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No. 2, 16 January 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 2, 16 January 1980

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

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CAPTION OF PAINTING 'RECOLLECTIONS OF YANAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 inside front cover



CSO: 4004

SEVERAL CURRENT PROBLEMS IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 2-7

[Article by Fang Yi]

[Text] Following the National Science Conference, our country's scientific and technological work entered a new stage of development. To quote Lenin, the situation on the science and technology front may be likened to "with the ice broken, the shipping lanes are opened to traffic again." Science and technology have received unprecedented attention from the party and the people. Various policies on scientific and technological work have begun to be put on the right track. Many new measures have been taken and conventions have been broken to give way to speedy and effective ways to select and train scientific and technological personnel. There have been mutual visits, interchanges of experiences and cooperation with scientific and technological circles in various countries. The vast masses of comrades on the scientific and technological front, harboring a deep sense of responsibility and working under difficult conditions but armed with great enthusiasm, have worked selflessly and won new victories, making immense contributions to the people.

In commenting on the results achieved we do not deny that there are problems and defects in our work. What we mean to say is that we are heading in the right direction, that our work is progressing and that the future is full of hope. As to the problems and defects in our work, they must be attended to, and efforts must be made to rectify them from now on.

As for our current and future tasks, we must pursue our work with firm determination and a spirit of surmounting all difficulties. We must further liberate our minds, be openminded and solidly and unfailingly do well in performing the various tasks.

In conformity with the spirit of the eight-character principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the national economy, our scientific and technological work must be strengthened and our scientific and technological level improved. If we are to realize the four modernizations, science and technology must truly be given a

place of key importance. We should realize that only by relying on science and technology will it be possible for enterprises to do well in tapping potentials, renovating and restructuring; for there to be discoveries and new inventions and for the rate of productivity of industry and agriculture to be raised greatly; and for the quality of products to be improved, the selection and variety of products increased, consumption of raw materials and fuels reduced and pollution of the environment eliminated, so that greater, faster, better and more economical results in industrial and agricultural production are achieved. We do need the introduction of advanced technology from abroad, but only by relying on our own strength in science and technology can we digest and absorb the imported new techniques and proceed to achievements of a better and higher grade.

Under the present circumstances, how should we proceed to strengthen scientific and technological work?

I. We Must Pay Important Attention to the Study of Technology Policy; We Must Further Know the Direction of Development of Science and Technology and Provide a Scientific Background for the National Economic Plan

An important current problem awaiting urgent solution concerns the study of technological policy and how to obtain a clear knowledge of the direction of development of science and technology. Between the end of 1977 and early 1978 we compiled an 8-year scheme for the development of science and technology. As we look at the matter now, the direction and major points of development brought up in the scheme were basically correct. However, it touched on many aspects of technological policy which need to be studied carefully. The study of technological policy and the determination of a correct policy constitute a major task of strategic significance in relation to both our scientific and technological work as well as our economic work. If the policy is an erroneous one, grave losses will surely result.

For example, in the case of agriculture, how should natural resources be rationally utilized? How should we proceed gradually to change the economic structure of agriculture and the production arrangements which have one-sidedly grasped only grain production? And how can we restore and build anew the balanced ecological system which has already been damaged seriously?

Concerning the surveying and development of resources, how shall we speed up geological prospecting so that the development of our industries can be provided with sufficient reserve resources? And how can we proceed with a rational and united system for prospecting and development with respect to the many forms of paragenetic resources?

Concerning the metallurgical industry, how shall we proceed to comprehensively utilize paragenetic mineral resources which our country specially possesses? How shall we form, step by step, our own alloy-metal system, taking advantage of the special features of our resources and the absorption of advanced experiences of foreign countries?

The policy governing energy resources is another problem with which all quarters are concerned. With respect to energy resources, we need to formulate a rational policy which is based on the special features of our resources. Take, for example, such questions as these: What is the composition of our energy resources, what are the policies concerning prospecting and development of energy resources and where should emphasis be laid in the development of new energy resources? How shall we proceed to grasp scientific research on the nuclear generation of electricity? The problem of energy resources in rural villages is also a conspicuous one. By what ways and means can we solve it while always keeping an eye on the special conditions of the locality? What measures in technology and management should be adopted to raise the rate of utilization of energy resources and simultaneously prevent environmental pollution?

Controversies over technological policies have been waged in various industries and trades, including those related to the building materials, communications and transport, light industry, textiles and machine-building industries, and in various technological fields. In the past couple of years we have come across new problems because of the increased introduction of foreign technology. What foreign technology should be introduced? How can we digest and absorb and put to full use the technology introduced? How can we correctly handle such problems as the relationship between the introduction of advanced foreign technology on the one hand and, on the other hand, the preservation of the enthusiasm for scientific research at home and the development of domestic technology?

To achieve the best results, the selection of any kind of technology must suit the concrete conditions of a nation or a locality with regard to such specific factors as resources, capital, labor, the market and the level of technology. Conditions differ in different countries. In choosing the correct direction for the development of technology we must consider such concrete conditions in our country as resources, natural elements, economy and science and culture. We have a poor foundation to start with and an enormous population. We must not try to do everything foreign countries are doing.

The study of a technological policy is the responsibility of the State Scientific and Technological Commission. The commission is not shirking this responsibility. At the same time it is relying on the various departments and localities to jointly discuss and study the topic.

In the formulation of a united technological policy which can be carried out steadily for a long time it is important that it be fully discussed by the various quarters concerned. It must draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas and let all schools of thought contend. No hasty decisions are to be made. The formulation of any big and important technological policy must be preceded by a combined study of the trend of development in the international arena and of actual domestic conditions. There must first be a combined study of the current and future pros and cons and a combined study of the advanced nature of the technology and whether it is economically feasible. Generally speaking, our comrades who engage in technological work, including specialists, do not have a sufficient understanding of the economic conditions and are unable to consider penetratingly the economic advantages or disadvantages. The comrades handling economic work frequently lack a sufficient understanding of the conditions regarding science and technology and cannot penetratingly consider the advanced nature and practicability of scientific and technological topics. But if the two sides join together, they can learn each other's strong points to offset their weaknesses, thus avoiding any one-sidedness. Reviewing past conditions, we can see that the principal error was the failure to listen to the specialists' opinions and to ask specialists to take part in important policymaking.

In research work on natural science there is also a need to study scientific policy. For example, among basic, applied and developmental research, what proportionate relationship should be maintained? Again, for example, what should be the position occupied by the "big sciences"? The emergence of the "big sciences" is an important and outstanding feature in modern scientific and technological development. We cannot ignore them. But our national power is limited, and we cannot take up many items at the same time. Which items should be done, which should not, which should be done now and which later on must all be covered by a long-term plan.

Local scientific research organs constitute an important part of our country's scientific and technological front. They should give due regard to the concrete conditions of their localities and be mindful of the requirements for the economic development of the locality. They should place emphasis on scientific research topics which embody their own special features. A few years ago there was a tendency to ignore the conditions of one's own self or of the locality and to blindly look for the "high-grade, precise and advanced." As soon as a new technique appeared, everyone would scramble for it, rushing headlong into mass action. Those precious little things which could produce immediate effects were scorned. This resulted in nothing being accomplished. As we examine the matter now, we see that local scientific research organs should firmly adhere to applied research and developmental research as the main theme. They should stress those scientific and technological problems which have a bearing on recent economic construction activities in the localities and are related to the livelihood of the populace. They

should take up more scientific research work related to the food, clothing, articles of daily use and housing of the thousands of concerned households. They should fully utilize local resources and pay attention to developing and improving local handicrafts and traditional techniques. Naturally, this may not always be the case. Given the requisite conditions, some localities and research organs must also take part in scientific research tasks of a nationwide nature.

II. We Must Consolidate Our Scientific Research Organs and Put Our Scientific Research Work in Normal Order

If scientific research work is not in a normal and orderly form, not only will no big results be achieved, but also it will be difficult to train superior scientific personnel. In addition, even though we provide them with good equipment and instruments, such tools will only be wasted. This problem is especially important now. We must guide the vast masses of scientific and technological workers to truly concentrate their energy and attentive power on scientific and technological work, to devote their heart and soul to doing their jobs well and not waste their energy on things that are of no importance.

In the past 10 to 20 years, not only were research organs frequently disturbed by political movements, but, basically speaking, the pattern and method of carrying out political movements were also used in directing scientific research work, in launching shock attacks, contribution campaigns, mass inspections and mass criticisms, in calling those who silently and wholeheartedly devoted themselves to scientific research work "cold and cheerless," in attacking normal order as equivalent to "regulations, taboos and commandments for Buddhists and Taoists," and so forth. In the years between 1958 and 1960 many lessons were learned. In 1961 the "14 Articles on Scientific Research Work" were formulated. These articles were directed at the prevailing conditions and offered many good remedial measures. After 1964, however, the old troubles returned. During the Great Cultural Revolution, normal order in scientific research was torn to pieces. Many of our youngsters, and even a considerable number of middle-aged people now engaged in scientific and technological work, gained their major work experience only in these 10 to 20 years. They never had, or had very little, normal and rigid training in scientific research work. Yet today, in carrying out the 8-character principle, an important task should be to set up a normal order in scientific research work. Each and every research institute and office should have a normal order in scientific research work. It is difficult to imagine how results can be achieved if we fail to lay such a foundation well.

How can we recover and establish normal order in scientific research work? We must tightly grasp the following three points:

First: We must determine the direction and tasks of the research work. A thorough survey must precede any actual work. The survey must cover both domestic and foreign development trends, along with the actual needs envisaged. The results of the survey must undergo thorough discussion and be verified. After a firm decision is made, there must be no wavering. No changes dictated by anybody's wishes will be suffered. A routine procedure should govern the initiation of work. Likewise, completion of the job must be accompanied by a set procedure. Frequent changes of decision can never achieve results.

Second: A complete set of rules must govern the experiments. For example, the rules should cover the following: data recording and checking, use of instruments, a filing system, checking of results, laboratory management, and so on. There must be regular academic discussions. A system once formed must be rigidly carried out and checked. Every detail must be scrupulously examined, with no one allowed to break the rules.

Third: The technological level of scientific and technological personnel must be improved and their basic training strengthened. Besides acquiring and maintaining the necessary scientific knowledge and learning foreign languages, they must know how to do scientific and technological work. For example, they must know how to prepare and arrange scientific experiments and samples, analyze figures and data, write reports, prepare graphs, use calculating machines, maintain machines and instruments in good order, and so on.

In this connection, we hope that our experienced and old scientists will give young cadres ample education and training and that they will teach the next generation a good attitude and good learning and study methods. This would be an important contribution to our country's scientific work. The significance of this is no less than that of actually accomplishing certain results of one's own.

Doing well in performing jobs related to equipment and machines, books and graphs, collecting information, measurements and weights, logistics, and printing and publishing also plays an important role in setting up a normal order in scientific research. It must be given full and important attention and be speedily pursued. At the same time, such work must facilitate scientific and technological work and help workers restructure systems, simplify procedures, improve efficiency and generally create better conditions for scientific and technological work.

III. Problems Concerning Restructuring the Setups and System of Scientific and Technological Work

As a whole, the trouble with our scientific management work is that the laws governing scientific development, along with economic laws, have been overlooked, management is too concentrated in one place and control is too rigid. The right of autonomy is almost nonexistent. The creative

power and initiative of the workers have been severely curbed. For this reason, the current urgent tasks are to clearly delineate the responsibilities of the management departments at different levels; bring the roles of bureau chiefs and heads of academic committees and research offices into full play; appropriately define the power of the institutes and offices over scientific research plans; and increase the power of research bureaus in matters concerning expenditures, disposal of materials, staff promotions and transfer, appointment and dismissal of cadres.

In the restructuring process we also need to break the habit of not going into actual production at all, as practiced in the past by many scientific research organs. From now on, scientific research organs engaged in applied research and developing research should create conditions, aside from the conditions for insuring fulfillment of the research tasks, by means of which they can put into small-scale production some of the results of their research. In this way they can earn some money and foreign exchange for their research bureau. To be sure, in so doing their prime motive should firmly be in the interests of scientific research and not for the sake of production alone.

In restructuring the setups we must also study how to knit science, technology and production closely together. Actually, the results of our scientific research have been many. Yet how have they fared when applied to production? How impressive have the results been? From available information it appears that this is a serious problem.

Here we come to problems in restructuring the economic system. For example, it may be asked how we can make enterprises adopt new methods and new techniques with respect to cost accounting, profit distribution, taxation, depreciation, price policy, and so on. If commercial departments are made exclusively responsible for both purchasing and marketing, irrespective of the quality of the products handled, and if it is of no direct consequence to the leadership and staff of an enterprise whether the business of the enterprise is good or bad or whether it is making money, we can hardly make an enterprise display its positivism in adopting new techniques unless this state of affairs is changed. However, as the enterprises acquire greater rights of autonomy or self-determination and as the restructuring of the economic setups proceeds, the production enterprise will display more positivism in adopting new techniques. Let us hope that local scientific committees and scientific and technological bureaus of various departments will make some kind of survey to study how to join science, technology and production together. The survey should cover measures to promote the adoption of new techniques concerning restructuring the structure, enterprise management, awards systems, franchises, science foundation funds, and so on.

Speaking from the angle of our scientific and technological work, there are still many problems to be studied and overcome. For example, the

establishment of an intermediate experimental channel is one of these problems. The lack of such a channel can produce two results. One is that the fruits of much scientific research stay in the laboratory and only serve as exhibits, because there is no way to make intermediate tests. The other is that items are put into production without going through intermediate tests. This results in normal production for a considerable time but with accompanying waste. Hereafter, serious efforts should be made to strengthen weak links. The intermediate experimental channel must be governed by a rigid management system. Any scientific experiment, whether successful or not, must be followed by a report. It will not do to just spend money and forget the results.

In restructuring the planned management system we must, on the one hand, bring the role of specialists into full play and gradually try out the method of evaluating the results of different enterprises of the trade. On the other hand, with regard to applied and developmental research, economic management methods must be adopted gradually. The contract system may be tried out in part. In general, business accounting must come into play, and the economic results must be watched. Coordination must be greatly strengthened. Planned management should grasp items of key importance and bring together various departments and offices to tackle them, making them coordinate and divide the work.

In managing scientific and technological personnel we must boldly abolish antiquated and outdated regulations and outmoded customs and conventions and take up rational and effective measures which can positively train personnel and allow them to fully display their talents.

Admittedly, our method of training personnel was rather haphazard in the past. Some of our thoughts and actions frequently hindered rather than helped promote the growth of talented people. For example, there is no such thing as a "perfect man" or "universal talent," yet some comrades liked to look for all-round people and tried to "create talents" after a universal mold. Frequently they met with failure and disappointment. Moreover, independent thinking and free debate in academic matters have always been the most important conditions for the growth of talented people. This atmosphere was lacking for a considerable period in the past. Not a few improper so-called academic criticisms were launched, and political and philosophical labels were stuck on academic theories. As a result, normal academic discussion was stifled and the growth of talented people hampered. Furthermore, in our scientific research organs and social circles the practice of egalitarianism poses a serious problem. The selection of "superior talents" or of "topnotchers" has met with multiple difficulties. At the present moment it is nearly impossible to find a professor or a scientist in his thirties. Could it be that there actually are no such talents? Certainly not! The trouble is that in staff promotions preference is given to rank and length of service. No one dares to break the conventions or to promote really deserving young talents or to give them a rank or title which befits their talents.

Besides, there is the problem of how to improve the livelihood and working conditions of workers located in the border areas or in difficult mountainous regions. Then there is the problem of the movement of scientific and technological workers between various units, and so on. In summary, in respect of our scientific and technological workers we must study and restructure the systems governing their distribution and allocation, movements, advanced studies, management, proficiency assessment, promotion and awards. A breakthrough must be achieved.

IV. We Must Be Concerned With the Livelihood Problems of the Scientific and Technological Workers and Effectively Solve Them

The present livelihood problems of the masses are conspicuously acute. If they are not solved properly, the positivism of the scientific and technological workers will be seriously hampered, the relationship between the party and the people will be damaged, and ill effects will befall the stability and unity of the social structure and hamper the four modernizations. In the last 2 to 3 years the State Council, various government departments and local authorities have taken many remedial measures, such as readjustment, constructing more dormitories and solving such problems as husbands and wives working and living apart. But too many problems have been left over from the past. The current difficulties are still enormous.

Despite their many livelihood problems, many of our scientific and technological workers, in particular middle-aged backbone cadres of enterprises, have due regard for the interests of the state and of the people and engage diligently, conscientiously and selflessly in the development of the country's scientific and cultural enterprises. Our leadership cadres should be doubly concerned with their difficulties, which they should consider as their own. They should earnestly, effectively and by a thousand ways and means solve them. Naturally, many of the difficulties cannot be solved by the scientific and technological department alone. State planning, financial, capital construction and other relevant departments, as well as party and government leadership organs in the localities, must likewise render their support and aid in seeking solutions.

Right now the state is having economic and financial difficulties. Some of the problems cannot be solved at once, but if the actual facts are made known to the populace, their sympathetic response can readily be obtained. However, there are still many things which can be done better if only real and earnest efforts are made. The various grades of scientific and technological management departments and leadership cadres at various levels should be deeply concerned with this matter and earnestly and realistically grasp and solve some of the problems.

For the sake of bettering livelihood conditions and the administrative and logistic work of scientific research organs, the logistics

department should engender among its personnel a spirit of serving the frontline of scientific research and the ideology of serving scientific and technological workers. We hope that all our party and government cadres, particularly leadership cadres at various levels, will learn from Lei Feng's spirit of doing good deeds and wholeheartedly do good deeds for the people, literally breathing in the same breath with the masses and sharing their comforts and hardships. They must make earnest efforts to improve accommodations and amenities in scientific and research organs, such as canteens, public baths, childcare centers, clinics, dormitories, sanitation facilities and group welfare work.

V. Problems of Party Leadership Work

Strengthening the party's leadership over scientific and technological work is the heavy responsibility of party committees at various levels. The central government's announcement of the National Science Conference clearly pointed out that the speedy advancement of scientific and technological work depends on the leadership of the various departments of the State Council, the various units under the Military Commission and party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous districts. It is hoped that party committees at various levels will include scientific and technological work in their work agendas and create conditions to insure the smooth development of scientific and technological work.

Right now there is a problem which requires the important attention of our party committees at various levels. For a considerable time, heads of business departments in scientific research organs have not been able to function properly, and business guidance work has been unhealthy. Since many business affairs must be decided by party committees, committee members have divided the work among themselves and taken charge separately. This has resulted in a weakening of the party's ideological and organization work. Party organs have thus become structures handling daily routine business. Obviously, if such a state of affairs continues, party organs cannot bring into full play their leadership functions.

Hereafter, party committees of our scientific research organs should not interfere in specific business affairs. Business affairs should be grasped by the bureau chief and the subchief. Primarily through ideological work and by displaying a party member's good example of always taking the lead, our party committees should stir up the positivism and creativeness of the staff to insure that the line, guiding principle and policy of the party are smoothly carried out and that the central task of producing results and turning out talented people is fulfilled. They should respect bureau chiefs and subchiefs, scientists and those adept in the trade, lead them in bringing into full play their talents and wisdom and support them in the performance of their duties. In changing leadership work, party leadership cadres can no longer by any means leave matters alone. Instead, they should help and support the bureau

chief and subchief to set up a business command system, help them to know the prevailing conditions well, protect their prestige and enable them to gradually grasp the work.

Lenin once said some very meaningful words: "Any kind of management work requires special ability. A person may be a very capable revolutionary or propagandist but not fit into a manager's job. People conversant with actual conditions and having experience know that a manager must be adept in the trade, conversant with production conditions, know modern high-grade production techniques and possess definite scientific training. These are the conditions we must possess under any circumstances." ("Speech Delivered at All-Russia Water Transport Workers Third Representative Conference," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 394) What Lenin said here concerned the heads of economic enterprises. It applies equally to our scientific research organs. One can never provide good leadership to modernization construction work if one is not adept at his trade.

Naturally, there are many things that must be done on the scientific and technological front. Here we have selected only the important ones as mentioned in the above subheads. The general idea is to try during these 2 to 3 years or perhaps longer to concretely do some work, solve a batch of problems, put scientific and technological work, which is only making a start, onto a healthy track, and lay a better foundation for a new and bigger development plan in the years to come.

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HOW TO SOLVE THE HOUSING PROBLEM MORE QUICKLY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 8-11

[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text] A shortage of urban housing is a problem which has existed for a long time in China. In the past 10 or more years, due to the interference and disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line and certain defects in our work, it has become more aggravated, affecting the vital interest of hundreds of millions and the livelihood and productive fervor of the staff and workers. According to statistics at the end of 1978, the average living space per capita in 192 cities in the country was only 3.6 square meters, less than the 4.5 square meters at the beginning of liberation, and 300,000 households in Beijing City had housing difficulties. The situation in many other cities was even worse. After smashing the "gang of four," the party and the state paid serious attention to housing construction and increased the rate of investment in housing. The area of completed housing construction in the entire country was over 28 million square meters in 1977 and over 37 million square meters in 1978, and it is estimated to be over 40 million square meters in 1979. These figures indicate that the situation is improving. However, because of the large "arrears" and the urban population growth rate, which is faster than the rate of increase of new housing, it will be difficult to see any fundamental improvement in the near future. At present the problem requiring urgent study is how to accelerate housing construction.

I

Why is there a housing shortage in China's cities?

First, the urban population increases continuously, while housing construction cannot keep pace with the growing need. The population in cities and towns throughout the country was over 50 million in 1949 and rose to over 110 million in 1978, an increase of 100 percent. The proportion of urban population in the total population was 10.6 percent in 1949 and rose to 12.5 percent in 1978. The growth rate was fastest in

large and industrial cities. There were only five large cities with a population of 1 million or more at the beginning of liberation, but now the number has grown to 13. During this period the state invested in the construction of large areas of housing (a total of 530 million square meters since the founding of the nation), but due to the greater rate of population growth and the continuous reduction of existing housing as a result of demolition and scrapping to satisfy construction needs, urban housing is far below the needs of the staff and workers and other urban residents.

Next, the proportion of housing investment in total capital construction investment is too small, and there is a lack of coordination between the "bone" and the "flesh." In the First Five-Year Plan period housing investment constituted 9.1 percent of the total capital construction investment, and there was a severe housing shortage. In the Second and Third Five-Year Plan period the proportion dropped to around 4 percent. The Fourth Five-Year Plan period and the first 3 years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan saw a recovery to a certain extent, but the proportion was only 5.7-7 percent. Naturally, the housing problem became more aggravated.

Thirdly, the rental charged in some areas and units is extremely irrational (recently some areas and enterprises arbitrarily reduced rents in violation of state provisions), and this has further delayed a solution of the housing problem. Since China has many staff and workers earning low wages, when wages are not increased it is impossible to raise rents, but at least they should not be reduced. Many people often regard housing as a welfare benefit for the staff and workers and fail to act according to economic laws. The low rental has resulted in the following situations: 1) Recovery by depreciation is impossible (not to mention total investment); the houses themselves cannot reproduce, let alone provide expanded reproduction. 2) It is impossible to care for the houses with the rental income, so maintenance and repairs are not assured. Therefore, the houses deteriorate rapidly. Some of the new houses built after the founding of the nation have become dilapidated or have even been scrapped. 3) Since it does not pay for private individuals to build houses, the enthusiasm for private construction is dampened, and everyone stretches out his hands to the state for housing. 4) This situation fosters the irrational phenomenon in which some people, mainly a small number of leading cadres, occupy excessive living space.

Fourthly, during the Great Cultural Revolution, due to the interference and disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line, some areas and units, in violation of party policy, took over (or commandeered) some of the private houses, denounced private construction as "capitalism" and seriously discouraged private individuals from building and maintaining houses.

Today, some of the above conditions have been changed and some are in the process of being changed, while others have remained unchanged. The

fundamental solution of such problems will require a long time and a great effort.

II

To hasten the solution of China's urban housing problem we must first gradually increase the rate of investment in housing construction. The 1979 [as published] housing investment (including state investment and funds raised by local areas and industrial and mining enterprises) will be increased to 10 percent of the total investment in capital construction. In view of the current financial capacity of the state, this rate is not small. However, even if the housing construction is completed according to plan, it will only be able to satisfy the needs of the urban population growth and of young married couples. Because of the disequilibrium of distribution, some cities will not even be able to satisfy these needs. When the economic situation improves in the future, housing investment will undoubtedly increase. If it increases to 15 percent or more, there will be some improvement every year. However, it is difficult to look for any substantial relief in the near future. As indicated by practice in the 30 years since the founding of the nation, we cannot rely on state investment alone to solve the housing problem or let the state take care of the whole thing, but must think of additional ways. A relatively good way is to rely mainly on state investment while fully activating the enthusiasm of enterprises and individuals in housing construction.

People have held the following view for a long time: They feel that in a socialist society houses can only be publicly owned, not privately owned, or that at least the development should be in this direction in the cities. It is permissible for enterprises to build houses, but may individuals build or buy houses? To answer this question we must first clarify theoretically the nature of houses.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, houses, like food and clothing, are individual consumer items. Under the capitalist system, houses are produced as commodities. The production process is the process of the proliferation of the value of capital and that of the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. When a property owner invests in the production of houses, like investing in the production of automobiles or refrigerators, it is in pursuit of surplus value, which is created by the construction workers in the course of building houses. When the property owner rents a house to the lessee, it is only to realize the value of the house as a commodity, including the surplus value. The rental paid by the lessee to the property owner is the price of the house. Therefore, the relationship between the property owner and the lessee is a simple transaction in a commodity, not the relationship between the worker and the capitalist. Engels pointed out: "The attempt to equate the relationship between the lessee and the lessor with that between the worker and the capitalist is a complete distortion of such relationship.

On the contrary, what we see here is a perfectly ordinary commodity transaction between two citizens which is conducted according to the economic laws regulating the buying and selling of general commodities and of the commodity of the 'right of land possession.'" ("On the Housing Problem," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 474). This is an analysis in theory and does not eliminate the situation in real life, where the property owner, utilizing his economic position and the housing shortage, exploits the lessee by raising the rent or by other means.

In a socialist society housing is an individual consumer item and remains a commodity. What is different is that here it is no longer a transaction between individuals; instead, the state, representing the system of ownership by the people, rents or sells the houses to the individual laborers, making it a form of realizing the principle of to each according to his labor. In the people's ownership enterprises the distribution of individual consumer goods is primarily in the form of payment of wages in currency to the laborer. Currency wage is a kind of certificate, certifying the quantity and quality of the laborer's work and the share of individual consumer goods to which he is entitled. As for what consumer goods he acquires, this depends on his own needs. He may acquire food and clothing or a television set, or he may acquire a house. The difference between a house and other consumer goods is that the duration of its consumption is relatively long. Therefore, it may be acquired in two different ways: One is by leasing. The state divides the use value of a house into so many parts and sells them by periods, while the laborer, in accordance with the use value he has acquired in a certain period, pays the state a certain amount of currency periodically. This payment is called rent. Another way is by purchase. As in the case of other individual consumer goods, the laborer pays for the house with his currency wages in a lump sum or by installments and acquires private ownership of the house. There is no essential difference between the two ways.

In China, leasing is basically adopted for urban houses. Is it permissible to sell some of the houses to the staff and workers? It should be.

Romania is a country where the development of housing construction is relatively rapid. In 1977 the living area per capita of urban residents was 9.6 square meters. The Romanian method is to fully activate the positivity of the state, the enterprise and the individual. Romania's investment in housing construction in recent years has constituted 17 percent of the total investment, which is much greater than ours. After completion, most of the houses are rented to the staff and workers, and some are sold to them. Based on the level of their income, a down payment of 20 to 30 percent is made, and the balance is paid in 15 to 25 years at an annual interest rate of 3 to 5 percent. The state plans to build, from 1981 to 1985, 1.1 million units of housing (including in rural areas), and of this total, 440,000 units will be sold to the

residents (excluding the 100,000 units to be built by the residents with their own investments). Romania's experience may serve as our reference. Naturally, as most of our staff and workers earn a low wage, the majority of the people today cannot afford to buy a house. However, there is one point here which may be considered: Currently the state invests several billion yuan annually in housing construction. Because of the irrational rentals, a considerable part of the investment has turned into a welfare fund for the staff and workers which is invisible to them. If part of this money is used to raise wages, then even if the rent is a little higher, it will not affect their livelihood. With more money in their hands, the number of people buying houses will gradually increase. If payment for the house is by installments and if the state gives the purchaser a certain amount of subsidy or preferential consideration, even more staff and workers will be able to afford a house. Actually, many staff and workers have suggested the sale of the houses by the state or collecting funds for the state to undertake the construction of houses. This indicates that selling some of the houses is feasible. By selling houses to the staff and workers the state will be able to recover more rapidly its investment in housing construction and use the money for the construction of new houses. In this way a beneficial cycle will emerge, expediting the solution of the housing problem.

As can readily be seen, in rural areas, with the development of the collective economy, the increase in the number of houses in many areas is relatively rapid, and some of the peasants enjoy a larger living space than urban staff and workers. One of the reasons is that the peasants basically rely on private individuals to build houses. Though their income is generally lower than that of urban workers, they have the enthusiasm to build houses. By skimping and saving they can build a house in only a few years.

Naturally, selling houses to individuals involves many policy issues which must be solved. Such problems as provisions governing the rental standard and contract when a private individual lets a house and the right of inheritance of privately owned houses all require legislation. All these must be specially studied.

III

To hasten the solution of the housing problem we must, on the foundation of developing production and gradually raising wages, readjust rentals according to a plan, gradually closing the gap between rentals and labor consumption. Rental is part of the price of the house and essentially not much different from the prices of other commodities. When the laborer takes part of his currency wage to pay rent, just as in buying rice, clothing and television sets, it is equivalent to converting his currency wage into consumer goods. Rental does not embody any exploiting relationship. It is determined according to the cost of the house. Under the socialist system the cost structure of houses generally includes

the following factors: (1) cost of the land; (2) construction investment, compensating for the value of the production means consumed in building the house and for wages; (3) profit (including interest and taxes)--like wages, it is the new value created by the construction workers; (4) maintenance and management expenses. With the relatively long duration of the consumption of its use value, a house requires scheduled maintenance and constant management, and this part of the expenses is included in its cost. By dividing the cost of a house by the number of years of its useful life, the annual rent is determined, and this is further divided by 12 to arrive at the monthly rent. Rental basically includes three parts: the land cost part; the part which is the depreciation of the construction investment and the profit (including interest and taxes); maintenance and management expenses.

As a part of the cost of a house, the rent, in principle, should include the entire labor consumption for its construction. Only thus will we maintain the reproduction and expanded reproduction of houses. Naturally, this is only theoretical. Actually, the level of rental to be reached and the time to accomplish it must be determined by many factors. In China, because of the large number of low-wage earners, a general rent increase at present is unrealistic. However, rents should not be further reduced, and excessively low and irrational rents should be raised to a relatively rational level. In the current stage the rental should at least cover depreciation, maintenance and management expenses and real estate taxes. Otherwise, it will be impossible to cover not only the reproduction of houses, but even minimum maintenance. This will further worsen the situation of disrepair and lack of care of houses, hasten the rate of natural elimination and further aggravate the housing shortage. If the rental can cover depreciation and maintenance and management expenses, without considering approaching the entire labor consumption for construction, this will greatly lengthen the useful life of the houses and maintain their reproduction. Currently the rental standard is low, and rental receipts for some houses cannot cover maintenance expenses. Therefore, the housing management units are unwilling to place all the houses in a city under unified operation and management, because the larger the number of houses managed, the greater will be the burden. If the depreciation cost is recovered and the houses continue to be occupied at the end of the depreciation period, then the longer the duration of occupation, the greater will be the receipts of the housing management units, and naturally their enthusiasm will rise. Thus, the funds saved can be used to expand housing construction. When the rental is rational it will encourage private individuals to buy or build houses. Because of the low rentals, not only are the staff and workers unwilling to buy or build houses, but those owning houses even sell their houses to crowd into public housing. This situation existed in the fifties. Currently there are 200 million square meters of privately owned houses, mainly residential, in cities and towns throughout the country. These residential dwellings should be properly utilized. As long as the rental is rational, there will be people who will buy or build private houses.

This will greatly benefit the solution of the housing problem. Normally the rental standard for ordinary houses should be rather low and that for high-grade houses rather high. This will discourage people from occupying too much living space. As houses are commodities, their price must be determined by their quality. Better houses with more rooms should require more rent. Such economic methods will be more effective than education by criticism.

Recently I read a report by the Yugoslav news agency which analyzed the reasons for Yugoslavia's urban housing shortage. One of the reasons is the extremely low rental. According to the report, "it often makes Yugoslavs who do not own their own home uneager or unwilling to buy their own dwelling unit, even though these people can afford to do so with the greater part of their savings. Such a low rental can only maintain the living standard of those already owning houses, while those without houses require a longer time to acquire a house." The living area of Yugoslavs, based on the population, is 13.6 square meters, which is much larger than ours, yet they still take the problem into consideration. How, then, can we overlook it?

To act according to objective economic laws, the construction, maintenance and management of urban housing must be run like an enterprise by creating special corporations and introducing the economic accounting system, so that such corporations will gradually attain the stage of undertaking the reproduction and expanded reproduction of houses by relying on their own income. This is the only feasible long-range plan.

6080

CSO: 4004

SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IS THE ECONOMIC LAW OF SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 12-15

[Article by Huang Zhenqi [7806 2182 1142]]

[Text] Editor's note: Our journal is setting up an "Economic Forum" column beginning with this issue. We demand that all articles in this column deal with basic Marxist economic theory and proceed from the reality of our four modernizations. Since many theoretical problems in the socialist economy are still under study and exploration, no doubt there are different views on these problems. Therefore, we encourage everyone to air his views and discuss these problems.

The law of the socialist economy is the systematic development of the national economy. Basically speaking, the economic conditions for this law to play its role are socialized mass production and the socialist ownership of the means of production.

Public ownership of the means of production did exist in primitive societies. However, the social division of labor in primitive societies was far from advanced, there were few social production departments and contact among production units was limited. This natural economy, which was coupled with a very low standard of the means of production, did not require that the social economy be guided by a unified national economic plan. The means of production developed considerably in the slave and feudal societies, but these societies were still dominated by a natural economy. Therefore, it was not necessary to regulate social production through planning. Even after the capitalist society entered the period of simple cooperation and workshop handicraft industry and when productivity became higher than that of the feudal society, this society still did not objectively raise the question of regulating the national economy through planning. The representative bourgeois classical politician and economist Adam Smith of the workshop handicraft industrial period

advocated the spontaneous regulation of the economy through the "invisible hand" of free competition and government interference.

The early 19th century saw the formation of the capitalist machine-building industry on a large scale and the high social nature of production. The division of labor of social production departments became more minute, and economic relations among departments and enterprises grew closer. To insure a normal social reproduction it was objectively necessary that departments of the national economy maintain a certain suitable numerical ratio among themselves at all times. Hence, it was necessary to regulate the economy through planning. Lenin said: "The big machine-building industry is different from the previous stages; it resolutely demands that production be adjusted systematically and that social supervision over production be carried out." ("The Development of Russian Capitalism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 497) But the means of production belonged to private capitalists who resorted to life-and-death competition in pursuit of maximum profits and who would not abide by unified planning. Proportionate relations for the social reproduction of capitalism could be realized only through spontaneous regulation of the law of value. This eventually led to disproportion and cyclical economic crises. In the meantime, the equilibrium, which was often upset, was also restored through economic crises. Since 1825, capitalist production has experienced "evil cycles" about once every 10 years.

The capitalist society entered the monopoly stage from the free competition stage between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This was followed by a higher level of the social nature of production, which demanded that production be regulated systematically. Lenin said: "Capitalism has pushed the social nature of labor to such an extent that even the works of bourgeois writers have cried for 'systematic organization of the national economy.'" ("The Economic Content of Populism and the Criticism of It in Mr Struve's Book," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 422) But with the development of the social nature of production, the means of production became more and more concentrated in the hands of the minority of monopoly capitalists. The basic contradictions of capitalism became more acute, and economic crises occurred more often and with more severe disruptions. The capitalist system was shaken by an unprecedented big crisis from 1929 to 1933. Industrial production of the entire capitalist world dropped 44 percent, pushing the capitalist system 20 to 30 years backward. The development of the capitalist economy shows that, under the condition of socialized mass production, it is impossible to solve the ever-increasing economic crises simply by relying on the "invisible hands" advocated by Adam Smith to spontaneously regulate production. The bourgeoisie then tried to find a way to "save" the capitalist system. It was against this background that Keynesianism emerged.

Keynesianism advocates state interference in the economy. It thus tried to carry out social regulation consciously within a sphere acceptable to the capitalist relations of production. After World War II the major capitalist countries carried out state interference in the economy, with some even working out "4-year plans," "5-year plans" and "10-year plans." There is no doubt that during the 1950's and 1960's the capitalist countries' interference in the economy played an important role in promoting the capitalist economy and in developing technology. But as long as the basic capitalist contradiction between the social nature of production and the private nature of ownership exists, it will be impossible to carry out a planned economy in an all-round way, just as it will be impossible to completely get rid of economic crises. This has been undeniably proved by the economic crises that have frequented the capitalist world since World War II.

In a socialist society the large-scale machine-building industry and the social nature of production demand systematic adjustment. It is also possible to carry out planned adjustment because of the socialist public ownership and because all enterprises accord with basic interests. Therefore, it has become a necessity for the national economy to develop systematically on the basis of the socialist economy. This is an important advantage of the socialist system over the capitalist one. Engels pointed out that once the means of production belong to society "the anarchy within social production will be replaced by systematic and conscious organizations." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 323) Stalin expounded the law of the systematic development of the national economy when he summed up the 30-year experience in Russian socialist construction, saying: "The law of the systematic development of the national economy is the product of opposition between capitalist competition and anarchy in production. It is based on the public ownership of the means of production that emerged after the law of competition and anarchy in production no longer functioned. It works because the socialist national economy can only develop on the basis of the economic law of the systematic development of the national economy. This law will enable our planning organizations to work out correct planning for social production." ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," 1952 Edition, pp 5-6) In carrying out our socialist modernization we must abide by the law of the systematic development of the national economy and not in any way consider that once we work according to the law of value everything will be fine. If we say that socialized mass production under the private ownership of capitalism can still operate amid cyclical crises without a planned adjustment, then socialized mass production under the public ownership of socialism cannot exist and develop without a planned adjustment. This is so because, under the economic conditions of socialist public ownership, production units are like capitalist enterprises in being so independent in status and so free in deciding prices and changing the orientation of production. That is to say, the law of value under the socialist system cannot fully display its role of regulating production as does the law of value under the

capitalist system. Therefore, if we abolish planned adjustment, our social reproduction will not be able to realize a relative balance, and the reproduction itself cannot be carried out. Is it possible, then, that our enterprises under the socialist ownership of the whole people will also have the status and rights of those of the capitalists? No, the status and rights of enterprises are determined by the nature of ownership. If enterprises under the socialist ownership of the whole people have the same status and rights as capitalist enterprises and are free of unified planning, these enterprises do not represent socialist ownership.

The practice of our socialist construction has proved that, once we follow the law of the systematic development of the national economy and other socialist economic laws, the socialist economy will develop. The law of systematic development basically demands that systematic arrangements be consciously made, through the state's unified planning, for all departments of the national economy with regard to their basic proportionate relations so as to realize a comprehensive balance. The broad masses of our cadres conscientiously studied Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" during our country's First Five-Year Plan and abided by objective economic laws. In working out their planning they stressed the basic method of comprehensive balance. Therefore, the national economic planning they worked out was more in line with reality, and the basic proportionate relations were more coordinated with each other. Our national economy then developed rapidly. Our industry on the average grew by 18 percent each year and agriculture by 4.5 percent, revenues and expenditures were balanced, prices were stable and the lives of the people greatly improved. But during the Second Five-Year Plan we did not follow objective economic laws, and in our planning we stressed the mass line but neglected comprehensive balance, stressed key projects but neglected proportionate relations. Boasting and exaggeration were rampant at that time. Production targets were raised without limit. Steel and grain outputs were to be doubled in a year, and the accumulation rate was to be increased from the 24 percent of the First Five-Year Plan to 30 percent. This figure was later increased to over 40 percent. These targets resulted in serious disproportions between accumulation and consumption, among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, within heavy industry, and between production and capital construction. The national economy dropped drastically for the first time, and the people in urban and rural areas had to lead a very difficult life. The whole party and the broad masses of cadres drew experience from the economic difficulties and setbacks and realized that it would not do to carry out economic construction without following objective economic laws or to work out planning without making a good job of comprehensive balance. Therefore, the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving was later put forth, and comprehensive balance was affirmed as the basic method in planning work. In addition, a number of important measures were taken to balance the national economy. Thanks to these efforts, the national economy was rehabilitated and began to develop in an all-round way in 1965.

During the decade that saw Lin Biao and the "gang of four" run rampant, the theory of willpower above everything else was then very popular. As a result, the law of systematic development was put aside and overall equilibrium was destroyed. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated the so-called "demand is planning." As a result, the planning work of the national economy was seriously hampered and became one reason the national economy was pushed to the brink of collapse.

The above-mentioned brief recollections show that the economy will develop rapidly when we meet the demands of systematic laws and pay attention to comprehensive balance. On the contrary, the economy will drop drastically when we run counter to the demands of systematic laws and upset the overall equilibrium. We must bear this experience in mind.

In addition to the law of systematic development, the law of value also regulates social production under the system of socialism. What are the relations between these two laws? Some people have regarded the law of value as the content and the law of systematic development as the manifestation of the law of value. In my opinion, this view is open to question.

The relations between the law of systematic development and the law of value are not between content and form. If we want to talk about the content and form of these two laws, then these two laws are the form that is used to realize the law of proportion. Marx pointed out that the law of proportionate distribution of social labor is a law common to all societies. He said: "It is the forms of the law that change under different historical conditions, and, under the social system in which the connection of social labor is manifested in the private exchange of individual labor commodity, the form of proportionate distribution of this labor is none other than the exchange value of these commodities." ("Marx' Letter to Ludwig Kugelmann," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 368) This means that under a commodity economy with private capitalist ownership the law of proportionate distribution of social labor is realized through the function of the law of value, or that the law of value is the form of the law of proportion. Marx and Engels originally imagined that after the production of commodities in socialist society is eliminated the law of value will no longer exist. They imagined that the law of proportionate distribution of social labor may be realized through systematic adjustments. However, the practice of socialist economic construction has shown that, after capitalist ownership and ownership of small-scale production is replaced by socialist public ownership, the production of commodities will still exist in socialist society, and the law of value will still function. Under the condition of commodity economy and socialist public ownership, the law of proportionate distribution of social labor will be realized through the functions of the law of systematic development and the law of value. In his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," Stalin described the law of systematic development and the law of proportion as belonging

to one law, terming it the law of systematic (proportionate) development of the national economy. This assertion is related to his denial of the regulating role of the law of value in production. It is understandable that he viewed planning and the relations of proportion as part of the same law, because he considered that under the economic situation of the socialist public ownership the law of proportion could only be realized through the law of systematic development. But since we have discovered that, in addition to the law of systematic development, the law of value can also be used to regulate the proportion of socialist production, we must therefore separately expound the law of proportion and the law of systematic development. If we regard the two as belonging to the same law, it will easily cause misunderstanding. According to this explanation, people may think that at the present socialist stage it is the function of the law of systematic development alone that has been able to realize the law of the proportionate distribution of social labor. They may think that this realization has nothing to do with the law of value.

With regard to the proportionate adjustment of socialist production, the relations between the law of systematic development and the law of value are the relations between the leading and auxiliary role, which complement each other. The role of the law of systematic development and the role of the law of value in adjusting socialist production have common and different features. These features decide the possibility and necessity of combining their roles. These common features are: First, they both are economic laws that function on the basis of socialist public ownership. This ownership determines that it is possible to regulate production systematically. When public ownership is not mature enough it is necessary to maintain the production of commodities, because the law of value still functions. Second, under the socialist system a commodity economy is the premise for the functioning of the law of systematic development. The law of value will not be able to function under a self-sufficient natural economy, nor will it be able to adjust through planning. Therefore, in drastically developing a commodity economy and in increasing the output of commodities, the roles of the law of value and the law of systematic development will also develop in depth and breadth. Third, the roles of the two laws will result in distributing the means of production and labor power proportionately to different production departments. But their roles in adjusting social production are apparently different from each other. First, the law of value regulates and distributes the means of production and labor power when different products are being turned out. It thus proceeds from realizing value compensation in each commodity production unit. The law of systematic development regulates and distributes the total social labor power (including labor power and concrete labor) in different production departments. It thus proceeds from stabilizing the production and demand of the whole society. Second, the law of value directly manifests the material interests of the producers of commodities (production units), while the law of systematic development manifests the

material interests of the whole society. Third, the adjustment role of the law of value results in the operation of tens of thousands of production units with proportions within various forms of agricultural and industrial production between two big categories of social production, between accumulation and consumption and between present production and capital construction. The adjustment role of the law of systematic development is an "intentional social adjustment" for the directing center of social production. Fourth, the adjustment role of the law of value is realized mainly through changes in commodity prices, while that of the law of systematic development is realized mainly through the formulation of unified national economic planning. Some comrades have held that the adjustment roles of the two laws are manifested through the state's economic planning. The law of planning governs the balance between production and demand and decides which commodities are to be produced. The law of value governs the comparison between efficiency and expenses and decides whether prices of certain goods are worthwhile or not. I do not think that such a classification is accurate. When the law of systematic development regulates and distributes social labor power to different departments, it also compares efficiency and expenses. Referring to a new society in which the production of commodities and the law of value no longer exist, Engels said: "The production plan must be arranged according to the means of production, particularly to labor power. The plan is finally decided by the usage of various commodities (they are compared with each other, with the labor power used in producing them also compared)." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 348) It is apparent that the state's economic planning mainly reflects the basic economic law of socialism, the demand of the law of proportions and the adjustment role of the law of systematic development. The law of value regulates production mainly through a barometer of market prices and guides producers to shift the means of production and labor power from the departments that make no profits (the departments with products exceeding demand) to the departments that make profits (the departments where supply falls short of demand). When we are talking about market adjustments we mean the adjustments of market prices and the adjustments of the law of value.

In short, in our socialist economy the law of systematic development and the law of value display their own roles. In organizing socialist economic construction we must pay attention to the adjustment roles of the law of value and the law of systematic development in production to enable us to correctly combine these two roles. In studying the reformation of our national economic management system it is imperative to stress the importance of the role of the law of value with regard to the shortcomings of the present management system. But we cannot deny the role of the law of systematic development of our national economy. If we resort to the adjustment role of the law of value and deny the role of the law of planning, our work of reforming the system may take a roundabout course. Therefore, we must pay attention to this.

CSO: 4004

ON THE CRITICISM OF 'PEACE WITHIN THE PARTY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 16-22

[Article by Wang Guixiu [3769 6311 4423] and Zhang Xianyang [1728 7341 2254]]

[Text] "Peace within the party" is one of the so-called "six sinister theories" that were taken to task when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild. (Note: The "six sinister theories" first appeared in the editorial "Absorb the Fresh Blood of the Proletariat" which appeared in RED FLAG No 4 of 1968. They are: "The theory of the dying out of class struggle," "the theory of docile tools," "the theory that the masses are backward," "the theory of joining the party to become an official," "the theory of inner-party peace," and "the theory of merging private and public interests"--that is, "taking small losses to make big gains.")

Like criticizing the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," criticizing "inner-party peace" is absurd and reactionary. Such criticism had an extremely bad effect, because it encouraged the promotion of the ultraleftist line within the party. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," those comrades who had been victimized by this line have been or will be rehabilitated. However, the effects of the criticism of "inner-party peace" have been far from eliminated, while the Marxist theory of inner-party struggle, which has been confused by this criticism, has not been clarified. This has greatly hampered the correct unfolding of inner-party struggle and the strengthening of party construction. Therefore, it is imperative to examine such criticism in order to give a true account of things.

I. Has "Inner-Party Peace" Anything To Do With Revisionism?

According to the critics of "inner-party peace," any talk about this idea is "outright revisionism." They contend that advocates of this theory aim at doing away with inner-party struggle. In other words, these advocates are trying to tamper with the Marxist theory of party construction. Except for wanting to label and bludgeon people, these "critics" have no justification.

Judging from the history of the international communist movement and that of the CCP, there were three different approaches to "inner-party peace," inner-party unity and inner-party struggle. The advocates of the first group handled contradictions within the party through conciliation. They advocated peace and unity without scruples to eliminate the inner-party struggle. This was no different from rightist opportunism when problems of inner-party struggle arose. People of the second category viewed inner-party struggle definitively, calling for ruthless struggle and opposing peace or compromise in any form. This was a manifestation of "leftist" opportunism in organizational problems. People of the last group viewed contradictions within the party in their own way by upholding the revolutionary dialectics of combining inner-party struggle with unity within the party. In other words, they advocated inner-party struggle in principle but recognized the need for peace and conciliation also based on principle. This was the only correct Marxist approach to organizational problems.

It is common knowledge that the revisionists of the Second International advocated rightist opportunism on political issues. They called for cooperation between labor and management as well as class conciliation. They availed themselves of the opportunity to practice liberalization in organizational matters, maintaining that the political party of the proletariat should be downgraded to the level of an ordinary workers organization and that tight organization and strict discipline within the party were unnecessary. They called for peace within the party with no regard for principle, and they permitted factions with different ideas and organizational systems to exist within the party. With this situation in mind, Lenin expressed strong opposition to rightist opportunism when he was founding and building the Bolshevik Party. He opposed this tendency on political as well as organizational grounds and stressed the need and importance of inner-party struggle. The Leninist theory of party building was based on and developed primarily from struggles against rightist opportunism.

Rightist opportunism also appeared in the CCP. However, it was "leftist" opportunism that caused the greatest havoc and lasted the longest, particularly by being expressed systematically in both political issues and organizational matters. Organizationally, it was characterized basically by the uninhibited promotion of inner-party struggle and by the merciless struggle against comrades who expressed different opinions. Referring to the third "leftist" line, the seventh plenary session of the Sixth Communist Party Central Committee stated in the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems": "The domination of erroneous political lines will match the appearance of erroneous organizational lines. The longer the political lines dominate, the more harmful the organizational lines become." This was particularly true during the period dominated by the Wang Ming line. Those comrades who either doubted the ineffective erroneous lines or failed to support and resolutely implement them were branded as "rightist opportunists," advocates of the "rich peasant line,"

the "Lo Ming line" and the "conciliatory line," as well as "double-dealers." Thus, they became the victims of ruthless struggle and, in some cases, the victims of inner-party struggle. As a result, this wrong inner-party struggle increased the prestige of leading comrades or those who espoused the "leftist" line, fulfilled their aspirations and intimidated other party members and cadres. Consequently, this practice undermined the basic principles of democratic centralism upheld by the party, and it suppressed self-criticism and the democratic spirit of criticism within the party. Thus, party discipline became mechanical, giving rise to tendencies of blind obedience and submissiveness and hampering the animated development of creative Marxism within the party. In fact, conducting inner-party struggle in this way deprived the party of any semblance of peace, compromise and conciliation. In addition, it gravely undermined party unity, consolidation and the party's fighting power. The unity and consolidation of our party could only be achieved by the struggle against "leftist" opportunism and its organizational form. In their reports and writings published on the eve of the Yanan rectification movement, some responsible comrades of our party called for inner-party struggle as well as "inner-party peace" in accord with principle. This was no idle talk; it embodied the experience of struggling against "leftist" opportunism.

It is abundantly clear that the question of "inner-party peace" was raised to pinpoint "leftist" opportunism in its organizational form. In "How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi explicitly said: "Leftist" opportunists inside the party believe that "inner-party peace in any form is undesirable even if it fully complies with principle and line." In "On Inner-Party Struggle," he pointed out: "Any deviation from inner-party struggle--'leftist' opportunism--is to reject democracy within the party and deny inner-party peace even though it fully complies with principle, and so forth." These "very poisonous" articles, which were accused of spreading "inner-party peace," discussed in an all-round way the problems of inner-party struggle. First, they stressed the need for inner-party struggle in view of the revisionists of the Second International, who advocated rightist opportunism in favor of unprincipled peace. However, they also searchingly discussed the problems of how to conduct inner-party struggle correctly in light of our party's historical experience, with particular reference to "leftist" and rightist tendencies, especially the Wang Ming version of "leftist" opportunism. Second, these articles not only opposed unprincipled peace within our party but analyzed the various manifestations of unprincipled peace such as liberalism, eclecticism, a "middle" line, and so forth, while pointing out their nature and harm. Third, these articles reviewed the manifestations of "leftist" opportunism such as denying "compromises" and "peace" in any form and "inner-party peace even when it fully complied with principle and line." The articles also discussed other aspects of "leftist" opportunism such as conducting inner-party struggle mechanically and excessively, and they examined their sources and harm and proposed ways to overcome them. None of these things had anything to do with "revisionism."

Overlooking the facts and quoting passages out of context, the critics made an issue of "inner-party peace" with the obvious intention of accusing the author of the two articles of advocating "peace within the party." They did this to cook up charges against the so-called "bourgeois headquarters" in order to topple it. These critics were so obsessed with "leftist" deviations that they regarded everything else as rightist as long as it was divorced from "nothing but struggle." Any allusion to "peace" or "compromise" would be lumped with revisionism regardless of whether it was based on principle. According to Lin Biao, "one of our party's prominent features is the militant nature of party life, without any connection with peace or compromise." In the view of some articles, "since inner-party struggle is absolute, unconditional and imperative, we only recognize inner-party struggle and not 'peace' within the party."

We must point out that it is un-Marxist to oppose any reference to "compromises" or "peace" in conducting inner-party struggle or in struggling against the enemy. In his booklet "'Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Lenin reviewed the problems of making "compromises" in struggling against the enemy and said: "There are many kinds of compromise. It would be childish to oppose compromises in principle and to formulate a recipe or general rule to serve all cases." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 194) We must analyze compromises in a concrete way and resolutely oppose those compromises that betray principle and embody opportunism. However, it is permissible and necessary on the basis of principle to make compromises if they demonstrate the Marxist strategy of maneuvering. If this is so in dealing with the enemy, how can there be only struggle and no compromise in inner-party struggle? We must wage an uncompromising struggle when there is disagreement in principle within the party so that discord may be overcome and party unity and solidarity may be achieved based on agreement in principle. However, it will be necessary to make compromises when different views arise over day-to-day administrative problems and over those that are considered practical and involve no problems of principle.

This shows that Marxists are not necessarily opposed to compromises, but they do oppose those that are not based on principle. This is also true of "inner-party peace." While it will be impossible to uphold and strengthen party unity based on principle if there is no inner-party struggle, this unity cannot be consolidated without "inner-party peace." Was it not abundantly clear that the vigorous pursuit of "struggle" within the party without making any leeway for "peace" when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild would result only in chaos and in ruining the party?

II. Who, After All, Has Distorted the Content and Nature of Inner-Party Struggle?

Those who criticized the "inner-party peace" charged that Comrade Liu Shaoqi practiced "revisionism" in party building for various reasons. Apart from his admitting the need for "inner-party peace," it was claimed that he regarded inner-party struggle "only" as an "ideological struggle," "a matter of knowledge" and "a matter of approach." It was also claimed that he failed to sum up inner-party struggle as the struggle between the two lines and as a life-or-death class struggle, thus distorting the content of inner-party struggle and denying its class nature. This criticism was a deliberate distortion designed to be imposed on others.

First, the subject of this criticism clearly stated that inner-party struggle covered "struggle against the influence of various enemies and nonproletarian ideas within the party," "constant struggle against various evil trends within the party," the struggle to "overcome 'leftist' and rightist opportunism" and the struggle against "counterrevolutionaries hidden within the party." How can it be claimed that he regarded inner-party struggle "only" as an ideological struggle, "a general problem of knowledge" and "a matter of approach"? Meanwhile, the subject of this criticism clearly pointed out: "Inner-party struggle is chiefly an ideological struggle. It involves ideological division and antagonism in principle. This division and antagonism in principle between comrades within the party might develop into political division and even inevitably into organizational division under certain circumstances, but it basically remains an ideological struggle in nature and in content." What is wrong with this?

Second, the subject of this criticism clearly stressed that "inner-party struggle is a reflection of class contradictions in society and contradictions between the new and the old." He also said inner-party struggle and class struggle in society were "two different struggles, both necessary and common in class nature." It was further concretely pointed out: "The influence of exploiting classes, the influence of the petty bourgeoisie, the different levels within the working class itself and the different social backgrounds of our party members have accounted for differences in ideological consciousness among the various members of our party, for differences in viewpoint, habit and sentiment. for differences in world and moral outlook, for differences in knowledge and thinking in their approach to things and to various problems in the revolution, and so forth." What is wrong with this? How can it be said that this is denying the nature of inner-party class struggle?

As for the charge that the subject of this criticism did not sum up all inner-party struggle as struggle between the two lines and as class struggle, this is a fact. But there is nothing wrong with this. This is completely right. The charges made by those critics precisely exposed

their ultraleftist leanings. Some people said, "Inner-party struggle is the struggle between the two lines within the party and a life-or-death class struggle. It is essentially a struggle to seize party leadership." These words are clear enough to fully reveal the features of "leftist opportunism in inner-party struggle.

"Inner-party struggle is a struggle between the two lines within the party." This is a great distortion of inner-party struggle in content and nature and a free alteration of the Marxist doctrine on struggle within the party. Marxism tells us that antagonism or struggle between different ideas within the party is constant and that the party develops in this struggle. The life of the party will stop without contradictions within itself and without the ideological struggle needed to solve such contradictions. But this does not mean that all contradictions and struggles within the party are two-line struggles. Two-line struggle is the supreme form, but it is not the only form of inner-party struggle. Inner-party struggle and two-line struggle within the party are two related and yet different concepts which should not be lumped together. Apart from two-line struggle, inner-party struggle includes struggle against various erroneous ideas and trends (the latter does not mean a wrong line); against bad work, ideologies and lifestyles; and against idealist and metaphysical world outlooks and methods. Under ordinary circumstances, all these contradictions and struggles would not be two-line struggles. Only under given conditions, when certain erroneous ideas and trends within the party have developed into an erroneous line, is two-line struggle involved. When the erroneous line has not yet formed, there is only general struggle within the party and no two-line struggle. Moreover, such a situation occurs constantly and conspicuously. If all inner-party struggles are regarded as two-line struggles or if only two-line struggles are regarded as inner-party struggles, then two mistakes will naturally result: 1) All contradictions and struggles other than "two-line struggles" are ignored, thus narrowing the scope of inner-party struggle and eliminating (a large part of) inner-party struggle; or 2) all inner-party contradictions and struggles are freely elevated to "two-line struggles" or considered matters of "principle." This means committing the mistake of enlarging and vulgarizing line struggle. From the historical experience of our party, we can see that the main danger is the latter and not the former. But we cannot treat the former lightly. Especially today, when indifference toward politics and lethargy have reared their heads, we must increase our vigilance.

"Inner-party struggle is a life-or-death struggle." This is an especially great distortion of the content of inner-party struggle and a free alteration of the Marxist doctrine on inner-party struggle. True, inner-party struggle and class struggle are closely related, but it is rather absurd to equate inner-party struggle with class struggle. It is common knowledge that inner-party struggle has its origins in not only classes but knowledge. As far as class origins are concerned, inner-party struggle is directly related to class struggle and partakes of the nature

of class struggle. But even so, inner-party struggle is also only a reflection of class struggle and is not class struggle. As far as knowledge as a factor is concerned, inner-party struggle is a reflection of subjective and objective contradictions within the party, but still less can it be equated with class struggle. Therefore, it is completely right to say that "inner-party struggle is basically a kind of ideological struggle." Such struggle, generally speaking, is an "internal problem" of no antagonism and not what is called "a life-or-death" problem of antagonism. Such was also the case with our party's contradiction and struggle with Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and others at the outset. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The contradictions between correct and erroneous ideas within the party, as mentioned before, are a reflection of class contradictions within the party when classes exist. Such contradictions, at the outset or in individual cases, are not necessarily immediately antagonistic, but with the development of class struggle these contradictions can become antagonistic." Such a situation was witnessed in the history of the Soviet Communist Party and also in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. "At first the contradictions between the correct thinking of many of our party comrades and the fallacious thinking of Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and others also did not manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, but they did later develop into antagonism. At present the contradiction between correct and incorrect thinking in our party does not manifest itself in an antagonistic form, and if comrades who have committed mistakes can correct them, it will not develop into antagonism." ("On Contradiction") It can be seen that it is completely wrong to describe inner-party struggle as life-or-death class struggle. The fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated such an idea for a time was prompted by nothing but a desire to involve the party in class struggle and point the spearhead of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" at the Chinese Communist Party--the core of a force leading our cause--and at bona fide communists who resisted and opposed them.

"Inner-party struggle is, essentially, seizing power." This is the same as the idea of equating inner-party struggle with class struggle. It also calls for applying and carrying out in inner-party struggle a fallacy that has "power" as its aim. True, within our party there are big and small careerists. All their activities center on power, which means seizing party and state leadership. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are categorized as a counterrevolutionary group of conspirators, but at any given time few of these bad people exist. Besides, strictly speaking, our struggle with these people has exceeded the scale of a general inner-party struggle. Within our party, constant and plentiful contradictions and struggles exist between comrades. Therefore, speaking as a whole, inner-party struggle covers the struggle between the correct and incorrect line and ideological division and antagonism between comrades. Comrade Zhang Wentian aptly said, "Inner-party contradictions are not just contradictions among the people but also contradictions among those revolutionary comrades who fight for the communist cause." Describing inner-party struggle as essentially

"a struggle to seize leadership" is not only a distortion of the content and nature of inner-party struggle but also a distortion of the party's nature. According to such an interpretation the Communist Party would not become the vanguard of the proletariat but a group of politicians after power.

Summing up, we can clearly see that it is not the so-called "inner-party peace" but precisely the critic of "inner-party peace" who has distorted the content and nature of inner-party struggle.

III. Refuting the Idea of "Suppressing Leftists and Supporting Rightists"

Another charge brought by those critics of "inner-party peace" against Comrade Liu Shaoqi was that of "suppressing leftists and supporting rightists." They said: Opposing "'left' opportunism in inner-party struggle" and opposing "excesses in inner-party struggle" is "a counter-revolutionary policy of suppressing leftists and supporting rightists"; "opposing 'leftists' is taking the bourgeois reactionary stand and suppressing and trouncing those real revolutionary leftists so that those big and small right opportunists can all carry out the plot of usurping party and state power."

Such an idea of "suppressing leftists and supporting rightists" could not have more clearly exposed the tricks of those critics of "inner-party peace." These critics of "inner-party peace" were not just prompted by a desire to make indiscriminate charges to topple the so-called "bourgeois headquarters." They also tried to reverse our party's verdicts on the criticism of "left" opportunism so as to permit left ideas to spread unchecked and pave the way for the promotion of the ultraleftist line. Forbidding criticism of "leftists" was motivated by a desire to advocate what was "left." This is the true meaning of the idea of "suppressing leftists and supporting rightists."

Especially worthy of note are two basic points embodied in the idea of "suppressing leftists and supporting rightists." These two points have far-reaching influence, and their remnant poison runs very deep. It is necessary to single them out for analysis.

The first point is that "opposing 'left' deviation is suppressing and trouncing leftists." According to such an interpretation, practicing "left" opportunism, encouraging left thinking and promoting the ultraleftist line are basic leftist characteristics. The more "left" one is, the more revolutionary and the more worthy of being a leftist one becomes. Anyone who opposes "left" opportunism, ultraleftist thinking and the ultraleftist line opposes leftists and is a right opportunist. Under the pernicious influence and pressure of such absurd logic, many people involved in ultraleftist thinking came to grief in their eagerness to be leftists during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! The harm of this in practice is clear to everyone. What is wrong with it

theoretically is the lumping of "left" deviation or leftists with right deviation or rightists.

We know that "left" deviation and right deviation refer to erroneous thinking, while leftists and rightists represent two different political groups. Lumping "left" deviation or leftists with right deviation or rightists is extremely absurd. In fact, those rightists who have wormed their way into the party not only commit the mistake of being "left" but also that of being right. We must not think that so long as one is a leftist or a Marxist one is not likely to commit the mistake of being "left" or right, nor should we think that a rightist is not likely to practice "left" opportunism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild for over 10 years. Was this not a case of ultrarightists practicing an ultraleftist line? Equating left deviation with leftists or opposition to "left" deviation with opposition to leftists is downright sophistry. Its magic lies in embellishing "left" deviation as a correct line and dressing up Lin Biao and the "gang of four"--who were rightists--as leftists, so that they could freely encourage ultraleftist thinking and promote an ultraleftist line. From this it can be seen that the idea that "opposing 'left' deviation is suppressing and trouncing leftists" is nothing but an important ideological weapon used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in practicing an ultraleftist line.

Another point is: "One who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist," or "opposing what is 'left' means leaning to the right." If the first point is used chiefly as a means to pass oneself off as a leftist and to protect oneself, then the second point is intended mainly to brand those who oppose what is "left" as right deviationists or rightists and to trounce others. According to the viewpoint that "one who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist," "left" deviation can never be opposed, and doing so will naturally lead to the appearance of right deviation. It can even mean that opposing "left" deviation itself is a right deviationist act. Charged with "right deviation," one is bound to become a right opportunist, a rightist or a counterrevolutionary who is toppled, trodden underfoot and deprived forever of the chance to rise again. This is quite a punitive club. How many people have succumbed to it!

For a very long period of time, the idea that "one who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist" was cherished almost as a golden rule. It held many comrades spellbound and seriously hampered our party's struggle against "left" thinking and the left opportunist line. Now it should be clearly pointed out that the idea that "one who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist" has no basis either in fact or in theory.

In light of the history of our party, the struggle against the erroneous trend or line generally assumes two forms. One way is to define it accurately and struggle against it more properly, so that it never generates or encourages an opposite erroneous trend or line. For instance, the struggle against Wang Ming's "left" line from the Zunyi

conference to the Yanan rectification movement did not generate or encourage any right line. Another way is to define it inaccurately and also struggle against it improperly. This is likely to encourage an opposite erroneous trend or line. It is also liable to exacerbate the same erroneous trend or line. For instance, Li Lisan's struggle against Qu Qiubai's line and Wang Ming's struggle against Lisan's line in the land reform period fall into this category. In fact, these were two "left" lines, but they were opposed as right lines and also subjected to "ruthless struggle and relentless blows." As a result, the greater the struggle against them, the more "left" they became. Of the several recent "left" lines, one became more serious than the other. "Criticism" by the "gang of four" of Lin Biao's line after his self-invited death in an explosion also falls within this category. Of course, confounding right and wrong and opposing the correct line as the erroneous line will encourage the appearance of an erroneous trend or line. For instance, this was the case with Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" criticism of the "right opportunist line" and the "counterrevolutionary revisionist line" during the Great Cultural Revolution. In their criticism, apart from describing what was "left" as right and criticizing what was originally very "left" as right, they criticized the correct as the incorrect. As a result, "left" thinking was allowed to spread unchecked, thus creating favorable ideological conditions for them to practice an ultraleftist line.

From these lessons and experiences we can clearly see that, so long as our struggle against an erroneous trend or line is correct, the problem of another erroneous trend or line inevitably appearing will not arise. If our struggle is not correct, it does not necessarily follow that an opposite erroneous trend or line will appear. It is also likely that we will go further and further in the direction of what is wrong. An intriguing point is that in the history of our party only the case of becoming increasingly "left" in an incorrect struggle against what is "right" has occurred, but not a case of a right opportunist line appearing in an incorrect struggle against what is "left." Though this is not an inexorable law, it is an indisputable fact. Apart from showing that what is "left" is deep-seated in our party, this fact provides ample proof that the idea that "one who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist" has no basis!

The idea that "one who opposes what is 'left' must be a rightist" is not based on fact and also cannot hold water theoretically. Everyone knows that what is "left" or right has deep-rooted historical, class and ideological origins. This is to say that it is traceable to both objective and subjective factors. Theoretically speaking, the struggle against what is "left," if improper, can be a subjective factor in encouraging right deviation. Similarly, the struggle against what is right, if improper, is likely to be a subjective factor in encouraging "left" deviation. But no "left" or right deviation can be summed up as a result of an earlier struggle against right or "left" deviation. If "left"

deviation is regarded as a result of the struggle against right deviation, or conversely, right deviation is regarded as a result of the struggle against left deviation, then this is negating the objective and subjective causes of "left" or right deviation. This is obviously an idealist viewpoint. Such logic will naturally lead to a series of erroneous conclusions: 1) Our party's history can only be a cyclical history going from right deviation to "left" deviation and back again to right deviation, or from "left" deviation to right deviation and back again to "left" deviation. Our party is destined for struggle in this vicious cycle. 2) Since the struggle against what is "left" inevitably will be accompanied by the appearance of what is right, then we can only refrain from struggling against what is "left" just to avoid the appearance of what is right. This actually means doing away with the struggle against deviation of any kind. 3) Regardless of concrete conditions or primary and secondary factors, two trends must be fought simultaneously. Such a seemingly "overall" approach actually often serves to blunt or weaken the spearhead against the main trend or to divert energy away from the main trend. In light of our party's historical experience, the result of so doing is marked chiefly by the weakening of the struggle against "left" deviation, so that what is "left" cannot be thoroughly eliminated.

At present our party is faced with many problems that must be solved. Many ideological differences exist among its members, and some of these differences relate to principles. Just as Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out, "A small number of people within and outside the party have fallen behind the times, remained at the same old level or deviated from the revolutionary path. There has appeared erroneous thinking which doubts the party's general line and specific policies from the 'left' or the right." Under these circumstances, the treatment of inner-party struggle and the correct unfolding of inner-party struggle has become a matter of particular importance. Where matters of principle and major divisions in the party's ideological line, political line and organizational line are concerned, we must wage a solemn struggle. Of course, we must pay attention to a given pattern in struggle, adhere to the principle of criticism and unity and never put things in simple terms which resort to "ruthless struggle and relentless blows." How can we stress just struggle and not peace within the party? We must not become indifferent to principles and refrain from fighting for them. We must not fly into a rage upon hearing dissenting views and try to suppress them. Such phenomena are not to be tolerated and should be resolutely eliminated. We must seriously sum up both positive and negative experiences, revive and carry forward our party's fine tradition of conducting proper inner-party struggle, continuously strengthen party unity and increase the party's fighting power.

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ELIMINATE INTERFERENCE FROM ANARCHISM

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[Article by Hua Song [5478 2646]]

[Text] The people of various nationalities in our country are now embarking on a new Long March and fighting for the realization of the four modernizations. However, there are still all sorts of obstacles on our road, one of the most serious of which is the anarchist trend of thought.

Anarchism is the reactionary thinking of the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat. Originating in Europe, it advocates absolute freedom and the elimination of states and political parties. It opposes dictatorship and authority. This advocacy of anarchism is diametrically opposed to Marxism. China is a country submerged in a vast sea of petty bourgeoisie. It has the right soil for breeding anarchism. To usurp party and state power, the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously fanned up anarchism and turned the country upside down. Not a single soul could live in peace. The evil trend of anarchism has not been thoroughly criticized since the smashing of the "gang of four." It will rise to make trouble again when the climate is right. The present anarchist trend of thought is to a certain extent the continuation of the evil wind of anarchism fanned up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

I

An outstanding feature of the present anarchist trend of thought is to suspect everything and to do away with beliefs and ideals. Its advocates suspect and negate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, socialism and communism and openly put forward the idea that "man should not have beliefs, because belief itself implies blindness." As this anarchist trend of thought develops and spreads among some people, it exerts a pernicious influence on them.

People have their own ideas and senses. It is both absurd and impossible to do away with beliefs. Even in primitive societies, when man still lived in a barbaric and uncivilized way, people had beliefs. Alongside the growth of the productive forces, people's beliefs also developed and rose to a higher level. Instead of worshipping nature and blindly believing in religion, people began to go after truth and believe in science. Different classes have different beliefs. In modern times the proletariat believes in materialism, socialism and communism, while the bourgeoisie believes in idealism and capitalism. All people believe in some doctrines. It is either this or that. There is not a single person who does not believe in anything.

Scientific socialism and communism is the most progressive, rational and ideal social system and the only road to the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind. Marxism was founded by Marx and Engels after they had critically inherited the cream of the cultural legacies of mankind and examined the various stages of social development, especially the actual conditions of the stage of capitalism. It reflects the objective law of social development. It is the theoretical basis of socialism and communism and the guiding ideology for achieving this social system. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP and the people of various nationalities. It was precisely under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that China won a complete victory in the democratic revolution and then proceeded to win a great victory in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. No Chinese people who have brains and sense would deny these facts. Of course, we have encountered some setbacks in the course of socialist revolution and construction due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the errors in our subjective guidance and the imperfection of the socialist system itself. We are quite aware of this and are summing up experiences and striving to make improvements. Under these circumstances, all genuine socialists are unflinchingly forging ahead with full confidence. However, those who practice anarchism have taken this opportunity to doubt and even negate socialism, communism and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is completely wrong. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guide for our four modernizations. Only the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can unify the thinking of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and guide us to achieve the four modernizations. No other ideology or doctrine can do this. It is deceitful to advertise that beliefs are blind. Moreover, those who advertise such a viewpoint are not really immune to all beliefs. They do believe in something. What do they believe in? To put it bluntly, they believe in capitalist stuff. They have not thoroughly understood or studied the theory and practice of capitalism. Giving credence to hearsay and superficial phenomena, they laud capitalism to the skies and look upon it as the most lofty ideal. Their aim in advertising the need to do away with beliefs is to spread skepticism,

confuse people's minds and further lead people astray onto the evil capitalist road. Actually, the capitalist system is unable to cope with the chronic maladies and contradictions of the entire capitalist world. Capitalism is the last private ownership system that entails the exploitation of man by man. It is doomed.

The practice of class struggle in China over the past century shows that capitalism cannot solve China's problems. Still less can anarchism solve them. "Only socialism can save China." This is the conclusion drawn by history and is the choice made by the people. The course of development of human society is tortuous, not straight, and so is the course of development of socialism. How can we doubt socialism and take a wavering attitude just because we have run into obstacles and made detours on our road of advance? "The green hills cannot stop the great river from flowing east." Socialism is a new production relationship based on public ownership. Like the great Yangzi, no "green hills" can hold back this trend. Even though there are thousands of twists and turns, the river is sure to flow east and enter the sea. In their endeavor to build a socialist new China, countless revolutionary martyrs remained firm when they met with grave defeats in the revolution. They did not waver even in the face of death. Martyr Fang Zhimin wrote when in prison: "The enemy can only chop off our heads; they can never shake our belief! The reason is that the doctrine we believe in is the universal truth." Many of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation joined the revolutionary ranks when they were still young. They dedicated their lives to the pursuit and realization of the ideal of socialism and communism and gave their all until their hearts stopped beating. The "5 April" revolutionary movement which took place at Tiananmen Square in 1976 was a great struggle waged by the masses against the perverted acts of the "gang of four" to save socialist China. Some young people who called themselves the inheritors of the "5 April" spirit abandoned the revolutionary ideal for which countless revolutionary martyrs and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation fought all their lives and tried to "explore" other roads. Their words and deeds have not in any way carried forward the "5 April" spirit. On the contrary, they have betrayed the revolution and the "5 April" spirit. Is this something which the hundreds of millions of people should tolerate? Every young person who loves the motherland and the people should acquire a correct world outlook, stand firm at this turning point in history and steadily push forward the socialist cause pioneered by the revolutionary martyrs and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

II

Another outstanding feature of the anarchist trend of thought is to go after democracy, do away with centralism, negate authority and oppose submission. Influenced by this anarchist trend of thought, some people have defied leadership and done what they thought was right. They have

boycotted and opposed the party's line, guiding principles and policies and obstructed their implementation.

Socialist democracy is essential to the realization of the four modernizations. The principle of fully giving play to democracy and strengthening the democratic system laid down by the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee is firm and unshakable. Moreover, the third plenum also clearly pointed out that anarchism must be firmly opposed. Democracy has its class character. What we want is socialist democracy, not bourgeois democracy, still less ultrademocracy as advocated by anarchism. Socialist democracy is democracy for the majority of the people. To put it bluntly, it means that the masses are the masters of the country and should be able to run state affairs. The state should be run in accordance with the principle of majority rule, that is, the principle of democratic centralism. Democracy and centralism represent a dialectical relationship of the unity of opposites; they are inseparable. Without democracy there cannot be correct centralism; without centralism there cannot be real democracy. To realize the four modernizations it is necessary to strengthen centralized and unified leadership on the basis of full democracy.

Ultrademocracy as advocated by anarchism has nothing in common with socialist democracy. It puts personal opinions above all else and runs completely counter to the fundamental principle of majority rule. Under the banner of "opposing bureaucrats" and "fighting for democracy," some people have placed the government and the people, the cadres and the masses, against each other. They have called the government "the official side" and the masses "the civil side," saying that the cadres represent "the official side" and that they alone represent "the masses" and are "the people's spokesmen." They have regarded the party's line, guiding principles and policies, the speeches delivered by leaders at all levels and the decisions made by organizations at all levels as "official" views or "the will of the supervisors," asserting that these are not in the people's interests and should not be heeded. In this way they have negated all forms of leadership. Our party's line, guiding principles and policies have been worked out in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They represent the interests and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people. The masses of cadres who carry out the party's line, guiding principles and policies are carrying out the people's will. How can we regard their words as "official" views and not pay any attention to them? By "a supervisor's will" we mean the subjective will, consciousness and desires of the leaders (including party and government organs). Every unit and department should have a leader. To exercise leadership a leader must make suggestions and try to find solutions. Thus, it is necessary to have "a supervisor's will." If the "supervisor's will" proceeds from actual conditions, seeks truth from facts, conforms to the objective law and represents the people's interests, it should be respected and obeyed. We

only oppose that kind of "supervisor's will" which is divorced from reality and goes against the objective law and the people's interests. If we indiscriminately brand those suggestions put forward by leading cadres which are not to our liking as the "supervisor's will" and oppose them on the pretext of combating "a supervisor's will," as people who practice anarchism have done, it will be impossible for us to carry on production and work. Some people have even regarded our cadres as "a special stratum," asserting that "the contradiction between the workers on the one hand and the bureaucratic forces and the privileged cliques on the other is the principal contradiction in Chinese society." They have actually threatened to "carry out the second revolution." We are not unfamiliar with this. As early as the 1920's a protagonist of anarchism opposed the establishment of a "dictatorship of workers" in China on the grounds that "all governments are in a privileged position against the masses." During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders," vainly attempted to topple all revolutionary veteran cadres as targets of the revolution and tried to bring about a change of dynasty. Today some people are preaching nonsense which is very similar to theirs. Is this not something we should watch out for?

Some people have negated authority on the pretext that official statements are not to be trusted. This is ridiculous. What is authority? Authority has two meanings. The theoretical authorities, academic authorities, technical authorities and so on which we normally talk about are essentially synonyms for truth. The reason authority is called authority is that it represents truth, the objective law of nature and social development as well as correct views. Because of this, it also represents the interests of the majority. Authority in this sense has been shaped in the practice of struggle and enjoys high prestige among the people. It does not have to compel others to succumb to it, but people will invariably and consciously submit to it, because submission to authority means submission to truth, objective law, the correct views and the interests of the majority. This kind of submission is absolutely necessary for carrying out revolution and construction and realizing the four modernizations. Of course, when we talk about submitting to authority we do not intend to promote the cult of the individual, absolute authority, idolatory and blind submission, as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did. Truth is the criterion of authority. Without truth there cannot be authority. Authority also refers to the laws, disciplinary rules, regulations, sequences, orders and so on which are indispensable to class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The constitution and other specific laws; labor discipline for various units; the rules, regulations and operational procedures of factories and other enterprises; orders for military action; traffic regulations and directions for maintaining traffic order; even concert conductors--all fall into this category of authority. As Engels put it, authority in this sense means "the imposition of the will of another upon ours" and "presupposes subordination." ("On Authority,"

"Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 551) This kind of authority is absolutely necessary and must be submitted to. Without this kind of authority and without submitting to this kind of authority, we not only will be unable to carry out regular production and work but also will be unable to maintain a normal and orderly social life. In short, submission to authority is indispensable to production and work and to insuring the normal running of the huge machine--the state and society. If a unit or department does not have authority or does not submit to authority, it will not be able to carry out production and work. If the whole country and society does not have authority or does not submit to authority, this huge machine will not run properly and will come to a standstill or even break down.

In China the four fundamental principles represent the supreme political authority. This is an unshakable fact which brooks no shaking. We have been able to advance from victory to victory and weather all kinds of storms because we have party leadership as our fundamental guarantee. The leadership position and authority of the CCP have been determined by the practice of the Chinese revolution over the past six decades; they have not been endowed by any supernatural or human being. The party cannot help making mistakes in guiding revolution and construction. However, it has taken a serious attitude toward its own mistakes. Instead of concealing them, it has made an earnest effort to rectify them. This is something which no other party can do. Party leadership and party authority are essential to the realization of the four modernizations and cannot be replaced by any other political force. The whole party is subordinate to the Central Committee and should carry out the line, guiding principles and policies of the Central Committee--this is an unshakable principle. We must uphold party leadership and party authority. All attempts to weaken or negate party leadership and all words and deeds aimed at negating party authority are wrong and extremely pernicious.

III

Still another outstanding feature of the anarchist trend of thought is to do away with discipline and the legal system and go after absolute freedom which allows people to do as they please. Some people have openly declared: We will think what we want to think, say what we want to say and do what we want to do. Dictated by this anarchist trend of thought, some people have proceeded to talk nonsense and commit all kinds of outrages, just as we expected.

People's freedom is precious and essential. Before liberation we waged a protracted and unremitting struggle to wrest freedom from the Kuomintang. Numerous revolutionary martyrs shed blood and laid down their lives for this cause. The counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" exercised fascist dictatorship and trampled on people's freedom and rights. After the smashing of the

"gang of four," people's freedom and rights were restored and guaranteed. Freedom also has its class character. The kind of freedom we advocate is proletarian freedom, not bourgeois liberalization, still less absolute freedom as advocated by anarchism. Lenin said: "Any freedom which goes against the workers' interests in breaking away from capitalist oppression is a fraud." ("The First All-Russian Congress on Social Education," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 316) Our constitution stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of speech, the press, assembly, procession and demonstration, the freedom to strike and the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. In essence, these mean that people have the freedom to say and do anything to eliminate the private ownership system and bring about the public ownership system, that is, the freedom to bring about communism. Under the present circumstances it means the freedom to accomplish the four modernizations, wipe out backwardness and build a powerful socialist country. This kind of freedom is freedom which upholds the interests of the majority. It is freedom with order, discipline and restrictions.

Our freedom is restricted by two factors. On the one hand, it is restricted by objective laws. As Engels pointed out: "Freedom consists of command over ourselves and over external nature, a command founded on the knowledge of natural necessity." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 154) In other words, freedom means remolding one's subjective and objective worlds in accordance with the objective law which governs the development of things. People's knowledge of necessity is restricted by historical conditions and their own cognitive ability. People do not have unlimited freedom. Even when they have the knowledge of necessity they must act according to objective laws. They cannot go against the objective law and act on their own. On the other hand, people's freedom is also restricted by law, discipline and all kinds of public and moral codes. It is impermissible to violate the constitution and other legal provisions or to violate the different kinds of disciplinary, public and moral codes by which everyone must abide. Absolute freedom which is not restrained and restricted in any way will not be tolerated by any society or at any time. Imbued with anarchist thinking, some people have spread rumors and slanders, incited discontent and created upheavals in the name of freedom and have desired to see the world plunged into chaos. Some people have openly opposed the four fundamental principles and carried out counterrevolutionary propaganda. Some people have assaulted the leadership organs, enterprises and establishments, forcibly occupied government offices and guest houses and attacked and abused the working personnel of these units. This kind of freedom, which infringes upon the interests of the state and the people, will not be tolerated by the people. We must not forget these lessons of history. When anarchism incited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" spread unchecked, there was no law or discipline. Their gang and a handful of scoundrels enjoyed unrestricted "freedom." They engaged in beating, smashing and looting,

confiscated other people's property and arrested others just as they pleased. Their madness knew no bounds. The majority of the people, however, were not even guaranteed their personal freedom and safety. Can we permit this kind of anarchist freedom to bring calamity to the country and the people again?

Lenin pointed out: "The philosophy of the anarchists is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out." ("Socialism and Anarchism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 10, p 73) People imbued with anarchism are out-and-out egoists. They are self-centered, think the world of themselves and put their personal interests above everything else. They have no sense of responsibility to their country and nation and disregard the interests of the state and the people. Some of these people embrace anarchism out of personal ambition, thinking that "if they excel in making trouble they can become officials," rise to the top and get rich. Others turn to anarchism for personal ends, thinking that this will enable them to bargain with the leadership and force it to satisfy their excessive demands. Some people have openly declared: We want everything we deserve to have right now; we are against pinning our hopes on tomorrow. These people only see their immediate personal interests. They simply do not give a thought to the long-term interests of the people and to the interests of coming generations. We want to give these people a word of advice: Individualism is the root of all evils. Personal interests and public interests are inseparably linked in every society. Even in a society in which private ownership predominates, it will not do to practice out-and-out individualism regardless of the interests of the society and the state. In our socialist society, out-and-out individualism is up against the wall and inevitably will be badly battered and smashed. Anyone who proceeds from out-and-out individualism to incite anarchism is bound to become a black sheep. If he carries things too far, he will even be condemned as a sinner who brings disaster to the country and the people. Working for the interests of the state and the people, countless revolutionary martyrs shed blood and laid down their lives to build and defend socialist new China. We should inherit and carry forward the selfless spirit of the revolutionary martyrs, foster the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people, keep the whole situation in mind, place the interests of the state and the people above all else, strive for the realization of the four modernizations and contribute our all. "While stressing our ideals, we should work for the benefit of the whole world. I want to serve the people and think it is shameful to go after personal gain." These lines, written by Comrade Chen Yi to educate his children, are worth remembering.

All in all, the harm of anarchism at present is that it affects and jeopardizes the political situation of stability and unity and obstructs and sabotages the four modernizations. We must not look on with unconcern. Instead, we must resolutely wage a struggle against it. In particular, all units and departments must intensify ideological and political work, strengthen management and enforce law and discipline. It

should be noted that the breeding of anarchism has something to do with the fact that some units have abandoned their leadership duties and education work and loosened their grip on management and the enforcement of law and discipline. Some anarchists have violated labor discipline, led a slovenly life and even failed to go to work for months. However, the units concerned have not only taken a laissez-faire attitude, made no criticism and not given these people education, but have paid them wages as usual. In doing this, these units were not just tolerating and abetting anarchism; they actually were practicing anarchism to a certain extent. Therefore, to overcome anarchism at the lower levels it is necessary to overcome anarchism in the leading bodies. Bureaucratism is one of the causes that leads to the engendering of anarchism; it is also the pretext employed by some people when they have practiced anarchism. To overcome anarchism it is therefore also necessary to overcome bureaucratism, so that the handful of people with ulterior motives will not have any opportunities to play on certain differing opinions and feelings of resentment among the masses to incite anarchism.

CSO: 4004

HOW DID 'THE FLOWER THAT USHERED IN THE SPRING' COME TO BE WRITTEN?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 28-30

[Interview with playwright Cui Dezhi [1508 1795 1807]]

[Text] The staging of "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" in Beijing has caused a strong repercussion and attracted attention from people of all trades and professions. Not long ago our editor visited the playwright, Comrade Cui Dezhi. The conversation is as follows:

Question: The staging of your play "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" was quite a success. How much time did you spend writing it?

Answer: I began writing in January last year and finished it in February for publication in the April issue of JUBEN [SCENARIO].

Question: That is fast work. It shows that you gave a lot of thought to it beforehand. Can you tell me how you constructed the theme of the play?

Answer: The theme was constructed much earlier. In January 1978 I visited two plants. In both of them I met female workers of the Bai Jie [4101 3381] type. They worked steadfastly, and their achievements were quite impressive. Yet because of some problems with their family background they did not get the credit they deserved, and their outstanding performance was not commended. Furthermore, in some respects they were hardly treated as equals and were usually discriminated against. This brought to my mind the conditions of the sons and daughters of some landlords and rich peasants I met when I was with a production team in the countryside. They belonged to the third generation, yet they had to bear the burden left by their grandparents. They had to do the heaviest work for the least workpoints, and whenever the poor and lower-middle peasants held meetings, they had to leave the meeting room. Some of them were over 30 years of age but still could not find any prospective marriage partner. Their life had lost all meaning. I thought that

since these young people were born in new China, brought up under the red flag, had received socialist education and had never been exploiters themselves, they should not be handicapped by the problems of their forebears. Then why couldn't they enjoy equality? Now that the new Long March has begun, it is necessary to mobilize the activism in socialist construction of all useful people so that they will strive for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Such activism cannot be mobilized unless the heavy mental shackles on these people are removed. There are many such young people, and they form quite a large contingent. This is a social problem affecting thousands and tens of thousands of families. So after some thought I decided to write a scenario as a means of offering for public discussion what I had witnessed in real life and what I thought about it.

Question: It was quite a job to break through this forbidden zone at that time.

Answer: There was indeed some risk. At that time the second session of the Fifth NPC had not yet been convened, and people still took "class struggle as the key link" very seriously. For many years the feudal idea of inculcating even distant relatives was still openly practiced, with the theory of class or family background as the stamp of approval. This practice not only was considered most "reasonable" but also was defended theoretically as a "Marxist-Leninist" tenet. Anyone who questioned it would be branded a promoter of the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and labeled as one of the "ghosts and monsters." However, after the smashing of the "gang of four" the situation changed after all. At that time the question of the criterion of truth was under discussion. I thought that some young people with unfavorable family backgrounds but of good political behavior should not be held responsible for the problems of their past generations, especially since long social practice has proved that most of them are well behaved. As you know, practice is the sole criterion for testing truth! We should therefore voice our disagreement with the unfair treatment of these young people. When I thought of the situation of these young people, the risk I took did not matter much.

Question: In "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" you have successfully created the images of Li Jian [2621 6943] and Bai Jie as people dedicated to the four modernizations. They have distinctive characteristics as well as brilliant ideals of the new age. It will certainly be helpful to workers in creative work if you can say something about your experience in creating these characters.

Answer: In my script I particularly highlighted three characters: Li Jian, Bai Jie and You Gui [3945 6311]. Here I may recount some of my experience in their creation.

Li Jian was created as the "commander" in the new Long March. He is the one to control the development of contradictions. He is the party committee secretary, but different from his former counterparts. It is characteristic of him to emancipate the mind and uphold practice as the sole criterion of truth. All his words and deeds are based on realities instead of blind faith in books. People's interests instead of private interests and privileges are always his foremost concern. To accelerate the four modernizations he is willing to take any risk, even the risk of being overthrown a second time. He does not act like a dignified "personification of the party" who can only issue orders right and left; instead, he goes deep among the people and actively practices what he advocates. The play shows him making three important decisions: To set Bai Jie up as a model worker, to liberate Han Weidong [7281 5898 2639] and to promote You Gui to section chief.

His efforts to set Bai Jie up as a model worker run through the whole plot. This indicates a severe struggle involving the cardinal issue of class stand. He labors under the memory of his wife, who was beaten to death because she had placed Bai Jie's mother in a high position, and the warnings from his own daughter. His antagonist, Wu Yiping [0702 0001 5393], is from a poor family and has always been regarded as a just and good cadre. Her theories usually attract a good audience because of the formidable credentials she holds. For many years this was the way with many people. It was simply because they opposed these theories that many people were overthrown or hounded to death during the Great Cultural Revolution. In the face of this stern test, Li Jian thinks only of the country's destiny, instead of his own safety and courageously forges ahead. "It has been 30 years since the liberation; the country is still so backward and the people so poor. Can we afford to sit tight?" This shows the motive force in his inner world which sustains him in the struggle against all difficulties.

In portraying him as a man of flesh and blood and depicting his family life, the play includes the scene of a family feud involving him and his daughter. On his return from the countryside he is very gratified to see that his daughter has grown up, been admitted to the party and become an advanced worker. When he later discovers that his daughter's achievements are not real and that she has not produced much good-quality cloth, he is perplexed by the contradiction between public and private interests. I have carefully depicted his complicated state of mind under these conditions. When he resolutely decides to revoke his daughter's model worker registration form and set Bai Jie up as a model worker, his noble quality stands out more prominently.

Bai Jie is the main character of the play. Contradictions develop around her, and the image of Li Jian is expressed through her. Without Bai Jie there would be no main theme for the play. Unless she is portrayed in a vivid and moving manner it will not be possible to change people's opinion of the young people with unfavorable family backgrounds.

Yet because of their social position these young people lack the opportunity to give any "earth-shaking" performance, and it is not easy to play them up. In past literary and artistic works they usually appeared as negative characters or middle characters, and none of them can be used as an example. Based on my own observation of real life, I chose these young people's quiet devotion to work as the main characteristic of Bai Jie. She is gentle and not aggressive, introverted and not extroverted. In her first appearance before the audience she is almost unnoticed when she gently taps on the door of the mill director's office and then tries to go away. Her second appearance is in Li Jian's home, where she talks to Hong Lan [4767 5696] about her experience in eliminating rejected products. In this scene she only speaks one sentence: "I come to learn from a senior model worker." In Scene Four she has already been nominated a model worker. I did not show her as being overwhelmed with joy. Instead, I only briefly touched on the scene of her shedding tears at the sight of her own picture among those of other model workers and saying in a low voice: "I never dreamed of being among them."

However, Bai Jie is seething within. She joined in the mourning of Premier Zhou in defiance of all risks; in supporting Wu Xiaofeng [0702 2556 1496] in the struggle against the "gang of four" she disregards her own safety; and when a veteran cadre was brutally persecuted she had the courage to send him medicine and thus saved Li Jian's life. When the mill sets her up as a model worker she makes this silent pledge: "The party is so concerned about me. I now find the sky taller and the earth bigger. If I die, I will die by the side of the loom."

She has some spectacular action in Scene Four. When she learns that Hong Lan's mother was beaten to death for promoting her [Bai Jie's] mother, and when Hong Lan wants to separate from her own father because of her [Bai Jie], she, after a brief but severe ideological struggle, picks up the key which Hong Lan has tossed on the ground and says to Li Jian: "Don't worry. She will come back." Then the play comes to its climax. For the safety of the mill director and the stability and unity of the mill, she takes responsibility for another worker's rejected product and thus destroys the outstanding record she had so laboriously built up for herself over many years.

When Wu Yiping is increasing the pressure on her to break away from Wu Xiaofeng and depriving her of her right to love, she swallows her bitterness for the sake of the Wu family's happiness. Through this action, Bai Jie's nature, her pure and lofty spiritual world, is brought into sharp relief.

You Gui is also an important character in the play. I created him, not as a means of regulating the atmosphere, but as an influence on the way of life. In recent years, telling lies has become a vogue, because without lying, even minor jobs, not to speak of big ones, cannot be

accomplished. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" climbed to high positions only by telling lies and thus brought the country to the brink of collapse. I therefore intended to use You Gui as a mirror for the people, so that they can see the value of truth and the disgrace of telling lies. By this means I hope to be able to change the social atmosphere a little. So that people will like him and remember him, I gave him some humorous and lighthearted characteristics--the characteristics of a drunkard who can never stay away from the bottle. But he is not a real drunkard; he only pretends to be one in order to struggle against the "gang of four" more effectively. People like him even more for this reason.

In portraying You Gui I adopted the method of step-by-step escalation. At the very beginning he is shown with a glass in hand, just like a drunkard. In Scene Two he is shown debating with Wu Yiping, saying: "Always thinking of responsibility to the higher authorities! Who will be responsible to the people?" He seems to have the courage to say something true. In Scene Three he reports on the rejected goods. From this, people can see his concern for the welfare of the mill. In Scene Four, with tearful eyes, he shouts at Wu Yiping: "The mill has gone through a lot of hardship to produce the cloth. If the people cannot use it, is this not a crime?" People are moved by his sense of responsibility. When he asks Sister Wei to comfort Bai Jie in her quarters, he says: "I know all about her life history." People can now see his good heart, which glitters like gold. He is no drunkard. He is a good man and a very fine Communist Party member!

Question: Since the publication of the scenario, the press has carried commentaries on it, and some people have even held special forums. They all consider this play a success, though some comrades have some comments on certain parts of the plot. Do you think there should be some revision later?

Answer: People have made valuable comments on the performance, such as about the abrupt conclusion, the unnatural changes in some characters, the "all is well that ends well" conclusion, which does not seem realistic, and the lack of inducement for people to see it a second time.... Based on these views, I plan to make some revisions when the scenario is published in pamphlet form. The episode about Han Weidong's reconciliation with Li Honglan will be deleted. I will let them try to understand each other in their own way. Wu Yiping will not appear at the end. Whether she would change or not will be left to the people's own imagination, based on the laws of society. Even these revisions may not be sufficient. At present there are divergent views about Scene Seven. Many experts of the literary and art circles feel that there should not be a perfect ending and that there should be some ripples left. The leadership is of the opinion that, for the sake of stability and unity, we should pay attention to the policy on cadres, so that Wu Yiping should be won over in a rational way. However, the directors and actors

prefer to have the script just as it is. Dramas are not novels. Chinese audiences are accustomed to happy endings and a cheerful scene at the end; they do not like to leave the theater with unhappy feelings in mind. Therefore, I will continue to profit from the comments and try to further improve the script.

9411
CSO: 4004

THE ARTISTIC RESULTS OF THE EMANCIPATION OF THE MIND--COMMENTS ON THE
PLAY 'THE FLOWER THAT USHERED IN THE SPRING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 31-34

[Article by Xiao Jinping [5135 0093 6097]]

[Text] From its publication in JUBEN [SCENARIO] in April 1979 to its staging at the Liaoning People's Arts Theater, the drama "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring," written by Comrade Cui Dezhi [1509 1795 1807], produced a strong repercussion among the readers and the audience which has rarely been seen in recent years. Cadres and people on various fronts have praised it for voicing their sentiments, supplying the answer to an urgent question of real life and providing profound education and encouragement.

After smashing the "gang of four," the party Central Committee led people throughout the country in the great struggle to criticize and eliminate the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; in the large-scale redress of wrongs; and in the new Long March toward the four modernizations. "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" describes a sharp and complex ideological struggle in a textile mill at a crucial turning point in history. This mill is a pseudo-Daqing-style enterprise. Because of interference from the ultraleftist line over a long period of time, production conditions are chaotic, and a lot of rejected cloth has been produced. The workers' enthusiasm cannot be aroused, and the genuine advanced workers receive no commendation. This serious situation confronts the mill director, Li Jian [2621 6943], who has only recently returned to work after being brutally persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." To implement the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee and to transform a pseudo-Red Banner unit into a genuine advanced enterprise as a contribution to the four modernizations, Li Jian, after making investigations at the actual scene of the action, discovers a real hero who has produced tens of thousands of meters of cloth without any rejects. But this young worker, Bai Jie [4101 3381], who has made outstanding contributions to the people and who should be elected a model worker of the mill, happens to be from a family in which the father is a historical counterrevolutionary,

the mother is a rightist and she herself for a long time has been verbally abused as an "outcast of the five sinister categories." Therefore, a sharp and fierce and yet profound and complex struggle of contradictions takes place between Li Jian and his old comrade-in-arms, Wu Yiping [0702 0001 5393]; between the party's Marxist proletarian line and policies and Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" theory of class struggle; and between the people's interests and individual interests. This struggle is quite extensive, involving the political stand, the moral quality and the basic attitude of everyone toward the party, the people and the four modernizations and affecting the families, relatives, lovers and comrades and the relationships among people under the socialist system. The representative of the "advanced elements" whom Li Jian wants to withdraw happens to be his only daughter, while Wu Yiping stubbornly insists on setting her up as the representative, because she happens to be the future wife of her son, who truly loves her. It is through the intermingling of these personal relations and the dramatic personality clashes that the theme of the play reveals itself as a forceful criticism of the reactionary "theory of class background" and "theory of lineage." It also criticizes ossified thinking and modern superstition which obstruct the four modernizations and warmly praises the great victory for the spirit, principles and policies of the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee.

The struggle in life reflected and the theme revealed by "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" are undoubtedly of great realistic and educative value. As an artistic work, the outstanding achievement of this play, ideologically and artistically, lies in its successful creation of the two realistic, distinctive, resourceful and appealing artistic images of Bai Jie, as a new socialist personality, and Li Jian, as a Communist Party member of the new age.

Bai Jie is the image of a female worker which has emerged in our socialist literature and art with a distinctive spirit of the age and strongly reflecting a social aspect. It also has a strong artistic appeal. She belongs to the new generation nurtured by revolutionary education in a socialist historical environment after liberation. Since her early youth, this environment and education has imbued her with communist ideals and helped her build a world outlook of serving the people. She warmly loves the Communist Party and has a strong faith in socialism as the most logical social system to bring happiness to the people. This environment and education have at the same time helped her cultivate a pure and a lofty moral quality. In her mind, only such heroes as Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Xiang Xiuli [0686 4423 7787], Zhao Mengtao [6392 1125 2711], Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795] and Lei Feng [7191 0023] are the most lofty and most beautiful in the world. She is sincere, upright and diligent. She does not mind suffering or being wronged, and she never envies those living a better life. She is always ready to help others at her own sacrifice and expects no reward. Deep in her soul she finds happiness in her dedication to a lofty ideal. She weaves with the utmost sense of

responsibility and completes 5 years' work in 4 years without producing even 1 inch of rejected cloth. She turns her perspiration into warmth for the people but never expects any glory or reward from them. She works steadfastly, confidently and quietly. At the same time, with great energy, she overcomes the pain caused by other people's prejudice and discrimination. Thus, in the stormy days of the Great Cultural Revolution, this young girl, despite her own difficult situation, relies on her firm political faith and her tender love to bravely defend a veteran revolutionary cadre and shows warm love for an upright young man, both of them having been brutally persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." When Li Jian is criticized and struggled against and is about to die, Bai Jie quietly comes to his side and feeds medicine into his mouth. When Wu Xiaofeng [0702 2556 1496] has been thrown into jail for putting up big-character posters denouncing Jiang Qing, Bai Jie bravely goes to visit him and brings him some nourishment bought with her hard-earned money. She is also a plain working girl. When Li Jian returns to his position of leadership, she never thinks of letting him know who saved him in his critical moment. When Wu Xiaofeng warmly praises her, she replies: "There are better girls than me. I am only an ordinary and humble person."

Bai Jie richly embodies the spirit of the age. She is the product of socialist new China and the fruit of communist education. She epitomizes the beautiful qualities and lofty spirit of the new generation nurtured by new China. Therefore, Bai Jie, the image with the most appealing effect, stands as the warmest tribute to our party and our socialist life, which have brought her up like a mother.

However, the historical tragedy in socialist new China has also left deep imprints on Bai Jie's destiny and soul. Who could have imagined that such a revolutionary youth, who so warmly loves the party and socialism, would be treated as an "element of the enemy class"? Who could have imagined that this working girl, who is inseparable from and dedicated to socialism, would be relegated to the lowest political status under the socialist system? Who could have imagined that this hard-working girl, who produces the best cloth to keep the people warm and happy, would be excluded from the ranks of the people?! Such a serious reversal of right and wrong is indeed a historical tragedy which is incompatible with the basic interests of the proletariat. This is because of the "doctrine of class struggle" which opposed Marxism-Leninism by flaunting the Marxist-Leninist banner and which for a time prevailed all over new China, bringing a tragic fate to many pure and fine sons and daughters and inflicting serious wounds in their hearts. Under the shadow of this "doctrine," where a horde of monsters like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" danced with joy, Bai Jie loses her social rights. This young Bai Jie dares not raise her head, talk aloud, carry out debates or even think of love. She is deeply afflicted by a political inferiority complex forced upon her. This unreasonable and unjust historical phenomenon, which is against the people's will,

continued to exist until it was set right by the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. Therefore, the image of Bai Jie herself stands as a strong criticism of the society and loudly announces the absurdity of the "gang of four's" "current doctrine of class struggle." The main substance of this reactionary doctrine, which has brought the Chinese people untold misery, is the feudalist "theory of lineage" and exaggerated class struggle.

Since its appearance on the stage, the artistic image of Bai Jie has deeply moved the audience of thousands or tens of thousands to tears of genuine sympathy. This clearly shows the people's true feelings toward Bai Jie's fate, their admiration of her virtues, their hatred of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their protest against the ultraleftist policy which suppressed people's activism! The author of "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" for a long time stayed among ordinary people, is deeply aware of the people's desires and demands after listening to their outcries and had the courage to champion their cause. That is why he dared to break through the forbidden zone by creating such a realistic image as Bai Jie, which is both sturdy and beautiful, and putting her in the ranks of socialist heroic workers. This is certainly a heartening victory for the movement to emancipate the mind!

Another artistic image with distinctive characteristics of the age is Li Jian, a revolutionary leading cadre of the new age. Instead of an ordinary communist image, it is the heroic image of the age which is dedicated to the four modernizations and has shown a strong party spirit and militancy in the brave struggle with the ultraleftist line and ossified thinking. The persecution of him by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has further steeled him. His ideology and work style express the outstanding fine tradition of the party as well as the youthful enthusiasm of the new age. The most prominent feature of Li Jian which distinguishes him from the images of leaders portrayed by previous literary and artistic workers is his spirit of seeking truth from facts and his belief in the emancipation of the mind. He has the courage to break through all obstacles formed of outdated, erroneous and no longer practical bookism, dogmatism and "doctrines." Disregarding personal risks, he dares to resist the pernicious influence of the "gang of four's" ultraleftist line and to reject the viewpoints and methods which are habitually "leftist." Full of democratic and scientific spirit and facing realities, he strives for practical results by going among the masses. He has a profound love for the people and a keen sense of responsibility, and on one occasion he sighs with deep emotion: "It has been 30 years since liberation; the country is still so backward and the people so poor. Can we afford to sit tight?" Li Jian is a materialist who firmly upholds practice as the sole criterion for testing truth and an artistic model who is selfless and fearless. He embodies the fine qualities of thousands and tens of thousands of Communist Party members; on him rests the hope of hundreds of millions of people. It should be noted that in literary and artistic works or in real life of

the past, basic level party cadres like Li Jian were usually criticized as representatives of rightists. This gives greater significance to this typical character.

By putting Li Jian in the center of the conflicts throughout the play, the playwright has skillfully demonstrated his ideals, personal traits, moral qualities and inner world. When Li Jian decides to name Bai Jie as the model worker, he has to face many tests, and the struggle is an arduous one. Apart from the stubborn opposition of Wu Yiping--the deputy party committee secretary--the masses also deplore the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." Furthermore, his daughter also exerts strong pressure on him, and then there is the "historical lesson" of the tragic death of his wife because she had promoted Bai Jie's mother to a higher position... In spite of various intimidations, warnings, resistance and tests, his ideology becomes more and more mature, and he himself becomes more and more determined. He says: "Just in case I meet the same fate as she (his wife) did, I consider it an honor for my old bones to be used to pave the way for the new Long March." Besides his dauntless revolutionary spirit, he also has an even more important quality--the selflessness of a communist. The author of "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" has prominently demonstrated Li Jian's selfless spirit through the typical episode in which he himself disqualifies his daughter as a model worker. This not only makes the portrayal of a character more vivid but also gives a deeper meaning to the characterization. Li Jian's image personifies the party's glorious traditions and fine work style and is highly acclaimed by the audience. It reflects the people's dissatisfaction with certain cadres who take advantage of their positions to work for private gain, to seek special privileges and to engage in backdoor dealings. Many among the audience have said: "If we have Li Jian as our plant director, the success of the four modernizations is assured!" Thus, the popularity of Li Jian as an artistic image can be easily imagined.

The first blossom of spring of the new period appeared amid chilling cold. The third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee called on the whole party and people throughout the country to welcome the springtime of the new period, but not all people can enter the new period with such vigorous vitality as does Li Jian. Some people stubbornly hanker after the old period and have a blind faith in old dogmatism, bookism and "doctrines." They resist the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee and have the mistaken idea that they are upholding the party's "principle of class struggle," "taking a firm political stand" and "have not been swept off their feet by the hot winds of the four modernizations." In fact, they have become a cold wind which is doing great harm to the first blossom of springtime, and they have become a stumbling block astride the road of the new Long March. Wu Yiping is an example of these people in real life, and the masses call her a "typical example of ossified thinking," because the conflict between emancipation of the mind and ossification of thinking has become a sharp

struggle between two diametrically opposed ideological lines at a historical turning point. The playwright has not only vividly reflected the depth of this struggle but also, with great warmth and courage, exposed the soul of Wu Yiping. But instead of depicting her as a "negative character" in an oversimplified way, he exposes, from a historical angle and through the characterization of Wu Yiping in a realistic and in-depth way, the heavy mental shackles which the ultra-leftist line and the strongly entrenched feudal ideas have for a long time imposed on people. It is precisely these shackles which account for the dual character of people like Wu Yiping: Outwardly they uphold "principles"; inwardly they are worldly wise and like to play it safe. The image of Wu Yiping has certain satiric effects. With profuse materials from real life and through the relationships among different characters, the playwright has depicted Wu Yiping's personal traits by exposing her inner thoughts. Although he does not "pass judgment" on her or show her "turning over a new leaf," the true-to-life typical example of ossified thinking appears before the audience with a strong appeal. No wonder some people among the audience said: "Let us buy a ticket for our leader so he can use Wu Yiping as a mirror to look at himself!"

But the arrival of spring cannot be stopped by Wu Yiping, because the first blossom of springtime has already spread its fragrance among mankind. The truth of life revealed by the drama "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" and the spirit of the age it embodies has educated the audience and inspired them with confidence in the historical mission of modernization. In artistic form, "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" has proclaimed this truth: "Six hundred million in this land all equal Yao and Shun" [a line from Mao's poem "Farewell to the God of Plague"]. Our modernization will be a success. Our strength to achieve this success lies in the millions of common workers wholeheartedly devoted to the four modernizations as represented by Bai Jie and the millions of common Communist Party members who share every weal and woe with people like Bai Jie as represented by Li Jian!

Describing the basic task of socialist literature and art, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Our socialist literature and art should, through artistic images which have flesh and blood, vividly depict the inner and essential qualities of people in their social relations, give expression to the trend of historical development and the people's desire for progress, educate them in socialist ideology and inspire them with the aspiration and spirit to build a powerful and prosperous country." The appearance of "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" and its ideological and artistic achievement show the author's awareness of the lofty socialist artistic mission to be undertaken and the need for close integration with the masses. Therefore, he has firmly adhered to the road of realistic art and striven to live up to the party's expectations as regards literary and artistic creation.

People's live experience is the only source of material for literary and artistic creation, and truthfulness is the life of realistic art. Only people's struggle can inspire revolutionary writers with inexhaustible wisdom and courage. Speaking of the reason why he had to "take the risk" in creating an image like that of Bai Jie, the author of the play vividly described the conditions he had personally witnessed as being similar to those of Bai Jie. He deeply sympathized with people having the same lot as Bai Jie's. He strongly disagreed with the unfair treatment given them and then learned that this was a common social problem. However, if the author had merely remained in the perceptive stage and had given only a superficial description of this social phenomenon as shown by the suffering of those like Bai Jie, this would not have been good enough. Here the author began with an in-depth study of the essence of this social phenomenon, analyzed its historical roots and then discovered how this social phenomenon stands opposed to historical progress. Then he came to a firm conclusion: The four modernizations cannot be undertaken by a small number of people; on the contrary, all useful people must be united and mobilized. The third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee provided the author with a powerful ideological weapon for analyzing a phenomenon of life and inspired him with courage to break through the forbidden zone by reflecting the realities of life. Here the author's ideological acumen and political sense of responsibility play a significant role in his artistic creation. The author had to first emancipate his own mind before he could grasp the essence of Bai Jie's image, select the typical details from the rich resources of real life experiences to clearly express Bai Jie's inner contradictions and sufferings, describe the development of her characteristics and, finally, create a flesh-and-blood artistic image which has powerful appeal and rich ideological content by breaking through the forbidden zone. "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" is a gratifying success in artistic creation brought about by emancipation of the mind. Although its ending and portrayal of certain characters leave something to be desired, its successful experience has set a very fine example for other writers of this age in boldly intervening in social life, in reflecting realities and in creating new socialist images.

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HAVE CHINA'S EXPLOITERS BEEN ELIMINATED AS A CLASS?

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[Text] In last year's RED FLAG No 9 we published the article "The Characteristics of Class Struggle in Present-Day China" under the pen name of Ji Xueshi [0679 1331 1395]. Some comrades have since advanced certain different views. It is our opinion that contention between different viewpoints in scholastic matters is beneficial to the study and exploration of truths. We can solve this through social investigation and scholarly discussion and ultimately submit to the test of social practice. A certain viewpoint holds that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have not yet been eliminated, maintaining that it is inconsistent with objective facts for anyone to think that our exploiters as a class have already been eliminated. We cannot agree with this viewpoint. This is not only an important theoretical question but also an important practical question relating to whether the shift in the focus of our work can be carried out and whether we can henceforth devote ourselves to the realization of the four modernizations under conditions of stability and unity. We must make this clear through discussion. In this regard, we shall first of all consider whether the conclusion that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have already been eliminated corresponds to the reality in our country and whether it deviates from the basical principles of Marxism; then we shall outline some of our own views concerning certain major arguments under the above-mentioned viewpoint.

What is class? How can a class be considered eliminated? Marxism holds that class was not born at the inception of human society, nor does it exist permanently. It takes shape only on the basis of a certain mode of production when production develops to a certain historical stage. Just as Engels pointed out: "A social class is at all times a product of production relations and exchange relations. In other words, it is always a product of economic relations in its own time." ("The Development of Socialism From the Utopian to the Scientific Stage," "Selected

Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 423) Lenin offered an even more concrete exposition of this, as we all know very well that the succinct definition of class given in "The Great Initiative" seeks precisely to reveal the essence of class through the "four differences" in economic relations. Among these "four differences," Lenin clearly pointed out the following concerning "the difference in respect to the means of production" as the most basic difference: "The basic indication of difference between the classes is the relative position they each occupy in social production and hence also the relationship they respectively have in respect to the means of production." ("The Vulgar Socialism and Populism Revived by the Social Revolutionaries," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 233) It was in accordance with basic Marxist-Leninist principles of this kind that Comrade Mao Zedong, in "How To Analyze the Classes in the Countryside," which he wrote in 1933, and the State Council, in "Decision Concerning the Differentiation of Class Elements in the Countryside," which it issued in 1950, insisted on "differentiating the classes on the basis of their respective property conditions." The differentiation of the classes having thus been determined in this fashion, what, then, are the criteria by which the elimination of the classes is judged? Lenin said: "Eliminate the classes--this is to say, make all citizens occupy an equal position in relation to the means of production in the whole society, and this is also to say, all citizens are entitled to the same rights to make use of public means of production, public land and public factories in order to carry out their labor." ("Liberal Professors on Equality," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 139) Of course, what Lenin said in this instance has to do not only with the elimination of the opposition between the classes but also the elimination of the differences among all classes or, namely, the elimination of all classes. But the criterion in question here is still "the relationship they respectively have in respect to the means of production," namely, the elimination of the differences in this relationship on the part of the members of society in respect to such social means of production. Therefore, the existence of classes is related only to given historical stages of the development of production; it belongs to the economic realm: "People's class relations in respect to one another are, namely, their economic relations." ("Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 253) Whether the emergence, the existence or the elimination of classes is in question, the causes, in the final analysis, are material and economic; the disappearance of the causes which created the classes also constitutes the elimination of the classes themselves. Hence, whether it is a differentiation of the classes or the elimination of classes, the criteria to rely on are always economic relations, relations in respect to the means of production. This is what puts the Marxist theory of classes on the bedrock of materialism and thereby turns it into a science.

Then, what is the practical situation concerning the relations of ownership of the means of production in our country? Upon the founding of new

China, bureaucratic capital, which made up 80 percent of all capital in the country, was forfeited and turned over to ownership by the entire people, and a socialist state-operated economy was thereby established. By 1952, land reform was completed in vast areas of the country and land was distributed to the entire body of peasants, and the feudal land ownership system was thereby also eliminated. By 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and private capitalist industry and commerce was brought to a triumphant, successful conclusion; thereby the rich peasant economy was eliminated, and the capitalist ownership system was also eliminated. Along with the termination of fixed-interest payments in 1966, even the tail of capitalist exploitation no longer remained. Thus, in our country as a whole (except Taiwan) the exploitation system, be it feudalistic or capitalistic, was entirely eliminated. In addition, the small production system was also subject to transformation, and a socialist system based on ownership of the whole people as well as on collective ownership was established. Indeed, the productive power of our country has developed to a point which is still very far from the level under which a single ownership of the whole people can be enforced; differences between industry and agriculture still exist. And it remains a long-term task to eliminate such differences between industry and agriculture. Therefore, we still cannot speak of a complete elimination of all classes. But our country has most certainly eliminated the exploitation system and transformed the small production system that had constantly served to create capitalism and the capitalist classes on a large scale. Therefore, if we say that exploiters as a class have already been eliminated, this tallies rather well with the actual situation in our country, and it also accords with the fundamental principle of Marxism in determining whether classes have been eliminated on the basis of "the relationship they respectively have in respect to the means of production."

On the other hand, the viewpoint which holds that exploiters in our country, as a class, have not yet been eliminated would seem to warrant some close examination. People holding this view allege that the old elements of the exploitative classes in our country have not yet been entirely transformed; that their children harbor certain hatred toward the party; that classes are composed of their respective elements and that therefore the exploitative classes remain so long as there still are exploitative elements, for otherwise it would be tantamount to seeing the trees but not the forest; and small production continues to produce capitalism and capitalist classes on a large scale. This view fails to convince anyone.

First of all, there is a confusion between the elimination of exploiters as a class and the transformation of elements who at one time belonged to the exploitative classes. These are two different concepts and two categories of things which are fundamentally different from each other. The elimination of exploiters as a class means the elimination of the system of exploitation. Once the exploitative classes are deprived of

their means of production, they are no longer social groups in possession of such means of production or in any position to exploit the labor of others; hence, as classes they no longer exist. The transformation of the elements means the remolding of people of the original exploitative classes into toilers who live by their own labor. The former concerns the change of the exploitative-class ownership system, which is the substance of the elimination of classes. The latter concerns the transformation of members of the exploitative classes, which has to do with eliminating their resistance and their restorational activities, and hence with further changing their lifestyle and the state of their political thinking, thereby turning the negative factors into positive factors. Concerning this difference between the elimination of classes and the transformation of men, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly stated: "The capitalist class must be eliminated. This is not to say that the people must be eliminated, but that the class must be eliminated. As for the people, they must be transformed." ("Firmly Believe in the Majority of the Masses") In 1957 Comrade Zhou Enlai also pointed out in his "Report on the Work of the Government": "Although the landowner class and the bureaucratic capitalist class were eliminated a long time ago, certain elements of these classes are still being transformed in labor and in their daily life, and it is not yet possible to change their original class thinking and class feelings entirely." Therefore, we must not confuse the two. The elimination of exploiters as a class is not equivalent to the successful transformation of elements of the erstwhile exploitative classes. By the same token, we cannot say that, because these elements of the erstwhile exploitative classes have not yet been completely transformed, the exploitative classes themselves have therefore not yet been eliminated. We cannot make the complete transformation of the elements the criterion for the elimination of exploiters as a class. Of course, there is also a connection between the two. Elimination of the exploitative classes is the premise for the transformation of the elements of these exploitative classes. Only by depriving them of their means of production is it possible to transform them into toilers living by their own labor; and transforming them into toilers living by their own labor is also beneficial to the consolidation of the results of the elimination of those exploitative classes and to the ultimate elimination of the remnants of the same classes. Therefore, our party has always placed emphasis on the transformation of elements of the exploitative classes.

During the period of democratic revolution long ago we had already prescribed the policy of providing the landowners with a livelihood and a way out when we carried out land reform in the revolutionary bases, so that we could force them to undergo transformation in the process of labor. After the liberation of the whole country, except in the case of a small number of archcriminals, extremely vicious local tyrants and landlords, where suppression was the rule, we continued to uphold the policy of providing a livelihood and a way out insofar as members of the erstwhile exploitative classes were concerned. After more than 30

years of struggle and education, a conspicuous change has taken place among an overwhelming majority of these elements. Take a certain province as an example: In 1956 there were more than 80,000 landlord and rich peasant elements; some 20 years later more than 30,000 had died of natural causes; those whose labels had been removed during the several operations of this kind numbered more than 23,000; last year another 22,500 and more had their labels removed, and the cases of the more than 1,400 who had been wrongly labeled were also rectified. As a result, there are only some 440 left whose labels have still not been removed, and they make up only 1.4 percent of all those who participated in the appraisal process. Looking at the capitalist class there, we see that during these 30 years those who died a natural death make up about one-third of the total; if we exclude the large numbers of small merchants, small peddlers and small handicraftsmen brought into their ranks when all their enterprises were turned into combined public-private management affairs in 1956, their number is no longer very large. In addition, the fixed-interest payments in their favor were terminated as long as 13 years ago; those among them who are able bodied have mostly joined the working ranks and labor activities. Although their salaries are generally higher than those of workers and employees in the same enterprises, they still basically rely on their wages for their livelihood. And after many years of remolding and reeducation, most of them show conspicuous progress. Therefore, when we say that the overwhelming majority of the people of these classes who are able bodied have already been transformed into socialist toilers living by their own labor, this does indeed tally with the actual situation. Those who continue to insist on a reactionary stand and carry out antisocialist political and economic activities are in the extremely small minority. If anyone takes this as proof that exploiters as a class have still not been eliminated in our country, he must have obliterated in his mind the results of the great victories we have achieved in the above-mentioned two aspects, and in theory he is bound to advance toward dualism or an idealism which takes political ideology as the basis for the differentiation of the various classes.

Nobody can deny that the classes which emerge on the basis of economic relationships inevitably tend to form politics and ideologies peculiar to those classes, and they also perform a reactive function toward the very existence and elimination of classes in general. Precisely because of this, the proletariat must first seize political power in order to "exploit the exploiters" and to create conditions for the elimination of the exploitative classes. The reason why, after "exploiting the exploiters," we continue to suppress the resistance on the part of these erstwhile exploiters and to remold them is that we want to consolidate the results of the elimination of the exploitative classes. Even though political and ideological conditions exert a great influence on the existence and elimination of classes, economic conditions, in the final analysis, have a decisive meaning for the existence and elimination of classes; this is a red thread which runs through the whole

materialistic class theory. Because the ideology of the exploitative classes has for long periods of time served to restrain the thinking of the classes subject to their rule, certain members of the ruled classes have also come to be influenced. If the state of their political thinking is used as the criterion for the differentiation and elimination of the classes, then it would be possible for us to also categorize as exploiters those among the toiling people who were once subject to the influence of the thinking of the exploitative classes and thereby mess up our own ranks; we might thus also take them as objects of class struggle and struggle against them, thereby expanding the limits of our class struggles; and we might even look for "exploiters" where in fact no exploitation exists, thereby artificially creating the so-called exploitative classes. In the final analysis, people's political thinking and standpoint are things of a secondary nature derived from the economic base; they cannot become the criterion for differentiation and elimination of the classes. Only thus will we be upholding the materialistic monism of our class theory.

Secondly, there is an attempt to equate the trees with the forest and elements of classes with classes themselves. In our society today there indeed exist "the six elements" and "the two remnants." For lack of a better overall description, let us just call them new old-elements. Can these new old-elements form a new capitalist class or some other exploitative class? A class, of course, is composed of elements; but there must be relevant conditions for elements to become a class.

(1) The basis for the formation of an exploitative class is the system of private ownership of the means of production, which exploits other people's labor. As has been pointed out above, the socialist public ownership system has already been established in our country, and the economic base for the reappearance of exploitative classes has already been eliminated. In reality, the concrete reasons for the emergence and existence of "the six elements" and "the two remnants" which are still found in our country today vary, and there are no common means of production ownership relations to connect them. Hence, it is impossible for them to make up a comprehensive exploitative class. (2) A class is not a relationship among isolated individuals but a social group. Although those corrupt, pilfering, opportunist and double-crossing elements have the common character of exploiting other people's labor, like other hostile elements in society their number is very small, and they are scattered in the "seams" of society without any inevitable interrelationship among them. Even if some of them form a minor "gang" or "clique," it is impossible for them to become a social group. Just as scattered trees do not constitute a forest, so these elements scattered in the "seams" of society do not make up a class. (3) Today our society is no longer in the historical period following the disintegration of primitive society, when classes were just taking shape or developing, but in the historical period when classes are being eliminated. Therefore, these elements are not situated in the process of the formation of classes but of the elimination of classes. The overall trend is that their number is

going to dwindle gradually and ultimately will disappear entirely. In the process of the formation of classes, at the beginning it is a small number of people who start to take possession of other people's labor, and, along with the development of productive forces, their number becomes greater and greater; eventually they change into a social group taking possession of other people's labor. Consequently, society is split into classes. In the process of the elimination of classes, the opposite is true. In the beginning it is a case of exploiting the exploiters and thus eliminating the exploiters as a class, i.e., as a social group; then there is the further step of eliminating the scattered elements whose ranks have already disintegrated--eliminating the remnants of the exploitative classes (including the newly emergent hostile elements). And in the end all class differences are eliminated. This historical process is not something we have fabricated subjectively; it is an objective reality which Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong encountered and discussed. Lenin pointed out: "It was the first time in modern history that such a social system was established, and under this system the exploitative classes have already been eliminated. But there still exist two different classes--the working class and the peasants." ("The 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 395) Apart from these, we also see "bourgeois remnants" and "remnant elements." After the Soviet Union had completely carried out the collectivization of its agriculture, Stalin declared in November 1936 in his report "Concerning the Draft Constitution of the Soviet Union" that "all exploitative classes have been eliminated" within the country. The following March, in his "On Defects in the Party's Work and Methods of Eliminating the Trotskiyite Doubledealers and Other Doubledealers," he added: Within the Soviet Union there were still "remnants of exploitative classes which had already been smashed." In 1962 Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out: "In our country the system of exploitation of man by man has already been eliminated," but there still existed "some remnants of the reactionary classes." ("Speech at an Enlarged Session of the Central Work Conference") Obviously, the fact that after the elimination of the exploiters as a class there still exist remnants of the exploitative classes is not indicative of any contradiction; it is a process of [the unfolding of] an objective reality. People's cognition can only faithfully reflect this reality but cannot change it. In following the basic principle of Marxism on the elimination of classes and summing up the experiences and lessons of history, our party pointed out that the exploiters in our country, as a class, had already been eliminated. The adjective phrase "as a class" is not something which may or may not be necessary here, because it not only indicates that the substantive entities of the exploitative classes have already been eliminated, but also reflects the objective historical process that remnants of the exploitative classes still exist; it not only serves to oppose the viewpoint that would expand our class struggle, i.e., that would continue to regard the class struggle in our country today as a struggle between one class and another, but also serves to oppose the viewpoint that relishes the theory of the

dying-out of class struggle altogether, i.e., that fails to see the particular form of class struggle between ourselves and remnant elements of the exploitative classes (including the newly emergent hostile elements), a class struggle of a remnant form which no longer involves the exploitative classes as such. (4) In the class society of the past the exploitative classes, relying on the strength of their political power, "permitted" some people to take possession of the means of production and thereby exploit the labor of some other people, and they even wrote this into law publicly. But under the conditions in our country today, when the system of exploitation has already been eliminated, the political power under the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer permits such a phenomenon to exist, and this, too, is written into its own law. With respect to the exploitative elements and hostile elements, our approach is like that of the peasants with respect to weeds: whenever a blade of such weeds appears, it is done away with; when another blade appears, it is also done away with; and we are prepared to continue to do so until every such blade is eliminated. This way, how can such elements ever hope to become a comprehensive exploitative class? Because the level of the productive forces in our country is still not very high, there are certain things which remain to be perfected in some aspects of our production relations and our upper structures; vestiges of the old society are still preserved, and the ideology of the exploitative classes of the past continues to erode the thinking of certain people. In addition, because of the class struggle on the international level, it is inevitable that a small number of new hostile elements appears in our midst. This is to say that conditions for the emergence of new hostile elements still exist in our country. But there is a difference between the conditions for the emergence of these elements and the conditions for them to become a class. As a class poised for exploitation it must possess the means of production and exploit other people's labor; it must also be a social group. In the situation in our country today, these new old-elements are by no means equipped with such comprehensive conditions. So long as we uphold the four basic principles and, along with an energetic development of our productive forces, continue to carry out class struggle correctly, we can surely succeed in "making it impossible for a bourgeois class either to exist or to reemerge again." As a result, these new old-elements can only exist as scattered elements and will gradually be eliminated; it is impossible for them to become a comprehensive exploitative class openly taking possession of the means of production and exploiting other people's labor. Thus, the scattered trees will never become a forest. Of course, if we do not focus on the four modernizations but, like Lin Biao and the "gang of four," sabotage our socialist economic construction and artificially create the so-called class struggle, then such elements will naturally multiply. The point is that we cannot reach any conclusion that so long as there are elements there must be exploitative classes, in disregard of our actual social conditions. Otherwise, we would be letting a leaf block our sight and mistake the scattered trees for a forest.

Furthermore, the point about the creation of capitalist classes on a large scale is made in a situation in which small production has already been transformed. The viewpoint which holds that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have not yet been eliminated maintains that small production is constantly creating capitalism and capitalist classes on a large scale, and this is why we cannot say that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have already been eliminated. The first part of this opinion is by no means wrong; particularly in a country where small-farm production occupies a dominant position, this happens to be precisely the case, because this small-farm economy is a kind of small-commodity production economy which is a very broad and deep-rooted foundation for capitalism. The individual farmers are both toilers and private owners. As toilers they are willing to follow the socialist path; but as private owners they are automatically oriented toward capitalism. If the party fails to guide them toward the socialist path in time, a dichotomized differentiation into two groupings is bound to occur and thereby to create capitalism and capitalist classes. But this situation occurs only under the condition of a prevailing small-production system. And the fact is that agriculture in our country has been collectivized for more than 20 years, the small-farm individual economy has already been transformed into the collective economy, and the farmers are no longer individual farmers but have long since become socialist, collective farmers. Therefore, in our country the small-production system no longer exists and the question of whether, between the socialist path and the capitalist path, one will conquer the other has already been basically solved; so how can that situation in which small production constantly creates capitalism and capitalist classes ever emerge again?

Indeed, because the level of the productive forces in our country is still not very high, the peasants are allowed to pursue certain auxiliary family enterprises such as private plots of land, private animals, private trees, etc. But this is not the same as the small producers before transformation, and what they are allowed to pursue is but appended and supplemental to the socialist economy of public ownership. The income they obtain from such enterprises is also derived from their own labor and not from the exploitation of other people's labor. It therefore cannot possibly lead to any dichotomized differentiation. The only differences which exist here are between who becomes rich first and who becomes rich later and the degree of their respective wealth, but not the question of his becoming rich necessarily making you poor. As for some of the small merchants and small peddlers individually managing their enterprises in the cities, they are also toilers and engage in such activities only under the leadership of the socialist economy. Their activities thus also cannot be regarded as capitalism. With respect to the automatic orientation toward capitalism, we must conduct concrete analyses. There definitely still is a tendency of this kind, but we must not exaggerate it and we must draw a proper borderline. We must not immediately connect wealth with revisionism whenever it is

mentioned; we must not immediately connect money with capitalism whenever it is mentioned. This would lead us into a habit of designating everything a capitalist tendency. Of course, when such a situation emerges among a small number of people, we cannot ignore it either. A solution will be at hand so long as we enforce our control with vigor, adopt pertinent economic measures and carry out ideological education. We must not make mountains out of molehills whenever there is the slightest excuse, thereby making no distinction between one category of contradiction with another.

Finally, there is the substitution of blood relationship for class relationship. It is obviously at variance with reality and erroneous to say that the large contingent of children of the exploitative classes all harbor hatred toward the party. As for the attempt to take this as a reason in alleging that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have still not been eliminated, those who hear it surely cannot help breaking into laughter. The inheritance of class status did exist under the previous system of exploitation, because the children took over the means of production from the older generations and continued to rely upon them in order to exploit the labor of others. In our country this condition no longer exists. As for the state of their thinking, the homes left them by the exploitative classes did, of course, have some influence on them. But for over 30 years they have been subject mainly to an education under the socialist ideology. Social existence determines people's thinking. The children of landlords and rich peasants never participated in exploitation directly; only a small number among the second generation enjoyed a period of exploitative life. Most of them, especially from the third generation on, were born in and grew up in new China, having never even seen a single instance of exploitation. The adults among them have long since become socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals; some of them have become advanced workers, and some of them have even joined the party and embraced the great ideal of building socialism. If we differentiate classes according to people's genealogy and therefore take them as the "successors" to the exploitative classes, what end result will this lead to? Take a certain province as an example: Those original landlords and rich peasants who are still alive number not more than slightly over 50,000; but their second generation numbers over 250,000, and their third generation numbers over 500,000. If the fourth generation is added, the number would be ever larger. Under such circumstances, would this not be tantamount to saying that not only will the exploitative classes never be eliminated, but their ranks are going to become stronger and stronger, increasing ad infinitum? Our party has always strictly differentiated between a person's family background and his personal status as a class element, and it has also made a point of redefining the class-element status of his second-generation offspring and to change the family background designation of his third-generation offspring; this is precisely a negation of such a viewpoint. In view of this situation, we should no longer pass on designations such as "children of the landlords

and rich peasants" and "children of the exploitative classes"; that is to say, we should remove such labels from their heads.

In summary, we can say that, since our party has made the determination that the exploiters in our country, as a class, have already been eliminated only on the basis of the objective fact that in our country (except Taiwan) both the feudal system and the capitalist system have been eliminated, that our small-production system has likewise been transformed, and that the stable rule of the socialist system has also been firmly established, this can only be a Marxist, scientific determination which not only does not deviate from the basic principle of Marxism concerning the theory of class and class struggle, but constitutes, instead, its concrete application and development.

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CSO: 4004

MAIN SIGNS OF REVISIONISM

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[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189] and Xu Hongwu [1776 7703 2976]]

[Text] Distinguishing revisionism is a theoretical problem of primary importance that we must solve. If we fail to distinguish what revisionism is and are hazy about its basic characteristics, we will not be able to uphold Marxism convincingly or effectively combat revisionism. If we go so far as to confuse issues of right and wrong and make no distinction between good and evil, criticize Marxism as revisionism and brand revolutionary comrades as revisionists and strike at them, we will only cause chaos and damage and bring great losses to the socialist cause.

What follows is a preliminary discussion of the problem of distinguishing revisionism on the basis of our own past experiences and that of the international communist movement.

To distinguish Marxism from revisionism we must first of all uphold the basic principles of Marxism and not deny them.

Revisionism is any departure from Marxism advocated by the workers movement and favoring changes that negate the basic principles of Marxism. According to Comrade Mao Zedong: "It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work")

Bernstein was the father of revisionism. On the pretext that the times had changed, he deprecated the doctrines of Marx and Engels as "outdated" and declared that they must be "revised." While the word "revise" alone implies no derogatory connotation, Bernstein's use of it was a complete betrayal of Marxism and the fundamental negation of it. It was "making the most noise and advancing the most integral expression of the amendments to Marx." ("Marxism and Revisionism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 2) In the field of philosophy, Bernstein claimed that materialism had been "refuted" long ago and that dialectics was "a renegade factor in Marxist tenets." He called for going "back to Kant." In the field of

political economics, he disclaimed the Marxist theory that labor creates value and attacked the theory of surplus value as "a formula based on a hypothesis." He did his best to use the so-called "new material on economic development" to negate the contradictions inherent in capitalism. Thus, he no longer believed in the imminent collapse of capitalism. In the field of scientific socialism, Bernstein condemned the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution as "Blanquism" and as a fallacy advocating "peaceful growth into socialism." Kautsky inherited Bernstein's revisionist mantle and concocted the fallacy of the so-called "supraimperialism." By advocating alliances among imperialist nations as substitutes for strife among them, he brought "new hope" to the growth of capitalism and thus brought to naught the task of the proletarian revolution. He blurred distinctions between the socialist and capitalist systems, admired bourgeois democracy, prated about "general" and "simple" democracy and advocated the promotion of bourgeois democracy to realize socialism.

If one argues that the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, which occurred before political power was seized, was centered on the need to smash the state apparatus of the bourgeois military bureaucracy and set up the proletarian regime, then the struggle between Marxism and revisionism after political power was seized would center on the problems of whether the socialist road and the dictatorship of the proletariat should be upheld. Although Trotskiy emerged as a revisionist with a "leftist" appearance, after the October Revolution he insisted on abandoning the Soviet regime rather than signing a "humiliating peace treaty" with Germany. He did so despite the fact that the Soviet people were facing the crucial task of consolidating the Soviet Government. On the question of workers unions, Trotskiy called for "tightening the screws." He also called for the use of military action to deal with the revolutionary masses. He also used the misleading slogan of "world revolution" to oppose the doctrine of building socialism in one country, declaring that only with a world revolution could the Russian Revolution succeed. His notorious "theory of uninterrupted revolution" was in fact a fallacy to increasingly enlarge the targets of the revolution. Talking nonsense, he said the peasants were allies of the proletariat during the period of democratic revolution but would clash with the working class at the stage of socialist revolution and would become the target of the revolution. He alleged that the old Bolsheviki would degenerate and lose their good qualities after the revolution was successful and become "new bureaucrats" and "new aristocrats." He therefore called for a second revolution to bring them down. These fallacies were aimed at ruining the newly founded Soviet regime and at making the Soviet people return once again to the capitalist society to be oppressed and exploited. At a time when the newly founded Soviet regime had been initially consolidated and was embarking on socialist economic construction, right opportunism with Bukharin as its proponent appeared in the Soviet Union. Calling for the development of the rich peasant economy, he advocated that rich peasants "grow peacefully into socialism" and opposed alining with the Central

Committee of the Bolshevik Party regarding the policies of socializing industry and collectivizing agriculture.

Like Trotsky, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were revisionists from the "left." An important reason why they succeeded in hoodwinking many people is that they took advantage of people with good intentions, who guarded themselves against revisionists from the right, by disguising themselves as "firm Marxists." They practiced revisionism in a big way by resorting to counterrevolutionary and doubledealing tactics. Flaunting the banner of "combating revisionism," they frenziedly opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by "holding high" what Mao stood for. They renounced Marxist philosophy by advocating the fallacies that the superstructure decides everything, that spirit is omnipotent and that men of genius determine everything. They also rejected the Marxist interpretation of political economics by opposing the development of social productive forces, negating the socialist principle of pay according to work and doing their best to advocate "a pauper's transition to higher stages of collectivization" which went beyond the actual level of development of the productive forces. They mutilated the dialectical relationship between politics and economics, deviated from the path of protecting and developing the social productive forces and asserted that "political power decided everything." They also mutilated the dialectical relationship between democracy and dictatorship and ignored the need to give democracy to the people. They talked about the "power of suppression which is inherent in political power" in order to reverse the relationship between ourselves and the enemy and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a feudal fascist dictatorship. This was a repudiation of the Marxist doctrine on socialism. Historical experience has proved that revisionism from the "left" after the proletariat has seized political power is more deceptive than revisionism from the right.

It is of course not contradictory for those who uphold the basic principles of Marxism to amend certain outdated Marxist conclusions. The basic principles of Marxism embody the guiding ideology for the proletarian revolution and contain universal truth that is applicable everywhere. This is inviolable at any time. However, certain specific Marxist conclusions should be amended and supplemented with the development of the situation. Such amendments and additions do not run counter to the basic principles of Marxism and instead constitute an appropriate application and development of these principles. This is in line with the requirements of Marxism and a demonstration of the revolutionary nature and the scientific spirit of Marxism. Similar instances have frequently occurred in the history of the development of Marxism. For example, in anticipating the possible development of socialism, Marx and Engels envisaged the expected disappearance of commodities and money in socialist society. However, after the October Revolution Lenin amended this conclusion in a timely way on the basis of practical Soviet experience. He asserted that, in socialist society, commodities and

money would be required to play their positive roles. In reviewing the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels envisaged the need to scrap regular forces among countries with proletarian dictatorships, replacing them with armed masses. However, Lenin amended this conclusion in a timely way on the basis of the intensified class struggle among the nations in the wake of revolutionary successes. He proposed setting up the workers and peasants Red Army (that is, the regular forces of the proletariat). Thus, the conclusions reached by Lenin regarding the matters cited above did not run counter to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the basic principles of socialist construction but constituted a creative development of these principles. Whether the fundamental interests of the laboring people are upheld or repudiated distinguishes Marxism from revisionism.

Since Marxism reflects the objective laws of social development and conforms to the basic interests of the laboring people, it has become the spiritual weapon used by the proletariat and the laboring people for their emancipation. As a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the workers movement, in Lenin's words, revisionism "is to use the bourgeois viewpoint to emasculate Marxist truth." ("Several Problems of Principle in the Election Movement," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 17, p 377) Thus, revisionism embodies bourgeois interests and aspirations, its inevitability being determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is therefore an international phenomenon. To tackle the workers movement, which was on the upsurge, the imperialists resorted to counterrevolutionary doubledealing tactics by suppressing the movement by force on the one hand and, on the other, buying over its leaders with a small portion of the excessive profits they had reaped. Although these people appeared to be leaders of the workers, they were actually renegades to the working class, the aristocrats among the workers and bourgeois lackeys. Lenin penetratingly exposed the class character of the revisionists of the Second International by saying: "It is because they have been bought by the imperialists with the excessive profits they have reaped that they have become the watchdogs of the capitalists and wreckers of the workers movement." ("The Rupture Between Imperialism and the Socialist Movement," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 888) Upholding a bourgeois world outlook and practicing a bourgeois way of living, these worker-aristocrats pursued interests that were not in common with the workers. They used deceptive means to erode and wreck the workers movement and thus were able to produce results that exceeded those of the bourgeoisie. By safeguarding bourgeois interests they betrayed the interests of the proletariat. According to Bernstein, "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing." This was a flagrant call to the proletariat to abandon their fundamental interests. Lenin said: "This catch phrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long arguments." He also pointed out: "To sacrifice these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment--such is the policy of revisionism." ("Marxism and Revisionism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 7)

The ruling political party of the proletariat still has to face the test of whether it has established the party out of devotion to public interests or for personal considerations and whether it intends to emancipate the laboring people or to gain advantages for a few people. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "What the communists say or do must conform to the highest interests of the greatest number of people, the highest criteria supported by the masses." ("On Coalition Government") Marxists always try to maintain close contacts with the masses, uphold their fundamental interests and strive for their emancipation. Such a party is a Marxist party. If a party ignores the interests of the masses, oppresses and exploits the people at home and seeks expansion abroad, it is a revisionist party. Those who formulate such policies are revisionists. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" usurped a portion of party and state power for the selfish gains of their faction and never did anything in the interest of the people. They spread fallacies such as "conducting class struggle well even at the expense of curtailed production" and "it does not matter if the fields in the countryside yield no crops" for the purpose of plunging the toiling people once again into the abyss of shortages and suffering. They fanned anarchism and provoked the masses to struggle against themselves. They did this to plunge the country into chaos so that they could usurp party and state power in total disregard for the well-being of the laboring people. As outright agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes inside the party, they were pure and simple revisionists.

Whether to uphold the unity of theory and practice or to oppose it distinguishes Marxism from revisionism.

Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. If we lose sight of this "we turn Marxism into something one-sided, disfigured and lifeless; we deprive it of its living soul; we undermine its basic theoretical foundations--dialectics, the doctrine that historical development is all-embracing and full of contradictions; we sever its connection with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, which may change with every new turn of history." ("Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 398) An important feature of revisionism is to sever the unity of the subjective and the objective and undermine the integration of theory and practice. The revisionists are pragmatists who sometimes find it necessary to negate the basic principles of Marxism and deprive it of its revolutionary soul, thus making revolutionary theory something that is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Sometimes they cling to certain outdated theoretical conclusions and turn them into inflexible dogma to hamper the development of revolutionary practice. Stalin once said: "Opportunists do not always intend to directly negate Marxist theory or its principles and conclusions. They sometimes attempt to cling to certain outdated principles so that they can turn them into dogma to hamper the development of Marxism and thus obstruct the advance of the proletarian revolution." ("A Concise Instructional Text of the History of the Bolshevik Party," 1975 Edition,

p 393) Using the prophecies of Marx and Engels regarding the simultaneous triumph of the proletarian revolution in several developed capitalist countries as their theoretical basis, the revisionists of the Second International opposed Lenin's doctrine that the proletarian revolution could be successful in a single country. Talking nonsense, they cited the futile attempt of economically backward Russia to conduct the proletarian revolution successfully in order to attack and vilify the October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin. In this respect, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went even further. When the exploiting classes had been wiped out in our country, they quoted Lenin's writings on the sabotage and disruptive activities carried out by class enemies at a time when the Soviet Government had just been established as their theoretical basis for advocating "overthrowing everything and conducting a large-scale civil war." They did this to undermine socialist construction and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. They openly declared that "the leader's directives" were "the highest and ultimate criteria" for judging everything. They used this to reverse the relationship between theory and practice.

Although the dogma of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is somewhat similar to the dogma which appeared during China's revolutionary history, the substance is different. Those who committed errors of dogma in our country in the past were confined to those who wanted to join the revolution but did not know how. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks as careerists, conspirators and counterrevolutionary doubledealers. Reversing the relationship between theory and practice and between spirit and matter, they abandoned the basic Marxist principle of integrating theory with practice, for they did not publicize theory to facilitate revolutionary practice but to serve their counterrevolutionary motives. Their statements that "every sentence is truth" and "every word must be acted upon" were designed to gain political capital and hoodwink the masses. They never acted according to Marxist principles. They quoted Marxist sayings out of context and used them to serve their own purposes, distorting Marxist theories to discredit people and as a tool for usurping party and state power.

The revisionists often use flowery speech to hoodwink the masses. To distinguish a Marxist party from a revisionist one, we must study its pronouncements and, more importantly, its actions, particularly how things are put and done. This is also true when judging a person. If practice is used as a criterion for testing truth, we will be able to reach a correct verdict. Despite the disguises used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they were exposed before implacable justice, that is, socialist practice. As renegades of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, they were eventually swept into the dustbin of history.

In distinguishing Marxism from revisionism we must separate those who have been influenced by revisionist ideas or have committed revisionist

errors from those who have become diehard revisionists. We must also **separate** the party which has espoused revisionist views or made revisionist mistakes from the party which has been dominated by revisionism for a prolonged period. We must exercise prudence in dealing with **revisionists** and revisionist parties, because they involve **serious political concepts**.

CSO: 4004

AN ANALYSIS OF 'A SUPERVISOR'S WILL'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 44-45

[Article by Zuo Mu [0146 3668]]

[Text] When the meaning of a concept is not clear, ideological confusion may result, or sometimes even harm may be done to practical work. One of the latest examples of this is the widespread use of "a supervisor's will" as a derogatory term. Many people today denounce those leaders' opinions which they do not like as the "supervisor's will!" Hence the saying, "Act at the supervisor's will." In some better cases, people criticize only those leaders' opinions which do not tally with reality. However, sometimes we cannot tell at once whether or not a leader's opinion tallies with the actual situation. As a result, we may carelessly misuse the term "supervisor's will." This practice must cease.

The term "supervisor's will" first appeared in Lenin's works, but the popular use of this term is different from what Lenin meant.

Lenin said: "Marx put an end to the view that society is a mechanical aggregation of individuals which allows any kind of modification at the will of the powers that be (or, what amounts to the same thing, at the will of society and the government) and which arises and changes in a fortuitous way; he was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis by establishing the concept of the economic formation of society as the sum total of given relations of production and by establishing the fact that the development of these formations is a process of natural history." ("Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight the Social Democrats?" "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 109-110) Lenin said this in his polemics with the Russian anti-Marxists. He was criticizing historical idealism and safeguarding Marxist historical materialism. It means that the development of the economic formation of society is a process of natural history. It has its own laws and is not dependent on man's will, consciousness and wishes. It can, on the contrary, decide man's will, consciousness and wishes, including the supervisor's will. When Lenin said this, he was only giving an accurate description of the positions and roles played by an individual, a government or a social

group in the process of the development of social history. There were to be no other implications. "Supervisor's will," governments' will and society's will may either agree with or go against the objective law. Nevertheless, society does not come into being and change by chance as dictated by free will. On the contrary, it is man's will that is decided by the objective progress of social development and tested by social practice. Therefore, Lenin did not completely deny the roles played by the supervisor's will and other so-called "free wills." He only opposed the exaggeration of the roles played by these wills to such an extent that the relation between subjective will and objective law is turned upside down.

It is still of practical significance to correctly propagate the principle of historical materialism expounded by Lenin. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously preached the theory of "spiritual atomic bomb" and the theory of "willful decision of the superstructure." These theories had a deep pernicious influence. Our comrades, particularly the leading comrades in decisionmaking positions, should consciously equip themselves with the principle of Marxist historical materialism. They should maintain close ties with the masses and strengthen investigation and study so that their advocations, wishes and wills can tally with objective reality as far as possible. They should strive to work according to objective laws. However, we should absolutely not conclude from this that we can negate all supervisors' wills. Where there are supervisors and governments there are wills. Negating their wills means negating them. This is contrary not only to what Lenin meant but also to commonsense. As we know, in socialist organized activities related to large-scale industries there is an objective need for a will which represents the people's basic interests and plays a dominant role in tackling problems. For example, the socialist state laws, rules and regulations are made according to the people's will. Whether this will is expressed by a judge or a traffic policeman, it carries obvious authority and demands the people's obedience. If a judge becomes a peacemaker, a traffic policeman's baton becomes the little red book and a traffic policeman becomes a propagandizer of theory, what will be the consequences? Some people absolutely negate the supervisor's will. They think they can put a label of "acting at the supervisor's will" on those leaders holding different opinions and thus negate them. This is absolutely not the ideology of the industrial proletariat but that of petty producers. In fact, though the "supervisor's will" is criticized among the masses, "supervisors lacking strong wills" are also criticized. If we attack all supervisors' wills, our cadres will be at a loss and our critics will bring about anarchism.

Some people may say: "What you have said is true. However, we do not call unerring leaders supervisors and do not call their advocations supervisors' wills. We only criticize subjective and bureaucratic leadership. We compare this with the officials in the old times and criticize their opinions as supervisors' wills. What is wrong with

this?" I think it is even worse when the term "supervisors" refers to the subjectivists and bureaucrats instead of leading cadres in general. Of course, some of our leaders are to varying degrees tainted with the ideology and work style of subjectivism, bureaucratism and issuing confused orders. These are incompatible with the realization of the four modernizations and must be overcome. However, subjectivism and bureaucratism in our work are basically problems of ideology and work style. They are contradictions among the people and within the party and should generally be dealt with by means of criticism and self-criticism. We should reflect the problems as they are and analyze specific problems in specific ways. If we seek momentary gratification and take "supervisor's will" as a ready label to put on people, we will not only hurt those cadres who have weaknesses in their ideology and work style, but also make the correctness of leadership the prerequisite of obedience. This will violate the rules of democratic life. Moreover, we may be used by a handful of people with ulterior motives to overthrow all leaders with whom they are not satisfied. We should still remember that during the Cultural Revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" incited people to "analyze" the "line" followed by local party committees at all levels. They also raised such confusing and bewitching slogans as "Do not produce for the wrong line." These were tricks to oppose the party's leadership, sabotage stability and unity and interfere with national economic construction. If we do not make specific analyses of the leaders' ideology and work styles, but criticize these weaknesses by reducing them to "supervisor's will," we will confuse the public, obscure the demarcation line between right and wrong and encourage anarchism. All this is not beneficial but harmful.

CSO: 4004

THE TEACHER WHO TEACHES BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE IS GIVING EVERYONE A NEW
LESSON--COMMENTING ON THE SOVIET INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 pp 46-48

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] In social political life, a teacher who teaches by negative example often can play a role beyond people's expectations.

Take, for instance, the Soviet Union's leading clique, a teacher by negative example. It is now vigorously seeking hegemony, stepping up aggression and expansion and turning the Soviet Union into the dangerous source of a new war. In the past, however, it always disguised itself as a "natural ally" of Third World countries and as the most powerful promoter of "detente" to cover up its true features and confuse and deceive others. The rumbling of the guns of the Soviet troops invading Afghanistan has now drowned the propaganda media. The smoke of gunpowder soaring over the skies of Kabul has dulled the olive branches which the Soviet diplomats are brandishing in various parts of the world. The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan has torn the Soviet leading clique's mask to pieces and taught the overwhelming majority of the people of the world another impressive lesson. This teacher by negative example is giving everyone a lesson by its new crimes of aggression.

The people of the world can see more clearly from the Afghan incident the frenzied and adventurist nature of Soviet social imperialism in launching foreign expansion. Soviet social imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the people of the world who are protecting their country's sovereignty and their national independence. It is the most dangerous source of a new war of aggression. This scientific thesis has been proved by new evidence. People no longer have doubts about it.

The Soviet Union formerly adopted diverse and relatively covert tactics to worm its way into the ranks of Third World and nonaligned countries and to control them. In the name of "assistance" it has sent "specialists" and "advisers" to dominate the government organs and the armies of some countries. By concluding "treaties of friendship and cooperation" and

"treaties of friendship and good neighborliness," it has tied some countries to its network of aggression and expansion. By sending secret agents to plan and organize coups d'etat, it has propped up regimes taking orders from Moscow. By launching a war through its agents, it has turned some countries into its strategic positions and spheres of influence. In the current incident of Afghanistan, the Soviet leading clique threw away its figleaf and waged a stark military attack to overthrow the government of a "friendly" country and occupy it. In the past it only applied this tactic to Czechoslovakia, which is within the so-called "community." This time it stepped beyond this sphere and applied the tactic to a nonaligned Islamic country of the Third World. This is an obvious escalation in the Soviet policy of aggression and expansion. This also shows that its foreign expansion has developed to a new stage. This incident serves as a lesson for Third World countries in the following several ways:

1. The Soviet Union stops at nothing to wage aggression and expansion against Third World countries. It will do anything possible to attain its goal.
2. Concluding any "treaty of friendship and good neighborliness" or "treaty of friendship and cooperation" or entering into "overall cooperation" politically, economically and militarily with the Soviet Union means opening the door to a dangerous foe and giving the Soviet Union a "legal" excuse and making it convenient for the Soviet Union to invade, subvert, interfere with and dominate other countries and even to occupy them militarily.
3. The Soviet leaders are capricious, wicked, merciless and perfidious. Today they may shake hands with you and call you "dear comrade." Tomorrow they may accuse you of being a malicious enemy and wipe you out, together with your partners. In 1978 they did away with the leaders of two Red Sea countries within 3 days. In Afghanistan three government leaders were killed within a year or so, with the family of one being wiped out. What startling and thought-provoking scenes these are! These things are also examples for those who want to gain control of their governments or consolidate their ruling positions by following Moscow's orders. Who can say that what has happened in Afghanistan today will not happen again in another country tomorrow?

For many years some people of the West have been intoxicated by the Soviet Union's nice words about "detente." To console themselves, win the confidence of the Soviet leading clique and avoid trouble, they have said that the Soviet arms expansion and war preparations are "defensive" rather than "offensive," that the Soviet Union's leading clique has adopted "a commendable, prudent attitude" and "does not like taking risks," that "it is not bad to have dealings with these leaders," and so forth. However, the Soviet leaders are out-and-out hegemonists. They will not lay down their butcher knives on hearing these praises.

On the contrary, they will commit new crimes of aggression time and again, disproving what these people say. The Afghan incident is also an excellent lesson for these people.

It can be seen clearly that the Soviet strategy is offensive and in no way defensive. Afghanistan is situated in an especially important strategic position. By hurrying its direct military occupation of this country, the Soviet Union is obviously aiming at a more far-reaching goal, that is, to facilitate further intervention in Iran and Pakistan, open a road to the Indian Ocean, dominate the Gulf region and realize the dream of centuries of Russian rulers since Peter the Great. Should this goal be attained, the Kremlin rulers will have accomplished their strategic plan for outflanking Europe and may block or cut off oil supplies to the West, thus throwing some Western countries into a grave situation and forcing them to surrender without even waging a war.

It can also be seen clearly that all declarations, statements and pledges made by the Soviet leading clique about "detente" are worthless documents. A West German newspaper said: "By their action in Kabul the Soviets have abruptly terminated the period of 'detente.' All nice words about 'coexistence and international cooperation regardless of ideological differences' have suddenly been put under the iron heel of the Soviet troops and mercilessly trampled upon like a cigarette butt." In the Afghan incident the Soviet leading clique took long-prepared military action, dispatched tens of thousands of troops within a few days to occupy Kabul and a vast region in Afghanistan and quickly spread the flames of war to areas bordering Pakistan and Iran, thus seriously threatening the peace and safety of Asia and the world. It disregarded international law, trampled upon the elementary norms of international relations and, in defiance of universal condemnation, wantonly waged a large-scale war of aggression against a neighboring country. Should it be regarded as adopting "a prudent attitude" and not as frenziedly taking risks? The day after this incident occurred, a U.S. newspaper said, "No longer should we cherish the old belief that the Soviets are very prudent in using their military forces."

People can also see very clearly that the concept of categorizing the present Soviet leaders as "doves" and placing the hope of securing world peace on these "doves" is entirely wrong. In the past decade or so the Soviet Union has stepped up arms expansion and war preparations. It has far surpassed the Western countries in conventional arms and caught up with the United States in nuclear arms. It has become more and more thirsty for foreign expansion. It has snatched strategic positions and expanded its spheres of influence everywhere. These facts are obvious to all. The current Afghan incident is by no means a fortuitous and isolated case; instead, it is an important step taken by the Soviet Union to quicken the realization of its global strategy. As a Swedish newspaper pointed out: "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan once again shows that the Soviet Union is aiming at world domination." A British

newspaper also said: "The occupation of Afghanistan by a large number of Russian troops proves at once the prediction that 'the 1980's will be a decade when crises will break out everywhere.'" "Never before have various countries faced such evident and daily growing threats." "At present the omen of impending danger is even more obvious than when Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia." Government leaders and political figures of some countries have commented: A strong response must be made and essential countermeasures taken against the Soviet invasion and expansion. No longer should invaders be allowed to act wantonly without being punished.

In the Afghan incident the Soviet leading clique has, by means of its aggressive action, proved itself to be the best negative teacher to the people of the world. Through its propaganda media it has also furnished the people of the world, especially the countries and peoples of the Third World, with highly useful negative example teaching materials. An analysis of these negative teaching materials follows:

1. A thief cries "stop thief." The Soviet leading clique yelled that "imperialist armed intervention" occurred in Afghanistan and that the task of the Soviet troops was to "assist in counterattacking" this armed intervention. However, the situation was very clear: Before and after the outbreak of this incident the Soviet Army of aggression was the only foreign army in Afghanistan. This imperialist armed intervention referred to the Soviet Union and nobody else. No wonder the joke goes that a Soviet ambassador was dumbfounded and could not fabricate a name when requested by a certain government to identify for its foreign minister the "third country" whose interference it was that Soviet troops had been called into Afghanistan to guard against.

2. Intervention is "justified." The Soviet leading clique said that Afghanistan should not "declare its principles of independence and sovereignty just superficially" but should "go through the deepest reform." They said that because the "reactionaries" in Afghanistan opposed this reform and former government leader Amin acted as an "accomplice" of these "reactionaries," the Soviet Union was "justified" in directly sending troops to "eliminate" Amin and suppress the "reactionaries." Let us not talk about whether the Soviet leading clique considers the obedience of Third World countries to be the distinction between "progress" and "reaction" and about what the "reform" means. As far as the relations between one country and another are concerned, the point is very clear: The social system and government of a country are selected and determined by the people of that country, and no other country has the right to interfere, not to mention force an antipopular government on its people at gunpoint. May we ask: What right does the Soviet leading clique have to do this in Afghanistan?

3. Invasion is "legal." The Soviet leading clique said that it had sent troops into Afghanistan in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan treaty

and the principles of the UN Charter. Yes, the UN Charter says that all countries have the right to organize collective self-defense against aggression. The question is: Who invaded Afghanistan? At whom should a counterblow be dealt? Very obviously, this counterblow should be dealt at the Soviet Union, the invader. It is Soviet hegemonism that has become the most ferocious enemy of the independence and safety of Afghanistan and many other countries today. This invader has the effrontery to cite the UN Charter to speak for the "lawfulness" of its invasion. How ridiculous! The Soviet leading clique said that the Soviet Army was sent to Afghanistan in compliance with the Soviet-Afghan treaty. This precisely shows that the Soviet Union signed this treaty in order to provide an excuse for its future aggression and intervention.

4. Occupation by "invitation." The Soviet leading clique brazenly lied that it sent troops to invade and occupy Afghanistan for the sake of "satisfying" the "strong request" of the Afghan Government. If this "Afghan Government" was the former Amin administration, this leads to a very strange conclusion: Amin "strongly requested" the Soviet Union to send troops to overthrow and execute him. If this "Afghan Government" was the one following the coup d'etat, the question becomes more inexplicable. Why did the Soviet Union mass 100,000 troops in areas bordering Afghanistan beforehand, invade and occupy Kabul beforehand, get rid of Amin and his followers beforehand and carry beforehand on its radio the Afghan Government change and then announce this government's issuance of a "strong request" before it had been formed? The truth was: The Soviet Union sent troops to invade and occupy Afghanistan at its own request! This so-called "invitation" is just gangster logic.

As seen from the above analysis, the various explanations of the Soviet leading clique about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are so clumsy and ridiculous that they are indeed "an insult to the intelligence of the people of the world." At the same time, this shows that the Soviet leading clique has degenerated to a startling level!

By this performance in Afghanistan the Soviet Union as a teacher by negative example has made everyone clear his vision and see its features clearly. It has played the negative role of arousing people to oppose it. From this incident people have learned an essential lesson and will learn others. The armed struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet invaders is surging forward. The struggle all over the world against Soviet hegemonism will surely be pushed forward to a new high tide.

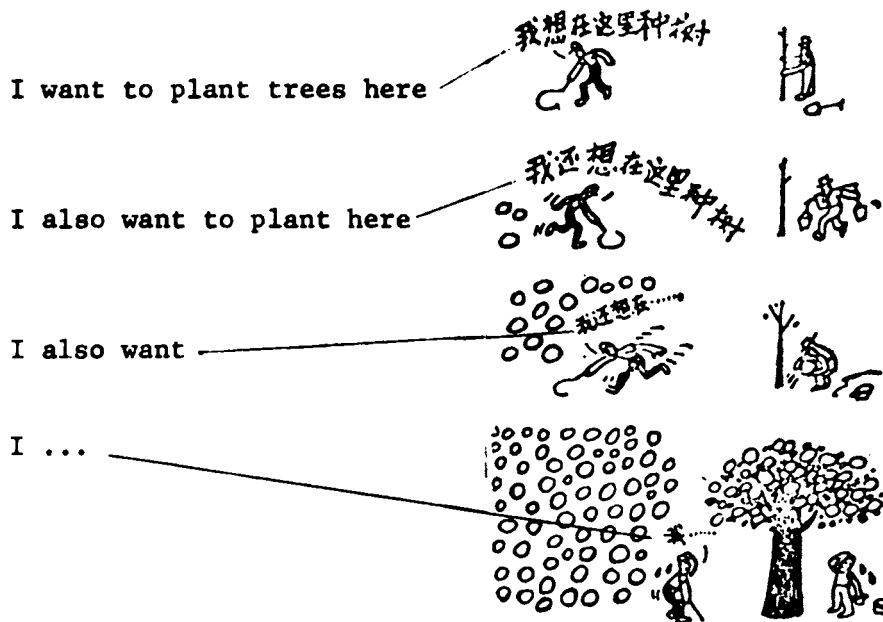
CSO: 4004

THOSE WHO JUST DOODLE AND TALK NONSENSE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 80 inside back cover

[Article by Li Xia [2621 0007]]

[Text] I would like to introduce two cartoons which reflect some new conception and carry some deeper meaning. The humor therein contained is far greater than what can be found in empty articles which may run into tens of thousands of words.

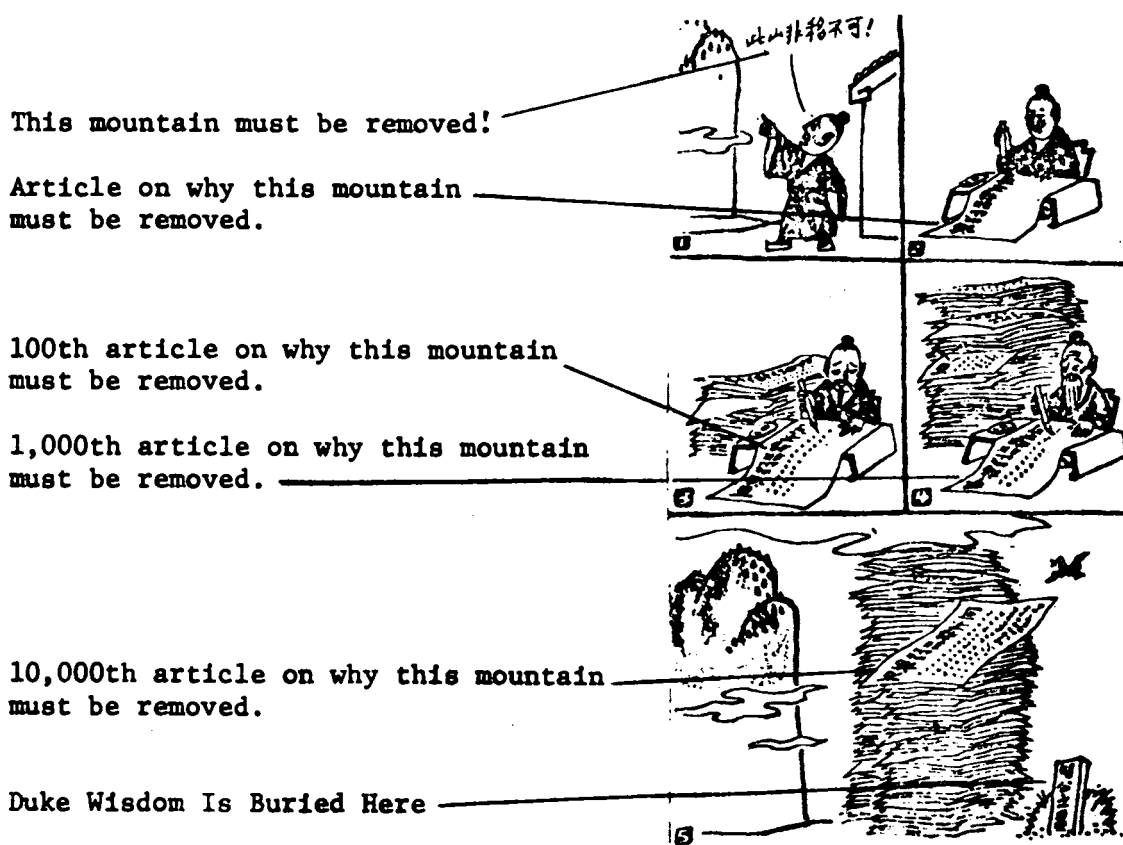


Ten Thousand 0 Does Not Equal "1" By Liu Qingtao [0491 1987 3447]

This cartoon entitled "Ten Thousand 0 Does Not Equal '1'" by Liu Qingtao is to ridicule a wishful empty talker. But this type of behavior—playing with words but carrying out no actual deed—is not applicable merely to tree planting. We may associate this cartoon with the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving our national

economy. We must not merely draw empty circles here and there, playing war games merely on paper, as a saying has it.

We should not even be content with digging shallow holes which are unfit for planting trees, thus doing things of no real value. Whatever we do, we must ask about its social results, particularly in the case of our economic work. We must not do plowing without caring about the harvest. If all projects are done with back-breaking labor without getting any return over a long time to come, are not our efforts as good as lost? From this it can be seen that we should focus our attention, do things according to our resources and use our resources rationally.



Duke Wisdom's Process To Remove a Mountain. By Liao Bingxiong [1675 0393 0338]. (Reprinted from FENGCI YU YOUMO, Vol 3, 1979)

But is a clarification of the essence of our work all that is needed? Liao Bingxiong's "Duke Wisdom's Process To Remove a Mountain" tells us, no. Duke Wisdom was very clear about his goal--to remove a mountain. The only thing was that from the time he was young to the time he died of old age, he had engaged only in expressing his views without starting to remove even one rock. As a result, not only did the old mountain

remain there, but a new mountain of papers arose before him. The image of Duke Wisdom is truly a good dose of reawakening for those who have too many views but little or no deed.

These two cartoons can serve as mirrors for us to compare ourselves with the images reflected from them.

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