting democracy and unfolding criticism and self-criticism under the unified leadership of the party committee. If we find every excuse to do away with the party committee and promote another line, then how can there be peace in the party? How can we concentrate our efforts on the four modernizations? What a mess of things the "gang of four" made in the past by vigorously promoting "spurning the party committee in making revolution." This is clear to all and is still fresh in our memories. Today we can never allow a repetition of such a mistake.

/We must correctly wage inner-party struggle and properly handle relations between members of leading groups which are marked by coolness and misunderstanding and are attributable to historical factors. This is of great significance in strengthening party unity./ To topple a large number of revolutionary comrades, realize their plot to usurp party and state power, distort the nature of inner-party struggle and subvert the relations between ourselves and the enemy, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" formerly found every excuse to wage ruthless "life-or-death" struggle and deal relentless blows. Failing to thoroughly eliminate such remnant poison does not help to correctly treat those comrades who have made mistakes and solve the aftermath of history in leading groups.

Practice shows that to correctly wage inner-party struggle we must draw a line of distinction between inner-party struggle and the struggle

between ourselves and the enemy and strictly distinguish and correctly handle two different types of contradictions. Our struggle with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their counterrevolutionary political forces is a struggle between ourselves and the enemy. We must fully expose and thoroughly settle their crimes. Backbone members of the "gang of four," chieftains devoted to beating, smashing and plundering and counterrevolutionaries like Zhang Yongsheng and Weng Senhe of our province must be punished according to state law and never be let off lightly. If we do not do so, we cannot pacify the indignation of the people. Nor can we unite the great number of cadres and people. Our contradictions with those comrades who committed mistakes when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild are contradictions among the people. To these people we should apply the correct guideline of "not only making things clear ideologically but uniting comrades." These errant comrades in the past took the line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as something correct and supported it. This aroused the anger of the people. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," some of these people who were deeply affected by poison have failed to immediately change their stand and feelings. They have not admitted their own mistakes and have even found things to complain about. To fully arouse the masses to seriously and sternly criticize their mistakes is entirely necessary and correct. Otherwise, we cannot distinguish between right and wrong, which will dampen the enthusiasm of the masses. This also will not help to educate and save them. But in criticizing them we should lay stress on analyzing the then prevailing circumstances, the nature of the mistakes then committed and the social, historical and ideological causes. We should seek truth from facts in doing so. After they have admitted their mistakes and expressed a wish to turn over a new leaf, the chief responsible comrades of the party committee must take the initiative to talk with them and use them properly as a gesture of faith. Even those comrades guilty of serious mistakes and not qualified as leaders should be given work and properly placed, as long as they show deep repentance for their misdeeds. We communists must have the ambition to emancipate all of mankind and always base our stand on party spirit and party policy. In no way can we replace policy with emotion. The purpose of our criticism of errant comrades is to distinguish between the right and the wrong line and achieve new unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is always good to have more people in revolution. We must dialectically unify a "hard and relentless" attitude toward mistakes with a "lenient and merciful" attitude toward comrades who have committed mistakes. We must be good to errant comrades, nice to people, popular with them and capable of uniting the greatest number of them. Of course, errant comrades must strictly criticize themselves, change their stand and correct their mistakes. The use by some people of our party's correct handling of their problems as an opportunity to reverse verdicts can only arouse mass anger against them. We must subject these people to criticism and education. In serious cases we must arouse the masses to wage the necessary struggle.

The cool relations and misunderstanding that now exist in leading groups are chiefly a result of the reactionary guideline of struggle promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who provoked splits within the party and compelled many comrades to expose and struggle against each other. Some comrades have linked certain different views raised under new circumstances with historically related old scores. This has added to the complexity of problems. We must look at historically related old scores from a historical point of view, make a down-to-earth analysis, and settle scores with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and with individual bad people instead of unnecessarily involving our comrades. As we work for the four modernizations, the appearance of varied views within the ranks of the leading group is entirely normal. We should gradually achieve unified awareness in practice after democratic discussion. A simple clash of views is no cause to turn things upside down and trace them to historical factors. If we do so, we will have new wrongs to redress before old scores can be settled.

As regards the party committee as a whole, we must bear collective interests in mind, view the situation as a whole, look far ahead and pay attention to unity, friendship, mutual support and mutual understanding. In light of the four modernizations viewed as a whole, if we work ceaselessly on problems without principle in an attempt to find out who rates higher or lower and who is right or wrong and do not pool our mass wisdom or exert every effort, then how can we live up to the expectations of this great era of ours and of the party and the people? Members of leading groups at various levels must know themselves, pay more attention to self-criticism, set strict discipline for themselves, and be lenient toward others. This is a matter of great importance. They must not use a "microscope" on the shortcomings of others and a "magnifier" on their own strong points and consider themselves as "always right." To claim they never committed any blunders or mistakes in the earlier long period of complicated struggles does not correspond with actual facts. Those laying claim to being "always right" cannot persuade those errant comrades to their way of thinking. Meanwhile, they will naturally alienate those who disagree with them. This will seriously affect party unity.

/In selecting and employing cadres, we must adhere to the line of "appointing people on their merit" and play fair and square. This is an important problem in consolidating party unity and in unification./ In treating cadres, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously advocated that "one's loyalty or disloyalty is based on the line one follows," and they took "a high consciousness of the line" as the sole criterion in selecting and promoting cadres. Those who followed their line were admitted to the party and rose rapidly. Those who opposed them were attacked and toppled. The purpose of their doing so was to establish a group "responsive to every command" and to realize their wild ambition of usurping party and state power. In light of this historical lesson, our leading groups at various levels today must be better geared to the

needs of the four modernizations. We must "appoint people on their merit" and guard against "appointing people on the basis of loyalty."

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The criterion the Communist Party should apply in its cadre policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the party line, follows party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently and is active, hardworking and unselfish. This is what 'appointing people on their merit' means." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") The long struggle we waged against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was a severe test for every comrade. In this struggle many comrades remained firm in their stand, fought resolutely and showed a relatively high consciousness of line. This is an important requirement in our selecting and promoting cadres. Meanwhile, we must pay attention to a cadre's professional level, his organizational ability and other factors. We must subject a cadre to an overall historical examination. Otherwise, we will deviate from the party's cadre policy that calls for both ability and political integrity. At present we take a cadre's consciousness of the line as a basis in judging whether he is resolute in carrying out the line of the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee and wholeheartedly devoted to promoting the four modernizations. Establishing another criterion of "consciousness of the line" in disregard of a cadre's showing in carrying out the line of the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee and achieving the four modernizations is obviously wrong.

If we want to adhere to the line of "appointing people on their merit," we must carry out the principle of party control over cadres, promote democracy and toe the mass line. Only by respecting the masses, trusting and relying on them and widely listening to their opinions can we avoid using cadres improperly because of inadequate knowledge of them. Only by so doing can we guard against treating those who agree with us as "perfect" and those who disagree with us as "good-for-nothings" and selecting and promoting cadres from a factional point of view. Only in this way can we give people of talent every chance and assign and promote to various leadership posts those elite elements who are really professionally proficient, open and aboveboard, highly efficient and skilled in organization matters. Only in this way can we enable the masses to criticize and supervise cadres and enable party and state cadres to be public servants wholeheartedly devoted to serving the people. Experience tells us that selecting and using cadres properly or improperly has a bearing on unity viewed as a whole. When cadres are used properly, the masses are satisfied and happy, have nothing to worry about and work with vigor. The improper use of cadres will dampen the enthusiasm of a number of people. This is a problem to which we must attach great importance in the future.

In opposing factionalism and factional activities and strengthening party unity, we must start with the leading cadres of leading party organs at

various levels. The party is a model for the whole society. Leading party cadres at various levels are also models for the whole party. Numerous facts show that a bad or good showing of unity among the masses, among the cadres and between the cadres and the masses has a great bearing on the unity of the leading group. The leading group, and especially the top two men, must set an example for others, lead in strengthening party spirit, overcoming factionalism and seeking proper unity, and be examples of unity. With the leading group united, the masses of party members and cadres will have an example to imitate. Those factors responsible for disunity in party committees at lower levels can thus also be more easily discovered and solved. Individuals who make trouble in society for no reason and seek to disrupt stability and unity can be stopped in time and kept from making serious trouble.

To seek proper unity in the leading group, we must seriously carry out democratic centralism and strengthen collective leadership. We cannot put individuals and a small number of people above the party committee. Within the party committee there must be no "standing committee"; outside it there must be no other equivalent of any kind. Within the leading group we must encourage different views to be put on the table and discussed fully with a view to finding a down-to-earth solution on the principle of democratic centralism. We cannot unthinkingly raise different views to the high plane of two-line struggle. Nor can we let differences within the party committee find their way into society. Still less can we secretly support some people in carrying out group activities. We must adhere to party principles and not take a group as a basis in determining loyalty or disloyalty or divide persons among cadres and put people into groups who support or oppose us. We must guard against and expose the practice of boasting and flattering, telling tales and sowing dissension within the party. We must not believe in ghosts and the unorthodox. We must not be afraid of the stick or any pressure brought to bear. We must also oppose seeking any special privilege in the political field or in everyday life. We must treat others on an equal footing. We cannot consider that everything we say, rational or irrational, must be obeyed by others. Still less can we put on airs and find every excuse to talk down to or scold others. We must share joys and sorrows with the masses and oppose such evil practices as seeking special privileges, abusing one's authority, getting what one wants through pull or influence, and so forth.

/Strengthening party unity and overcoming factionalism, in the final analysis, calls for solving the problem of building a party serving the interests of the vast majority or one serving those of the minority./ In the 2 years or more since the smashing of the "gang of four," why have the shackles of factionalism still not been thrown off in certain party organizations or even among certain leading cadres? This may be traced to the matter of understanding. More important, it has to do with the problem of world outlook. A fairly large number of our comrades joined the party in the Great Cultural Revolution. Since the struggle to

expose and criticize the "gang of four," these comrades have considerably raised their consciousness. But some, relatively deeply affected by the poison of splittism and anarchism and not subjected to systematic education in the fundamentals of the party and to strict training in party life, have a weak conception of the party. Factionalism has left a deep imprint on their minds. They do not know that party interests should be placed above everything and individual interests unconditionally subordinated to those of the party. Instead they have put individual and factional interests above those of the party and are obsessed with such factional concepts as "an affinity developing between people but in the same plight or united in fighting a bloody battle," "joining forces in the hour of danger and sharing joys and sorrows," and so forth. They do not attribute their party membership to party training but to factional "cultivation." They do not regard the promotion of some people of their own faction as a revolutionary need. Instead, they consider it a mark of factional "distinction." The overwhelming majority of the old comrades in our party, tested in a long period of revolutionary struggle and true to party principles in the struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," have made a good showing. But due to a relaxed effort to transform their world outlook, an extremely small number of these comrades have also become involved in factionalism. In studying problems or handling matters, they often consciously or unconsciously throw principle to the wind, disregard the situation as a whole, discriminate against one group and favor another for personal reasons, and abuse their authority. In addition, certain individuals are ambitious of attaining their own aims and use a faction as a bargaining lever with the party. To win fame and wealth and seize power, they do not hesitate to gang up, putting pressure on the party committee. Such conditions in the party show that factionalism is rooted in self-interest. Sectarianism, the mountain-stronghold mentality and cliquism, no matter in what form they appear, are extensions of individualism. Some comrades have joined the party organizationally but not ideologically or have not even done so at all in the strict sense of the word. They have not only brought exploiting-class ideas to the party but energetically tried to use them as a means of transforming our party. Without really solving the problem of building a party serving public interests or one serving private interests, we cannot find a basic cure for deep-seated factionalism. Improper practices will thus develop and spread. To solve this problem, a fundamental way out is for us to apply the spirit of rectification to further educate party members and cadres. We must lead them to closely combine reality with such efforts as seriously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, summing up experiences, distinguishing between right and wrong, raising awareness and unifying thinking. Leading cadres must take the lead in doing so; thus, one level leads another, from top to bottom, in transforming the world outlook, strengthening the party conception, observing party rules and regulations, raising consciousness in maintaining party unity and fighting all acts that have a weakening or destructive effect on party unity.



Our party has led the people throughout the country to fight for 58 years. Historical experience shows that party unity is a basic guarantee for a victory in revolution and construction. The criticism of Wang Ming's opportunist line in the 1942 Yanan rectification movement enabled the whole party to unify on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to lead the people throughout the country to fight hard to win a great victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and in the war of liberation. In the early 1960's our national economy suffered serious setbacks. Thanks to the 1962 enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee, democracy within the party was promoted. Experiences and lessons were summed up. The whole party and people throughout the country rallied closely around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and fought hard as one. They quickly overcame their difficulties and enabled the national economy to gradually revive and develop. Now we are at a great turning point in history. For a country like ours, with modest beginnings, a large population and backward economic and cultural features, it is a very glorious and arduous task to find a Chinese-type road to modernization. We are shouldering a heavy burden. Based on the line of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must unite more closely, eliminate interference from "left" and right trends of thought that doubt and oppose the four basic principles and the line of the third plenum of the party Central Committee, and act as one in achieving a new victory in the four modernizations under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng!

CSO: 4004

## CLEAR UP MISUNDERSTANDING, STRENGTHEN UNITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 64-68

[Article by Xu He [1776 4421]]

[Text] Stability and unity are important to shifting the focus of the whole party's work. Since smashing the "gang of four" more than 2 years ago, how have we handled the problems of unity among leading groups at all levels? What about unity in the revolutionary ranks? Has this conformed with shifting the focus of work? Judging from conditions that have prevailed in many regions, there has been much progress in achieving unity, but problems are still plentiful. Since the development has been very uneven while the needs of the four modernizations are beyond our power to fulfill, we must continue to strengthen unity in the whole party and throughout the revolutionary ranks, particularly unity among leading groups at all levels.

By usurping a fairly large portion of party power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck for as long as 10 years. The counterrevolutionary misdeeds they perpetrated and the "leftist" opportunist line they pushed caused great havoc to our country and people. Economically, the losses incurred were irreparable. However, the most deplorable thing they did was that they undermined the social practice engendered by pooling and training manpower that took us many years to develop, wrecked our party's fine tradition and disrupted the revolutionary unity between the whole party and people throughout the country. This was a serious blow to our party and the revolutionary ranks. After more than 2 years of adjustment, we criticized the "leftist" opportunist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We also rehabilitated a large number of cases in which people were framed, wrongly judged and falsely accused. As a result, we cleared up issues of right and wrong in line. Many comrades who were persecuted by them have had their ease of mind restored. Accordingly, the mental outlook of our cadres and masses has undergone encouraging changes. The unity of the entire revolutionary ranks has been substantially strengthened. Many comrades have showed up for work in the same units. It is most gratifying for us to achieve stability and unity throughout the country to pave the way politically for realizing the four modernizations.

However, despite encouraging signs the problem of unity even now remains a vexing problem for us. In this sense, the "ghosts" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" appear to haunt us. Judging from existing conditions, misunderstandings between cadres and contradictions among them appear much more obvious than in the past, such as during the Sino-Japanese war, the war of liberation and the period prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. These misunderstandings and contradictions are quite deep-rooted and defy solution. Although some comrades have come forward, they have not dispelled the misgivings and prejudices they have formed through the years. Since they have not recovered emotionally from past traumatic experiences, they make strange bedfellows. As a result, they share the same work but not the same will. For this reason, considerable efforts are being wasted in some serious cases, and hostile feelings and retaliatory actions are quite common among leading groups in many government establishments, schools, enterprises and other units as well as among cadres and the masses. This problem merits our immediate attention and careful consideration so that solutions can be worked out.

Promoting revolutionary unity based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our party's basic principle. It guarantees that we will overcome difficulties, win victories and accomplish the general task for the new period. The history of our party over the past decades has repeatedly proven that whenever the unity between the party and the revolutionary ranks is strengthened our cause will flourish. Conversely, if that unity is weakened, our cause will suffer and even fail. Stalin once said: "We must protect our party's unity as we protect our eyes." If we fail to effectively overcome the disunity within the party in a short time, it will be impossible to guarantee the shifting of the focus of the party's work. As a result, it will be impossible for work in all sectors to advance at a fast pace and for the revolutionary ranks to make progress with big strides. In short, this will delay the advance and realization of the four modernizations. This goes against the wish of the whole party and people throughout the country and is impermissible under existing circumstances in and outside our country.

To increase unity among us, all of our revolutionary comrades should try to understand the social and historical root causes of disunity.

It is common knowledge that prior to the Great Cultural Revolution our party and the entire revolutionary ranks were united. Although there was some disunity, it was slight, and this was unavoidable in the course of advance. It was unlike the disunity that has blocked our road of advance. The disunity that we now face was caused by the serious interference and sabotage carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution. Driven by their counterrevolutionary political motive of usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution incited the masses to struggle against cadres and the masses to struggle against themselves. This chaotic situation lasted for as long as 10 years and thus plunged

the country into prolonged turmoil. In cases in which people were wrongly struggled against, unjustifiably criticized or brought down, the critics were themselves criticized by others, and those who brought down others were themselves overthrown. Many comrades have in fact played this "dual role," which has devastatingly affected the unity among comrades.

We should also see that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" acted pervertedly for as long as 10 years. In varying degrees, this eroded many comrades' mental outlook. By advocating "power as the source of having everything," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" set up mountain strongholds and factions, recruiting supporters according to their loyalties. In persecuting cadres and the masses, they stopped at nothing, never hesitating to employ the vilest means, such as applying the reactionary theory of bloodline determining class and the feudal practice of punishing people for being related to offenders, and so forth. This once again revived those feudal, clannish concepts, sectarian ideas, family relationships based on bloodline and the mountain-stronghold mentality which had been steadily overcome by the revolutionary ranks in the post-liberation period through the effective application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is noteworthy that these decadent or erroneous things have to a certain extent become part of some comrades' mental outlook. Consciously or unconsciously, they have often applied these concepts in handling the relationships among comrades. As a result, the unity among comrades has been affected.

During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in fact responsible for fostering bourgeois factionalism, which tried to defend bourgeois interests out of sectarian considerations. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" more than 2 years ago, manifestations of factionalism have not been completely eliminated. Many people, including a number of leading cadres, have been so deeply influenced by factionalism that they can no longer get rid of it. Bourgeois factionalism erodes the revolutionary ranks as nothing else can, often making it difficult for people working in the same unit to be united and work in harmony.

Obviously, it was Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who incited class struggle and Cultural Revolution excesses which plunged the country into prolonged political turmoil. It was a whole set of backward and reactionary bourgeois concepts advocated by them which caused disunity among our revolutionary ranks. Therefore, the problem of unity must be viewed in the context of raising ideological understanding and line consciousness. Lin Biao and the "gang of four"—not the comrades—should be accountable to us for the problem of disunity. The mistakes made by the comrades on the problem of unity should be traced to the Cultural Revolution and not to individuals.

To strengthen unity means efforts to reconcile the comrades and clear up misunderstandings and prejudices that have existed for many years so that normal comradely relations may be restored and the great task of realizing the four modernizations entrusted by the party can be fulfilled with the cooperation of other participants. To do this, besides having a common political and ideological basis (now available since the downfall of the "gang of four"), it is necessary to have a correct approach and method. In other words, there is a problem of finding a "boat" to cross the river. If this problem is not solved, disunity will remain.

With regard to upholding and strengthening unity, our party has acquired abundant experiences in protracted revolutionary struggles. Both Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou left us many valuable instructions. As our party's very important spiritual assets, their instructions provide us with the ideological and theoretical basis for promoting unity. We should admit that the problems of disunity within our party and among the revolutionary ranks are the result of particular historical circumstances. They are very complicated, and some of them are even indefinable. However, they have seriously affected the relationships among the comrades and hindered the progress of various tasks. Under these circumstances, what, then, should we do? We believe we should implement those directives issued by the party on upholding and strengthening unity; the most important one is that on being unsparing on oneself. This means that every comrade should make self-criticism and take the overall situation into consideration. Our comrades should give in for the sake of a compromise and even for the sake of unity. We believe these qualities characterize exemplary proletarian revolutionaries and involve the cultivation of communists in the party spirit. They are particularly important in handling the relationships among revolutionary comrades.

Our party upholds the principle of permitting comrades to make mistakes in the hope that they will mend their ways. Since subjective understanding is often inconsistent with objective reality, it is inevitable for our comrades to make mistakes. In a changeable historical setting such as the Cultural Revolution, many comrades mounted the historical stage countless times, sometimes to play comic and sometimes tragic roles. They had to play their part well, often under trying circumstances, and sometimes there was no way for them not to do so. We believe that under these circumstances to make mistakes was unavoidable. However, this is not a trifling matter as far as the party's and state's interests are concerned. In a certain sense, we are also to blame for the havoc wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to the country. Since we made mistakes, we should make self-criticism and mend our ways. Lenin once said: "The hallmark of a prudent party is to admit mistakes in public, reveal their causes, analyze the circumstances for making mistakes and discuss ways of correcting them." If it is said that those who were hoodwinked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not realize

they had made mistakes, then after more than 2 years of the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and clear up issues of right and wrong in line, they should realize the mistakes they have made. If they made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution but persist in making them now and try to justify their own faults on the grounds that they are always correct, then they are low in consciousness and ignorant of the prevailing situation. Such an attitude is totally unjustified and impermissible on the basis of party principles. When an errant revolutionary makes self-criticism, he holds himself responsible to the party and the people's revolutionary cause, not submitting himself to anybody. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us by saying: "As we Chinese communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people?... Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them. Can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?" These encouraging words should inspire us to advance.

Putting it more specifically, the party's and people's revolutionary cause means trying to realize the four modernizations in this century. In trying to solve the problems of unity, we must stress the importance of taking the overall situation into consideration and of looking ahead with the revolution's interests in mind. We should see that our party is facing considerable difficulties in its advance. Our cadres, particularly leading cadres at all levels, shoulder heavy tasks for the revolution. Every one of us should commit himself to doing more work, including upholding and strengthening party unity. For the sake of strengthening party unity, we must adhere to the spirit of giving in for the sake of a compromise and of making self-sacrifice. We do so not to sacrifice party principles or the party's interests. On the contrary, the purpose is to uphold party principles and safeguard the party's interests. In many instances, only by giving in can a compromise be made. The ancients in fact had a word for it. They said: "Lack of forbearance in small matters upsets great plans." As communists we simply give new meaning to the experiences of those before us. We approve of giving in for the sake of a compromise in the interests of the proletariat and working people as a whole, not for the personal interests of individuals or factions. We do so on the basis of the proletarian world outlook and the communist scientific theory. Suffering losses in this sense means sacrificing the interests of certain people for the sake of the party's and people's interests. This is the glorious obligation of communists and their philosophy of life. Cultivating good communists has long been neglected. This should be restored to promote truly good communists and revolutionaries who are to be distinguished from those who overreach themselves by taking advantage of the party and other comrades.

"No diplomacy within the party" in a derogatory sense means talking big, jockeying for position and playing politics, and so forth. In principle, these are to be distinguished from the art of proletarian diplomacy. Naturally, practicing this kind of "diplomacy" is impermissible within the revolutionary ranks, because it will not help strengthen unity among the revolutionary ranks. Instead, it will erode the ranks and cause harm to the cause of the party. Some comrades failed to correctly summarize experiences and draw lessons from past political movements. They proceeded from their own personal interests so as to hang on to their positions. As a result, they made contacts and secret deals everywhere, even creating contradictions among the masses and using these conflicting interests to split them. This utterly decadent work style of the landlord and bourgeois classes is at variance with the proletarian spirit of revolutionary unity. Among our comrades we must promote the fine work style of openmindedness, treating, supporting and helping each other with sincerity and making concessions to seek a settlement. We must firmly combat all decadent practices which have prevailed in official quarters.

In discussing ways of strengthening revolutionary unity, it seems appropriate to mention another attitude and approach. This involves obsession with gratitude and grudges, but neglecting the overall situation and the general scheme of things. This deliberate neglect of the party's and people's interests is altogether unacceptable, because this approach will only foster disunity and is not helpful to promoting normal relationships among revolutionary comrades. Renegade Jiang Qing was particularly impressed by the plot of the film "The Count of Monte Cristo." She told Ye Jun, an antiparty element, to take advantage of the Cultural Revolution to take retaliatory actions against those who had wronged them. This fully revealed her mean character and vile motives. On this issue some comrades appear to have been influenced, in varying degrees, by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In handling the contradictions in their own units, they did not implement party principles and policies. Instead, they settled personal grievances on the basis of personal relationships with others, as if they still remembered those slight favors given them during the 10 years of woe as well as those minor incidents which they were not happy about. Obviously, such an approach has been very detrimental to unity. However, some comrades have acted quite differently. When they were assigned to a new post they did not insist on taking along their former subordinates. On assuming their duties they made a point of upholding party principles and implementing party policies. They pay attention to uniting with the cadres and masses, and this is very effective in improving relations with the masses and in securing their support and trust. We should learn from these comrades and their fine experiences in doing things.

In strengthening unity we should in particular unite with those comrades who made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution. Most of them exercised a certain influence over mass organizations. Facts have proven they were

incorrect in approving of the "rebellious" tendencies that prevailed at that time, including "overthrow everything," "smash everything," "support the rebels," and so forth. Many comrades who were "trounced" by them have now assumed leadership duties. Undoubtedly there is a problem of strengthening unity. Naturally, errant comrades should draw lessons from the past and have the desire to promote unity among them. They should have the courage to admit their mistakes and mend their ways. On the other hand, those who were discredited and have now filled leading posts should make active efforts to unite with these comrades, particularly those who opposed them in the past. We should view those comrades who have made mistakes in historical perspective, noting in particular that in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution, and especially since the downfall of the "gang of four," many of them have changed their mental outlook. Except for a few, many of them have in fact realized the true value of what they did in the past. They also wish to promote our revolutionary cause. We should conduct meticulous ideological work on them and make active efforts to unite with them. We should treat them impartially, and under no circumstances should we repudiate and exclude them. We must be clear-headed and avoid doing things impulsively. In handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution in particular, we must pay attention to grasping policy and using the power vested in us with prudence. We must be impartial in doing things and uphold the proletarian spirit and work style. All in all, as long as we act earnestly according to party principles, we will be able to unite with these comrades. This will provide a firm political basis for doing work well in various units.

In advancing the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, how to promote unity among the revolutionary ranks is an important task. All cadres, particularly leading cadres at all levels, should exert themselves in carrying out this task. Naturally, we are not just concerned about the ways and means to solve these problems, for in the final analysis they involve the issue of the world outlook, the spirit and attributes of proletarian revolutionaries. Regarding this problem, our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou set a good example for us. With the broadmindedness of a true proletarian revolutionary, he devoted his lifetime to the people's revolutionary cause, always attaching importance to the interests of the revolution. He had the overall situation in mind and was concerned with big issues. He was unsparing on himself but lenient toward others, upholding unity and adhering to struggle. We must learn from Premier Zhou and his fine qualities and noble revolutionary spirit. China has now entered a new historical period. The whole party and people throughout the country are ready to realize the four modernizations within this century. To achieve this goal we must strengthen unity and begin this task in our own areas and units. Unity means strength, it means victory. With the promotion of unity as our slogan, let us advance in unity and devote ourselves to realizing the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004



## HOW DID LENIN COMBINE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP WITH INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY IN STATE MANAGEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 69-74

[Article by Lin Jizhou [2651 1015 3166]]

[Text] For 7 years Lenin was in charge of the management work of the first socialist country in the world. He formulated a set of principles of leadership, system of management and method of work for a proletarian party in power and a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility is the most important principle and system. Collective leadership is the highest principle of party and state leadership. It refers to the fact that the solution to all major issues by party organizations at all levels and state organs at all levels is the result of collective discussion and study. Under collective leadership, the fundamental principle of individual responsibility in state management refers to the fact that a certain person is totally responsible for certain work put under his charge.

### The Collective Leadership of the Party Solves the Most Important Political Problems and Organizational Problems

Lenin put great emphasis on the leadership role of the Communist Party in state management. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be realized and could not be consolidated. Lenin said: As long as the party in power was carrying out management, and as long as this party should solve all problems in all missions, we could not assume that the leading party was not supposed to decide and execute the most important state missions. In Soviet Russia the entire political and economic work of state political power was led by the Bolshevik party.

The leadership of the party was manifested primarily in the formulation of a correct political line and general and specific policies; in the definition of the tasks of the political organs; in the examination of the work of the state organizations; and in the arrangement of loyal,

capable, outstanding and talented personnel to take up important posts in the state. To realize the correct leadership of the party, we needed outstanding leaders who were equipped with theoretical training and actual organizational experience, and we needed to concentrate the wisdom and experiences of the whole party. Lenin said: "The role of the party organization and the actual role of the party leaders are precisely to undergo protracted and tenacious work of various kinds and aspects launched by all elements in this class who are willing to use their brains, to obtain the necessary knowledge, necessary experience and (in addition to knowledge and experience) necessary political sensitivity and to swiftly and correctly solve all kinds of complex political problems." ("The 'Leftwing' Infantile Disorder in the Communist Movement," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 223-224) Lenin also said that all affairs, particularly the extremely important issues, inside the party must be handled directly by all the party members who enjoyed equal status or through representatives.

The supreme policy-making organ and supervisory organ of the party was the party congress. At the party congress the most important political problems and organizational problems of the state were discussed and decided. Lenin entrusted the party congress with the task of solving the major political policies and important policy decisions of the state. The Constitution of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) stipulated that the party congress was to be convened once every year. In the 7 years he presided over the leadership work of the party and state, Lenin strictly observed this regulation and convened a party congress every year as scheduled. In those 7 years he also convened a party representative conference every year.

In 1921, after the focus of the party's work was shifted to the path of economic construction, Lenin paid even greater attention to bringing into play the role of the party congress as a collective leadership. The party was not familiar with socialist economic construction. Furthermore, there were no previous experiences to be used as reference. However, the Bolshevik party headed by Lenin was able to see that there were personnel inside the party's ranks who had taken part in various kinds of economic work. From the industrial proletariat to the most responsible leading personnel, as long as they could provide experiences in various aspects concerning the collective management of the economy, they could guarantee that the party would be able to exercise practical leadership over economic work and could enable the party to shoulder the major responsibilities in the work of the economic organs and the entire state apparatus. Thus, on all economic problems of the greatest importance popular discussions were held prior to the party congress and at the conferences of the congress, thereby truly implementing the aim of formulating all-party decisions in a collective manner.

The Bolshevik party held that, during the period of construction, it was necessary to invigorate party life, bring the enthusiasm, initiative and

creativity of the party members into play, and attract all party members to popularly discuss all the most important issues in the life of the whole party and to actively participate in socialist construction. A constant and lively ideological life enabled the party to maintain the traditions prior to and during the revolution, which included: constantly studying one's past critically, correcting one's errors and carrying out collective discussions on the most important issues. The party's leading organs should report their work regularly not only to organizations at the higher levels but also to organizations at the lower levels and listen to the opinions of the broad ranks of party members. If no special circumstances intervened, they should hand all major issues concerning the party's policies to all party members for discussion. Only in this way would they have a highly centralized and unified leadership, attain unanimity in thinking and action inside the whole party, raise the leadership role of the party, make it impossible for the opportunists and splittists to prevail, and enable the socialist cause to grow and flourish. However, freedom of discussion definitely should not undermine party discipline. Once a resolution of the party was passed, the whole party would observe it and would swiftly and faithfully implement it. Lenin pointed out: "Our party is a party in power. A resolution that is passed by the party congress must be observed by the entire republic." ("The 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 207) For instance, a topic for discussion at the 10th party congress convened in March 1921 dealt with the problem of substituting a grain tax for the system of surplus grain collection. This was a major issue relating to Soviet Russia's shift from the period of wartime communism to the period of the New Economic Policy. Prior to convening the congress, Lenin talked on many occasions with peasant deputies, rural work personnel and editors of peasant newspapers and read over 50 letters from the peasants in order to understand the rural situation and the peasants' sentiments. On 8 February Lenin wrote the "Preliminary Draft of the Outline of the Peasant Question." On 24 and 25 February Lenin presided over the Central Plenary Session in examining the draft of the resolution that had been drawn up on the basis of Lenin's outline. At the same time, the Central Committee listened extensively to the opinions of the masses inside and outside the party on the new policy and organized lively discussions in newspapers. On this basis, Lenin presided over the committee for drafting the resolution to revise the draft. On 15 March Lenin gave a special topic report at the congress. In accordance with Lenin's report, the congress passed the resolution concerning substitution of a grain tax for the system of surplus grain collection. After this resolution had been passed by the Congress of Soviets, the Central Politburo instructed all economic organs to make every effort to implement the New Economic Policy in practice as extensively and as swiftly as possible.

During the period when the party congress was not in session, the Central Committee was the supreme leading organ, and the Politburo was responsible for routine political work. These were the two most

important collective leading organs. The former should be a strictly centralized collective with very high prestige, and the latter should be a relatively stable group made up of people who had the highest prestige, who were most influential and most experienced and who were selected as leaders to assume the most important posts. They unified the action of the party organs and the state organs and unified and commanded the entire work of the Soviet Republic. Lenin said: "Without the instruction of the Central Committee, any state organ in our republic should not solve any major political problems or organizational problems." ("The 'Leftwing' Infantile Disorder in the Communist Movement," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 203) Lenin held that the secretary of the party Central Committee should implement only those tasks in the resolution drawn up collectively by the Central Committee. Otherwise, the work of the Central Committee could in no way be launched correctly.

Lenin greatly respected the collective leadership of the Central Committee and the Politburo. In dealing with any relatively important issues that involved the party's line and general and specific policies, domestic and foreign politics, economic construction, the appointment and dismissal of cadres, the readjustment of organizations, etc., Lenin would always hand them over to the Central Committee and the Politburo for collective discussion and solution and would make decisions on the principle of subordinating the minority to the majority. The conferences which Lenin presided over were serious and lively. Everyone could speak without any inhibitions, freely conduct criticisms and self-criticisms and freely argue with Lenin. Lenin, too, did not regard his viewpoints as undebatable and always paid attention to absorbing other people's reasonable opinions. The following are several examples of how Lenin observed the principle of collective leadership. In November 1920 Stalin wired Lenin asking the latter for instructions on the question of the situation in Azerbaijan. Lenin replied: "Without convening a conference of the Politburo, I cannot give you any reply. I suggest that you immediately propose a concrete suggestion and instantly submit it to the Politburo." In November 1921 an old Bolshevik writer wanted to ask the state publication bureau for permission to establish a weekly, so he asked Lenin to recommend him. Lenin replied that he could not write individual letters of recommendation because "This is a political issue. So I shall submit it to the Politburo for discussion." In 1921 a high-level cadre gratuitously accused Lenin of asserting that "the Central Committee means me." Lenin refuted this accusation, saying: "Only when one is in a state of extreme mental agitation and exhaustion can one write such myth. During the previous session of the Central Committee (1919-1920) I was defeated on an extremely important issue. You already knew of this in the debate. On organizational problems and personnel problems I have been in the minority on countless occasions. When you were a member of the Central Committee you personally saw many such examples."

Lenin emphasized the leadership of the party over the organs of state power but opposed too much interference in the work of these organs by the party organization. Lenin pointed out: "We must clearly distinguish between the functions of the party (including its Central Committee) and those of the Soviet state power; raise the sense of responsibility and initiative of Soviet working personnel and Soviet organs; and understand that the party's task is to assume general leadership over the work of the state organs and not, as at present, to practice excessively frequent, irregular and often trivial interference." ("Letter to Molotov on the Outline of the Political Report of the Party's 11th Congress," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 221) Lenin held that in the period of economic construction it was particularly necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation in duties and rights between the party organ and the government organ. This was because replacement of the government by the party would entail extremely serious consequences in the economic aspect. The party organization should not interfere with the routine work of the state organ and should not issue administrative orders that were within the functional scope of the state organ. If the party organization exercised interference against the rules and in a haphazard manner, it would encourage bureaucratism inside the party, cause the party organization to become engaged in everything and yet fail to do things well, make it difficult for the functional organs to carry out their routine work, cause their leading personnel to lack a strict and clear sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to them and bring about a situation in which no man would be responsible for anything. In talking about the division of work between the central party and government organs, Lenin said that the Central Committee and the Politburo should not accept and handle trivial affairs and should raise the prestige of the Council of People's Commissars.

#### Collective Leadership Is the Highest Principle of Leadership of the Proletarian State Management

From the founding of Soviet political power in 1917 to the day he died, Lenin had assumed the office of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and concurrently the office of chairman of the National Defense Council (reshuffled in 1920 to become the National Labor Defense Council). The Council of People's Commissars was the supreme organ of power in Soviet Russia (the All-Russia Congress of Soviets) and the executive organ of its permanent organ (the All-Russia Central Executive Committee) was the supreme state administrative organ. The National Labor Defense Council was a special committee directly under the Council of People's Commissars. It was responsible for managing national defense affairs of the republic and unifying and leading the work of the various economic people's committees.

In his draft of the "Decision Concerning the Founding of the Worker-Peasant Government," Lenin right from the start fixed collective leadership as the highest principle of leadership for a proletarian government.

This decision stipulated that administrative power belonged to the conference of chairmen of the various committees presiding over the affairs of the various departments of the state, that is, the Council of People's Commissars. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the various members of the council were all members of the Council of People's Commissars; they possessed equal rights and obligations and together would handle the administrative affairs of the Soviet Government. All problems to be handled by the Council of People's Commissars should be discussed at the conference of the Council of People's Commissars, and decisions should be made under the principle of the minority subordinating to the majority and would be made effective by the chairman's signature. If the chairman did not agree with the decision that had been passed, he could either obey it or request that it be reconsidered by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Central Politburo. Lenin consciously observed this rule of leadership and never handled by himself those problems that fell within the scope of collective leadership and that should be discussed and decided upon collectively. Generally, Lenin did not use the methods of signing a circular or soliciting opinions in writing in solving important issues, because such methods easily led the members who were leading the collective to take on a formalistic and bureaucratic attitude in treating problems that should be discussed conscientiously and collectively.

In the initial stage of the founding of Soviet political power, as a result of insufficient experience in state management, the Council of People's Commissars held meetings every day and discussed several dozen big and small problems every time. After 1919 the Council of People's Commissars embarked on the correct path in work and began to formulate strict rules for the conferences. After the implementation of the New Economic Policy in 1921, Lenin convened a conference of the Council of People's Commissars every Tuesday and an all-member conference of the National Labor Defense Council every Friday. Every conference began punctually at 6 o'clock in the evening. Generally the conference lasted 4 hours. Occasionally the conference continued until midnight. Later Lenin suggested that each conference should not exceed 2 hours. Statistics in 1921 and 1922 showed that the Council of People's Commissars convened an average of five conferences every month and solved an average of 10 problems at every conference, and that the National Labor Defense Council convened an average of eight conferences every month and handled an average of 22 matters at every conference. From these few figures we can see that Lenin attached great importance to leading the collective in managing government work jointly.

Lenin asked the Council of People's Commissars and the National Labor Defense Council to try their best to free themselves from all kinds of trivial problems; he opposed bringing all matters, regardless of how big or small, to be decided upon at the conference of the Council of People's Commissars; and he hoped to change the situation of having too many trivial items on the agenda. At the same time, Lenin held that it

was inevitable that the Council of People's Commissars would have to discuss a large amount of big and small issues. Lenin said: If we attempt to separate an organ for solving trivial everyday affairs from the organ that only formulates general principles, we will mess things up and will divorce generalizations from facts; and generalizations that are divorced from facts are empty and not serious. Besides, principle can be reflected in every small matter. To handle this problem well, a small Council of People's Commissars was set up on Lenin's suggestion. This was a group for handling matters; it consisted of several responsible working personnel and was placed under the direct leadership of Lenin. It convened at least three conferences every week to collectively handle affairs that did not have to undergo debates on principles. Lenin would check and approve the minutes of the conferences and sign the decisions which were unanimously agreed upon. If there were problems involving different opinions or if there were decisions which Lenin did not approve of, Lenin would submit them to the conference of the Council of People's Commissars for further discussion.

In handling some major problems on reviving and developing the national economy, the Council of People's Commissars often invited specialists and experts to participate in the discussion. Lenin said: To learn how to manage Russia, we must learn how to be modest and how to respect the practical work of those scientific and technological specialists and constantly study the things they provide for us. The Council of People's Commissars attached great importance to the opinions of the leaders of the departments responsible for work, specialists who were proficient in their vocations and general cadres who were familiar with the situation and who had original ideas. As for some extremely important decisions and decrees, the Council of People's Commissars would first give the draft to the laboring masses for extensive discussion. Lenin often said that the important thing was to popularly draw all laborers into management of the state, and only when thousands of millions of people had learned how to do so could socialism be realized. Lenin did not regard collective leadership as having a few people lead the collective and decide upon all problems. The plan for electrification in Russia formulated under the guidance of Lenin was a long-term plan that would change Russia's backward economic outlook. Referred to by Lenin as the "party's second program," this was the result of the collective creation of nearly 200 first-rate scientific and technological specialists in Russia. In May 1921 the "Order of the National Labor Defense Council to the organs of Soviets of various localities" on the realization of the economic construction tasks and the reform of the work of the organs of Soviets which Lenin drafted was discussed and revised by the 4th national trade unions congress, the 4th congress of the Supreme National Economic Council, the 10th party congress and the standing committee of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Then it was submitted in June to the supreme organ of power for ratification. The solution by the Central Committee to this extremely complicated issue of the fuel crisis in 1921 was decided in accordance with the plan put forth by the special committee made up of comrades of various localities.

Lenin attached great importance to good preparatory work on problems listed on the agenda, so as to prevent the collective leadership from becoming a mere formality or becoming unable to make decisions. The "Order Concerning the Procedures for Submitting Proposals to the Conference of the Council of People's Commissars," which Lenin personally drew up, stipulated that all questions which every member of the Council of People's Commissars asked to be listed on the agenda should be submitted in writing prior to the conference. The request should briefly state the content of the question and clearly explain what action the sponsor hoped for from the Council of People's Commissars. When the proposed question involved departments under other people's councils, written opinions by the people's councils concerned should be attached. Problems that were not properly prepared would not be listed on the agenda. The office of the Council of People's Commissars was responsible for preparing the brief explanations, drafts of decisions and related materials on the questions on the agenda and for notifying the members to attend the conference. Lenin would conscientiously peruse the documents, speak to the personnel concerned, listen to all kinds of opinions and do his best to grasp the overall situation. When problems of principle were involved, Lenin would repeatedly discuss them with members of the Central Committee, members of the Politburo and responsible government cadres before making decisions. As for some economic, management and production problems, Lenin would first hand them over to special committees for study or seek opinions from specialists. For instance, on 1 February 1921 the Council of People's Commissars decided to lease portions of the oilfields in Grozny and Baku. Before convening a conference to discuss the issue, Lenin carefully studied the special reports from the departments concerned and the materials provided by petroleum specialists, and he personally prepared a draft of the decision on agreeing in principle to lease portions of the oilfields in Grozny and Baku and on immediately proceeding to negotiations for the lease. After this decision was passed, Lenin again presided over a conference of the Politburo on 5 February to discuss this issue. At the same time the Politburo wrote separate letters to the head of the general bureau for petroleum management and to four petroleum specialists requesting their viewpoints. After reading their replies, Lenin concluded that the reasons the specialists gave for advocating the lease were practical and realistic and that the bureau, which opposed the lease, was extremely stupid. Lenin asked the members of the Politburo to pass around for study the report on the situation in the oilfields as well as those replies, and he enclosed a letter expressing his opinions. The conference of the Politburo on 16 February and the plenary session of the Central Committee on 24 February discussed this issue still further. During this period the Central Committee set up several special committees to profoundly study this issue. In this manner, through sufficient investigations and study and repeated comparisons and analyses, Lenin and the Central Committee affirmed the decision of the Council of People's Commissars as one having sufficient scientific grounds.



The conference of the Council of People's Commissars presided over by Lenin asked that the speakers present truthful situations, accurate figures and practical propositions. They were allowed to speak only briefly, not to be longwinded or to indulge in empty talk. When there were sharp debates or differences of opinion, the issue was put aside temporarily or decisions could be made by adopting the method of voting. Debates could not continue endlessly. For most of the questions discussed by the Council of People's Commissars, there were corresponding decisions. There were extremely few unresolved situations. Lenin tried his best to make the decision read clearly. Decisions were made through discussions, and actions were taken after decisions were made. This was Lenin's style of work.

In presiding over the work of the new proletarian government, Lenin paid daily attention to the ever-changing domestic and foreign politics and handled the complicated problems of finance and economy and the people's livelihood. Lenin said with emotion: "Because there are so many problems, we often have to solve them in an extremely hasty manner. Fortunately the members of the collective understand each other very well, know everyone else's opinions and trust each other. Only in this way can we accomplish this work." ("Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 157)

#### Individual Responsibility Is the Basic Principle in the Management Work of a Proletarian Organ

In the "Draft of Regulations for the Management Work of Organs of Soviets" in December 1919, Lenin pointed out: "All problems of management within the organs of Soviets should be decided through collective discussion. At the same time we must very clearly state the /responsibility/ of /every/ person in charge of some duty of the Soviets in the /implementation/ of a /certain/ task and of a /practical/ job. This criterion must be /implemented absolutely/ at once. Otherwise, it will be impossible to exercise real supervision or to select the most suitable people to shoulder certain jobs and work." Lenin summarized this thinking in two phrases: joint discussion and a person specially assigned to a task. Lenin said: Because we did not know how to implement this principle, every step we took we suffered.

Lenin said: "To handle the affairs of a worker-peasant state we must practice collective leadership. But any exaggerated or distorted form of collective leadership will bring about a situation of doing things in a dilatory manner and of not having people responsible for matters; it will turn the organ of collective leadership into an arena for empty talk. This is an extremely serious scourge. No matter how, this kind of scourge must be rooted out as swiftly as possible and at all cost." Lenin suggested: "Whenever possible, the collective leadership should discuss inside the smallest committee and in the briefest manner the

most important issues. And the responsibility of /actually handling/ the affairs and tasks of the organs and enterprises should be entrusted to /a comrade/ who has consistently displayed firmness and boldness and the ability to handle practical problems as well as enjoyed the most trust. At all times and under all circumstances, in practicing collective leadership, we must clearly stipulate the responsibility of /every/ person for /certain/ work." ("Let Us Ail Go and Struggle Against Denikin!" "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 24) If this were not the case, then the decisions made by the collective leadership would become mere scraps of paper. Such phenomena as everyone being either responsible or not responsible for anything, having no way to examine work or affix responsibility, having too many leaders, shifting responsibilities onto others, doing things in a dilatory manner, and no man being held responsible for anything would inevitably be found everywhere. How, then, could we talk of guaranteeing the speed of work and the accuracy of work demanded by a concentrated and large-scale industrial environment. As a result, state management would be in total confusion, and the cause of socialist construction would suffer serious losses. Take, for example, the construction of the (Kashira) hydroelectric power station in 1919. This was one of the first batch of engineering projects in the realization of the plan to electrify the entire country. It had great political and economic significance and was scheduled to begin providing electricity in 1922. As a result of a confused situation of bureaucratism and irresponsibility, either equipment, fuel and grain were not delivered to the work site on schedule or imported equipment was piled up at the customs because it was not collected promptly. The departments concerned elbowed each other, shifted responsibilities to one another and seriously affected the progress of the engineering project. In spite of the repeated injunctions of the Central Committee ordering all departments to swiftly and conscientiously complete the engineering task, the situation still did not improve. In 1921 and 1922 Lenin personally looked into the progress of the hydroelectric station and the equipment supply situation, extended the authority of the chief engineers who were shouldering the major engineering responsibilities, ordered the departments concerned to appoint special personnel to be responsible for making arrangements for and transporting all kinds of materials needed by the hydroelectric station, and severely punished personnel who did things in a dilatory manner or who failed to carry out their responsibilities. Only in this way did he guarantee the completion in June 1922 of the first phase of the engineering project of the (Kashira) hydroelectric station, which then began to supply electricity.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized the importance of setting up a system of individual responsibility. Lenin asked that every state organ exercise independent and responsible management within its own sphere of duty and authority, that there be more expressions of initiative and a sense of responsibility in work and that one not submit a question first to the Council of People's Commissars and then to the Politburo. Lenin

said that it was necessary to clearly and separately define the responsibilities, first, of the leading members and responsible working personnel of the departments of the Council of People's Commissars, and then of the working personnel of all organs, so as to resolutely eliminate the general phenomenon of total irresponsibility as a result of unclarified duties. Lenin once mentioned the case of the purchase of canned food products by the Moscow consumers cooperative in 1922. At that time Moscow was suffering from starvation, and French merchants came to sell canned meat products. The Moscow consumers cooperative and the People's Council of Foreign Trade were unable to decide on the matter of buying canned products. On 21 February the Central Politburo took up the matter and made a decision agreeing to purchase food products from abroad. However, by the end of February this matter had not been attended to. The ships that were loaded with canned products were anchored in a Russian harbor, but the cries of "not being able to obtain canned products" were heard all over Moscow City. Lenin suggested that the personnel who had failed to perform their duties should be punished. However, no guilty men were found. Lenin once criticized the State Planning Committee for not setting up a system of individual responsibility among members of the planning committee. Lenin proposed that the chairman of the State Planning Committee select several brilliant and capable organizers and administrators to form a very strong and effective leading core to collectively discuss basic problems and practice the system of division of responsibility over routine work. Every member of the planning committee must receive a definite task from that leading core. Then, as regards such aspects as whether a plan was reasonable and how various plans were actually completed (for instance, whether fuel was economized, whether there was a sufficient load in railroad transportation, how many unnecessary enterprises were closed, whether the grain distribution was reasonable and whether labor productivity could be raised), they should systematically study all the materials concerning the manner in which some functions were completed and propose their own analyses. Lenin held that only in this way could the duties of each member be clarified and the work efficiency of the State Planning Committee be raised.

In the "Draft of Instructions Concerning the Work of the National Labor Defense Council, the Council of People's Commissars and the Small Council of People's Commissars" which Lenin wrote in February 1922, he pointed out: "The foremost tasks at present are not to issue orders or to carry out reshuffling, but to /select talented personnel/, establish /a system of individual responsibility in all work/, and /examine the actual work/. Otherwise, it will be impossible for us to free ourselves from the bureaucratic and dilatory styles which are stifling us." Lenin hoped that the machinery of the Soviet administrative organ would handle work in an orderly, accurate and swift manner and that every state working personnel would, no matter how long the working hours, say, "I will be responsible for what I manage." Lenin stipulated that when the Council of People's Commissars decided on a task or on something to be done, it would either decide on a list of specially assigned responsible personnel

at the same time or ask the units in charge to submit a list of personnel to undertake the task, so that the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the organization in charge of the task could carry out an examination accordingly. Lenin held that the true yardstick for measuring the labor productivity of an organ was how well and how quickly it performed its work. On 26 February 1921 the Council of People's Commissars instructed that the people's committees should have special personnel (who must notify the office of the Council of People's Commissars of their names and telephone numbers) who were responsible for replying promptly to the queries of the Council of People's Commissars and the National Labor Defense Council. They should reply to urgent queries in 24 hours and routine queries in 3 days. Disciplinary measures would be taken against anyone who violated the rule. There were not many personnel in the office of the Council of People's Commissars under the direct leadership of Lenin. As a result of Lenin's strict demands and the clear duties of every working personnel, the work of this small organization was orderly, meticulous, thorough, conscientious and highly efficient.

Lenin set himself as an example in implementing the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility which he personally established. Lenin's prestige was extremely high, but Lenin never used his position as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars to decide on his own any problem of even the slightest importance. Also, he never exceeded the limits of authority ascribed to his position by law and never handled affairs that were within other people's limits of authority. In Lenin's view, this not only meant respect for other members of the leading collective but, more importantly, prevented errors and confusion. From one small matter we can see the exemplary role which Lenin played in observing the principle of leadership. On 29 September 1921 the general bureau for hydropower excavation decided to postpone by 2 months an order for caterpillar cranes from abroad. Responsible personnel of the people's committee for foreign trade asked Lenin to give his signature of approval. Lenin immediately signed his approval. Afterward Lenin felt that he might not have handled this matter correctly, that he should have obtained the approval of the departments concerned and assisted in urging the Council of People's Commissars and the National Labor Defense Council to grant their approval. He should not have acted on his own in approving such technological conclusions. Lenin called the chief of the office to check the law and determine whether he had the legal authority to sign documents without going through the Council of People's Commissars and the National Labor Defense Council and whether he could approve decisions of this sort.

In a situation in which no previous experience in running a socialist country could be used as a reference, the Russian Communist Party headed by Lenin was able to lead the people of a vast, densely populated, poor and backward country to achieve, under complicated and arduous conditions, great victories and positive results in socialist revolution and construction. This was inseparable from the fact that Lenin embodied

profound theoretical training, rich experiences in struggle and outstanding organizational ability. Furthermore, it was inseparable from the fact that Lenin relied on the wisdom and experience of the masses of people, on the system of democratic centralism and on the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility.

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## WE SHOULD ALLOW SOME LEEWAY IN DOING THINGS

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[Article by Lu Kuihong [7120 7608 1347] and Zhang Guiyue [1728 2710 1471]]

[Text] Whether handling people and affairs or solving problems in revolution and construction, we communists should pay great attention to allowing leeway. Allowing leeway means not saying anything or doing anything definitive. When we say something, write an article or do something, we must be flexible and allow room for changes, and we must allow leeway in case of accidents, so that we can establish our revolutionary and construction causes in an unassailable position.

To allow leeway in speaking and in doing things is not a question of whether we are subjectively willing or not but is a condition in which we are required to do so by the objective law of the movement of contradiction in things and the law of men's understanding of objective things. In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We must look at problems from different angles and not from only one. Lenin pointed out: "To really know an object we must embrace and study all its sides, all connections and 'mediations.' We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity." ("Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453) Even though men are required to embrace all sides of an object, they definitely will never achieve this completely in a particular time and place and under a particular condition. This is an objective contradiction. How can we solve this contradiction? The Marxist method is to allow leeway, which will enable our understanding to move, on the basis of practice, from one side to another and to more sides and to gradually approach the understanding and embracing of all sides of an object. Only in so doing can we prevent onesidedness and handle in a better manner the relationships between the various sides of an object. If we replace the whole with the part, see the trees but not the forest, and see one point but not the whole, then we will cause one point to become disconnected from other aspects and bring about dislocation and tension in the interplay of the various aspects.

For instance, the relationships among the various departments of the national economy are intricate. There is the relationship among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry; the relationship among fuel, motive force, raw materials and the processing industry within the realm of industry; the relationship among agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry; the relationship between grain and industrial crops within the realm of agriculture, and so on and so forth. Among them there exists an objective proportionate relationship independent of men's will. To guarantee the development of the national economy in a planned and proportionate manner and at high speed, men must understand and grasp in an all-round manner the proportionate relationships among the various departments of the national economy. However, under certain conditions men's understanding is often unable to accomplish this point, and it is impossible to insure that the arrangement for the proportionate relationship among various aspects is "flawless." Thus, to guarantee the harmonious development of the national economy we should, in formulating our plan, consider the various factors and insure an overall balance in the relationship among the various aspects. Our various plans should look ahead and behind, should link up with one another and should not have any gaps. Our industrial production quota should be ascertained in accordance with the supply of coal, oil, electricity and raw materials. The scale of capital construction should be ascertained in accordance with the supply of steel materials, timber, cement, equipment and capital. We must strictly observe the principles of financial balance, balance of credits, balance of materials and balance of foreign exchange. If we only isolate and stress one point and disregard the others, we will undoubtedly bring about gaps, undermine the proportionate relationship and undermine the overall balance. Comrade Mao Zedong put it well: "In formulating a plan, we must mobilize the masses to pay attention to allowing sufficient leeway."

Objective things develop and change continuously. In practice, men's understanding of objective things undergoes the process of not knowing to knowing, from knowing little to knowing much and from knowing superficially to knowing in depth. This involves not only a process from the appearance to the essence, but a process from a not too profound essence to a more profound essence. Just as Lenin pointed out: "Man's thinking proceeds from the appearance to the essence and from the so-called primary essence to the secondary essence. This continues to deepen infinitely." ("Conspectus of Hegel's 'Lectures on the History of Philosophy,'" "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 278) Thus, before we understand the essence of things, we should allow leeway; and even when we understand the certain essence of things, we should still allow leeway and must not regard our understanding as conclusive and as the peak.

In view of this fact that man is not unchangeable and that man's understanding involves a process, our party has consistently advocated that we must be cautious in our treatment of people who have made mistakes,

must not draw conclusions hastily and must consciously allow leeway. In the past many years, many unjust, false and wrong cases appeared. They were mainly the vicious consequences brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who practiced fascism and exercised "all-round dictatorship" over the people. For instance, within our revolutionary rank, errors were sometimes made in the treatment of people. This was chiefly because we did not conduct sufficient investigations and study, committed the errors of subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality in our understanding, and did not conduct concrete and profound analysis on the basis of clearing up all the facts, but instead hastily formed conclusions and allowed no leeway. We should be able to see that the majority of comrades who have made mistakes are capable of correcting their mistakes. After having committed mistakes, many comrades have changed and improved through the party's education and the masses' assistance and through a period of training and testing, and they have obtained the forgiveness and understanding of the party and the people. If in handling a person we only understand part of the circumstance and do not understand the rest of the circumstance, if we only know one thing and not another, and if we only know the outside and not the inside, we will form one-sided and even totally erroneous conclusions. Nevertheless, it is impossible to correctly understand a person overnight. The merits and demerits and rights and wrongs of a person involve a process of formation and exposure. Men's understanding of this also necessarily involves, on the basis of investigations and study, a process from one to another and from the easy to the difficult. Thus, in handling people we must not regard the mistakes of a comrade as fixed, leave no leeway, and negate everything about a cadre based solely on his performance at a certain time and in a certain matter. We should see his development on the whole and examine a cadre's mistakes in the light of his entire history, his entire work and his consistent expression. We should observe him and help him, allow leeway and not knock him down at one stroke. When we cannot temporarily distinguish between the contradiction among the enemy and ourselves and the contradiction among the people, we should first handle the matter in accordance with the contradiction among the people. When we can choose between punishment and no punishment, we should refrain from punishment. When we can choose between light punishment and heavy punishment, then we should impose light punishment. In particular, we should be extremely discreet about the branding of people as "elements," expulsion from the party and from public posts, arrest and punishment by law, demotion and reduction of salaries. For instance, in the movement of exposure, criticism and examination, as long as those comrades who have made mistakes are sincere in examining themselves and are determined to correct their mistakes, we will welcome them warmly, assist them to break loose as soon as possible from their mistakes and encourage them to engage boldly in work. As regards those people who do not realize their mistakes initially, as long as they do not violate party discipline and national law, do not engage in splittism and do not engage in conspiracies and intrigues, we should continue to give them time to think things over and



should permit ideological relapses. As for those people who have committed serious mistakes and who have not yet been able to obtain the masses' understanding, we also should not handle them hastily but should adopt the method of allowing leeway; we can transfer some to carry out study, relieve some from their posts and send them to the grassroots level, and allow those who are physically strong enough to take part in appropriate manual labor on the one hand and to carry out work at the basic level on the other. We can handle this group of cadres in this manner temporarily. After a period of time we can draw final conclusions in accordance with the attitude of the individual and the new situation. Experience proves that we can foster much initiative in doing this and obtain good results.

The general trend of development of all things in the universe is a development in contradiction from the lower to the higher stage. This is an irresistible objective law. But in a specific process of any specific thing, because of the opposition and interplay of various factors that constitute the thing, complications and spiral developments will inevitably appear, and manifold possibilities will thus exist. The thinking and method of allowing leeway are precisely the demands set by the spiral movement of objective things. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must consider the several possibilities of a matter and estimate the several aspects of a situation, what is good and what is bad, what is smooth and what is difficult, what can be done and what cannot be done, and try our best to be more discreet and more considerate." ("Talk at the Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee") In particular, we must anticipate more bad possibilities. In Comrade Mao Zedong's words, we must "rather anticipate more difficulties" and "anticipate more time." In "Critique of the Gotha Program," discussing how to determine the distribution of the total social product, Marx pointed out that, in addition to considering the available means and forces, it should be determined partly by computation of probabilities (meaning a situation which can hardly be predicted beforehand but which may appear in the future). Although we can formulate all kinds of scientific predictions and inferences and estimate all kinds of possibilities, yet Marxists are not fortune tellers. No scientific prediction and inference can possibly be 100 percent accurate and estimate without fail all the situations that may appear. "Wonderful foresight and certainty" about men and things do not exist in reality. Marxism only asks that people make smaller and fewer mistakes and that they be able to cope with and swiftly correct accidents and mistakes. Thus, in formulating a plan or doing something, we definitely should not only make preparations that will cope with one kind of possibility but also make preparations to cope with various kinds of possibilities. We must especially make sufficient preparations to cope with accidents.

In the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted the extreme left line; propagated "be 30 percent leftist in everything," "left" is better than right and the more "left" the more revolutionary; and used

highflown words, exaggerated when they talked and indulged in excess when they did things, thus bringing about serious consequences for our revolutionary and construction causes. Practice proves that, wherever there is excess, "leftist" things will run rampant and the Marxist method of allowing leeway will be rejected. In our party and among the cadres at various levels, some comrades do not understand the importance of allowing leeway; when they speak, write articles, carry out propaganda and debate an issue, they use highflown words, exaggerate their words and escalate their words. In making plans they like to reckon every item, depart from the material basis and make "empty and impractical grand plans" and high-quota plans that cannot possibly be fulfilled. This ideological method and working method of reckoning every item is definitely not a reflection of the lofty aspirations and great ideals of the broad masses but is the product of a subjective will that violates objective laws. The result will undoubtedly be the appearance of a state of tension which will affect stability and unity and the proportionate relationship among the various departments of the national economy; it will undoubtedly plunge our work into a passive state and cause us to panic and to find it difficult to cope with difficulties and accidents once they appear; and it will undoubtedly cause our plans to come to nothing and seriously dampen the enthusiasm of the masses.

A few years ago, due to the interference and sabotage of the extreme left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the existence of the thinking of reckoning every item among us, some comrades regarded allowing leeway as right conservatism and discarded it. We believe that allowing leeway is in conformity with the original feature of objective things and is an expression of seeking truth from facts. This and conservatism are two entirely different things. Allowing leeway is based on the dialectical method of objective things. It not only takes into consideration the favorable conditions, but also pays attention to unfavorable conditions; it not only takes into consideration the objective factors, but also attaches great importance to subjective flexibility. Right conservatism, on the other hand, proceeds from a one-sided situation and subjective estimation. It only sees the unfavorable conditions and does not see the favorable conditions; it only stresses objective factors and rules out subjective flexibility. In doing something we would rather anticipate more difficulties so that we can adopt in a down-to-earth manner effective measures to triumph over difficulties, realize the best possibilities and obtain bright futures. Right conservatism is frightened by difficulties. It feels helpless before difficulties, cannot do anything and is pessimistic and desperate about the future. The two are entirely different.

Of course, any truth has its definite sphere of applicability. If we exaggerate it and apply it in reality, we will go in the opposite direction and turn it into error. Allowing leeway also has a definite limit. If we set it in opposition to giving full play to subjective

flexibility, to going all out and to tapping latent capacity, "hold something back" at every level, hold back a trick or two in every situation, try our best to underestimate favorable conditions and exaggerate unfavorable conditions, set quotas as low as possible and do things at the slowest possible rate, then we are not doing what we mean by allowing leeway. The Marxist term of allowing leeway establishes enthusiasm on a reliable basis and is a unity of what is advanced and what is reliable. Thus, its spiritual essence is active and not passive; it is progressive and not conservative; it is advancing and not retreating; and it is taking the initiative and not being pushed about. It enables us to avoid the error of rashness in our advance; to avoid the error of passivity and conservatism in our retreat; to prevent arrogance and complacency and avoid becoming confused when we are smoothgoing and victorious; and to prevent panic and loss of confidence when we are faced with difficulties and setbacks.

Allowing leeway is an important method of doing our work well. Particularly in the present period and the future when we are in the process of readjusting, reforming, rectifying and raising our national economy, we should all the more consciously apply and promote this Marxist method.

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CSO: 4004

## A DISCUSSION ON WHAT ARE ADVANCED MACHINERY PRODUCTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 pp 78-80

[Article by Shen Hong [3088 7703]]

[Text] I have read several times and carefully the report on the situation (see appendix) of the General Electrical Engineering Bureau and have profoundly realized the difficulty in understanding things. In order to do our work well, we must study conscientiously so as to strengthen planning and reduce blindness.

For the sake of speeding up the realization of the four modernizations, we demand the supply of advanced machinery products. This is entirely correct. What are advanced machinery products? As opinions vary, no unanimous conclusion can be drawn. This has been a long-standing issue which has been intensified to this day. It is a big, perplexing issue in machinery manufacturing today.

According to reports by some companies in Hong Kong, the 10-kW diesel generator, which may be regarded at home as so old-fashioned a model that it should be obsolete, is properly matched and has a rather high safety coefficient. Thus, although the design is old-fashioned, its operation is reliable, and the machine is durable and greatly welcomed by fishermen. By contrast, though the foreign product claims to be advanced, it breaks down frequently and is not as efficient as ours.

When the General Electrical Engineering Bureau was negotiating the import of technology with several foreign companies, some experts of the foreign companies held that "the technical level of a product is represented mainly by the reliability of its quality, its economic results and its performance, not by its date." They did not even accept the concept of "product of X X year." I believe that what they said was certainly reasonable. For instance, a product like the generator enjoys a service life of several decades. It should be distinguished from consumer products on the Western market such as automobiles (mainly limousines), wristwatches and television sets, which are particular about style and change their designs year after year. As for the

latest Paris fashions, a year is too long, and there are spring, summer, fall and winter fashions!

What is advanced is relative. It is related to the temporal, spatial and specific factors and is a question of philosophy. What is considered advanced in this place may be regarded as backward in some other place. Advanced objects often contain backward factors; and backward objects also often contain advanced factors. Under a certain condition, an advanced object can transform itself into a backward object, and a backward object can also transform itself into an advanced object. Thus, we must be practical and realistic in the rejuvenation and change of machinery products. We must not be absolute and must not pursue the advanced in a one-sided manner. On this question, if we prolong our debate and waste our opportune moment in debate, we will hold up national affairs.

The above are two instances from foreign countries. Actually, there are many instances at home. We should conscientiously apply Chairman Mao's ideological methods of the theory of practice and the theory of contradictions in carrying out analysis and study, so as to arrive at a common understanding.

As to what are called advanced machinery products, I would like here to offer my immature opinion for all to discuss.

We must conscientiously sum up our positive and negative experiences and lessons in the past 30 years and absorb the historical and current experiences and lessons in the world.

(I) In terms of variety, they should be complete sets.

From the components and the parts to the single machine as a set, and the single machine should be equipped with its accessories and repair tools for consumers to select; from the single machines to a machinery unit as a set; from the machinery unit as a complete set to the workshop as a complete set; and from the workshop as a complete set to the factory as a complete set. In short, we should form complete sets. Equipment that is not in a complete set cannot become a productive force and is most backward.

(II) In terms of quality, they should be reliable, durable, highly efficient and economical; they should be good for use, for repair, for manufacture and in appearance.

The eight items should be considered in an overall manner in order to obtain the greatest results. And yet reliability, durability, easy operation and easy repair should be in the foremost position.

(III) In terms of production management, they should put quality first and be responsible to the end.

It is necessary to attach importance to quality and truly put quality in the No 1 position. It is necessary to change the previous style of "everything is fine once the machine leaves the factory door" and to be responsible to the end. We must strengthen on-the-spot service, train operators for consumers and be responsible until the state construction project begins formal production.

Now, poor quality has become a universal phenomenon. The reasons are numerous. It is not simply a question of the designed model. Rather, it is the comprehensive reflection of such factors as technique, material quality, production management, training of personnel, the system of reward and punishment and the installation, operation and maintenance of the consumer units. The thing is extremely complicated. We cannot possibly imagine solving it with a simple method. If we do not do a good job now, we will make it more complicated.

Chairman Mao once said that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In the rejuvenation and change which we have proposed, we ask that most of the products gradually reach the level of the seventies by 1985. This is our strategic determination. Tactically, however, we should carry out concrete analysis of the different situations, strengthen scientific research, weigh the advantages and disadvantages and gains and losses, differentiate the important from the less important and the urgent from the less urgent, and solve problems one by one in a planned, systematic, practical and realistic manner. We must under no circumstances pursue the so-called "advanced products" that are divorced from concrete conditions, that are impractical and that are mere subjects of gossip. If we seek undeserved reputation we will only court real disaster.

We must oppose such ideological viewpoints as closing the country to international intercourse, standing still and refusing to make progress, arrogance and complacency and parochial conceit which obstruct our progress, and must absorb the world's advanced experiences. At the same time, we should continue to persevere in the fine style of self-reliance, of using both indigenous and foreign methods, of building the country diligently and frugally and of struggling arduously which Chairman Mao taught us. If we get organized and make persistent efforts, we will definitely improve the quality of our machinery products.

At present our machinery products can be summed up in the following three categories:

The first category has been produced and tested through practice. The products are known and liked by people, and production should continue. Among them are the small generator units that are exported to Hong Kong.

The second category includes products which have been produced but which require further improvement and the raising of capacity in certain designs, structures, techniques, material quality and convenience of use. This category embraces the largest number of products. We must continue to make improvements, raise capacities gradually and move from gradual change to sudden change. The majority of products in the world develop in this manner. Of course, there are some which are really unsuitable and uneconomical and should be eliminated.

The third category includes new products. Among them, some are researched, tested and designed by ourselves, while some are copied from imported technology.

If this method of classification is appropriate, I believe our strategic slogans should be "rectify and improve old products" and "develop new products," for these are more in conformity with objective reality. This idea has been in my head for 3 years. Whether it is suitable must ultimately be proved in practice. I ask the comrades to add to, revise and correct it.

To catch the eye I have specially prepared a diagram for the comrades for the purpose of analysis and study.

实践<sup>(1)</sup>、认识

再实践<sup>(2)</sup>、再认识



How To Reach the Level of an Advanced Machinery Product?

Key:

1. Practice, understanding
2. More practice, more understanding
3. Stable plan
4. Stable design
5. Stable personnel
6. Scientific research in production technology
7. Scientific research in organizational management
8. Complete sets
9. Strengthen planning and carry out coordination vigorously
10. Complete sets: single machine as a complete set, machinery unit as a complete set, workshop as a complete set and factory as a complete set. The large complete set is derived from the small complete set, and only when there is small will there be large; is a comprehensive plan and organizational work; is the result of a large-scale coordination of research, testing, design, manufacture and installation.



11. Service
12. Responsibility to the end and linkup of use and manufacture
13. For the sake of consumers: recommend products, deliver goods punctually, render technical service, train personnel and carry out on-the-spot guidance. For the sake of the manufacturing factory: make demands for explorations, suggest improvements, develop varieties, raise quality and strengthen the complete sets. Products that leave the factory are all under guarantee of usage, repair and exchange.
14. Varieties
15. Weed through the old and bring forth the new and develop continuously
16. There are high-grade, large-scale, precision and advanced products, as well as light, small, simple and inexpensive products. Standardization, systematization and universal applicability. Fewer basic molds and more varying molds, thereby actively satisfying the needs of the state's capital construction and production.
17. Quality
18. Implement putting quality first in research, testing, design, manufacture, installation, use and repairs.
19. Reliability, durability, high efficiency and economy; easy operation, easy repair, easy manufacture and good appearance. All products that leave the factory should pass the quality examination.
20. Advanced machinery products

#### Explanation of the Diagram

Advanced is the opposite of backward and is related to the temporal, spatial and specific factors. Technology cannot be divorced from economics, and technology also cannot be divorced from its concrete environment. To develop new products and improve old products, we must conscientiously sum up the positive and negative experiences and lessons of the past 30 years and absorb the historical and current experiences and lessons in the world. We must under no circumstances pursue the so-called "advanced products" that are divorced from concrete conditions, that are impractical and that are mere subjects of gossip. A truly advanced machinery product is definitely reliable and durable and is particular about economic results.

Are the machinery products which we are producing now backward or not? We cannot lump everything together. Some are easy to use, some need to be improved and others need to be developed still further. Thus, we must rectify and improve old products and develop new products. We must attach importance to high-grade, large-scale, precision and advanced products but must not ignore light, small, simple and inexpensive products. Sometimes, because of the poor quality of a small component and because of the lack of variety, the development of high-grade,

large-scale, precision and advanced products is affected. Small things often are immensely useful! In particular, those small and precision products often are the ears, eyes and nerves of a machine, and we should attach greater importance to them. Here we are speaking about variety and quality. Whether a product is advanced depends not only on variety and quality, but also on complete sets and service. Practice has also prominently reflected the problems of "difficulty in forming complete sets" and "poor service." That ideology and style of "everything is fine once the machine leaves the factory door" not only cause delay in state construction but also hold up the opportunities for the improvement of products. This is a major issue which urgently needs to be reformed at present.

Quality is the life of variety; variety is the basis of forming complete sets; forming complete sets is the means of forming production capacity; and service is the bridge between use and manufacture.

The work of quality and variety is specialized and profound, and it is comparatively more specific. At least some people are responsible for the work. The work of forming complete sets and rendering service is complicated and varied. For a long time people have in general failed to attach importance to it; thus, the condition of "difficulty" and "poor quality" has been serious.

Variety, quality, complete sets and service enjoy a complementary and mutually promoting relationship. Together with the three stabilities of planning, design and personnel and the two scientific researches of production technology and organizational management, they form a cycle. If we conscientiously put it into practice, it can constitute an advanced machinery product.

This is an arduous ideological and organizational work and is not something which a factory or a department can accomplish completely. We must give prominence to the communist style, carry out coordination vigorously, support each other and at the same time do things in accordance with economic laws and rules and regulations.

Practice, understanding, more practice, more understanding. I hope all of us will conscientiously think it over: To realize the above demand, what should your units do? What should you yourself do? Let us make concerted efforts to make this continuously advancing cycle work well and render service to the four modernizations.

#### Appendix: "Report on the Situation"

I. According to reports by some companies in Hong Kong, comparing their quality, our 1978 monophasic 10-kW diesel generator which was exported to Hong Kong had an engine with a higher safety efficiency than that of some foreign products. At present, with the daily increase in the

consumption of electricity by fishermen in Hong Kong and the increase in full-load and excess-load operations, the phenomenon of ruined output copper ring has often occurred in some foreign products and never in our products. Our price was lower than that of the foreign products. Thus, our product was welcomed by the fishermen.

We sell to Hong Kong products designed exclusively for export by factories in the monophase generator system, including Fujian's Mindong electrical machinery plant, the Shantou electrical machinery plant, the Hubei generator plant and the Shanghai renovated electrical machinery plant. To continually improve product quality, these factories have further rectified their enterprise management.

II. Before the Spring Festival we conducted trade negotiations with several foreign companies on a license for transfer of technology concerning large-scale generator units. We inquired about the age of that company's generators with capacities of 300,000 and 600,000 kilowatts and above. At first the foreign experts did not comprehend our meaning. After understanding what we had in mind, they held that the technological level of a product was not determined simply by looking at the year of the design, but mainly by examining its quality, reliability, economic results and, mainly, the superiority and inferiority of its operating capacity. For instance, the 300,000-kW machinery unit was designed in the fifties. Because of its stable quality, it is still durable today. The production for export still follows the old blueprint. Now, one turbine engine can be produced in several factories. Then the various factories will send the parts directly to the consumers for general assembly. They believed that they would suffer if they randomly altered a mature product. As regards some parts of a complete machinery set, in particular an automatic control system, they would carry out examination and research. Only after testing its industrial character would they plunge into wholesale production and popularize its use. Thus, once the generator unit they produced took on a mold, they would not easily alter its design. This was different from some consumer items on the market, such as automobiles, wristwatches and television sets, which were particular about style and had to change their designs every year.

Inspired by the above two points on the great importance of how to correctly treat the "rejuvenation and change" of a product, we must carry out analyses conscientiously so as not to incur losses.

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IT IS IMPERATIVE TO OPPOSE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND IMPROVE THE PARTY'S  
STYLE OF WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 3 Jul 79 inside back cover

[Excerpts from several letters]

[Text] After the publication of the special commentator's article "Oppose Special Privileges and Improve the Party's Style of Work" in the sixth issue of our journal, Comrades Zhan Dan [0594 0030] of the propaganda department of the East Xihu District CCP Committee of Wuhan Municipality and Wang Zhiming [3769 2535 2494] of the propaganda department of the Hengshui Prefectural CCP Committee of Hebei Province sent letters to us saying that "Oppose Special Privileges and Improve the Party's Style of Work" was well written.

The letters hold that this article spoke the minds of the masses and showed how the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng were kindred spirits with the masses of people. Prior to the publication of this article, they were worried about the party Central Committee's ignorance of the public feeling; after reading this article, they realized that the party Central Committee knew the situation like the palm of its hand. With such a fine party Central Committee our socialist cause will be even more hopeful. It is imperative at present to propose making efforts to oppose special privileges and improve the party's style of work. As long as this evil wind sweeps on, the righteous wind of the socialist "four modernizations" will not be whipped up. The masses cannot bear the sight of some leading cadres who indulge in special privileges. If we "cannot work with one heart, do not feel agreeable and do not have sufficient vigor," then how can we engage in the "four modernizations"? Thus, we definitely cannot belittle the danger of this evil wind. "One anthole may cause the collapse of a thousand-li dike." Some leading cadres indulge in special privileges, corrupt social values and seriously divorce themselves from the masses of people. This is extremely harmful to both the party and the revolution. They believe that the party Central Committee will definitely adopt effective measures to check this evil wind.

The letters point out that the key to opposing special privileges and improving the party's style of work lies with the members of the party committees at various levels, who should grasp this issue conscientiously and set themselves as examples. It is necessary to publish articles and clarify the principles. But this is not enough. If the party committee does not intervene with those leading cadres who indulge in special privileges, then who else can! No matter how many measures there are, the first one should be to insure that responsible comrades of party committees at various levels will set themselves as examples. If those who have power do not indulge in special privileges, then on what basis will those who do not have power indulge in the practice? If those who hold great power do not indulge in special privileges, then it will be easy to prevent those who hold little power from indulging in special privileges.

The letters suggest that the fact that some party committees do not grasp the problem of opposing special privileges is related to several errors in thinking. First, "if they themselves are not untainted, how can they intervene with others?" Some members of party committees indulge in special privileges themselves; "when those at the higher level are fond of the practice, those at the lower level are likely to follow suit." When they speak to those at the lower level, they cannot speak in a bold and assured manner; between them, one indulges in special privileges, as does the other. They are alike. Thus, "bureaucrats have to shield one another." Secondly, they feel that, "since they have to count on those people in work, then why should they make the latter unhappy." So they "close one eye" to those who indulge in special privileges and do not seek to oppose them. Thirdly, they feel that "since they are often together and run into each other frequently, why should they offend others." So they adopt the attitude of liberalism. To correct these erroneous ways of thinking and methods, we must continue to eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," criticize the corrupt feudal thinking, criticize bourgeois individualism and criticize the philosophy of life of the exploiting class. If the responsible comrades of party committees at various levels take the lead in opposing special privileges and give prominence to our party's fine tradition and style of work, we can change the social values and check this evil wind of indulging in special privileges.

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