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RED FLAG

No. 3, 1 February 1980

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2 April 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 3, 1 February 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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UNFORGETTABLE YEARS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 inside front cover



By: Fu Lin [0265 3829]

CSO: 4004

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION SHOULD FOLLOW THE BASIC SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LAW

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 2-7

[Article by Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138]]

[Text]

I

The basic socialist economic law was put forward by Stalin in his work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." He defined the law as follows: "Apply methods allowing the continuous growth and improvement of socialist production on the foundation of advanced technology to insure the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the whole society." Opinions differ as to the accuracy of such a proposition by Stalin. But it cannot be denied that the basic socialist economic law exists objectively, independent of human will. The basic socialist economic law has the basic nature of the socialist relations of production and acts on all other economic laws and all main economic activities of socialist society. Socialist construction must be guided by the basic socialist economic law. Otherwise we inevitably will have to pay for it.

As we now look back over our practical experiences in socialist construction, we see that it is really necessary for us to seriously study and master the basic socialist economic law. The basic socialist economic law calls for "the continuous growth and improvement of socialist production on the foundation of advanced technology." However, the slogans we put forward in the past ran counter to such a "foundation of advanced technology." Especially when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, "technology first" was freely criticized. They opposed studying and introducing advanced world technology in a vigorous effort to maintain and exacerbate the backward state of our production technology. Of course, the phenomenon of despising science and technology existed long ago. For instance, there were such cases as one-sidedly praising what was "native," criticizing what was "modern" and even advocating exercising willpower and ignoring the role of a material or technical foundation. The slogan "The land is as productive as one is ambitious" was also put forward. Typical examples were cited for creating miracles

"without the benefit of a blueprint or technology." Ours is a poor and backward country. It is undoubtedly right to call for fighting amid hardships, building the country industriously and thriftily, making do with simple and unpretentious equipment and overcoming difficulties in building various enterprises. The problem lies in putting things in absolute terms. Praise of the spirit of hard struggle was carried so far that actually it was technical backwardness that was being praised. Advanced technology was criticized in such a way that people were made to believe that the more manual work involved in a job, the better; the more ancient a tool, the better; and the more unsophisticated the equipment, the better. These problems of deviating from the basic socialist economic law theoretically and in practice brought serious damage to our cause of socialist construction.

More than 20 years have passed since the publication of Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." It is also nearly 20 years since Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to learn something about political economy. But the phenomenon of not acting according to the basic socialist economic law still exists in our economic work. In light of the realities in Liaoning, the following several conspicuous problems may be cited:

1. An imbalance between accumulation and consumption. It should be said with certainty that to quickly rid ourselves of economic backwardness we must maintain a relatively high accumulation. The problem lies in two aspects. First, the accumulation in the past was often inappropriately high. Romania follows a policy of high accumulation, with the highest reaching only 34 percent. Our accumulation, however, sometimes (such as in 1959 and 1960) has run as high as around 40 percent. In 1978 the accumulation for the whole country was 36.6 percent and for Liaoning 55.2 percent. In 1975 our province's accumulation reached 57.3 percent. Thus, we have obviously achieved too high an accumulation. Second, a high accumulation has been accompanied by great waste. Our accumulation has not really been directed toward expanded reproduction but has been wasted in a big way. Tremendous waste and inestimable losses were caused by the 3 years of the Great Leap Forward and the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution. In other periods our accumulation was also arranged or used in a very improper way, with very poor investment returns obtained.

2. An imbalance between productive and nonproductive construction projects or between the "bone" and the "flesh." In the past, the need to convert "consumer cities" into "productive cities" was one-sidedly stressed. No attention was paid to the necessity to also satisfy consumer needs on the part of the people along with the development of production. As a result, production and consumption were often set against each other. Consumption was regarded as a bad thing. Necessary service trades were neglected. In the cities, lopsided attention was paid to building factories. The building of hospitals, schools, residential housing, and so forth was neglected. Commercial service networks

were not added to but reduced. Problems piled up in urban construction and in the people's life. These problems in turn hampered the further development of production. At present, in almost all big and small cities in our province, a serious strain on public traffic, culture and education, social welfare, service networks, residential housing, and so forth is evident. Much really needs to be done. This is common knowledge.

3. An imbalance between heavy industry and agriculture and light industry. This problem is relatively conspicuous in Liaoning.

Apart from the imbalances mentioned above, cases of not acting according to the basic socialist economic law are especially noticeable in concrete production activities. The following cases may be cited:

Some people gear production activities to certain slogans that run counter to the economic law. For instance, in the past there were such slogans as "doubling iron and steel output" in one year, "devoting great efforts to making iron by native means," orbiting "satellites" in a big way, and so forth. In these activities, coercion and commandism were practiced. Commands were given blindly, causing great waste of manpower and material resources. Iron pots were melted to make iron that just could not be used. This was clearly not meeting social needs. But it had to be done in coordination with the political slogans. Lin Biao put forward the guideline spelled out in the three Chinese characters for "mountains, dispersal, caves"--a guideline calling for dispersing factories and housing them in mountain gullies. It was claimed that whether or not this guideline was carried out was a reflection of one's political attitude. The workers said that Lin Biao's "three-character guideline" meant that, with one more factory removed to a mountain gully, one more would be destroyed.

Some other people carry out production activities for the sake of appearances or as a means of winning fame. In the past, due to a serious neglect of scientific methods and of quality, many reservoirs and terraced fields that actually could benefit no one were built. Much was made of these projects. Actually, they were just a waste of labor and money. Such was also the case with certain industrial products. After success or credit had been claimed for them, they proved incapable of being produced or were so crudely made as to be useless.

Still other people pursue output value or output for its own sake without regard to social needs. The planning departments and the departments in charge of production sometimes do not let social needs determine what should be produced and what should be the right patterns, designs and specifications. Instead, they pursue an increase in output value or output without regard to social needs and the concrete products required. There have even been many output value targets set with no required products specified. This has encouraged factories to pursue purely

output value or output without regard to social needs and the usefulness of the products produced. As a result, many enterprises like to produce whole units of machines rather than spare parts, the big rather than the small, and products of high rather than low value. Just as a comrade of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company said, to fulfill the targets for output value and tonnage, the steel company produced plenty of large steel ingots, which only piled up in warehouses, while turning out very little rolled steel of various types urgently needed by society. The metallurgical, machinery, chemical and light industry departments have long been stuck with large accumulated stocks of low-quality and unsalable products.

People produce, not for the sake of production, but to meet social needs. What is produced should be useful. This is as simple as ABC. Why have people long failed to catch on and to consciously follow the basic socialist economic law in practice? The main reason is that the influence of what is "left" has long prevailed. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously advocated and encouraged ultraleftist thinking which was carried to extremes. The slogans "Produce for the revolution" and "Do farming for the revolution" in a certain sense are right. But they were carried to extremes. Producing to satisfy the people's everyday needs or making revolution to emancipate productive forces and to give the people a comfortable life became empty talk. Even production itself was criticized. Such accusations as "production first," "the theory of productive forces," and so forth were freely brought against people. Our present call for a serious study of the basic socialist economic law also represents a penetrating criticism of ultraleftist thinking in the economic area and a major effort to bring order out of chaos in economic theory.

Not acting according to the basic socialist economic law can have serious consequences. Statistics since the founding of the state show that the pace of our economic growth has not been slow. Our country ranks as one of the countries with the quickest pace of development in the world. But the degree of mechanization in our country has not been raised fast enough. Improvement of the people's material and cultural life has been very slow. In some areas the people's standard of living, in some respects, is even lower than it was in the 1950's. Many factors lie behind this. One of the most important is that the basic socialist economic law has not been consciously followed in doing things. As a result, many useless or not very useful products have been produced. Many useless or not very useful projects have been carried out. Many foolish things which resulted in an unnecessary waste of labor and money have been done. Large amounts of manpower and material resources have thus gone down the drain. If such had not been the case, things would surely be much better today.

II

Two problems need to be clarified in our present call for seriously studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law:

First, stressing socialist production to insure the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the whole society does not in the least mean that all that is produced must be consumed or that accumulation can be neglected or given up. To meet immediate and future consumer needs and to more quickly increase consumption and improve quality, we must maintain a properly proportioned accumulation. This is without doubt. If our country wants to catch up with developed countries economically, the pace of our development must be quicker than theirs. Therefore, not only must we have an accumulation but, under ordinary circumstances, we must have an appropriately higher accumulation. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and particularly in the current readjustment effort, the party and the state have attached unusually great importance to the people's life. The prices of agricultural products collected by the state have been raised. Wages have been increased. Housing has been repaired or built. Large amounts of manpower and financial and material resources have been directed toward all these fields. This has been hailed and supported by the masses of people. As far as the current production level is concerned, the outlay for consumption is really not small. It must be taken into account that all the problems of many years' standing cannot be solved overnight. A given consumption level can only be built on a given level of production development. At present our production level is not high. This especially calls for hard struggle and industry and thrift in building the country, in running a household and in building all enterprises. We must teach the masses to correctly handle the relations among state, collective and individual interests and those between partial and general interests and between immediate and long-term interests. Satisfying consumer needs to a maximum degree means "a maximum degree" likely to be achieved on the basis of a given level of production development and not an endless degree. Of course, the "degree" will continuously rise with the development of production.

Second, stressing socialist production which satisfies the needs of the people in their material and cultural life does not mean that only those production departments that directly produce consumer goods are necessary and that others are unnecessary. The basic socialist economic law shows that, to satisfy to a maximum degree the material and cultural needs of the whole society, we must seek the continuous growth and improvement of socialist production on the foundation of advanced technology. To build "a foundation of advanced technology" we must develop the production of the means of production. As far as the conditions of Liaoning are concerned, the shortage of coal, oil, electricity and raw materials has seriously affected various economic departments. To develop agriculture and light industry, stimulate the whole national economy and satisfy the

people's everyday needs, we must pay great attention to fuel and energy industries and raw material industries, though the greatest part of their products are not consumer goods. The workers of the iron and steel, machine building, petroleum, coal and charcoal, electricity and other departments in our province have made commendable contributions to socialist construction efforts at the provincial and national levels. During the period of readjustment these departments must still assume very arduous tasks. Their production efforts must still be developed. In some cases (such as coal, oil and electricity) the pace of development must be greatly accelerated. As far as Marxist theory on social reproduction and actual economic development in many countries are concerned, given an increased composition of machinery resulting from technical advances, the production of the means of production (the first category) should grow more rapidly than the production of the means of subsistence (the second category) in order to maintain the speedy development of the national economy. Of course, this is not to say that under any circumstances the first category must grow more rapidly than the second. For instance, in a given period, with the production of the means of subsistence seriously lagging behind the production of the means of production, it is necessary to give particular attention to accelerated development of the production of the means of subsistence. This has been the case in the recent 3 years of readjustment. In addition, it should be stressed that under the socialist system the development of the first category must be prompted by the clear-cut goal of serving the production of the second category. In no way can we separate the production of the means of production from the means of subsistence and social needs and blindly develop the former. Just as Lenin said, "The means of production are not produced for their own sake but to meet the ever-growing demand for the means of production by the industrial departments that produce the means of subsistence." Therefore, heavy industry must consciously serve agriculture and light industry. Given a dominant heavy industry and insignificant agriculture and light industry, Liaoning must especially seriously try to solve this problem well.

III

Our call for studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law does not mean that we want to guide people toward making excessive demands on life or a one-sided demand for increased consumption and reduced accumulation. On the contrary, this is the very trend that we must guard against. We hope that by studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we can correctly sum up many years of experience in economic construction, better uphold the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the second session of the Fifth NPC, do a better job of shifting the focus of work and win the first battle in the four-modernizations effort.

1. Through studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we must further properly readjust the national economy.

As far as the conditions of Liaoning are concerned, due to the failure in the past to act strictly according to the basic socialist economic law and to base the organization of production on social needs, some production projects have been blindly developed, such as processing industries not assured of energy and raw material supplies, industries left idle with unsalable products, overlapping industries with production capacities exceeding existing needs, and so forth. After understanding and mastering the basic socialist economic law, we can more consciously organize production according to social needs, resolutely cut down on products in excessive supply and provide more of those products in short supply. This will promote the harmonious development of the national economy. In light of the actual conditions of Liaoning, we must close down, stop, merge or convert those projects and enterprises which are not assured of energy and raw material supplies and whose products do not meet social needs. We must concentrate forces on developing agriculture, the light industry, fuel and energy industries, urban construction and export industries. After 3 years of readjustment we must strive to achieve the goal set at the fifth provincial party congress: We must work hard to achieve both a powerful heavy industry and well-developed agriculture and light industry; both financially sound enterprises owned by the whole people and burgeoning collectively owned city- and town-level enterprises and commune- and brigade-level enterprises; both a flourishing commercial market in the province and an impressive record in foreign trade; both a continuous increase in production and an appropriate development of scientific, cultural and educational undertakings; both a continuous growth of financial reserves and a steady improvement in the people's standard of living--with relatively marked results achieved in solving such problems as food, housing, higher education, employment, medical attention and so forth; both relatively scientific planned management under unified control and a new situation of relatively harmonious, flourishing and speedy development regulated by a flexible market--thus laying a better foundation for the realization of socialist modernization.

2. Through studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we must better understand and carry out the principle of combining planned adjustment with market-regulated adjustment.

Since socialist production aims at satisfying social needs, then plans must be based on market conditions and production based on consumer needs. It is wrong to think that consumption is something negative, that the less consumption, the better. Consumption is a requisite for the maintenance of production. Not given a certain amount of consumption, the laborers are unable to keep on working, and production is impossible. Consumption, the driving force behind production, generates new production needs. Just as Marx said, "Where there is no need there is no consumption." "Consumption stimulates production." Therefore, we must not only oppose the trend toward pursuing consumption in disregard of production but also oppose the trend toward blindly producing without regard to consumption.

Economic plans should be geared to social needs and market requirements. To properly combine planned adjustment with market-regulated adjustment, practical experience tells us that we should at least achieve the following several goals. First, in drawing up economic plans we must make serious market investigations. We must check not only the provincial and national markets but also the international market. Second, guided by national plans, we must properly give full play to the role of production activities not included in state enterprise plans, production activities by collectively owned enterprises, individual production activities (such as commune member private plots and domestic sideline occupations), rural trade fairs and other economic forms as supplements to state plans. Third, in the process of economic activity we must make timely adjustments of plans in the light of new changes in social needs and economic conditions and fully and correctly use pricing, taxation, credit and other policies to influence and regulate the market. In a word, we must adopt various means to better gear production to social needs. We must make the national economy develop in an active, satisfactory and rapid manner. At present we especially need an active economy badly. Without being active, an economy cannot develop in a satisfactory and rapid manner.

3. Through studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we must further stimulate the firm implementation of various economic policies.

Since socialist production aims at satisfying the needs of the people in their material and cultural life, we should not be afraid that people might earn more from their work and lead a comfortable life. When the piecework and bonus system was first carried out, certain comrades worried that the higher income made possible for workers and the money available might have a smashing impact on the market. What has been the actual case? With wages now increased and bonuses given, market supplies are not scarcer than before but have become more plentiful. If piece wages and bonuses are proportionately linked with the products and profits provided by the workers (and not with total wages), then every increase in worker income signifies an increase, several hundred or several thousand percent, in social products (including a given proportion of consumer goods in people's life). Thus, this will not give rise to the problem of money producing a smashing impact upon the market. Of course, handing out bonus money liberally in disregard of a big or small contribution is an indication of egalitarianism. Giving bonus money freely in the absence of typical quotas or a proper assessment and without regard to the likely influence on other workers must also be opposed. We must resolutely and correctly implement the policy of distribution based on work and more pay for more work. We must allow and encourage people to continuously improve their material and cultural life by working hard and contributing more. We should penetratingly criticize the fallacy that "prosperity is indicative of revisionism" which was manufactured by the "gang of four" and should have a deeper understanding of the basic

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socialist economic law. The provincial party committee's recent call for making the countryside of Liaoning prosperous as quickly as possible is based on the basic socialist economic law. Judging from actual conditions, this slogan has been well received by the people and has played a very satisfactory role in stimulating the development of the rural economy. As to whether socialism should make the people prosperous, Stalin aptly said, "With capitalist elements destroyed and the poor people freed from exploitation, the Leninists' duty is not to consolidate and preserve poverty and poor people--of whom the factors presupposing their own existence have been eliminated--but to eliminate poverty and raise the poor people's living standard to a comfortable level. It is foolish to think that socialism can be built on the basis of poverty and on the basis of reducing individual needs and lowering people's living standards to that of poor people." Of course, by prosperity we mean prosperity achieved through hard struggle and industry and thrift. It is prosperity based on the correct handling of the relations among the state, the collective and the individual, the correct handling of the relations between the whole and the part, and the correct handling of the relations between long-term and immediate interests.

4. Through studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we must further stimulate enterprises to strengthen their management and to better carry out the movement to increase production and practice economy.

To meet social needs we must make the cadres and the masses further understand that, in line with the demands of the basic socialist economic law, we must in all economic activities eliminate nonproductive work, strive for the best possible economic results and produce the largest possible quantity of products of the best possible quality with the least possible amount of manpower and material resources. Therefore, we must try in every possible way to raise the level of economic management of the national economy and various enterprises in our province; devote energetic efforts to properly tapping the potential of enterprises which introduce something new and carry out reforms; adopt resolute and effective measures to save energy and raw materials; and use less fuel, electricity and raw material from now on in order to produce more products suited for social needs (including those for export) and to achieve more profits in deepening the movement to increase production and practice economy.

5. Through studying and mastering the basic socialist economic law we must stimulate the development of scientific and technical undertakings.

The basic socialist economic law calls for our basing socialist production and construction on advanced technology. To produce more and better products to meet social needs we must energetically develop science and technology. In reviving and developing the national economy, especially agriculture, in the several years since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have, in the language of the masses, chiefly lived off policy. In the

future, apart from continuing to live off policy, we must live off science. In all economic work we must be mindful of a scientific attitude and a scientific approach, energetically adopt and popularize new scientific and technical achievements, vigorously train scientific and technical workers and strengthen scientific research work in a down-to-earth manner. A great breakthrough in science and technology will not only make for spectacular progress in production but also give rise to new consumer needs. Such new needs will in turn provide a new stimulation to the development of production. For instance, the invention of television gave rise to the television industry and relevant consumer needs. Therefore, neither production nor consumption can be divorced from science and technology. In a word, we must arouse the masses of cadres and people, especially leading comrades at various levels, to proceed from the demands of the basic socialist economic law in further attaching importance to scientific and technical undertakings and pushing their development.

To study and master the basic socialist economic law theoretically and in practice and to better act according to the basic socialist economic law in all economic work and all economic activities, we favor emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts, promoting democracy and speaking one's mind. But it must be made clear that the opinion of a person is not the equivalent of a party or government resolution and cannot replace existing policy. One may air any view one likes, but action must be based on existing party and government policies as the criteria. Concerning the economic system and certain policies, the state is studying reforms. Before any reform is made we must still act according to existing policy. Of course, to research policies and reform the system we may, and also must, conduct experiments after they have been approved. Policy execution does not clash with theoretical exploration. With problems clarified at discussions, we can raise our consciousness in acting according to the basic socialist economic law, better understand and carry out policies and also stimulate reforms, thus doing economic work better and making still greater contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

CONCENTRATE ON THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 8-10

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The 1980's are a decade of good prospects in which we Chinese people will work hard for the prosperity of the country. We will make concerted and concentrated efforts to accelerate and win a decisive victory in the four modernizations.

The four modernizations are beneficial to the basic interests of the Chinese people and closely related to the interests of the people of the world. In the 1980's the international situation will be very turbulent and full of crises. The people's struggle against the Soviet hegemonists will further expand and develop. The Chinese people sincerely hope to have a peaceful international environment in which to concentrate their efforts on the four modernizations. However, peace must be attained through the unremitting struggle of the people in various countries. The Chinese people must play a greater role in this struggle. However, our right to speak and our role in international affairs depend greatly on the speed of development and the economic strength of our country. Though we have made great achievements in socialist construction in the 30 years since the founding of the PRC, we have also suffered great losses due to the frenzied sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our wrong leadership. From now on we must be resolute, fear no sacrifice, overcome all difficulties, seize every minute and every second and put all our efforts into realizing the four modernizations. If a solid foundation is laid in this decade, we can be really hopeful about the realization of Chinese-style modernization in the next decade. Another task facing us is to strive for the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the country's reunification. The achievements of the four modernizations will be more appealing to the Taiwan compatriots and thus more beneficial to the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland. In short, the 1980's will be a decade that is vital to the destiny of our party, country and nation.

The ship of the four modernizations has now set sail with a clear direction. Our task is to unite the people of all nationalities and mobilize all positive factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful socialist country. This is our general task as well as our political line. It is the inheritance and development of the general line for socialist construction put forward in 1958. It reflects our people's will and wishes and is a perfectly correct Marxist line. We must be resolute, unswerving and consistent in implementing the line of building a modern socialist power and insure that the ship of the four modernizations will successfully arrive at its destination without going off course or running aground.

To build the four modernizations, the core of which is economic construction, is an inexorable development of the Chinese socialist revolution and is in conformity with the law. When the proletariat accomplished the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, they should have shifted the focus of their work to economic construction. That is to say, "there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system that is superior to capitalism." ("Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 235) In the periods of 1957-1958 and 1958-1961 our party twice attempted to shift the focus of its work to economic construction. However, due to various reasons this strategic shift was not realized. Soon thereafter came the Great Cultural Revolution, during which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" launched counterrevolutionary activities in a frenzied way and caused an unprecedented 10-year calamity for our party and country. As a result, the focus of our work for about 20 years was not shifted to the vigorous development of socialist productive forces, and the masses' interests were severely infringed upon. Mankind cannot learn genuine lessons without serious setbacks. History always develops like this. We have met many setbacks, and if we still cannot learn genuine lessons and work better, how can we be regarded as communists?! The third plenum of the 11th Central Committee summed up historical experiences and lessons, resolutely decided to shift the focus of our work to the four modernizations and led our country onto the right path of progress. We must persist in the central task of the four modernizations and never change or waver again. The whole party and the entire Chinese people must firmly make up their minds to make concerted and concentrated efforts to achieve the four modernizations. All work should serve and be beneficial to the acceleration of the four modernizations.

The goal of the four modernizations has been set. Can it be realized when we still face so many problems and difficulties? Marxists tell us that we must see the essential and main aspects of a matter and not be confused by its nonessential and unimportant aspects. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the third plenum of the 11th Central Committee, what have been the essential aspects and main

trend of development of the domestic situation? There have been fundamental changes in the political situation, the leading groups, the ideological line and economic work. We have destroyed the factions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," redressed most of the unjust, false and wrong cases, solved a series of major political issues of right and wrong, removed the labels of rightist elements and most of the landlord and rich peasant ones and rehabilitated those persons wrongly designated as rightists. We are practicing socialist democracy, strengthening the legal system and implementing the policies on cadres, intellectuals, nationalities and Overseas Chinese affairs. A lively political situation of stability and unity is becoming a reality. All these have helped the unprecedented mobilization of all positive factors. Leadership of the party, the government and the army has primarily been in the hands of cadres the people trust, while the implementation of the party's line, principle and policies has also been basically insured. Through discussions on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth we have been able to more comprehensively and accurately understand and master Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, we can restore the party's correct ideological line and provide a realistic and reliable ideological and theoretical basis for the implementation of our political line, principle and policies. Our national economy has been saved from the brink of collapse and is now developing steadily. In these 3 years gross industrial output has increased at an average annual rate of more than 11 percent. The agricultural situation is even more heartening. The readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement of the national economy has yielded initial results. An exhilarating and new atmosphere has emerged on various fronts. Though there still are many problems which need further solution, we must not overlook or doubt these fundamental changes. It has been terrific to have these fundamental changes made in the short interval of 3 years when numerous tasks need to be undertaken. This demonstrates the skill and level of our party leadership and the wisdom and strength of our cadres and masses. Just as victory is won on the foundation of prewar preparation, so the work of turning chaos into order in 3 years is a necessary preparation for the four modernizations. Relying on the superiority of the socialist system, we developed our economy rather rapidly in the 1950's. Now we are not starting from "poverty and blankness" but are advancing from a relatively rich material basis. In short, we have an adequate foundation and favorable conditions to achieve the four modernizations. All ideas that show a lack of confidence and all pessimistic views are not in accordance with reality and are wrong.

An important sign of concentrating on the four modernizations is to always regard them as the central task. At present there are numerous tasks, some of which are very important and even very urgent from the viewpoint of a specific department or area. However important these tasks are, they cannot be more important than the four modernizations. All work should be done around this central task and not interfere with or obstruct it. There are actually many problems and difficulties at present. However, the problems which have piled up can be solved

gradually and reasonably only when the central task of the four modernizations has been accomplished and the economy has been improved. The strengthening of our country, the stability of society and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life depend in the final analysis on the development of production and the success of the modernizations. There is no other way to the Peng Mountains. We have no other way out except the four modernizations. That the development of productivity "is in practice an absolutely necessary prerequisite is also because there will only be general poverty without such development. Under extreme poverty the struggle to fight for basic needs will start again; that is to say, old and decaying things will come to life again." ("Feuerbach," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 39) When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously pursued "poor socialism" and our national economy was severely sabotaged, many decaying things of the old society revived in the new society. Have we not seen many such phenomena? Our comrades, particularly leading ones, must understand the extreme significance of the four modernizations and consciously regard them as the central task. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, we must learn to "play the piano." We must play the most powerful notes of the four modernizations with economic construction as the melody. We must firmly grasp the central task and simultaneously unfold the work in other fields around it.

The leading comrades should put most of their efforts into the four modernizations. Time is precious and waits for no man. We must not delay for a day or waste a second. We must enthusiastically do any work that is beneficial to the four modernizations, rather than adopt an apathetic or reluctant attitude. We must strive to do a good job of making more contributions, rather than act carelessly and disregard the results. We must be bold in shouldering heavy loads, rather than picking easy jobs and shirking hard ones. In the four modernizations there will be new situations, problems, disciplines of study and technology. We must learn, learn and learn again; study, study and study again; and investigate, investigate and investigate again to have a good understanding of the situation and to study and solve problems. For example, what should be done to implement the eight-character policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving"? What should be done to improve agriculture and the light and textile industries? What should be done to break the weak links of fuel, power, raw materials and transportation? What should be done to increase production and practice economy and to broaden avenues for production? What should be done to reform the economic and management systems? None of these problems can be solved by sitting in offices, holding meetings, making speeches and marking words and phrases for the special attention of small circles. They should be solved realistically by going to the basic levels to discuss things with the masses. When difficulties or setbacks arise in production and work, we must forge ahead with an indomitable and unremitting spirit. If we dare not advance but complain and grumble in the face of difficulties, we will sap the people's fighting will, not to mention deflating their morale. The magnificent tasks of the four modernizations

require the courage to shoulder responsibilities and the spirit of doing hard and practical work, the innovative and creative spirit of daring to speak and act and the pioneering spirit of hard work and plain living. To stick to old ways, seek comforts or even special privileges and to refuse to make progress are obstacles to the four modernizations.

To achieve the great task of the four modernizations we must strengthen party leadership, without which there could be no unity and stability, no pioneering spirit of hard work and no realization of the four modernizations. In short, without party leadership there could not be anything. To uphold party leadership we must improve it. All party members, particularly leading ones, must carry out the party's principle and policies in an exemplary way. They must also unite and exert influence on the masses by their own actions. This is the most important thing to do in playing the leading role of the party. To improve party leadership we must also revive and strengthen the party's organizational discipline. Our party's organizational discipline has always been fine, but it was most severely sabotaged in the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, party discipline became lax, and party members did what they liked. If this situation continues uncorrected, the party will lose its combat effectiveness. To strengthen party discipline we must affirm anew that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher and the entire membership to the Central Committee, with the Central Committee being the most important. Under the leadership of the Central Committee, the whole party should unite to study hard, work conscientiously, continue to sum up experiences, make fewer mistakes, avoid serious setbacks and achieve the four modernizations faster and better. We must enthusiastically and confidently strive for a decisive victory in the four modernizations in the 1980's.

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**AFFORESTATION AND PROTECTION OF FORESTS IS A GREAT CAUSE WHICH BRINGS
BENEFITS TO THE PEOPLE**

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[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]]

[Text] Forestry is an important resource in the national economy and has a close bearing on national wealth, people's livelihood, industrial and agricultural production and urban and rural development. Large-scale afforestation and effective preservation of the existing forests are a great undertaking in fundamentally improving our country's natural conditions, in safeguarding stable and high yields in agriculture and animal husbandry, in accomplishing the four modernizations and in benefiting the present as well as future generations.

Of all the countries in the world, ours has the least afforested land--an average of less than 2 mu per person, or only one-sixth the world average. Our forestry products amount to only 3.1 percent of the total agricultural products and have always been the weakest link in our agriculture. Although the percentage of forest cover has been increased from 8.6 to 12.7 percent since liberation, it is only slightly over 50 percent of the average world level. Among more than 160 countries in the world, our country ranks 120th in this respect. Generally speaking, the forest cover should be more than 30 percent and should be evenly distributed before it can fairly effectively regulate the climate. The low percentage of forest cover and its very uneven distribution in our country have been the important cause of frequent natural disasters from floods, drought and sandstorms, as well as low and unstable agricultural yields.

Afforestation Means Water Production

For a long time, as a precaution against floods and drought, we have carried out large-scale farmland capital construction, both in repairs and new construction. These measures have successfully increased the irrigated acreage, strengthened protection against natural disasters and guaranteed agricultural yields. Yet many problems remain in our work. One of them is that some repaired reservoirs became silted up after a

certain period. For example, one-fourth the capacity of the Guanting [1351 1689] Reservoir in Beijing Municipality is now filled with silt. In the hilly areas in the western part of Shanxi Province, 110 reservoirs have been repaired or newly built since the founding of the People's Republic and have a total capacity of 860 million cubic meters. By now the total amount of silt has reached 300 million cubic meters. In 1977, according to investigations by the Shaanxi Hydrology Institute, 40 of the 120 reservoirs, each with a capacity of more than 1 million cubic meters, have been written off because of silt deposits. During the continuous downpour in northern Shaanxi in August 1977, two-thirds of the reservoirs and dams in the Yanan area and Mizhi County were washed away, causing serious disasters. Why have our concentrated efforts on water conservancy yielded so little benefits and even, contrary to our expectations, turned water conservation into "water disasters"? One of the important reasons is that, while engaging in water conservation as an isolated undertaking, we overlooked the need to plant trees and grasses and failed to coordinate this undertaking with biological control. We did not realize the simple truth that afforestation means water production.

A forest consists of many complex and varied species of plants with different effects on the ecological environment on the surface, underground and in the air.

Since trees have thick foliage to temporarily retain rainwater and strong roots to fix soil and sand, they are quite capable of preserving soil, besides providing shelter against wind. According to the Northwest Water and Soil Preservation Institute, the amount of soil washed away from farmland and unused land exceeds the amount from afforested land by 10 and sometimes more than 100 times in the event of a 340-millimeter rainfall. In August 1975 there was a heavy downpour in central Henan. Of the four reservoirs in the same area, two of them, with about 20-percent forest cover in the immediate vicinity and in the upper reaches of a nearby river, were washed away, while the other two, with about 90-percent forest cover, were left intact. This shows the great protective power of forests. The comrades in Shaanxi said: "Unless there is protection from forests or grassland, reservoirs on the loess plateau, no matter how solidly built, will be either silted up or washed away." The forest cover, particularly in such areas, can prevent a heavy downpour from rushing downhill in torrents. This form of protection yields more benefits than any manmade reservoir does.

As the biggest ecosystem on earth, forests are an important medium for the exchange of natural materials and energy. Besides serving as "green reservoirs" for agricultural crops and natural shelters for agriculture and animal husbandry, they play an even more important role in regulating climate and the normal circulation of water in the air, on the surface and underground. With its crown canopy and layers of dried twigs and fallen leaves, forests check the free flow of rainwater and allow it to

seep slowly into the ground. Experiments have proved that, compared with a mu of uncovered land, a mu of afforested land absorbs at least 20 cubic meters more water. The amount of water contained by a 50,000-mu forest is equivalent to that in a 1 million-cubic-meter reservoir. A tree planted in the ground is like an erected water pump spraying huge quantities of underground water through strong evaporation into the air, where it is turned into water in the sky. According to estimates, a hectare of forest on a summer day can evaporate 70-100 tons of water, and the rate of evaporation is 1.5 times that of an equal area in the ocean at the same latitude. The amount of moisture above an afforested area is about 20 percent higher than that of an uncovered area, while the temperature is lower in comparison. Therefore, the vapor from trees can more easily become clouds and then rain. Water in the sky will later return to the earth. According to estimates, the amount of rainfall in afforested areas or their vicinity is generally 16-30 percent more than that in unafforested or thinly afforested areas. As people say, "If we have forests, the springs do not dry up, and rain will wash the mountains during spells of drought." "If many trees are planted in the mountains, it will be as good as building reservoirs. The trees can swallow up excessive rainwater and spit it out when rain is scarce." In the summer, people in the vicinity of some afforested areas can see "clouds rising from the forest and rain falling along the edges of the forest." These are vivid descriptions of the function of forests in producing water.

Neither crops nor cattle can survive without water. About 1,000 jin of water is required for each jin of rice. Irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture, and forestry is the source of this lifeblood. The repaired or newly constructed irrigation facilities enable us to draw water from reservoirs, but afforestation provides the source of water or enables us to draw water from the forest. It is also the most fundamental farmland capital construction for radically safeguarding against flood and drought. As far back as 1,500 years ago, Gu Sixie [6328 1835 0533], an outstanding agriculturist of China, said: "Below the forest is an island granary." This sounds quite logical. The mountain must be beautiful before there can be scenic streams, but a barren mountain is bereft of any water source. As long as the mountain remains green, clear water will continue to flow in the streams; and when there are green mountains and luxurious foliage, grain will be plentiful and animal husbandry will flourish. When trees are felled on the mountain for land reclamation, people below the mountain will suffer; when the mountain is covered with a green canopy, there is certainly a granary below it. This is the reason why many advanced units in agriculture are also advanced units in afforestation.

Afforestation Means Grain Production

For a long time people engaged in agriculture were accustomed to the practice of concentrating their efforts on grain production alone, with the result that the road they took became increasingly narrower and the

variety of food was constantly reduced. One of the methods to solve this problem is to promote the planting of trees of economic value in order to increase the production of food, oil and fruits from woody plants.

China has a long history of planting and living on the fruits of woody plants. In the "Book of Poetry," the line "The trees of hazel, chestnuts, idesia, tung, catalpa and lacquer" was meant as a tribute to the good government of the Wei rulers, as shown by the abundant growth of hazel trees, chestnut trees and other species of economic value. According to "Zanguoze" [Episodes of the Warring States], Yan Principality was called the "Land of Abundance" because of the widespread planting of chestnut trees. It was claimed that people could live on chestnuts alone and had no need to plant any other kind of crop. According to recent investigations, there are more than 200 types of food-bearing trees, including chestnuts, dates and persimmons, in addition to more than 150 kinds of oil-bearing trees, such as oil-bearing tea plants, walnuts and xanthoceras. Some 15 years ago the olive trees, a fine high-yielding oil-bearing plant, brought back by Premier Zhou from a foreign land and planted in 16 provinces and regions in our country are now bearing fruit, growing well and have a good future. In some localities in the south, each mu of chestnut forest can yield 600-800 jin of chestnuts annually with an economic revenue of about 200 yuan.

Food- and oil-bearing woody plants are highly adaptable to any condition, because they can grow in poor soil and endure drought, acidity, alkalinity and so forth. That is why people call them "crops with iron trunks." They take up no farmland, because they can grow on barren mountains, bare land, red clay soil, sandy alkaline land or in front of and behind houses. Because of the one-sided stress on "grasping grain as the key link" and the criticism of capitalism over a long period, many food- and oil-bearing woody plants were wantonly felled, while the remaining ones received scant attention. They were actually treated as wild growths. We must plant these trees extensively and manage them carefully. In the coastal countries of the Mediterranean Sea such as Italy, Spain and Greece, each family plants an average of 6 to 10 olive trees, and each person reaps an average of 20-40 jin each year. If, with a special effort, each family in our country can grow 10-20 oil-bearing trees, this will play an important role in regulating our diet, conserving our farmland and solving the problem of food and edible oil.

Afforestation Means the Promotion of Light, Textile and Material Industries

At present, 70 percent of the raw materials for light and textile industries comes from agriculture, including forestry. Along with the development of industry, science and technology, this percentage may be gradually lowered. However, the amount of such materials cannot be reduced; on the contrary, it will continue to increase. By providing

the source of materials, afforestation means the promotion of light and textile industries.

Many light and textile industry products depend on timber as their raw material. Timber is used for making not only tools but also clothing and food. Based on the present level of consumption in our country, a cubic meter of timber can be made into 150 kilograms of artificial cotton or artificial wool and is approximately equal to the yield of 7.5 mu of cotton fields or the wool from 20-30 head of sheep. Some biochemists have predicted the appearance of wood protein in the world. Besides timber, there are hundreds of kinds of light industrial products using forestry-chemical products, such as resin, tannin extracts, shellac, active carbon and so forth, as raw materials.

Forestry is also an important source of medicinal herbs. In his "Bencao Gangmu" [General Outline of Materia Medica], Li Shizhen [2621 2514 3791] devoted four volumes to a special study of medicinal herbs from woody plants. According to his collection of materials, there were 180 species of trees of medicinal value. The roots, branches, trunks, bark, leaves, fruits or nuts, and even the secretion under the bark, could be used as medicine.

The insufficiency of the three major materials, namely, steel, timber and cement, is an important factor in restricting the rate of our national economic development and the scope of construction. According to the present rate of consumption in our country, 130 cubic meters of timber are required as shoring timber in extracting 10,000 tons of coal; 200 cubic meters of timber are required for ties in every kilometer of railroad; some 500-700 cubic meters are required for every 10,000 square meters of floorspace; and 3.5-5.5 cubic meters are required for every ton of paper. With the development of science and technology, the use of timber is becoming increasingly extensive. In recent years, because of the energy crisis, some Western countries have been planning to extract energy from timber. In Canada, timber is used for manufacturing alcohol, and each ton of timber can yield 0.25 ton of pure alcohol, which in turn can produce the same amount of heat as 1.17 barrels of petroleum. The research institutes of some countries have even listed trees as "energy plants." In a certain sense, therefore, afforestation means the promotion of the materials industry and the production of energy.

Afforestation Means the Creation of a Clean, Comfortable and Beautiful Living Environment

Accompanying industrial development, pollution of our living environment, including air and water pollution, is becoming increasingly serious in some places. In localities with factories and large populations, there are increasing amounts of carbon dioxide and some harmful gases or substances in the air, while the oxygen is no longer adequate for normal human consumption. An important means of solving the problem of

environmental pollution is tree planting or afforestation. Afforestation prevents pollution and creates for us a clean, comfortable and beautiful living environment.

Forests create their own nourishment through photosynthesis. They take in carbon dioxide and at the same time emit oxygen. According to some people's estimate, a 15-mu forest in 1 hour during its growing season absorbs an amount of carbon dioxide equivalent to the total amount simultaneously exhaled by 200 human beings within the same hour. If every person has an average of 10 square meters of afforested area, he will have no further problem with the supply of oxygen or the disposal of his carbon dioxide. Therefore, a tree is in fact a small "oxygen generator" as well as a "carbon dioxide inhaler."

The poisonous gases and substances in factory or mining areas, as well as those emitted from the exhaust pipes of automobiles, are extremely dangerous to health. According to scientific data, people cannot continue to work when the amount of sulfur dioxide in the waste gas of petroleum combustion constitutes 10 percent of the air; and people will die when the proportion of such gas reaches 40 percent. However, some trees can absorb sulfur dioxide and thus reduce environmental pollution. For example, 15 mu of willow or other trees can absorb 720 kilograms of sulfur dioxide each year. Some trees can even absorb lead and other poisonous gases. The Shenyang Forestry and Soil Research Institute, surveying an area seriously polluted with lead poison, estimated that each kilogram of willow leaves can absorb 616 milligrams, while each kilogram of mulberry leaves can absorb 526.9 milligrams of lead dust. Many kinds of trees can emit a kind of volatile plant bacteria which are capable of killing other bacteria in the air, such as bacteria causing diphtheria, tuberculosis, typhus, dysentery and other diseases.

Large-scale tree planting in the city can also help reduce dust, smoke and noise. It is estimated that each square meter of elm leaves in 1 day and night can absorb 3 or 4 kilograms of dust. Noise is a kind of physical pollution in modern cities. It disturbs people's sense of hearing and irritates their central nervous system. Trees thickly covered with branches and leaves serve as a kind of live insulation wall. A forest belt 40 meters wide can reduce noise by 10-15 decibels and render it harmless to human beings.

The value of forests in environmental protection even exceeds the value of the timber produced. For example, in Finland there are 340 million mu of forests, which produce some 1.7 billion marks' worth of timber each year. However, in preventing soil erosion and in environmental protection, their estimated value reaches 5.3 billion marks. Our country has listed afforestation as one of the fundamental measures of environmental protection to be incorporated in the environmental protection laws. This action is fully justified on scientific grounds.

The Serious Problem of Protecting Existing Forests

During the past 30 years, large-scale mass movements in afforestation have been carried out, but the area of forest cover has not been appreciably increased. The main reason is that no system of management has been established whereby these movements could be linked with the economic benefits of the members of communes and production brigades or teams. The survival rate of newly planted trees is low, while those which originally existed have been wantonly destroyed.

Whenever the need for timber is mentioned, some comrades will "kill the hen to get the eggs"; whenever the need for grain is mentioned, they will destroy the forest for land reclamation; and whenever the need for sideline business is mentioned, they will go into the mountains to fell trees. Forestry work for a long time has focused on tree felling, while the system of forestry management, the planning for production, the disposition of manpower, money and materials, and other economic policies have all aimed at the procurement of timber. On the other hand, the funds and materials required for afforestation, the nursing of young plants and the protection of forests have by no means been assured. As some comrades have said, "When the time comes for sharing timber, people all rush in to get the ball [as in a basketball game]; but when the time comes for solving the problem of forest protection, people act as if they were hitting the ball [as in a volleyball game]." Because of the lack of unified management in tree felling, there has usually been the spectacle of only one hoe being used for tree planting and many axes being used for tree felling. Since 1958, particularly during the past 10 years, because of excessive and indiscriminate felling, felling of a predatory nature and forest fires, many thickly covered forests have become barren mountains, and there is hardly a tree left for felling even in the primitive forests. In many cases, even birds and beasts have lost their habitats.

Because of the devastation done to forests and grasslands, the total area of soil erosion in our country has increased from 1.16 million square kilometers in the early postliberation days to 1.5 million square kilometers today. The annual loss of soil has reached some 5 billion tons, while the nitrogen, phosphate and potassium washed away every year amounts to more than 40 million tons. The amount of silt carried away by the Huanghe and Changjiang rivers alone has formed a vast expanse of yellow muddy water reaching some 320 li off the 800-li coastline. Beginning in the early 1960's, along the border of the vast sandstorm area, an annual average of 20 million mu are covered by sand, and the desert has encroached on the farming and herding areas. The climate and hydrology in many places have obviously deteriorated, and some places known to have hardly "3 days of clear sky" are now suffering from drought 2 out of every 3 years.

Many nations in the world went through the stage of indiscriminate felling in primitive forests until they finally tasted the bitterness resulting

from the ruthless destruction of natural resources. Then they had to turn around and pay a heavy price in tree planting. Now is the time for us to wake up. Premier Zhou said that tree felling means enjoying our ancestors' legacy, while tree planting means advancing the welfare of our posterity. If we still fail to correct our mistaken idea of "wanting only timber but not forests," then in another 20 or 30 years no more trees will be left for felling, and our natural conditions will further deteriorate. By that time, how shall we explain our action to posterity? Qin Shi Huang built the Afang Palace through indiscriminate felling in Sichuan forests, and people of a later age used the saying "Sichuan mountains became denuded and the Afang Palace emerged" to denounce him. Although our purpose in felling is different from that of Qin Shi Huang, if we only fell instead of planting, until no more trees are left, thus bringing about the situation of "denuded Sichuan mountains and a yellow Changjiang River," our posterity will never forgive us.

Forests are a natural resource with the power of reproduction. Unlike mineral resources, forests can be manmade and continually renovated. As long as we act according to the laws governing forests and firmly adhere to the principle of taking forest management as the foundation, combine felling with planting, practice afforestation and management simultaneously and plant more than we fell, there will be a growing amount of timber in green mountains to be utilized forever. Trees take a long time to mature. However, compared with mineral resources, the exploitation and utilization of forests is much easier and more convenient. The exploitation of mineral resources requires complex technology and equipment, whereas in felling trees only an ax or a saw is required. On the other hand, mineral deposits are underground and cannot be easily damaged, but such is not the case with forests, because a single match can transform the whole forest into a flaming ocean. These characteristics show that, in a country like ours with so little forests, the question of forest preservation is one of foremost importance in forestry production. When we make mistakes in directing industrial and agricultural production, we can fairly quickly correct them once they are detected. In forestry, however, the mistake caused by a single blow of the ax will take 10 or 20 years of remedial action. In felling a tree, therefore, we must pause and think carefully before delivering the blow.

In order to adjust the ratio between felling and planting in such a way that forestry areas having suffered from excessive felling will have time for recovery and felling in forestry areas depended on as water sources will be reduced, the cut throughout the country should be kept at a steady rate for some time. The need for more timber in the meantime should be met by the exploitation of primitive forests deep in the mountains, by comprehensive utilization of timber, by the use of substitutes and by suitable importation. At present, in forestry areas where transportation and communications are convenient, even saplings have been felled, whereas in the primitive forests deep in the mountains or in distant and remote areas many trees have simply been left to rot.

We must speed up the construction of highways in the forestry areas and direct our efforts at primitive forests deep in the mountains. Therefore, the investments required for this construction must be assured. We must not "expect a horse to run and yet to eat nothing." Furthermore, in felling and processing every year there are large quantities of odds and ends such as twigs, bark and shavings. The present rate of utilization of these odds and ends is less than 10 percent. If we can adopt effective measures to utilize as much as half of them for making wood chips, fiberboard or particle board, then thousands or tens of thousands of cubic meters of timber can be saved. We must break the irrational rules and regulations, establish integrated forestry, industrial and commercial complexes, and permit state forestry farms to use materials which fail to meet specifications and the odds and ends from felling for the production of wooden wares to be supplied to the market. This would also be an important way of saving timber. Land reclamation through the destruction of forests will upset the ecological equilibrium and easily lead to forest fires with disastrous results. This must be positively prohibited under all circumstances. During World War II, forests in Japan were basically nonexistent. After the war, however, Japan sealed off the mountains for tree planting and relied mainly on imports as a source of timber supply. In less than 30 years, 66 percent of the entire national area was covered with forests. Our country now needs to increase imports of timber and pulpwood in order to preserve our own forests. People in ancient times said: "If people will enter the mountains with axes at the appropriate times, there will be an inexhaustible source of timber." There have always been pitifully few forests in our country. Now it is imperative that we regulate our felling.

Simultaneous Actions by the State, the Collective and Individuals

In our country there are barren mountains, totaling 1.2 billion mu in area, on which afforestation has not been undertaken. In addition, there are huge areas where forests are few and far between and where scrubland and cutover land needs to be transformed or renovated. On the plains there are also many regions where the "four sides" have not been "turned green." To fulfill the arduous task of afforestation and preservation of the forests we must emancipate our minds and let the state, the collectives and individuals act simultaneously.

The state cannot rely on the Ministry of Forestry alone. Instead, it must arouse the enthusiasm of all trades and professions for afforestation and forest preservation. On both sides of railways, highways and rivers; around reservoirs; at factory and mining sites and around government offices, schools and barracks; and on stock farms the controlling units concerned should be responsible for tree planting. For coal mines, paper mills and other units where timber is more extensively used, timber forests should be established when conditions permit. Newly constructed industrial bases, coalfields, reservoirs and grain bases should include tree planting in their construction plans. Wherever railways, highways and canals are

extended, trees must be planted on both sides. Within the forestry system itself, the power of the production units to make their own decisions must be respected, and those units or individuals actively participating in afforestation should have certain material benefits. All rules and regulations should help arouse the enthusiasm of the enterprises and their workers and staff members for afforestation and forest preservation.

A fairly large portion of the forests in our country are collectively owned. Of the 1.2 billion mu of barren mountains which should be afforested, only 160 million mu belong to state-run farms, while the overwhelming majority of the remainder belong to collectives. Therefore, it is very important to arouse the enthusiasm of the commune and brigade collectives for afforestation. In the past, many collectives and units planted trees every year, but no trees could be seen at year's end, simply because in spring the mountains were covered with trees, in summer half of the trees were gone, and after the autumn they disappeared completely. The reason is that, after the trees were planted, no special persons were assigned to control or preserve them. In recent years the policy of "afforesting an area, leaving a team of people behind and managing a farm well" has been adopted. This policy has very effectively consolidated the gains of afforestation and developed collective forestry; it therefore must be popularized. Since the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, people in some localities have emancipated their minds, practiced collective tree planting with each family responsible for part of the management, and worked out plans for the sharing of future benefits from forestry. This practice should help protect the growth of saplings and the development of forests.

China has a large area and a big population. If everyone is mobilized to plant trees in front of and behind their houses and in their yards, as well as in any other available space, the significance of this mobilization cannot be underestimated. There are many barren mountains, barren slopes and beaches but few people in some localities. In this case, the members of each commune family should plant several mu of timber trees or fruit trees. This will only add to the wealth of the state and of individuals and should not be called "taking the capitalist road." This point must be clarified in a down-to-earth manner. "When a family owns 3 mu of willow trees, the people need not run all over the mountain." If several mu of private mountain plots are distributed among the people to help them solve the problem of firewood and timber for their own use, this will help arouse their enthusiasm for afforestation. In some places each family planted thousands of trees, and in a few months the large barren mountain was covered with saplings. While protecting the forestry rights of the state and the collectives from interference, we must also protect the same rights of individuals.

In the past, any inkling of a policy change in the countryside spurred a large-scale felling of trees. We must draw our lessons, firmly protect

the current system of three-level ownership of the people's commune with the production team as the basic accounting unit, resolutely uphold the established policy of preserving big collectives and small freedoms, and conscientiously implement all party policies on forestry. The policies, which have been proved by practice to be effective, must not be changed at will so as to avoid dampening mass enthusiasm. Regardless of such problems as timber prices or grain rations for the peasants in forestry areas, all problems regarding wages and bonuses must be handled in a practical way. We must insure that peasants planting trees or planting food crops and workers managing forestry or procuring timber receive generally similar benefits.

According to the stipulations of "Forestry Laws (Trial)," the percentage of forest cover in our country must be increased to 30 percent within a certain time limit. As long as we treat afforestation and forest preservation as basic farmland capital construction, properly handle the relationship between immediate and long-range plans, and arouse the enthusiasm in various quarters, we believe that our objective can certainly be attained. "Our ancestors planted trees so that their posterity could enjoy the cool shade." This is a traditional virtue of Chinese people. In the old society many old people planted trees for their future generations. Then could it be wrong for us to make our state more beautiful for our offspring? The forests in countries with progressive forestry have mostly developed along with the growth of modern capitalist civilization. If capitalist countries can do it, could it be wrong to say that our socialist country can do it even better?

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AN ELEMENTARY INTRODUCTION TO THE BASE AND SPEED

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["Economic Forum" column by He Jiangzhang [0194 1696 4545]]

[Text] Will the speed of socialist economic growth have a downward tendency? This question has been the subject of long debate. Some comrades are of the opinion that, according to Stalin, the speed of national economic growth will be lower when the base is larger. Their opinion is probably based on a passage in Stalin's "Results of the First Five-Year Plan." In his report, based on the practice of Soviet economic construction, Stalin mentioned that the speed of economic growth during the recovery period was higher than during the First Five-Year Plan but that the absolute increase in the latter was larger than that in the former. Then he said: "What does all this show? It shows that in studying the rate of increase of output we must not confine our examination to the total percentage of increase--we must also take into account what lies behind each percent of increase and what is the total annual increase of output." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 171) From this they deduced that Stalin was an advocate of the theory of diminishing speed. In fact, Stalin never mentioned that the speed of growth thereafter would tend to become lower. On the contrary, he sharply criticized the theory of "diminishing curve." He said: "There is a theory that high-speed development is possible only during the period of recovery and that as soon as we enter the stage of transformation the speed of construction will drop sharply every year. This is called the theory of 'diminishing curve.' This kind of theory is one of defense of our backwardness and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is a capitalist theory designed to keep our country backward forever." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 12, p 303) Stalin underwent some ideological change along with practical developments. Speaking of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1933, he said that because of the hundreds of new factories built during the First Five-Year Plan the workers, particularly during the first 2 or 3 years, found it much more difficult to master the new techniques in the new enterprises than was the case with the old ones, and that therefore the speed during the Second Five-Year Plan dropped to 34 percent. However, he still believed that in the latter half of the Second

Five-Year Plan period, when the workers would master the new techniques, the speed would show a "new and fast run." From this, as we can see, the assumption that Stalin believed that a large base will be followed by reduced speed has no adequate basis.

Judging from the various forms of society appearing one after another in the history of mankind, we can see that, as far as the speed of economic development is concerned, the latecomers always surpassed the oldtimers. The economic development of capitalism (including the stage of imperialism) has had its ups and downs. However, the general trend has always been upward. Of course, the increased speed cannot constantly be maintained, because development takes place in waves. After all, if we take a long-range instead of a short-range view, the growth of social economy is not objectively subject to the "law" that a large base will cause the speed of growth to diminish. On the contrary, there is the law that development takes place in waves. Of course, this does not mean that under any circumstance the base and the speed are always in direct proportion, meaning that the larger the base, the greater will be the speed. Nor can the base and the speed be in inverse proportion, meaning that the larger the base, the less will be the speed. Both viewpoints ignore the fact that, instead of a single factor, speed is determined by many others.

Then what are the factors determining the speed? First, scientific progress leads to technical revolution. Judging from history, we can see that the several periods of rapid capitalist economic growth were invariably related to some important scientific and technological breakthroughs. For example, in the 18th century the first technical revolution began with the emergence of machine tools, as signaled by the invention of the steam engine; in the 19th century the second technical revolution was signaled by electrification; and in the 20th century the third technical revolution was signaled mainly by the appearance of electronic computers and atomic reactors. These several technical revolutions have greatly raised labor productivity, promoted the appearance of many new industrial departments, brought about vigorous development of national economies and raised capitalist economy to a new height. According to recent estimates, the scope of invention in the past 10 years exceeded the sum total of that of the previous 2,000 years. The tremendous effects of modern science and technology on the development of productive forces are thus even more obvious. For example, the use of automatic controls through electronic computers can increase labor productivity by a wide margin. In Japan, a standard steel bar hot roller, manually operated, produced 500 tons each week. After the adoption of automatic controls through the use of electronic computers, the weekly output was raised to 50,000 tons, representing a 100-fold increase. An iron and steel plant with manual controls built after World War II and producing 5 million tons annually required 15,000 workers. After the adoption of electronic computer controls, only 4,000 workers were required by a plant of the same producing capacity. Judging from modern scientific and technological inventions and discoveries, we can see immense potential

for the development of productive forces. However, the fatal weakness of capitalism is the contradiction between the socialization of production and capitalist private ownership of the fruits of production. It is precisely this contradiction that restricts the widespread use of scientific technology. Competition and anarchy disrupt the rational proportion between various departments of the national economy, and the expansion of the market is restricted by a corresponding reduction of consumption. All these lead to the usual periodical crises which greatly hamper the rapid development of the productive forces. The decadence of capitalism is manifested right here.

Secondly, the quantity and quality of resources also play an important role in the speed. In this respect the United States enjoys a particularly favorable position. Aside from the relative thoroughness of the bourgeois revolution and the relatively fewer obstacles in the way of capitalist development, the United States enjoys superior natural conditions, such as geography and climate, and an abundance of mineral resources. All these conditions have provided a natural foundation for variegated agriculture and animal husbandry as well as industry. Even now the United States is still the most prosperous in terms of productive forces and economic power among all the capitalist countries in the world. The other imperialist powers are geographically smaller and are poor in natural resources. In developing themselves in the past they relied mainly on resources obtained by plundering the colonies or semicolonies. Today many Third World countries have become independent, and, to protect their own national interests, they have formed international organizations for the production and marketing of energy and various raw materials and have adopted the policy of opposing foreign plunders. These measures cannot help but affect the speed of economic development among the advanced capitalist countries of the West. The heavy blows dealt to the capitalist economy by the several "energy crises" in recent years have clearly illustrated this point.

Finally, the system of economic management also has its effect on speed. Under equal conditions of the means of production, the rate of efficiency is decided by the standard of economic management. Management here includes management of the entire national economy as well as of enterprises. Any form of socialized large-scale production requires a harmonious progress of the entire national economy to insure the normal process of reproduction. Such planned regulation has never existed in the capitalist economic system. Before the stage of monopoly, the unrestrained freedom so much advertised by the bourgeoisie brought disruption to the proportionate relationship in the national economy, and equilibrium could only be restored temporarily by periodic economic crises. Once the stage of monopoly was reached, the frequent and serious economic and political crises forced capitalist states to intervene in economic affairs. Many capitalist states have formulated various types of "plans," including forecasts about the speed of economic development and involving changes in the structures of industrial enterprises and direct

investment in the establishment of certain departments or enterprises. Some of them have even practiced nationalization. All capitalist countries have used such measures as currency issue, credit policy, taxation policy, foreign trade policy and national budgets to regulate social production and consumption. These measures did have some effect in alleviating economic contradictions. But the basic contradiction of capitalism still remains, and periodic economic crises are still inevitable. Nevertheless, relatively speaking, the capitalist management of enterprises is more meticulous and is based on sound planning, because within an enterprise the capitalist has full power to make decisions about business management. Furthermore, in view of the fierce competition, the question of good or poor management is one of life or death for the capitalists. Precisely because of the importance attached to enterprise management by the bourgeoisie, capitalist enterprises have generally been able to meet market demands, to organize their production and marketing flexibly, and to adopt new technology. The efficiency rate is relatively higher.

Socialist economic management should be superior to that of capitalism, because public ownership of the means of production and the leadership provided by states under the dictatorship of the proletariat can regulate the development of various departments of the national economy within the scope of society and guide the planning of the entire national economy. Within an enterprise there is no antagonistic contradiction between management and the workers in matters of economic benefits, and business management here can be more rational than in capitalist enterprises. However, in real economic life we have not been able to take advantage of this superiority. In the past we were never able to organize specialization and coordination according to the requirements of large-scale socialized production or to manage the economy with economic methods. There was no distinction between the government and the enterprise, and economic management was carried out by administrative organization, administrative demarcations, administrative levels and administrative orders. The whole national economy was divided into large or small all-inclusive departments, regions and enterprises, which resulted in tremendous waste of manpower and materials. Within an enterprise the management had no power to make any decisions and had to follow orders from the higher levels in matters of supply, production, marketing, manpower, money and materials. There was a system of unified purchasing and marketing of products and a system of unified receipts and payments. Distribution was based on equalitarianism, and both the enterprise and its workers and staff members lacked innate economic drives. As a result, efficiency among our enterprises has been rather poor.

In view of the above, we can see that the determining factor in increased speed is scientific and technological progress (the exploitation and utilization of resources are, in the final analysis, also determined by scientific and technological progress) and a higher standard of management. When the standards of science, technology and management are high,

economic growth will be faster along with the increase of the base; on the other hand, when science and technology become stagnant and management is backward, speed will be reduced when the base is increased. The two conditions have appeared alternately in history. On the one hand, science and technology continue to develop, and management continues to improve. The wider the scope of the national economy, the higher the efficiency and the faster the rate of growth as a matter of course. However, the rate of scientific and technological development cannot rise perpendicularly, because every new invention requires a process of promotion and popularization. Therefore, on the other hand, when scientific and technological development level off and in the absence of any important breakthrough, speed cannot be increased along with the expansion of the base. Under this condition, the greater the base, the more the rate of speed will tend to be lower. At present, every percentage point represents quite a large absolute value, and when labor productivity remains unchanged, such an increase will call for more manpower and materials. When there is a shortage of manpower or a low level of workers' skill; when material resources are inadequate and are accompanied by a deterioration of quality; or when labor productivity declines at a time when operating expenses are increased, the decline in the rate of speed of economic growth will be particularly noticeable. However, it cannot be claimed that the decline in the rate of speed of national economic growth as a result of a larger base follows any objective law. In his criticism of the bourgeois "law of diminishing returns on land," Lenin said that this law was applicable only under conditions of stationary technology. But since there is no limit to scientific and technological development, diminishing returns cannot be a law. For social economic development, a downward trend can only be temporary. But progress in waves is normal. The reason is that science and technology continue to develop, and the level of management keeps on rising indefinitely.

The rate of speed of economic growth during our several five-year plans has shown signs of a downward trend, not mainly because of an expanded base, but due to the fact that for a long time we did not have political stability and unity; that in economic management we did not conscientiously follow the objective laws of socialist economic development; and that we sometimes acted blindly in carrying out principles and policies in economic management and in dealing with many other problems. The interference and sabotage by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in particular, brought our national economy to the brink of collapse, and nearly all technical and economic indices showed signs of a general decline. Economic results then were extremely poor. For example, the highest rate of steel utilization in history by key enterprises under the First Ministry of Machine Building was 71.8 percent; yet in 1978 it was only 65.8 percent, while the rate of steel utilization in foreign countries was generally above 80 percent. The rate of wastage in iron casting in foreign countries was only 1 to 3 percent, while in 1978 the rate in key enterprises under our First Ministry of Machine

Building reached 11.1 percent, nearly double the lowest rate previously attained. Under such conditions, how could a decline in the rate of speed ever be avoided?!

After smashing the "gang of four," our party did a lot of work to set things right, to deal with historical questions left over from an earlier period and to implement various policies, all with outstanding results; politically, a situation of stability and unity now prevails. This is the fundamental guarantee for steady economic development in our country. At the same time, we must note that the imbalance in our national economy caused by the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has been quite serious. In the past few years our central task has been to implement the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement. During the period of readjustment the speed of economic development will be restricted. However, we have great potential for economic development, and the future is bright. We have rich resources. According to reports, more than 140 different kinds of mineral resources have been discovered in our country, which is now one of those world powers with a fairly complete collection of known minerals. In quite a few items of this collection we now rank among the foremost in the world. Our country has more manpower than any other country, our people are diligent, brave, wise and capable, and they have the lofty ambition to achieve a spectacular national construction. In the long run, the main reason for the low speed of our economic growth is the low standard of science, technology and management. Our science and technology are generally from 15 to 20 years behind those of capitalist countries. In this respect we must redouble our efforts in learning. We are also backward in management. In fact, the machinery and equipment in some of our large heavy industry enterprises are not much inferior to those of similar enterprises in the United States; yet our economic results are quite poor. However, as long as these enterprises improve their management, they certainly can increase their production by a wide margin. Also, if our system of economic management can be restructured actually according to socialist economic laws, we can arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of our workers and staff members and give full play to their intelligence, ability and wisdom. At the same time we can improve our business management and adopt advanced science and technology to develop production in depth and breadth and to promote the rapid development of socialist production. We have the superiority of a socialist system, in which the inherent basic contradiction of capitalism does not exist. Under normal conditions our economic development will not be interrupted by periodic economic crises. We firmly believe that, under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, our people can certainly continue to develop their pioneering spirit, struggle hard, and channel our national economy onto the path of high-speed development, so that before the end of the century our country will be built into a great and powerful modern socialist country.

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THE UNITED FRONT IN THE NEW PERIOD

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[Article by Yu Gang [0060 0474] and Xu Yun [1776 0061]]

[Text] In the new period in which the four modernizations are the focus, a correct understanding of the necessity and importance of the united front and the development and consolidation of the revolutionary and patriotic united front is a new subject. We would like to discuss our views on this.

I. A Strong United Front Is Still Needed in the New Historical Period

First of all, we must understand that history cannot be chopped up. Our united front today is the continuation and development of the united front of yesterday. In the historical process of the Chinese revolution the theories and policies on the united front formulated for our party by Comrade Mao Zedong and his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Zhou Enlai, came into being as a result of their efforts in practicing the principle of basing oneself on practice in the process of formulating theory or policies and returning one's theory or policies to practice for testing. Those theories and policies were gradually formulated and developed through continual summations of our positive and negative experiences. The united front has achieved brilliant results throughout long revolutionary struggles and has been proven completely successful. It is an important component part of Mao Zedong Thought and one of the three great wonderworking weapons of our party.

The establishment and development of the united front in our country has been linked with the historical mission of the Chinese working class. The revolutionary movement, led by the working class of China (through the CCP), is different from revolutionary movements unfolded by any other class in history. It is not a movement in the interests of a few people but one which seeks to serve the interests of the entire body of laborers. It is a revolutionary movement whose aim is to liberate the entire Chinese people and nation. We do not aim solely at building an independent, powerful and modernized socialist China and ridding it of poverty and

backwardness once and for all; we also aim at abolishing all systems of exploitation, abolishing classes and the social sources of class differentiations and at attaining communism. These are the historical missions of the Chinese working class and also represent the fundamental interests of the various nationalities of China. To fulfill their historical mission, the working class and the Communist Party must unite with all forces that can be united, form the broadest possible united front, work hard and progress together with them. Although the working class is the most progressive class in Chinese society, it is a relatively small class as regards the number of its members. Neither in the stage of the new democratic revolution nor during the stage of socialist revolution and construction would the working class have succeeded--nor could it ever succeed--if it had not been and were not good at getting all its direct and indirect allies united with it and forming the broadest united front, instead of relying solely on its own strength and fighting in isolation. The working class must first of all form a firm worker-peasant alliance with the peasants, whose size is the largest, and with other laborers. The worker-peasant alliance constitutes the main body and foundation of the united front. This is the first alliance. In light of the concrete conditions in China, the working class must also enter into an alliance with all kinds of social forces among the nonlaborers who can cooperate with the working class. This is the second alliance. This alliance is also an indispensable, important component part of the united front. Just as Lenin pointed out, it is imperative for the working class to do its best to avail itself of every chance to win over large numbers of allies. "Whoever does not understand this has acquired not an iota of Marxism or ordinary modern scientific socialism." ("Leftwing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 225) Only with these two alliances can we get all the revolutionary, patriotic forces united to the fullest possible extent, establish and consolidate the working class leadership in the Chinese revolution and construction, implement the general line of the CCP for each of the historical periods and push our revolution and construction forward step by step. This in actual fact has been precisely the path of history.

Our country has now entered a new historical period. The general task facing our party is to unite with the various nationalities throughout the country, mobilize every positive factor, work with one heart and one mind, go all out, aim high and achieve more, faster, better and more economical results in building a modernized, powerful socialist country. We must also bring about Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland and complete the great cause of national unification. To fulfill this glorious but arduous historical task, the working class and the Communist Party is henceforth entrusted with new leadership responsibilities, and the united front under the party's leadership is assigned a new historical mission. It should be noted that: 1) Although great victories have already been scored in our country (except for Taiwan) in abolishing the systems of exploitation and exploiting classes, our achievements constitute only a stride forward on our path toward the lofty goal of forever

clearing the entire society of any class differentiations. To eradicate all class differentiations and achieve the liberation of the entire society as well as the final liberation of the proletariat itself, we still have to undergo a 10,000-li Long March--there are heavy responsibilities to shoulder. We must put all our energies into and concentrate all our attention on our work, rapidly develop our forces of production and realize the four modernizations before we can make further strides toward the goal of communism. In the 30 years since the founding of new China, much progress has been made in our economy and on the science and technology front. However, the level of development of our productive forces at present is still very low and far from capable of satisfying the ever-growing needs of our people's material and cultural life. It is a very arduous task to bring fundamental changes to the state of backwardness currently existing in our economic, educational and technological sectors. 2) In the new period, along with the identity of basic interests among the people, there still are contradictions of one kind or another. It is impossible that the ideological influence of the feudal classes and the bourgeoisie will vanish within a short period of time. Such influence inevitably will find its reflection among the people. The united front must be allowed to continue to play its historical role of being a link between our party and the masses of people of all circles by bringing people's democracy into full play, correctly handling contradictions among the people, conducting mutual supervision, self-education and self-remolding among the people and safeguarding and developing the political situation of stability and unity. 3) Although the landlords, rich peasants and capitalists do not exist as classes any longer and class struggle has already ceased to be the principal contradiction currently in our society, class struggle has not come to an end. It will still take an arduous and complex process, full of struggles, before we can succeed in striving for the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and bring to fruition our cause of national unification. Furthermore, domestic class struggle is always closely related to class struggle in the international arena. Hence, to wage struggle against our enemies both at home and abroad remains one of the important tasks to be accomplished by the united front. 4) While increasing its strength and raising its position remarkably, the working class has also expanded its ranks and now numbers more than 90 million. Although it has trained its own contingent of tens of millions of working class intellectuals, it is still in the minority among China's population of more than 900 million. As for the vanguard of the working class--the CCP--its size will remain small both now and in the future, and communists will always be a minority as compared with noncommunists, who will always comprise the majority in our total population. Under such conditions, to organize an enormous and powerful army for the new Long March the working class must further unite with the entire body of laborers and all patriots. In addition, our communists must further unite with the broad masses of nonparty people and nonparty personages. We must unite with all these people, work with one heart and one mind, pool all our wisdom and strength, and strive to fulfill the great historical mission of building a modernized, powerful socialist country and achieving national unification. 5) To

realize the four modernizations we need a peaceful international environment and must create more favorable conditions in our international relations. To achieve this it is imperative to continue giving scope to the united front, unfolding people's diplomacy and striving to promote the struggle against hegemonism and the maintenance of world peace.

Therefore, in the new historical period the united front remains an important and wonderworking weapon. It is wrong to think that the united front is no longer important, for such a notion is out of keeping with the situation in China today and the party's political line and therefore is untenable.

II. Class Struggle Is Not the Sole Function of the United Front

The notion that the united front is no longer important in the new period has much to do with the failure to clearly ascertain its functions. In the minds of comrades harboring this notion, the united front merely means waging class struggle and serving the socialist transformation. They exclude serving socialist construction from the functions of the united front. Such a notion is incorrect.

Since the birth of new China the united front has not only played an enormous positive role in the triumphant realization of socialist transformation but also made valuable contributions to our socialist construction. In 1962 Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his speech at the closing ceremony of the Third CPPCC that we must not consider the utility of the united front to be limited to its service to socialist transformation and that the role of the united front is not only reflected in the socialist transformation but also expressed in socialist construction. We must shoulder the tasks of construction. He went on to say that once we enter the stage of socialist construction we will be confronted with heavier tasks regarding our people's democratic united front (naturally, there are tasks concerning the socialist transformation, too). There will be new tasks before us, and we must bring about new developments. This not only comprehensively affirmed the historical role of the united front but also clearly pointed out that, along with the fundamental completion of socialist transformation, it is imperative to shift the united front's focus of work to socialist construction in a timely manner. What sound instruction is this which was given us by Comrade Zhou Enlai! In addition to stigmatizing the united front with the political label of "right-deviationist capitulationism" and jettisoning it, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" later stopped at nothing to wreak havoc on our socialist construction and vilified it by putting on it the label of the "revisionist theory of productive forces." At that time this instruction by Comrade Zhou Enlai was of course not implemented. Today we must earnestly sum up our experiences and lessons, resolutely put into effect this instruction by Comrade Zhou Enlai and truly and effectively shift the work of the united front into the orbit of the four modernizations in order to make the united front serve the four modernizations.

It goes without saying that the united front must serve the class struggle waged by the proletariat. Whenever there was or is class struggle, either in the past or at present, the united front, as an important weapon for the proletariat to wage class struggle, must play its part. However, in unfolding class struggle the proletariat aims primarily at liberating and developing social productive forces and at abolishing classes and attaining communism on the basis of highly developed productive forces. Never does the proletariat aim at waging class struggle for the sake of class struggle. Therefore, we do not want any class struggle that runs counter to this fundamental objective, deviates from it or even antagonizes it; we must also unswervingly oppose any such class struggle. The united front comes under the category of the superstructure and in the final analysis must serve the purpose of consolidating and developing our socialist economic foundation and of adding to the productive forces in our socialist society. In trumpeting the slogan that class struggle should dictate everything and that class struggle is everything, the "gang of four" completely reversed the relationship between the relations of production and the productive forces and that between the superstructure and the economic foundation. Such a theory alone is already very detrimental as judged from either the theoretical or the practical points of view, let alone the kind of counterrevolutionary conspiracies related to it and hatched by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" while publicizing this theory. Nevertheless, some of our comrades suffer from the symptoms of imperceptible poisoning. Such comrades cling fast to the convention that considers "class struggle to be the key link" and "the United Front Department to be the class struggle department." As a result, such comrades cannot see the logic in the fundamental changes that have taken place in the state of classes in Chinese society and the principal contradictions in it; they feel confused and left without a clue and remain in a state of constant nervousness. When at work they never show any initiative but always remain passive and even seem to have their hearts in their mouths. All this is very detrimental to our great cause.

The functions and tasks of the united front will not remain the same all the time but will develop along with the advance of history. During the democratic revolution it was of great help to our work, as it waged armed struggles and played an extremely important part in developing progressive forces, winning over more and more middle forces, bringing about the disintegration of reactionary forces, isolating our principal enemies and concentrating our strength to deal blows at them to the best of our capabilities. Later on the new democratic revolution achieved victory, the people seized state power and certain fundamental changes occurred in the relations of strength between the enemy and ourselves. Thus, the struggle against the enemy no longer remained the principal task of the united front, although such struggle continued to constitute one of the important tasks facing the united front. This was a historical change. After the birth of new China the role of the united front changed to one of serving the purposes of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, carrying out socialist transformation and building a socialist country.

The united front once existed during a certain period as a special form of relationship between the working class and the national bourgeoisie which was characterized by both unity and struggle. Its task was to abolish the national bourgeoisie class and transform people belonging to it. Now that the capitalists no longer exist as a class and the great majority of members of this class who are able to work have remolded themselves into socialist laborers, this glorious task has been triumphantly concluded. This has been yet another historical change. At present the role and task of the united front is to fully mobilize every positive factor and to strive for the accomplishment of the general task of our party in the new period. We must judge the functions of the united front from a historical point of view and in light of its future development; we must never fetter our minds with convention.

Historical experiences tell us that the party must base itself on a scientific analysis of contradictions in our society, grasp the principal contradictions, put forward the general line and general task that will lead to the resolution of the principal contradictions and set these as our common objective in uniting with and mobilizing our allies from all quarters. This has been a prerequisite for the realization of leadership by the working class. Therefore, the party's general line and task is always the common political program for the united front, while the role and task of the united front lies in the implementation of the party's general line and general task. This is what is called the function of the united front.

III. The Development of the United Front in the New Historical Period

Is the united front in China then tending to become smaller or to expand further? While disagreeing with the advocates of the theory of the cancellation of the united front, some comrades believe that the united front is in fact becoming smaller, shrinking in scope, that the tasks of the united front are no longer so important and that it is playing a less significant role than in the past. According to these comrades, it follows that what we should adopt is a policy of reducing the scope of the united front instead of further developing it.

Has the scope of the united front narrowed? No. Building China into a powerful socialist country with the four modernizations represents the irresistible trend of historical development in Chinese society and the fundamental interest and common desire of all the nationalities of China, including the broad masses of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as well as Overseas Chinese. Whether the four modernizations can be realized in China is a matter on which the future of the entire Chinese nation hinges and which concerns the vital interests of every Chinese and his posterity. Therefore, the new political program that treats the realization of the four modernizations as the common objective of the united front upholds both the banner of socialism and that of patriotism. It has greatly developed and added to the identity between socialism and

patriotism and has made it possible for the united front to enjoy a new and broad social foundation and to reach a stage at which it is attaining such great dimensions that it will embrace all people in the entire Chinese nation who love their motherland. How can we say that the united front is tending to get smaller instead of larger and broader?

Have the tasks facing the united front become less important? No, they have not become less important either. To achieve the four modernizations means launching a great revolutionary movement unprecedented in Chinese history. No other revolutionary movement can match it either in scope or in profundity. This new, glorious and arduous task requires that we attach prime importance to the correct handling of contradictions among the people, foster socialist democracy, uphold socialist legality, conscientiously study the principle of overall planning and proper arrangement laid down by Comrade Mao Zedong, do a good job of resolving all kinds of contradictions within the united front and, in particular, make a success of the job of handling the relationship between the leader of the united front and its allies within different sectors of the united front. On the condition that its existing identity is given the chance to further develop, this calls for acknowledging and permitting the existence of differences and respecting and showing consideration for the respective characteristics of people within the different sectors of the united front; on the condition that national and long-term interests are safeguarded, this calls for taking care of people's local interests in an appropriate manner, along with helping all the people within these sectors to voluntarily study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to continue their self-education and self-remolding. All this requires that we implement the party's policies on intellectuals, nationalities, Overseas Chinese affairs, religion and the long-term coexistence and mutual supervision concerning our party's relations with various democratic parties, as well as the party's policies toward the former industrialists and merchants. To do all this well we must constantly carry out investigations, proceed from reality, earnestly implement our policies and readjust relations. Only in this way can we fully mobilize all positive factors, give full scope to the abilities of people from various quarters on our great new Long March, let them play their different but appropriate roles, make concerted efforts and advance together with them.

As we are making progress in the four modernizations, the demand for realizing national unification has now become a matter of greater urgency to the Chinese people. The development of the current situation both at home and abroad is providing more and more favorable conditions for Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland and for realizing our national unification. Naturally, it will still take lots of efforts by the entire nation, including the people in Taiwan, to fulfill this sacred task, and much arduous work must still be done and complicated struggles waged before we can achieve this aim. However, the unification of our motherland is already a foregone conclusion that reflects the general trend of the international and internal situation and is irreversible.

Our party has had its principles and policies solemnly made known to the world. We are willing to welcome the return to the embrace of the motherland of anyone who is patriotic or willing to return to the patriotic stand--any such person will be welcomed by us in the spirit that all patriots are brothers. Our doors always remain wide open. All this has unequivocally demonstrated that the role of and the tasks facing the united front, far from being less important and significant, have become greater and more arduous.

Some comrades say that, now that there is no longer any alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, there is only one alliance, instead of the original two, within the united front. Does this not mean that the united front has become narrower in scope? No, this is not right. Our united front as it exists now has become an extensive political alliance which unites the entire body of socialist laborers and patriots upholding socialism and of patriots favoring national unification. It still includes the alliance between the working class and other laborers and the other alliance between the working class and all the patriots among nonlaborers. Naturally, in the new period these two alliances have undergone and are still undergoing new changes, along with the fundamental changes in the state of classes at home and the development of the situation. Since the great majority of intellectuals have become part of the working class itself and the great majority of the former exploiting class elements who are able to work have transformed themselves into laborers earning their own living, and as the laborers among the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as well as among Overseas Chinese (including both mental and physical laborers) all belong to this alliance, the first alliance has developed considerably and become much larger than it was in the past. On the Chinese mainland, where the socialist system is firmly established, this alliance is now one of socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is an alliance of the entire body of socialist laborers based on their socialist identity; it constitutes the main body and foundation of the united front in the new period, the main force for the new Long March and the force upon which we rely. The second alliance covers a more extensive range than the first, because it is not only an alliance of all the patriots who support socialism, but also one embracing all patriots in favor of national unification, namely, all the patriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and those overseas. In other words, it is everyone in the entire Chinese nation who loves his motherland.

History has shown us that patriotism has been a good friend of socialism's since the May Fourth Movement. Socialism and patriotism have formed a united front with each other ever since. The integration of socialism and patriotism in history was effected through the new democratic political program advanced by our party and characterized by its thorough anti-imperialist and antifeudal spirit. There were many brands of patriotism in old China and theories of all descriptions claiming to be capable of saving the nation, but all of them turned out to be of no avail. Gradually

people got to know the truth through their personal experiences: that only the Communist Party could save China and that socialism was the only way for China. Many people have come a long way along the path leading from patriotism to socialism; many more will certainly embark on this path. Today, under the new political program reflecting the general line and task for the new period, there inevitably will be a further integration of patriotism and socialism on the basis of the great cause of national unification; likewise, the unity of all patriots will be further cemented in a more extensive way, so that the revolutionary and patriotic united front will yield even more gratifying results and radiate even more brilliant rays.

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BOTH LIVELINESS AND STABILITY AND UNITY ARE REQUIRED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 26-28

[Article by Yi Ping [3300 5493]]

[Text] The accomplishment of the socialist four modernizations in our country is quite a great and arduous undertaking. To fully mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and people and to combine them into a strong force so that they will be united as one in carrying out modernization with a single purpose, we need a political situation in which there is liveliness as well as stability and unity. Liveliness and stability and unity have an identical objective, but there is also a contradiction between them. We must handle them with a correct approach, so that they will become united and mutually complementary and thus promote the smooth development of the four modernizations.

To create a political situation in which there is liveliness is in line with what Comrade Mao Zedong proposed in 1957. He said: "Our objective is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." ("The Situation in the Summer of 1957") Later, for various reasons, this great objective could not be accomplished. After smashing the "gang of four," and particularly after the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party adopted a series of measures to thoroughly investigate, expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to set things right ideologically and theoretically, to break the various shackles which had fettered people's minds, to redress a large number of cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged, and to enable the party to return once again to the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The party Central Committee also restored and developed the party's democratic work style and glorious traditions, and a lively political situation as formerly envisaged by Comrade Mao Zedong began to prevail throughout the country.

How could such a political situation as envisaged by Comrade Mao Zedong have appeared in only 2 or 3 short years? The main reason is that, after

the downfall of the "gang of four," the elimination of various kinds of interference and the formulation of a correct political line, we had political stability and unity throughout the country. Stability and unity are a prerequisite for the four modernizations as well as the foundation for developing liveliness. We can say that without stability and unity things would be difficult in many respects.

Reviewing the tortuous road taken during the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution, we can see that the stability and unity of today have by no means come easy! During the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our country was in an upheaval. At that time everything was topsy-turvy and hordes of monsters danced with joy. There was no peace for either the state or the party, and people suffered untold misery. This confusion ended only with the smashing of the "gang of four." Now we can never afford to go through the same experience again. To heal the wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in those 10 disastrous years, to develop our socialist economy rapidly and to catch up with the advanced world level, how can we be without political stability and unity? Every member of the Communist Party and the CYL and every revolutionary person should warmly treasure our present stability and unity. We must, however, be particularly aware that even today there still are elements of instability and disunity. A tiny number of people, motivated by political speculation and personal ambition, are indulging in anarchism and extreme individualism under the guise of "democracy," "freedom" and "human rights." At the same time, they advocate bourgeois liberalization and spread the fallacy of doubting and even opposing the four basic principles. Among this tiny number, some are remnants of the "gang of four" who are bent on creating disorder, disturbing the socialist order and undermining stability and unity. Haven't we heard their reactionary outcries about treating veteran cadres as so-called "feudalist roaders" and about the "need for major surgery"--outcries which are a substitute for the reactionary program of the "gang of four," which clamored that veteran cadres were equated with "democrats" and "democrats" were equated with "capitalist roaders"? In the face of such a situation, we should pay even greater attention to stability and unity, work more actively and further consolidate and develop them.

Generally speaking, liveliness on the one hand and stability and unity on the other are not mutually contradictory. Stability and unity are the prerequisite for liveliness, while political liveliness, in turn, promotes the consolidation of social stability and unity. The relationship between them is one of dialectical unity. However, if we do not handle liveliness properly, it will become contradictory to stability and unity. Under these conditions, liveliness must develop on the premise that it will be beneficial to stability and unity. It must not provide any excuse for damaging or undermining stability and unity.

It is precisely for this reason that we must have an accurate and all-round comprehension of the situation of liveliness as envisaged by

Comrade Mao Zedong and treat democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, personal ease of mind and unity of will as a unified entity. There must be development on both sides before they can help each other advance; otherwise, the two sides of contradiction will be separated, with one side being attended to and the other side being neglected. Then there cannot be any true liveliness. If we stress only centralism, discipline and unity of will on the one hand and neglect democracy, freedom and personal ease of mind on the other, our political life will be one of "10,000 horses standing mute" or a stagnant pool of water. If we only stress democracy, freedom and personal ease of mind and disregard centralism, discipline and unity of will, our political life can only be one of anarchy. Neither of these conditions is compatible with a political situation of liveliness.

In all things, the two sides of contradiction cannot be entirely separated. On the contrary, they are interdependent, mutually restrictive, struggling against each other and thus promote development. Take democracy and centralism, for instance. Neither of them can be neglected. In developing socialist democracy, our purpose is to let the vast majority of people enjoy their democratic rights. If we fully develop democracy and safeguard the people's right of participation in state affairs and in the business management of their own units, we will fully arouse their socialist enthusiasm and creativity. To accomplish this we cannot be without either democracy or centralism. Some comrades set democracy and centralism against each other and feel that in a fully developed democracy centralism should be unnecessary. They even treat party leadership as "obstacles" or "shackles" to the development of democracy. If we act according to this one-sided view, correct ideas will certainly not be centralized or supported, while wrong ideas will spread unchecked. In such a situation there can never be any socialist democracy. Instead there can only be anarchism. There still are a tiny number of people who actually do not want socialist democracy. Flaunting the banner of "democracy," they oppose the Communist Party's leadership and promote bourgeois democracy and extreme individualism. Therefore, while stressing the full development of democracy in order to achieve liveliness, we must at the same time earnestly defend the party's centralized leadership so that they can be mutually complementary.

The same principle applies to freedom and discipline, because it is incorrect to stress only one of them. "Freedom" without discipline is a violation of freedom. There can be no freedom in the world without any regulation. If people really want freedom, their actions must conform to the objective laws of development. Therefore, we cannot talk about freedom by discarding discipline. Because of their ignorance of the dialectical relationship of the unity of opposites and the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some comrades one-sidedly stress individual freedom and neglect their sense of organization and discipline. They have little respect for the legal system and think that party discipline need not be observed and that organization resolutions

need not be implemented. This is harmful to liveliness. There still are those who, while shouting the slogan of "freedom," recklessly disturb the social order, create confusion, indulge in "attacking, smashing and looting," and even carry on illicit relations with foreign countries. All these acts can never be permitted under our socialist legal system.

How can personal ease of mind be attained? This question must be considered in combination with unity of will. Without unity of will there can never be any personal ease of mind in the real sense. The reason is that unity of will stands for the overall situation, and any quest for the gratification of individual desires will eventually clash with objective conditions. Unity of will and personal ease of mind form a unity of opposites, and unity of will is the foundation of personal ease of mind. At present, for example, the realization of the four modernizations is the common goal of the entire party and the entire population. With this common goal it will be possible for individual ideals and demands to merge with the ideals and demands of millions upon millions of people. To realize the four modernizations the leadership must pay close attention to the masses and endeavor to create the necessary conditions for people to solve their problems and to clear away various obstacles so that people can take pleasure in their work and do their best for the four modernizations. Thus a situation of liveliness emerges. If we disregard unity of will and do not consider problems in the light of the overall situation, which calls for the realization of the four modernizations, any personal satisfaction, even if attained, does not necessarily mean ease of mind, because if we are only concerned with our personal problems, we will become shortsighted and obsessed with minor gains or losses. Then our demands will be never ending. Some individual demands usually sound reasonable in the light of a partial situation but unreasonably in the light of an overall situation. In dealing with this problem we must proceed from the overall situation, subordinating the partial to the overall situation and the minor reasons to major reasons. When the overall situation permits, a leader should try in every way to meet individual and just demands from the masses. An individual, however, must have the overall situation in mind and see far ahead. Then he will become enlightened, and even though certain individual needs (including legitimate needs) cannot be satisfied, the people concerned will think of the overall situation and the great goal of realizing the four modernizations. They will then be able to restrain themselves and attain ease of mind.

"Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This is one of the basic policies of our party as well as an important measure for promoting a situation of liveliness in the fields of literature, art and science. The relationship between implementation of the "double hundred" policy, adherence to the four basic principles and accomplishing stability and unity is one of dialectical unity. In encouraging "a hundred flowers to blossom and a hundred schools of thought to contend," the basic objective is to develop and enrich socialist culture, art and science. It is therefore inseparable from

the four basic principles. If we combine implementation of the "double hundred" policy with adherence to the four basic principles and use the party's interests, the people's interests and the interests of socialism as our action guideline, we will be able not only to enable socialist culture, art and science to flourish, but also to help consolidate and develop stability and unity. In implementing the "double hundred" policy the author has full freedom to write anything or to write in any way; however, while writing he must carefully consider his own social responsibility and make every effort to enable his work to attain a lofty goal, namely, to train a new generation with noble socialist sentiments, to promote social stability and unity, and to encourage people to devote themselves to the four modernizations. If the author one-sidedly stresses liveliness without considering the four basic principles or without considering the social effects of his works, he will be misinterpreting or even violating the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom.

Because of the long ideological and theoretical confusion and the general disorder created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is not strange that some of our comrades have only a one-sided understanding of such questions as centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. However, they must adopt a serious attitude and continue to improve their understanding by diligently studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must enhance our vigilance against those who undermine the socialist order by flaunting the banners of "democracy," "freedom" and "human rights" and keep our distance from them. We must not underestimate this force, slacken our vigilance or treat it lightly; otherwise these people will destroy the fruits of our victory. We have never legally condoned any statement or action that undermines the socialist system and opposes Communist Party leadership. We must strengthen our socialist legal system, provide better education for the vast majority who have erred or been deceived, and isolate and attack the tiny number of bad people who are bent on creating trouble.

The preservation of stability and unity and the development of liveliness are major undertakings which are consistent with the people's will. As long as every one of us recognizes the importance of these undertakings and does his part to promote them, the situation of stability and unity can certainly be consolidated and developed without interruption. Along with the consolidation of stability and unity, the political and spiritual lives of our people will continue to develop in a healthy way and gain even more vigor, vitality and liveliness.

9411
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REALIZE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS AND OVERCOME BUREAUCRATISM

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[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496] and Wang Manggui [3769 1125 1145]]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, the people of all nationalities in our country are marching toward the grand goal of the four modernizations. To realize the modernization program is a very broad and profound revolution. Since this calls for a big leap in social productive forces, it will be necessary to transform the economic base and various segments of the superstructure, transform the system and method of economic management and transform people's initiative and ways of thinking so as to meet the needs of modern large-scale production. To carry out this great undertaking it is vitally important that effective measures be adopted to overcome bureaucratic practices which are prevalent among party and state organs.

I

The CCP is a political party of the proletariat, while China is a socialist country of proletarian dictatorship. In leading the Chinese revolution and economic construction over a prolonged period, the CCP has dedicated itself to working for the people's interests and has always advocated upholding democratic centralism and opposed bureaucratism in any form. It is precisely because of this that we have maintained a close relationship with the people, making it possible for the revolution and economic construction to achieve uninterrupted development. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, and especially since the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, the party's fine tradition and work style have been restored and carried forward. Along with the people across the land, the cadres have worked hard to stamp out the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminating chaos and restoring order and shifting the focus of work to speeding up socialist modernization. This is an important condition for our cause to advance in triumph. However, bureaucratic practices are still prevalent in party and state organs. These pose a formidable stumbling block to the new

Long March and are hamstringing the objective requirements of the modernization program.

Since socialist modernization is of immediate concern to China's teeming millions, the initiative, enthusiasm and pioneering spirit of the masses must be given full play. This means that cadres at all levels, particularly those shouldering leadership responsibilities, should have faith in the masses and rely on them, go deep among them, share weal and woe with them and have their well-being constantly in mind. However, those who are addicted to bureaucratic practices are unconcerned about the wretched conditions of the masses and ignore their grievances. They live in comfort and care only for privileged treatment. Undoubtedly this alienates them from the masses, and as a result the party's close ties with the masses are impaired and the masses' socialist enthusiasm is inhibited. Under these circumstances, how will it be possible to organize a huge army to win fresh victories in the new Long March?

Socialist modernization is a new and unknown field for us to explore. It requires that we uphold practice as the sole criterion for testing truth under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is necessary that we go deep into reality, conduct investigations and study and make new and searching explorations based on natural and economic laws. However, those who are obsessed with bureaucratic practices and are afraid of offending people make no effort to understand specific problems in their own localities or units, nor do they raise problems or try to solve them. Such people include those who do nothing all day long and who neither approve nor disapprove when matters are referred to them. All they do is mechanically route or reroute instructions issued by organs at a higher level. They also include those who are dogmatic in doing things or expressing their views and who take no heed of what others or their subordinates say, and so forth. All these contradict the principle of trusting the masses and relying on them, conducting investigation and study, proceeding from reality in doing things and adhering to objective laws. This will reduce the vigorous modernization drive to a routine job and bring to naught the painstaking labor of the masses.

Socialist modernization differs radically from the sporadic and inhibited operations of the small producer. In modern large-scale production the entire social economy becomes an organic whole in which all its production sectors and segments must be closely coordinated before maximum economic results can be obtained. This calls for a highly efficient and quick assessment of the situation and a ready response which will make accurate decisions possible. Obviously there is no room for bureaucratic practices. Redundancy and overstaffing tends to reduce efficient operations, while overlapping operations and undefined areas of responsibility abet procrastination and "passing the buck." When red tape is allowed to spread unchecked and more meetings than necessary are held, simple problems become complicated and solutions are difficult to find. All in all, bureaucratic practices can hamper the rapid development of the socialist economy.

Since socialist modernization is being undertaken under the leadership of the party, it will be impossible to achieve this without the CCP's guidance. This is a fact beyond dispute. However, bureaucratic practices tend to weaken the leading role assumed by the party. Commenting on the spread of bureaucratism, Lenin said: "If there is anything that could destroy us, it would be communists becoming bureaucrats." ("Message to the People's Finance Committee," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 552) Since bureaucratism hampers China's modernization program, we must do everything to combat it.

II

To effectively prevent and overcome bureaucratism it is necessary to go into the social roots that engender it.

Bureaucratism is inherent in all countries run by the exploiting classes. This makes all the difference between countries of proletarian dictatorship and those run by the exploiting classes. However, the emergence of socialism from the old society is stamped with all its birthmarks and evil. In semifeudal and semicolonial old China, corrupt bureaucratic practices were well known. Lenin regarded "the excessive use of formalities in Chinese officialdom" as an example of such practices. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 5, p 206) Unavoidably, such evil bureaucratic practices which were prevalent in state organs in feudal days have passed on to socialist society. As Comrade Mao Zedong aptly said: "In terms of social origin, bureaucracy reflects the survival in our party and government of the reactionary style of work (an antipopular style of work, a Kuomintang style of work) of the reactionary ruling classes in dealing with the people." ("Combat Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and of Discipline") To eliminate this evil and its pernicious influence we have worked hard and achieved significant results. However, since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck for as long as 10 years, they were responsible for the dire consequences. Practicing feudal and fascist despotism in a big way, they wantonly wrecked the socialist legal system and trampled on people's democratic rights. In addition, they trampled on party discipline and the laws of the land and corrupted the party's fine work style and social practices, making it possible for the outdated notions of the exploiting classes and the force of habit to spread unchecked. Directly or indirectly, this has revived bureaucratic practices among party and state organs at a time when they are being checked. To eliminate this evil at its roots remains a task we cannot afford to overlook.

In assessing conditions in Russia after the October Revolution, Lenin traced the roots of bureaucracy to the small producer's aversion to discipline and his degeneration. While it is true that China's conditions have changed with the introduction of agricultural collectivization, farming to a very large extent depends on human labor and not on machinery. It is true that China's working class contingent has expanded, but this is

due primarily to the recruitment of peasants. Recruiting cadres in the rural areas has the advantage of maintaining close ties with the peasants, but this has posed some problems. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "China is a country with a very large petty bourgeoisie, and our party is surrounded by this enormous class. A great number of our party members come from this class, and when they join the party they inevitably drag in with them a petty bourgeois tail, be it long or short." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") This has entangled some comrades in the small producer's force of habit. Under these circumstances, it will be difficult to eliminate overnight from society the centuries-deep influence of the small producer's economy. This has been reflected in the leadership system, the leadership work style and methods of leadership. It is not difficult to see that the paternalistic approach inherent in the small producer's economy, such as the domineering and dogmatic ways of handling things and taking no heed of other people's views, has cast its long shadow. The small producer's form of management has manifested itself in such practices as stressing "small but complete," "large and comprehensive" and "eating from the big pot," as well as the small producer's aversion to discipline, which is characterized by a lack of efficiency and procrastination. Other symptoms of the small producer's approach to production include ossified thinking, making no progress, failing to accept new things or study new problems and following the beaten track. All of these show that bureaucratism is closely related to the backward economic conditions which were evident in the past.

Although the socialist system is vastly superior to other systems, we should see that the imperfections of our economic and political systems are traceable to the spread of bureaucratic practices. We are currently engaged in transforming the system of economic management, which has been impaired by overlapping and inefficient administrative organizations. Such a system of management will often disrupt the inner economic workings inherent in socialized large-scale production. Bureaucratism is generally abetted by the use of administrative orders or measures to direct production which is not based on objective economic laws. The result is an unwieldy pyramid of administrative structures and a faulty system of allocating responsibilities. Only by taking effective measures to streamline the system of economic management can we eliminate bureaucratism at its source.

There are serious shortcomings in our cadre system. The majority of cadres are good or comparatively good; they advocate plain living and hard struggle and maintain close ties with the masses. However, as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," particularly the lack of an adequate cadre system based on well-established systems of assessing cadres and their performance, supervising their work, commending the worthy cadres and punishing the less worthy ones, rotating on-the-job training for cadres, superannuating those who are due to retire, and so forth, it will be difficult to discover qualified people, train cadres and promote them to fill leading

positions or to transfer those cadres who are involved in gross neglect of duties and violations of discipline. Only by improving the cadre system and eliminating those who care about nothing but to hold the "iron rice bowl" will it be possible to combat bureaucratic practices, prevent cadres from lording it over the people and insure that leading cadres will share weal and woe with the masses and are in the van of socialist modernization.

The socialist system is full of vigor and vitality. However, China's political and economic systems are still imperfect, because they were not established many years ago. This is not surprising. At the hands of our teeming millions who work hard, our country's socialist system can be perfected to combat and eliminate bureaucratism. This is an example of the superiority of the socialist system.

III

To prevent and combat bureaucratism and enable party and state organs to retain their vigor and effectively undertake socialist modernization is an important task for us in the new historical period.

Marxists agree that economics determines politics, which in turn also acts on economics. Once the political superstructure is formed, it exerts an independent force to promote or hinder economic development. It so happens that the fewer the manifestations of bureaucratism, the more effective socialist modernization will become. The growth of the modernization program will contribute to scientific and technological advances and the development of social productive forces. In turn, this will help overcome and finally eliminate bureaucratism and lay a solid material foundation.

As the most advanced and revolutionary class, the proletariat has devoted itself to the complete abolition of private ownership and the elimination of the evil of the exploiting classes. In human history, only the proletariat has steadfastly fought against bureaucratic practices. The Paris Commune, which served as a model for proletarian states during its short-lived existence, took steps to prevent the new organs of the state from practicing bureaucratism and lording it over the people and to prevent their transformation from servants of society into masters of society by adopting two infallible means. "In the first place, the commune filled all posts--administrative, judicial and educational--by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. In the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers." ("The Civil War in France; Introduction by Friedrich Engels," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 335) Even to this day the inspiring spirit of the Paris Commune heroes handed down to posterity has remained with us.

Our party and government have attached importance to combating bureaucratism. The "three antis" and "five antis" movements launched after the founding of the PRC aimed at eliminating bureaucratic practices. This issue was revived during the 1957 party consolidation movement and was emphasized by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the Eighth CCP Congress. In his report on the revision of the party charter he said: "It will be quite easy for the comrades of the ruling political party to indulge in bureaucratic practices, divorce themselves from reality and be alienated from the masses. As far as party organizations and communists are concerned, this danger has increased rather than decreased." All communists and revolutionary cadres, especially leading comrades, should remain clearheaded at all times.

To implement the party's mass line is an antidote to the spread of bureaucratic practices. Common interests are the starting point and ultimate basis for formulating our party's line, principle and policies. Since those who practice bureaucratism are divorced from the people, go against their interests and inhibit their initiative and creativity, they should be frowned upon. The people alone provide the strength for achieving the modernization program. The cadres at all levels are servants of the people. As such, they should serve the people and not lord it over them. All cadres should therefore try to cultivate the mass concept, go deep among the masses, foster close ties with them and constantly reflect their views and aspirations. They should above all rid themselves of undesirable bureaucratic practices. On the other hand, we should encourage the masses to participate in management so that they will be able to manage the country and effectively handle economic, cultural and educational matters. It is incorrect to interpret people's rights as those covering work and recreation, education and social insurance, and so forth under the supervision of certain people. Such a concept of giving favors to certain people is likely to abet bureaucratic practices, with the bureaucrats enjoying the privilege of supervising the masses without being held accountable for their actions. Only when the hundreds of millions of the masses participate in the management of the country will it be possible to prevent the spread of bureaucratism.

To implement the principle of democratic centralism is another important safeguard against bureaucratic practices. In undertaking socialist modernization it is imperative that centralized leadership be strengthened and that subordination of the minority to the majority, the lower levels to the higher and the whole party to the central authorities be upheld. Only thus can the party unify its will and action and turn the scattered forces into an immense torrent. Our party has attached great importance to democracy and centralism, advocating centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Lenin said: "While we are for democratic centralism, we must understand and recognize the big difference between democratic centralism and bureaucratic centralism on the one hand and between democratic centralism and anarchism on the other." ("The Current Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Collected Works of Lenin,"

Vol 27, p 190) To implement democratic centralism correctly we must oppose bureaucratism on the one hand and anarchy on the other. The manifestations of anarchism do not conform to the people's interests, while carrying out anarchic activities in the name of opposing bureaucratism will only undermine political stability and unity, bring about chaos and impair socialist modernization.

Strengthening the socialist legal system is indispensable to preventing and overcoming bureaucratism. With the establishment of a legal system that meets our needs, government functionaries will have laws and regulations to follow when disputes arise. At the same time the masses can make use of established laws, decrees, systems and criteria to exercise supervision over government functionaries. It is thus possible to reduce and overcome the manifestations of bureaucratism and stop bureaucratic practices from being engendered. It is therefore imperative that measures designed to prevent and overcome bureaucratism be institutionalized and put on a legal basis. It is also necessary to perfect socialist political and economic systems, so that by strengthening such systems we can prevent and overcome bureaucratic practices. In this regard, we should stress the importance of criticizing bureaucratic-minded people until they mend their ways. In serious cases the offenders should be subjected to disciplinary measures. In his government work report at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "As for those bureaucrats who have caused enormous damage to the interests of the state and the people through serious neglect of duty or malfeasance, it is essential to call them to account administratively, economically and legally." If things are done in this way, the socialist legal system will be a powerful weapon for fighting against bureaucratic practices.

Bureaucratism is an ulcer of countries which uphold proletarian dictatorship. By adopting effective measures to combat bureaucratic practices we can consolidate and perfect the socialist system. This will vigorously promote the great cause of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

BOLDLY SELECT SPECIALISTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 33-36

[Ideological commentary by Zheng Yan [6774 1484]]

[Text] Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. At the meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jianying proposed "to unite the people of all nationalities and bring into play all positive factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful, socialist country." This is our general task as well as our political line, and we must set the high aim and lofty aspiration of realizing the four modernizations before the end of this century. To accomplish this great task, however, we must have a large contingent of cadres who firmly adhere to the socialist road and yet are professionally competent, or both Red and expert. Otherwise we will fail. The fundamental solution of this problem is now an urgent task.

It is entirely possible for us to train and bring up a contingent of cadres who are both Red and expert. The history of social development has proved that at present or in the past, either at home or abroad, every social change is accompanied by the emergence of a large number of outstanding talents amid economic and cultural development. Thus, along with the ascendancy of world capitalism, a large number of talented people appeared. Engels pointed out: "It was the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had yet experienced, a time which called for giants and produced giants--giants in power of thought, passion and character, in universality and learning." ("Introduction to 'Dialectics of Nature,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 445) Socialist society is the most advanced social system in the history of human development and enjoys indisputable superiority over any social system that is based on private ownership. It requires and is capable of bringing up a new generation--a generation of giants for the new age--to accomplish the four modernizations and to serve as pioneers during the transition to communism.

In the Soviet Union of the early 1930's, when it was necessary to end the economic backwardness without further delay, the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin demanded that new technology be adopted to transform the various departments of the national economy. At that time Stalin raised the slogan "Technology above all things" and whipped up an upsurge to study technology. Later, in 1935, Stalin raised the slogan "Cadres decide everything," stressing that "of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres." "If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport and the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres, we shall be lame in both legs." ("Problems of Leninism," p 583) The training and upbringing of many talented people greatly helped speed up the socialist development in the Soviet Union at that time.

In our country, along with the socialist revolution and socialist construction launched after the founding of the People's Republic, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly called on the whole party to study once again. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We have entered a period, a new period in our history, in which what we have set ourselves to do, think about and dig into is socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and the modernization of our national defense, and we are beginning to do the same thing with atomic energy... It is our task to adapt ourselves to this new situation, dig into our jobs and become experts." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference") That was how a large number of veteran cadres took up their posts in economic construction and trained a large number of new cadres in construction. Comrade Mao Zedong also stressed the need for a mighty contingent of intellectuals. He said: "Socialism cannot be built if the proletariat does not have its own mighty technical and theoretical contingents." Thanks to the party's efforts in the 30 years following the founding of the People's Republic, our colleges and universities have trained 2,946,000 people for various fields of construction; our middle and vocational schools have brought up 5,207,000 people; and our technical institutes and ordinary secondary schools have turned out a huge reserve labor force. Furthermore, we have raised the cultural level of many cadres of worker-peasant origin. Thus, the present number of intellectuals and technical personnel is unprecedented. This not only constitutes a powerful force for accomplishing the four modernizations but also facilitates the selection and training of our professional cadres.

However, while people generally agree on the importance of people, there have usually been obstacles of one kind or another when the time actually comes to select people for promotion to leading posts.

Does the selection of professionals mean "stressing ability and belittling political integrity"? No. The criterion for our selection of cadres is both political integrity and ability, or both Red and expert. Of course, in selecting people for promotion we must attach great importance to their political quality. Then why do some people call this "stressing ability and belittling political integrity"? This is only the evil result of the

slogans "Politics can substitute for everything" and "politically good means vocationally good" as trumpeted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years. When the four evils were on the rampage, anyone devoted to vocational work for the sake of the motherland's construction would be accused of "putting vocation in command" or "taking the road of white experts," and anyone putting these people to work would be charged with "putting controversial persons in important positions" or "failing to draw a clear class demarcation." Because of this pernicious influence, some comrades still harbor these thoughts: Stress politics and never mind vocational work; it is safe to stress political integrity but dangerous to stress ability. Now when we talk about both political integrity and ability we mean political integrity and ability in unity. In the past, under the influence of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," cadres were judged by their behavior in political movements, their class background, their social relations and so forth. The standard for "good politics" was not a cadre's firm support for the party's ideological and political lines, his keen vocational and political sense of responsibility, or his vocational qualification for his position. This is a metaphysical viewpoint which ignores both political integrity and ability. Politics and vocation are united, and good politics is not something abstract. A cadre can be called really politically good only when he firmly adheres to the socialist orientation, implements the party's line, principles and policies, diligently studies science and technology in the interest of the country and the people, shows competence in his vocation, works hard and is full of creative spirit. Can those who indulge in political claptrap and have no real ability at all be called "politically good"? Therefore, when we select cadres who are politically and ideologically good and yet competent in some profession, we are by no means "stressing ability and belittling political integrity." To realize the four modernizations it is extremely necessary that the scientific, cultural and professional levels of our cadres be raised. If they do not study science and technology and are not devoted to their profession, and if they only rely on being "politically good" and have little or no real ability, will they be capable of fulfilling the duties assigned them by the party? There are obviously two basically different views on political integrity and ability. One is the dialectical materialist view, according to which political integrity and ability, being both Red and expert, and politics and vocation are all united, and the party cadre line of appointing people according to their merits is faithfully implemented. The other is the metaphysical idealistic view, according to which political integrity and ability, being both Red and expert, politics and vocation are separated and set against each other. In this way, the cadre line of appointing people according to their merits cannot be correctly implemented, and the result will be a waste of talent. We must resolutely uphold the former and repudiate the latter view.

In selecting people for promotion we must break with conventions and discard the idea of "ranking people according to seniority." It is not

the party's cadre policy to "rank people according to seniority," which originates from a decadent force of habit. If we want a plant, a store, a school or a scientific research unit to be run well, we must select people of high professional and managerial caliber for leading positions. Why do some units even now have difficulty in selecting these people? One of the important reasons is the idea of "ranking people according to seniority." Whenever the subject of selecting cadres, particularly professionally competent cadres who are relatively young, for promotion is mentioned, there are all sorts of comment: "Not senior enough for such a heavy responsibility." "There are vacant high positions, but it is not yet his turn to fill any of them in view of his present low position." "He only knows about his own line but is inexperienced in leadership," and so on and so forth. Therefore, the cadres eligible for selection must be limited to those of suitable rank. The selection often proves to be futile. Even though one or two others are included, their names as a rule are placed at the bottom of the list. People have said that, although they are no longer under the "stinking ninth category," intellectuals do not belong to the "fragrant three categories" either. Sometimes this sort of spectacle can be seen: While crying about the serious shortage of talent, some people fail to notice the talent under their very noses. They never think of using this talent to better advantage but beg other units to transfer the right persons to them. This practice is attributed to the idea that "Monks from afar can chant better scriptures." We should note that since the founding of the People's Republic we have trained a huge number of technical personnel whose age is now around 40. These people are still young, healthy and full of vitality and in addition have a good scientific and cultural background and practical working experience. These people should be used to full advantage in contributing to the realization of the four modernizations. Unless we break with these conventions, these talents cannot climb any higher. This is not a minor matter but a question of fundamental importance to the four modernizations and to communism for a hundred, a thousand, nay, ten thousand years.

We should act without any selfish consideration, proceed from the interests of the party and the people and be enthusiastic in helping the growth of the new generation. Waves in the Changjiang River as a rule are pushed forward by waves from behind, and the younger generation always surpasses the old generation. In our history we can find many instances of capable persons being recommended regardless of personal grudges or affections. These instances should be good lessons for us. In the Tang dynasty, Yang Jingzhi [2254 2417 0037] publicized the merits of Xiang Si [7309 2448], who was hardly known to the world. His sentiments were expressed in a poem he wrote to Xiang Si. It reads: "I have read several of your poems and found them all good. But when I saw your demeanor, I found it even better than your poems. I always fail to understand why people's merits should remain concealed. Therefore, I have told everyone about Xiang Si." Even now the phrase "telling about Xiang" is used to mean putting in a good word for others. Today, since

we regard the emancipation of the whole of mankind as the duty of a revolutionary, shouldn't we be more magnanimous, more openminded and more farsighted in selecting and training people?

Can we refuse to select professionals on the ground that "laymen can lead experts"? Certainly not! People said that "laymen can lead experts" as a rebuttal to the statement that the Communist Party could not provide leadership for national construction. When we said that the Communist Party was capable of providing leadership, what did the word "capable" mean? Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out: "By 'capable' we mean politically capable. As to technology, many of us are still ignorant. But technology can be learned." In other words, by relying on the correct political and organizational lines, our party was capable of leading the country. However, political capability alone is not enough. We must also be professionally capable, know about science and technology and turn ourselves from laymen into experts to that our leadership can be strong and powerful and implementation of the party line guaranteed. Comrade Mao Zedong many times urged cadres to "dig into our jobs" and "become experts." But he never called on us to not study science and technology, to be content to remain laymen, to pay no attention to the selection of professionals or to refrain from bringing the role of professionals into play. The "gang of four" claimed that "'laymen lead experts' is a universal law" and that experts are therefore not required as leaders. This is quite absurd and must be completely repudiated. Today, 30 years after the founding of the People's Republic, when we are marching along the road of the four modernizations, we must no longer cling to the idea of laymen's ability to lead experts; we should stress the need to become real experts. Therefore, we must make every effort to create a situation in which the leadership of party committees and professional organizations at all levels will include professionals in due course. On the one hand we should boldly select and promote professional cadres to leading positions. On the other hand we must diligently study science and technology in order to become experts as soon as possible. It is true that, since the founding of the People's Republic, many cadres who took part in economic construction have become, or basically become, experts. Yet there still are many who have not yet dug into their scientific or technological jobs or are content to remain laymen or "jack of all trades and master of none" cadres. Unless this situation is rapidly changed, they will not only remain behind the times but also stand in the way of many professionals' advancement. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others.

In selecting professionals, people are afraid of being accused of "taking the expert's line," "putting experts in charge of plants" or "putting experts in charge of schools." Don't be afraid! Now that we are striving for the four modernizations with all-out efforts, we need large numbers of experts in various trades and professions, as well as large numbers of pathbreakers ready to scale the pinnacles of science and technology. "Expert" was used by the "gang of four" as a derogatory term,

but today it is meant to be a compliment. We have to trust and rely on experts. Lenin said that, without guidance from experts who were equipped with knowledge, technology and experience of all types, the transition to socialism would be impossible. If it is claimed that this means "putting experts in charge of plants" and "putting experts in charge of schools," what can be wrong when it is carried out under party committee leadership? This should be a very good thing! We must be aware that the question of selecting professionals is also the question of implementing the policy on intellectuals. Our party has always highly regarded intellectuals, but we have also had a serious lesson. For example, the excesses committed in the struggle against rightists in 1957 and the so-called "Pull Down the White Banner" movement against intellectuals in 1958 hurt many intellectuals. During the Great Cultural Revolution the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought disasters to the broad masses of intellectuals. The "gang of four" actually refused to recognize the position and role of intellectuals in socialist revolution and construction or the fact that intellectuals are part of the working class and have become a force to be relied on by the party. They despised cultural knowledge, science and technology, and intellectuals. Besides being extremely stupid, they were reactionaries against the four modernizations. The development of the revolutionary cause demands that intellectuals be given the position they deserve and that we should attach importance to intellectuals and boldly put them to work. As for those with an unfavorable class background, complicated social relations or even a questionable past, we must not be guided by the theory of class background. Instead, we must be attentive to their basic attitude and actual behavior and trust and use them instead of ostracizing them. Can those really capable nonparty cadres and experts who support the party and are enthusiastic for socialist modernization be put in leading positions in plants, mines, enterprises or scientific research units? Definitely yes. On the contrary, the exclusion of nonparty cadres would be harmful to the party's cause. In dealing with technical personnel we should not insist on perfection. The so-called experts are experts in only certain fields but may not be fully competent in other fields. Gold cannot be completely pure, and people cannot be wholly perfect. We must "use people according to each one's specialty." When the professionals have been promoted, they must have the power commensurate with their positions and be allowed to further increase their ability and show their achievements in practice.

Of course, we must be careful to not only select people but also train them. We must promptly adopt measures to strengthen education for the cadres and to organize cadres to attend various types of cadre schools and training classes. At the same time we must organize various forms of spare-time study programs to enable them to study politics, culture, technology, science, economics, enterprise management and so forth, so that many more cadres will gradually become experts in every trade and profession to meet the requirements of the four modernizations. These measures will certainly play a great role and produce good effects in making the leading bodies professional and youthful and in promoting the four modernizations.

9411

CSO: 4004

GIVE FULL PLAY TO THE ROLE OF MIDDLE-AGED SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 36-38

[Article by Zhang Wentao [1728 2429 7290]]

[Text] To accomplish the four modernizations we need a mighty scientific and technical force of the working class which is both Red and expert and a number of scientists and technicians who are first rate by world standards. We must pay special attention to discovering talents, training them and putting them to correct use. This is an important task in strengthening the scientific and technological ranks.

Our present scientific and technological ranks consist of three components--the old, the middle-aged and the young. Since the scientific foundation of old China was weak, there are not many old scientists, and they are the treasures of the country and the people. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the redressing of wrongs and the implementation of policies, these old scientists have worked day and night with renewed vigor and high aspirations and have undertaken heavy responsibilities. However, because of the laws of nature, many of them are no longer able to bear the brunt in the frontline of scientific experiment. The young generation in these ranks is a new force with the most vitality and creative spirit and should be our hope in scientific development. However, because of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in past years, the training of this generation was neglected, with the result that in the research institutes there are few young scientists or technicians and even fewer who are capable of working independently. Today the heavy responsibility of showing achievements and cultivating talents on the forefront of scientific research is shouldered mostly by middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Therefore, an important question in building a scientific and technical force today is how to give full play to the role of these middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. The following are my views based on actual work experience.

To give play to the middle-aged generation in the scientific and technical force we must thoroughly understand their special characteristics, as shown in the following.

First, the overwhelming majority of them have grown up under socialist conditions and have developed through long party education and training. They love the party and socialism, have a strong devotion to their professions and a keen sense of responsibility, and know the fine traditions of the party and the difficulties in the pioneering stage. They constitute a worthy portion of the working class and a force to be relied on by our party.

Secondly, the overwhelming majority of them have undergone fairly intensive training at regular universities and have for quite a long time been engaged in scientific research under the guidance of scientific research tutors. They have a fairly good foundation for their vocation and the mastery of foreign languages. Despite the severe persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the waste of many years of valuable time, many of them have managed to keep up their study and work under extremely difficult conditions. With some additional effort they will be able to catch up with the advanced world level in science.

Thirdly, the backbone elements among them have given outstanding performances in developing basic sciences and in solving important scientific and technological problems in our country's economic construction and national defense construction. For example, they participated in the research on and production of synthetic insulin, atomic bombs, manmade satellites, and so forth. Many of them are even the founders of laser, infrared and computer technologies and semiconductor and other new branches of learning and new technologies. They have fought big battles and won big victories. In realizing the four modernizations they certainly can bear the heavy responsibility of fighting a good battle on the scientific and technological front.

Fourthly, they are still in the prime of life and full of energy and creative spirit. In scientific research they also bear the responsibility of producing talents. Although many of them are laboring under great economic difficulties, their first concern is for the success of their scientific research, and their hope is to make greater contributions to the country.

The above-mentioned characteristics show that our middle-aged scientists and technicians are the generation to inherit the past and usher in the future and to carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future, as well as the mainstay to scale the pinnacles of science. The party and the people have very great faith in them and place their ardent hopes in them. We must conscientiously sum up our past experiences, both positive and negative, and adopt the necessary measures to help expand this force more quickly so that it can play a greater role in the march toward the four modernizations.

How do we give full play to the role of middle-aged scientists and technicians?

First, there should be an environment conducive to creative and "outstanding" undertakings. The history of scientific development in many countries has shown that scientific progress is inseparable from the growth of scientific talent, which in turn is inseparable from a scientific and democratic environment. In this environment there should be a lively academic atmosphere to encourage creative and "outstanding" work, so that people will have the inspiration to explore and to debate and will enjoy equality in science and freedom from the restrictions of seniority in service or in age. We must wipe out the influences of feudalism and the force of petty production habits, as shown by the practice of ranking people according to seniority and forbidding small people to talk loudly. We must change the outdated rules implied in the saying "Many years' experience will qualify a daughter-in-law for the position of a grandmother" and systematically guarantee that top positions go to the most capable and most creative persons. We must conscientiously implement the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, encourage the middle-aged scientists and technicians to express their creative views and thus create a strong academic atmosphere. Debates on scientific questions should not be settled by the gavel of the party, the administrative leading cadres or any single scientist. Instead, the solution should be found through mutual consultations and joint probings. Experiments should be permitted, so that scientific laws can be discovered and solutions to problems found in practice.

Old scientists are the vanguard in scaling the pinnacles of science. In addition, they have the honored responsibility of recommending and training people. Many old scientists believe in the saying "Green dye is taken from blue, but it is nearer the color of nature than is blue," and they consider it an honor and a source of personal satisfaction to let their students surpass them. We should develop the spirit of courageously serving as a Boluo [a legendary expert on horses] and as "human ladders" and let the middle-aged and young scientists grow rapidly under the care and help of the older generation.

Secondly, conditions should be available for scientists and technicians to concentrate on their work. One of the important conditions for guaranteeing concentration on work required by middle-aged scientists and technicians is to preserve relative stability in the orientation of research. To degermine the orientation of research we must consider not only the requirements for the development of the country and of science but also the suitability of work for individuals and their personal interests. Scientists and technicians with high political consciousness and aspirations are usually concerned with the requirements of the country and the people, and many comrades have willingly changed the orientation of their professional research because of the country's urgent requirements and have shown outstanding results. A profound lesson we have learned from the past is that, because of their ignorance of science and of the laws of scientific development, certain leading cadres, under the pretext of state requirements, carried out improper administrative interventions

and arbitrarily changed the orientation of research for some scientists and technicians. This kind of "blind commandism" interfered with the normal growth of some promising scientific and technical talents and hindered the realization of some creative scientific plans. After the National Science Conference, many scientists and technicians had a clear understanding of the orientation of their work, and many of them have given outstanding performances. There may still be some scientists and technicians whose orientation of research has not been determined, and every effort should be made to help them with that determination so that they will know exactly where to concentrate their efforts.

Experimental equipment is an important condition of work. At present the condition of experimental equipment in many units is quite backward and has become a sharp contradiction which is hindering the progress of research and the growth of talent. Since the 1960's, foreign countries have extensively used the most up-to-date experimental equipment, while the vast majority of units in our country are still using experimental equipment of the 1950's. Because of the lack of advanced experimental equipment and technology, research work has been slowed down, while some good scientific plans cannot be realized or produce any results. Therefore, while developing the spirit of self-reliance and producing some new experimental equipment ourselves, it is also necessary to import some advanced equipment in appropriate quantities and in good time.

Furthermore, it is necessary to minimize the amount of administrative work for promising middle-aged scientists and to provide them with capable assistants so as to reduce their complex experimental workload and help them concentrate their energy on the main problem of their research.

Thirdly, it is necessary to give them more opportunities for further study and for broadening their vision. Modern science and technology develop very rapidly, and the branches of learning crisscross or intermingle with each other. Worse still, the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused a loss of time and left our scientists even further behind. In order to catch up with and to surpass the advanced world level, it is quite important that our middle-aged scientists and technicians continue to study.

The study program for middle-aged scientists and technicians must be adjusted to their own special characteristics. Besides coordinating their self-study with their work, it is also necessary to send, in a planned manner, outstanding scientists and technicians to study abroad and to let them participate in research projects and related international academic conferences or to conduct short-term investigations so that they can absorb something new from foreign lands which may further stir up their ideas. In selecting people to go abroad we should not confine our consideration to a few old scientists; instead,

we should send more middle-aged ones and let them face the world and be familiarized with the activities and achievements of their foreign counterparts so that they can benefit from other people's merits.

Meanwhile, it is also necessary to actively conduct exchanges of academic experience within our country. For example, we can organize in a planned way some research workers of high and middle ranks to work in other research units or in institutes of higher learning for some time. This will bring them into contact with new fields and new undertakings which will broaden their vision, stir up their ideas and increase their capacity for more knowledge.

Fourthly, the living conditions of scientists and technicians should be improved so as to relieve them of undue worries. The heavy responsibility, low pay, large family burdens and poor housing conditions of middle-aged scientists and technicians are now gradually known to the public. Despite their many difficulties, they are still endeavoring to keep up their research and study. As some comrades have described it figuratively, "They eat only grass, and we get milk out of them." They are indeed our rare treasure. Their fortitude clearly demonstrates the political consciousness of intellectuals of our working class. We should develop and encourage this spirit; however, our party workers and leaders at various levels should pay full attention to their really difficult living and working conditions and adopt measures to solve as many of these problems as possible. Of course, some problems can only be solved gradually when national economic conditions have improved and developed. As long as the situation is clearly explained, the broad masses of scientific and technical personnel will understand and face it in the proper spirit. At the same time we must conscientiously implement the relevant party principles and policies, including the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work," and pay our scientists and technicians as permitted by our present limited financial and material resources. We must implement the principle of "selecting the good ones to be supported" and oppose equalitarianism, so that the middle-aged backbone elements who have made good contributions will have their difficult problems solved first. This is a measure of strategic significance in the long-range interest of the working class, and all far-sighted people should understand this point. We must also strengthen political work so that all cadres engaged in political work and in logistic administration will clearly understand this point and provide better service for scientific research and for the scientists and technicians themselves. In this way, all of us will unite with one heart to strive for the goal of realizing the four modernizations in our country at an early date.

The question of building a scientific and technical force concerns many fields. To speed up the training of a younger generation of scientific and technical personnel is a very urgent strategic task. Here I have only briefly presented my views on the role of middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. If I have not mentioned other roles, it is not at all because they are unimportant.

ON IDEOLOGICAL EMANCIPATION IN LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by a special commentator]

[Text] There are several different views at present on ideological emancipation in the field of literature and art. One view is that it has been excessive and gone too far. Another is that it is merely a beginning and that many restrictions still remain. There are also many who hold different views on the social effect of literary and artistic works, some favorable and some unfavorable.

It is normal for there to be different views and opinions. We may discuss and debate them, or we may investigate and study them and clarify the actual situation before arriving at a conclusion. However, the opinions and demands of many of the cadres and masses on literature and art deserve the serious attention of the comrades in the field. When we engage in such discussions, it appears to be highly necessary for us to clarify the true significance, goal and demands of ideological emancipation.

The policy of "emancipating thinking, starting up the machinery, seeking truth from facts and uniting and looking forward" proposed by the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee is directed at such phenomena as modern superstition, spiritual shackles, bookishness in everything, severance from reality and ossification or semi-ossification of the mind promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years. The goal is to enable the broad cadres and masses to completely and accurately understand and master Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, revive and develop the academic style of seeking truth from facts, starting from reality in everything and linking theory with practice as advocated by the party, promote the work of bringing order out of chaos on all fronts, study the new conditions and solve the new problems, eliminate the obstacles to shifting the emphasis of the party's work, and pursue the four modernizations under the guidance of the correct ideological line. Precisely as stated by Comrade Ye Jianying in his speech on the 30th National Day, "the goal of emancipating the mind,

in the final analysis, is to unite the entire party and the entire people and concretely realize the four modernizations step by step in a planned way." The ideological emancipation in the field of literature and art naturally must be in keeping with the party Central Committee's policy, not running counter to it. As progressives in ideological emancipation, the broad ranks of our literary and artistic workers must serve as progressives in promoting stability and unity and in realizing the four modernizations. Thus, we must clarify our goal and direction on the path of ideological emancipation and have the courage to break down the restrictions of modern superstition, uphold the party's ideological and political lines, adhere to the four fundamental principles, oppose anarchism and extreme individualism and resist bourgeois liberalism.

What is the actual situation of ideological emancipation in the field of literature and art since the downfall of the "gang of four"? Whether in creative practice or in bringing order out of chaos in the theoretical field, big strides have been made, gratifying results gained, many "forbidden areas" broken through and many rights and wrongs clarified. The basic situation is good, and the achievements are the main thing. The holding of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists is a distinct milestone. Naturally, this does not mean that there are no defects and problems. We must admit that the writers of some literary works and theoretical articles indeed have not given full consideration to the social effect and influence of their work. However, we are fully justified in believing that such phenomena emerging in our progress will be safely overcome under the party's guidance.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," our party, in the severe disaster area of literature and art, has performed much work, redressed large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases, enforced policies, reinstated many comrades and reaffirmed many literary works. This is excellent. However, for our socialist literature and art to regain their vitality and to flourish and develop, we must perform a great deal of arduous and meticulous work, including the task of bringing order out of chaos in literary and artistic ideology and theories. Currently we are in the midst of a new historical era, and the tasks of literary and artistic work are extremely arduous. From theory to practice, many new problems await our solution. Thus, instead of coming to a standstill on the road of ideological emancipation, our literary and artistic workers must continue to advance. We must, on the foundation of upholding the four fundamental principles, continue to emancipate thinking and thoroughly remove the spiritual shackles left by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," for otherwise we will not successfully complete the tasks assigned by the party and the people.

The remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" 10-year interference and disruption in literature and art is very grave. The evil influence created by their cultural tyranny and obscurantism and their

distortion and revision of the party's literature and art policy has not been thoroughly purged. Thus, we must, by means of studying and discussing the principle of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, rectify and unify our thinking, reorganize and reinforce our ranks and conscientiously summarize our past work, upholding the correct things that are in keeping with reality and correcting the erroneous things that are incompatible with reality. As regards certain important issues, we must discuss and study them under leadership in order to arrive at suitable and clear conclusions. These constitute the path which we must follow to open up the future and bring prosperity to socialist literature and art. We must continue to uphold the principle of "100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending," which is the fundamental policy for the prosperity of socialist literature and art. We must correctly regard superior ancient and foreign works and lift the bans and introduce such works under leadership in a planned way, so that we will absorb the beneficial things therein and use them as references for developing our new socialist literature and art with China's national characteristics, as well as satisfy the people's cultural needs and broaden their field of vision. Imprisoning the mind or placing ideological emancipation and the four fundamental principles in opposition to each other is detrimental to the prosperity and development of socialist literature and art.

At present some individual comrades in literature and art still entertain an unnecessary concern. They feel that henceforth they should not talk so much about ideological emancipation, since the policy of "releasing" will soon be changed to "restraint"; they therefore adopt a wait-and-see attitude. This is a misunderstanding. Our party is adamant about following the principle of "100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending" and implementing the policy proposed by the third plenary session, and it will continue to do so and to encourage the broad ranks of literary and artistic workers to follow suit in their creative practice. Therefore, there is no question of "restraint." However, we must also point out that "releasing" must never be erroneously interpreted as bourgeois liberalization. Our party has always opposed bourgeois liberalism, extreme individualism and anarchism. Such alien ideas, which are intolerable to the proletarian standpoint, are entirely different from the ideological emancipation we advocate. The moment ideological emancipation is mentioned, some individuals immediately feel that it is no longer necessary to pay attention to principles and standpoints or to consider the social influence and effect of literary works. Thus, they disregard the interest of the party and the people and concentrate on inflating the "ego," saying whatever they want to say and writing whatever they want to write. Whoever upholds the four fundamental principles is accused of blocking ideological emancipation, following "the will of the superior" and suppressing "democratic freedom." To them, "democracy" is everything, just like the Yenisei River boatman criticized by Stalin who rowed the boat with utmost effort without knowing where he was going. Some even value as treasures such low-class

merchandise as modern impressionist paintings, the yellow songs of low-grade bars in the West and yellow and terrorist films and novels, admiring them enthusiastically and peddling them everywhere. Quite obviously, this is not the ideological emancipation we advocate, but an erroneous tendency which is firmly opposed by the broad masses as well as us. Both literature and art and politics belong to the superstructure, and the link between them is very close. Mutually influencing each other, each has a tremendous impact on the economic foundation. The entire history of the development of literature and art proves that literature and art cannot be divorced from politics and that the proletarian literature and art are an integral part of the great proletarian cause as a whole. The ideological emancipation of literature and art must be pursued under the four fundamental principles, and the liveliness in literature and art and in creative work must be subordinated to the major premise of stability and unity. Only thus will we enable literary and artistic work to develop along the correct path and become ever more flourishing; only thus can we make it benefit the realization of the four modernizations, the greatest politics, and promote the lively situation of both democracy and centralism, both freedom and discipline, and both individual ease of mind and unity of will. To discuss ideological emancipation and liveliness apart from the four fundamental principles and stability and unity is like climbing a tree for fish, making our fixed goal impossible.

What our modernization cause demands of literature and art today is absolutely not to weaken the party's leadership but to reinforce it. We must fundamentally improve the party's leadership of literary and artistic work, abolish all flagrantly interfering administrative methods and measures and build a true comradely and friendly relationship between the party's leading personnel and literary and artistic workers, so that they will treat each other as equals and work together. It is mainly a question of reaching an ideological understanding with the comrades who hold the one-sided views on ideological emancipation discussed above. We have the obligation to help them, guide them with warm concern, and free them from the spiritual shackles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that together we will open a bright and magnificent path for socialist literature and art. We must believe in the broad ranks of literary and artistic workers. They have the capacity for independent thinking, the determination to penetrate the masses and life, and a sense of responsibility and a sense of mission toward society. As long as they are adroitly guided, they will consciously recognize the social effect of their own creative activities and results and adhere to the correct direction. In the final analysis, only when they listen to the appeal of the era with their whole heart, feel a growing passion for the great cause we pursue, and undertake the solemn responsibility of cultivating new socialists possessing a noble spiritual bearing will they become the engineers of man's soul. Our party organizations at all levels and leading personnel in the field of literature and art must conscientiously perform ideological work in the field of literature and art. Some leading personnel feel that, as thinking has now been emancipated, they can

slacken their supervision. They fear to express themselves as to whether an ideological understanding is right or wrong or whether the trend of an article is beneficial or harmful. This is a misunderstanding of ideological emancipation. We must commend the good ideas and good articles and have the courage to affirm and praise them. As regards ideas which lack social responsibility and articles which disregard the social effect, we must have the courage to criticize them and help correct them.

We eagerly hope that, to realize the four modernizations and bring prosperity and development to socialist literature and art, the broad ranks of literary and artistic workers, under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, will with one heart and one mind and with dedication create many works of profound artistic appeal worthy of our era in order to educate and encourage the people to rush toward the great goal.

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THE ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE BALLET 'SI LU HUA YU'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 pp 41-44

[Article by Ye Ning [5509 1380]]

[Text] Artistically recreating the historical features of the ancient Silk Route, extolling the warm friendship and economic and cultural exchanges between ancient Chinese and foreign peoples and praising the arduous artistic creativity and indomitable fighting spirit of ancient folk artists, the ballet "Flower Rain of the Silk Route," with its original and exquisite artistic style, rich with national coloring, is a unique and superior work in China's national dance drama.

From the 2d century BC to the 13th or 14th century AD, the Silk Route linked China, Persia, India, Egypt, Greece and Rome, the most ancient birthplaces of culture. Due to the unimpeded traffic of the Silk Route, the cultures of the East and the West were exchanged freely, adding beauty to each other and enriching and developing the various national cultures. The dance art of China has a long historical tradition. By the Tang dynasty, because of the extensive contact and exchange with the Western Regions, a golden age in dance art had emerged. Today the rich and colorful dance postures and scenes in the Dunhuang frescoes vividly reflect the spectacular achievements of dance art in the Tang dynasty.

Courageous in exploration and creation, artists living in Gansu have long felt a profound dedication to the culture and art of China's ancient times. Under the guidance of weeding through the old to bring forth the new and making the past serve the present, they took the Silk Route of the Tang dynasty as the historical background, assimilated the dance style of the Dunhuang frescoes and created the ballet "Flower Rain of the Silk Route."

How does one describe the Silk Route, which lasted 1,000 years and stretched 10,000 li? The authors were ingenious and unique in selecting one aspect in the long river of life, beginning with Dunhuang and creating an artistic plot centered around it. The Dunhuang of ancient times was a hub of communication on the Silk Route and a city of international

trade. Emissaries of the nations, priests, scholars and merchants and the accompanying musicians and dancers, painters and sculptors--all had to pass through it to reach Changan. The first and sixth scenes of "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" artistically recreate the market scene of Dunhuang and the solemn ceremony of the 27-nation friendship meeting, unfolding before our eyes the flourishing panorama of international contact and the hustle and bustle of the ancient city. China's first cave temple, the Mogao Cave, was built in 366 AD in the oasis between Mingsha and the Sanwei Mountains within the city boundary. The thoroughfare to the Western Regions at that time passed in front of the cave. The authors of the ballet visited the artistic treasure house of Mogao Cave many times to learn and study, read large volumes of documentary material and made careful observations in the caves, which are filled with hundreds of colorful frescoes. The beautiful and incomparable scenes of lotus blossoms in the treasure pond, the bodhi trees and colorful clouds dancing in the skies and the picture stories rich with mystery stir one's imagination. Such religious art was an indirect reflection of actual life, created by the artists at that time according to the image of the real world. In the second and fourth scenes, the life of the old painter and his daughter, creating the frescoes together, was produced by the authors with rich imagination and ingenious plotting after actual observation and experience.

The structure of the ballet is relatively well knit, and though imaginary, the characters and story are convincing. By means of the joys and sorrows of Magic Brush Zhang, the old painter of Mogao Cave, and his daughter Yingniang and the devotion between the old painter and his Persian friend Yinusi, an intricate plot and conflicts are developed. From beginning to end the drama centers on the main thread of the deep friendship forged between the Chinese and foreign peoples on the Silk Route, thereby reflecting the economic and cultural prosperity resulting from the enlightened policy of promoting friendly relations followed by the Tang dynasty. Expressing an important ideological theme and mastering the artistic pattern of illustrating the large with the small and lifting the weighty like a feather by means of a commonplace subject matter are the creative successes of "Flower Rain of the Silk Route." It has broken through the creative method of all-inclusiveness, generalization and formalism, concentrated, epitomized and refined the intertwining and complex ways of the world and created an original work of art.

Typical representatives of tens of thousands of painters and dancers in the lower stratum of society, Magic Brush Zhang and Yingniang are honest individuals with a strong sense of justice. The authors' portrayal of the two characters is convincing, without heightening them by praise. Magic Brush Zhang's action of charging up the beacon tower in disregard of his life and interest, for instance, is for the purpose of rescuing his own daughter and his friend; Yingniang's action of disguising herself to gain entry to the 27-nation friendship meeting to reveal the robbery by Si Cao and Dou Hu is for the purpose of avenging her father.

In describing their courage and struggles, the authors do not exceed the inevitable logic of the possible development of their thinking and character. The depiction of corrupt officials and rascals who covet money and women, oppress the people and hold up merchants, along with the description of the flourishing economy and culture resulting from the enlightened policy of promoting friendly relations with foreign countries introduced in the Tang dynasty, is also compatible with reality. The "Picture of Merchant Hu Encountering Bandits" in the Dunhuang frescoes is a portrayal of actual life at that time. In short, the realistic creative path followed in the ballet by starting from life and truthfully expressing the thinking and emotions of the characters by means of concrete and moving artistic imagery should serve as our reference in many aspects.

The ideological content of the ballet is implied in its artistry and expressed in the artistic image of dancing. In a ballet, dancing is the main means to portray character images and describe a typical environment. Depicting the characters, emotions and scenery with romantic and lyrical means, "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" is filled with poetic flavor. It is both perfect and unified in its artistic style.

In the prelude, flowers rain on the sheer screen of colorful clouds. Then the motionless Buddhist images in silhouette on the backdrop gradually rise and dance. Finally the bells on the camels grow louder as they approach. These three dance images depict the environment, and, as the selection is suitable and the portrayal has its originality, the audience is immediately drawn into the mythical ancient times. Naturally, in depicting the environment, lighting, scenery and music all have an important effect, but whether the dancing has any special characteristics and individuality is the most crucial aspect. In the ballet the natural environment of the bottom of the sea, the forests and the storms and the living environment of banquets, weddings, celebrations and dreams are generally expressed by imaginary or personified animal and plant dancing, resulting in the creation of a typical environment. The splendid group dancing in the six scenes of the ballet adds atmosphere and color to the environment and sets off the portrayal of the main character images. The variety show at the Dunhuang market, for instance, both depicts the special environment of the marketplace and, by means of her melancholy solo, expresses Yingniang's misery after being sold to the variety show troupe; it closely links the portrayals of scenery and emotion. Longing for his daughter, Magic Brush Zhang, for instance, seems to see her coming to life in the frescoes. In his imagination, Yingniang becomes even more beautiful and lively in her dancing than in real life. At this time, on the wings of imagination, the dancing soars to an even higher plane. When the palace musicians, lotus boy, goddesses and song birds in the frescoes rise up to dance and create a beautiful fairyland, Magic Brush Zhang and Yingniang are intoxicated with joy. Here, such group dancing both creates the environment and portrays Magic Brush Zhang's feelings and emotions. Other scenes, such as the embroidery, camel bell

and scarf dances in the Persian garden and the Indian and rainbow dances at the 27-nation friendship meeting, have all been created for the purpose of intensifying the ideological content of the ballet and are not mere insertions dissociated from the story.

As the period depicted is the Tang dynasty, the characteristics of the dance of the period are required. Yet the true dance of the Tang dynasty was lost, and the authors could only recreate it from the postures preserved in the frescoes and the descriptions found in Tang poetry. They carefully studied the frescoes and poetry of Tang and created the dances with their rich imaginative power. In form, the lotus boy dance, for instance, uses the cudrania branch dance of the Tang dynasty. The dancing boy hides among the lotus blossoms and emerges when the blossoms are parted. The special feature is "golden bells on the hat and clothes tinkling" (Chen Yang, "Book of Music," Vol 184), depicting the light and lively dancing steps whirling rapidly and the rhythmic tinkle of the golden bells. In the Tang frescoes we can see the dance posture of the boy standing amidst the lotus blossoms. The authors assimilated the image and created the dance, enabling us to see the similarity between the lotus boy and the cudrania branch dances. Others, such as the goddess and the singer dances, were all created from the postures in the frescoes, reminding us of the lifelike goddesses of the Tang dynasty. Such dance creations not only express the characteristics and style of the age, but also are valuable in reviving the dance in the Tang frescoes.

In character portrayal, what deserves special mention is Yingniang's dance image in the ballet. Her graceful dance postures, ingenious hand gestures, flowing eye expressions, elegant bearing and the molding of beauty in every instant all manifest the dance style of the frescoes. As we all know, though motion is implied in the static, the various dance postures in the frescoes and sculptures are basically static. How to observe their motion tendencies in their static state and link them into a dance, while preserving the original lines and style, is creatively manifested in Yingniang's dance image. The steps, turns and jumps, including the minute movement of lifting the big toe, all retain the style of the frescoes, yet they are not arbitrary imitations. Yingniang's dance posture of playing the pipa in reverse possesses a strong sense of the beauty in the frescoes. The dance not only ingeniously revives such beauty, but adds rhythm and life to it, depicting the innocent and pure soul of a young girl dedicated to art. When Magic Brush Zhang becomes inspired by Yingniang's dance posture of playing the pipa in reverse and Yingniang poses as the model for her father's fresco, the expression on her face is one of incomparable joy. This scene is most moving, showing their dependence on each other and their joy in creating art together. The solo dance in a ballet must closely merge the inner thoughts of the character and the surrounding environment before it can express its individuality. Its language (as with the pas de deux and group dancing) must possess the power of appeal, and, like

writing poetry, it must be selected with the creative spirit of "dazzling the viewer," not be a mere compilation of technical movements. The authors exerted a definite effort in this aspect in Yingniang's dancing. After arriving in Persia, Yingniang lives in friendship with the Persians, teaches the Persian girls Chinese embroidery, learns dancing from the Persians and becomes the emissary of friendship between the Chinese and Persian peoples. Her dancing style is both elegant, appropriate and appealing. With the development of the story, her dancing is at times slow and melancholy and at times bright and lively, expressing her emotional changes. The authors successfully create her dance image, and the young dancer playing the role has freed herself from the restrictions of existing dance formulas, emancipated her body and demonstrated an outstanding talent in both dancing and acting. "Light as the swirling snow and beautiful as a startled dragon," as described by the Tang poet Bai Juyi ("Rainbow Song," "Complete Poetry of Tang," Case 7, Vol 5), the dancer in her performance has created a dancing style which is light, beautiful and original.

The artistic style of the entire ballet is harmonious and unified. The authors carefully studied and designed the music, costumes and scenery, manifesting a strong national coloring and Eastern sentiment, such as the scene of the ancient Dunhuang marketplace, the magnificent frescoes of Mogao Cave, the green grapes and red roses of the exotic Persian garden, the silks and jewelry at the 27-nation friendship meeting and, finally, the rain of flowers on the ancient thoroughfare, symbolizing the 10,000-11 Silk Route spanning 1,000 years. Scene after scene of picture scrolls unfolding before the audience gives one rich pleasure.

Under the spiritual inspiration of the third plenary session of the party and the kind concern and guidance of the Gansu provincial party committee, the comrades of the Gansu provincial song and dance troupe emancipated their minds, developed democracy in art and jointly created the dance drama "Flower Rain of the Silk Route." Its performance has not only created a new level in China's national dance drama, but also furnished valuable experiences in the continuation and innovation of the dance. Reviving the dancing in the frescoes by creating the ballet, the authors developed or discarded the religious coloring in the frescoes, inherited the national style to express the people's thinking and emotions, returned to the people the art they had created, restored life to fresco dancing and gave it an artistic vitality. These are the results of their ability to "learn from the ancient" and "change the ancient" and their outstanding achievements of weeding through the old to bring forth the new. In the fifties, under the principle of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending, we gave serious attention to the study of China's ancient dancing. Though we realized that it was preserved not just in some of the traditional operas, our main effort was devoted to the arranging and study of the dance in such operas. Such dance dramas as "Precious Lotus Lamp" and "Little Knife Meeting" created in the latter part of the fifties and the basic training

arranged by the dancing schools were all innovated and developed from the traditional operas, and the achievements in this aspect were very great. Today, created just barely a year or two after the smashing of the "gang of four," "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" is not only completely freed from the cliches which were popular in the period of the "gang of four," but also emancipated from the framework which has long restricted dance creation. The authors applied the technical patterns of opera dancing while breaking down its formula, drew on the creative experience of foreign countries while remaining free from their restrictions, and, by breaking down superstition, innovating courageously and developing their own originality, opened a new path in reviving the dancing in China's frescoes. Though only a beginning, it is an excellent one, rich with creative spirit.

In his talk to the music workers in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong brilliantly expounded the relationship among continuity, drawing on the experiences of others and innovation in art. He said: We must learn Lu Xun's spirit, master the Chinese and the foreign, absorb the good points in Chinese and foreign art, assimilate them and create new art with a unique national form and style. We hope that the Gansu provincial song and dance troupe will, on this new starting point, work ceaselessly and continue to revise and improve by means of artistic practice, in order to make the work even more perfect. Meanwhile, they must pursue their study of the fresco dancing more comprehensively and intensively and make more contributions. We must learn and draw on the creative experiences of "Flower Rain of the Silk Route," find more ideas and more ways of writing, continue, innovate and develop the superior tradition of China's dancing from all sides, be skillful in assimilating the beneficial experiences of foreign dances, create dances of all styles and schools, enrich and bring prosperity to the socialist dance culture and serve the realization of the four modernizations.

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DOES PROSPERITY NECESSARILY MEAN 'REVISIONISM'?

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[Article by He Rongfei [0149 2837 7378]]

[Text] For the sake of achieving their ulterior goal, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for a long time played up the fallacy that "poverty gives rise to revolution, and prosperity gives rise to revisionism" and that prosperity will produce "capitalism" and "revisionism." Are things really like this? No! There is no inevitable connection between prosperity and revisionism.

The "prosperity" we are talking about refers to the prosperity of the state and the improvement in the living standard of the people on the basis of the development of productive forces. It refers to the prosperity of the masses of people, in particular to the prosperity of the working people in society, and not to the prosperity of a handful of exploiters. It refers to labor income and prosperity through labor rather than prosperity through exploitation. This concept of "prosperity" has nothing in common with revisionism. Revisionism is an ideological trend opposed to Marxism which emerged toward the end of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century. It is an ideological system representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. Proceeding from safeguarding the bourgeois exploitation system, what the revisionists advocated was the prosperity of a handful of exploiters and prosperity through exploitation. What they opposed was the prosperity of the working people and prosperity through labor. In this connection, revisionism advocates the safeguarding of private ownership of the means of production of the capitalists, which is responsible for the antagonism and great disparity between poverty and prosperity, and opposes common ownership of the means of production by the working people, which is the foundation of the prosperity of the working people. Therefore, we may say without qualification that advocacy of prosperity for the state and the people not only is not revisionism but, on the contrary, is also basically opposed to revisionism.

Not only is prosperity not revisionism, but also it cannot produce revisionism. The conditions which give rise to revisionism are not altogether the same in capitalist and socialist countries.

In socialist countries, submission to outside imperialist pressure is the external cause of revisionism; the existence of bourgeois influences is the internal cause of revisionism. Between the two, the internal cause is most fundamental. In China the existence of bourgeois influence was the cause that gave rise to Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Along with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" there were alien class elements and newly engendered bourgeois elements who represented the interests of the toppled landlords and bourgeoisie. For the sake of establishing their feudal fascist domination, they embarked on an ultra-leftist mutilation of Marxism. What has this to do with prosperity? Taking a brief look at history, we can see that there is no inevitable connection between the level of development of production and productive forces and the degree of prosperity of the state and the people and the rise of revisionism. The revisionism of Trotskiy and Bukharin appeared in Russia around the October Revolution, when Russia was a poor and backward country. The revisionism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" appeared in China during the 1960's and 1970's. As is known to everyone, China is still a relatively poor and backward country, although up to now there has been a certain degree of development in our country's economy. This explains that revisionism also can appear in poor and backward countries.

Lenin made a profound exposition of the cause of revisionism, holding that in the first place the labor aristocracy is the social base of revisionism in imperialist countries. Moreover, the labor aristocracy is a product of the imperialist buying-off policy. The monopoly bourgeoisie use a part of the surplus profits plundered from the colonies to buy off the labor ranks, so that they will lose their revolutionary sentiment, betray the interests of the working class and degenerate into bourgeois surrogates in labor movements. In the second place, the intensification of imperialist monopoly domination and contention has continued to throw small producers into the labor ranks. These petty bourgeoisie are the class foundation of revisionism. Because they have brought their world outlook into the labor ranks and because of the influence of bourgeois ideology in society, the working class has been influenced and corrupted by bourgeois ideology. This is the ideological cause of revisionism. Moreover, the transformation of the tactics of monopoly bourgeoisie, the ruling class in imperialist countries, has activated revisionism in the labor movement and often turned the internal differences in the labor movement into open splits. For the sake of safeguarding their domination, the monopoly bourgeoisie are always using the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of violent suppression and priestly deception. Lured by the policy of "mollification" and "liberalism," some people, particularly the upper strata of the labor movement, have illusions regarding the monopoly bourgeoisie, spread the sentiment of

reformism and enable opportunism to become stronger in the labor movement. From Lenin's analysis it can be seen that there is also no inevitable connection between revisionism and prosperity in capitalist countries.

Promoting the development of productive forces and enabling the life of the people to become more and more prosperous on the basis of the development of productive forces is a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. Its superiority is manifested not only by its ability to eliminate exploitation and suppression but also by its ability to eliminate backwardness and poverty. In a socialist society, with the replacement of private ownership of the means of production by public ownership and the separation of the means of production and labor by the direct integration of labor and the means of production, the exploiting class can no longer rely on ownership of the means of production to expropriate the fruits of the workers' labor. Therefore, the cause of class exploitation and class oppression has been eliminated. With the establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production, planned production has replaced the anarchic condition of competition and production, the artificial factors hampering the development of productive forces in class society have been eliminated and there has been an unprecedented upsurge in the enthusiasm of workers. As a result, this has determined that socialist relations of production can promote the development of productive forces more than any other relations of production in history. Again, because of the implementation of the principle of distribution according to work and adherence to the development of productive forces, not only will the state become prosperous, but the working people will also become prosperous. Precisely because of the above superiority of the socialist system, the masses of people long for it, seek it and safeguard it. If this were not the case, if, in the manner described by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," socialism could only bring "universal poverty" to the people, then who would support and struggle for this kind of socialism? Furthermore, the prospect of socialism is a communist society, whose outstanding features are the high development of productive forces, abundance of social products and distribution according to work. This is a society of high development of productive forces and unprecedented prosperity for the working people, a society even more prosperous than socialism. According to the "gang of four's" logic that "prosperity will give rise to revisionism," would this not mean that socialism and communism are "revisionism," with communism being the greatest "revisionism"? This is a negation of and insult to socialism and communism! It is also a negation of and insult to the Marxist theory of scientific socialism! If we were to say that poverty "will not give rise to revisionism" and can "guard against revisionism," then the people would give up their effort to develop productive forces, abandon the lofty ideal of building communism and cause the whole human society to regress to the most abject primitive society. Obviously this is a very reactionary logic!

The fallacy that "prosperity will give rise to revisionism" peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was actually an attempt to preach that, the moment productive forces are developed and material conditions improve, the people will covet ease and comfort and seek material enjoyment. They will make higher demands in life, lose their revolutionary determination and degenerate into revisionism. Therefore, material conditions cannot improve and the people cannot have prosperity. Only by always maintaining poverty and backwardness can they preserve the "purity" of Marxism.

Is the making of higher demands in life on a given material base "revisionism"? There are two lines of distinction here. First, we must see whether such demands exceed permissible material conditions and whether they exceed the level of development of productive forces. If we go beyond permissible material conditions and blindly seek material enjoyment, then this kind of thinking is naturally wrong and should receive criticism and education. However, if such demands concern a gradual improvement in the standard of living based on the development of productive forces, then they are rational. In discussing the composition of the means of consumption, Engels divided it into three parts: the "means of subsistence" most essential for maintaining human existence; the "means of development" needed for developing the physical and mental power of workers; and the "means of enjoyment" which enable workers to enjoy a happy life. Improvements in the proportion occupied by the means of development and the means of enjoyment in the composition of consumer goods reflect the progress of society. Because of the relatively low level of China's current productive forces, the overwhelming majority of workers only have sufficient means of subsistence but very little of the means of development or the means of enjoyment. Then why can we not make efforts to increase the means of development and enjoyment? Is it possible that such efforts are inconsistent with the arguments of Engels or with Marxism? Second, we must determine whether such demands and actions are established on the basis of exploitation or on labor. If people use dishonest means and expropriate the fruits of labor of others through graft, embezzlement, speculation and manipulation to satisfy their desire for a luxurious and decadent life, then this is the road taken by the new bourgeoisie and naturally should be resolutely opposed. If they keep improving their life through active labor and hard work, with remuneration obtained through distribution according to work, then this not only should not be criticized but should be encouraged, because distribution according to work is a form of distribution that has taken into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. While obtaining remuneration through distribution according to work, the individual is simultaneously supplying surplus labor for society. While making the state and the collective prosperous, this is simultaneously making the individual prosperous. The more the individual obtains through distribution according to work, the more surplus labor he will supply for society and the greater will be his contribution to society. Is it possible that making great contributions to society is not Marxism but "revisionism"?

Furthermore, with the improvement in material and living conditions, will the workers lose their revolutionary determination and degenerate into revisionism after becoming prosperous? No! As stated before, enabling the working people to become prosperous is a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. After obtaining due material benefits and tasting the advantages of socialism, the working people will understand from their personal experience that the socialist system is the only social system which can enable them to break away from poverty and take the common road of prosperity. Because of this they will have more faith in and support the socialist system, strengthen their confidence in taking the revolutionary road and kindle greater revolutionary enthusiasm in going all out for socialism. At the same time, giving the workers tangible material benefits and gradually improving and raising their living standards on the basis of the development of production is also the most practical way of carrying out socialist education for them. Moreover, when the socialist society is advancing and the living standard of the workers is constantly improving, the working people will more firmly believe in the prospect of socialism--the communist society, which will be the most fortunate, beautiful and ideal society in the history of mankind--and will raise their communist consciousness to struggle hard for the realization of communism. Just think: How can we imagine that the working people under these conditions would cast aside their faith in socialism and communism, abandon Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, believe in and uphold revisionism, the ideology of the capitalist system, and degenerate into revisionists? What is revolution? Judging from the ultimate goal of revolution, it is precisely as pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong: Revolution means liberating the productive forces and promoting their development. Judging from the development of social patterns, liberating the productive forces and promoting their development also means ultimately pushing human society through the historical period of socialism into the communist society. Since this is the ultimate goal of revolution, then are the enthusiasm of the workers in going all out for socialism, actively developing the productive forces and their consciousness in safeguarding the socialist system and struggling for communism not revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination? The essence of the problem is that for the "gang of four" the goal of revolution was only to make a handful of people prosperous but to leave the masses of people more and more poverty stricken. "Revolution" and the poverty of the workers intensify in relation to each other and affect each other: the greater the poverty, the more "revolutionary," and the more "revolutionary," the greater the poverty! The working people naturally will not have this kind of "revolutionary" consciousness and determination.

In the final analysis, the essence of the statement that prosperity will give rise to "revisionism" as promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was opposition to the realization of the four modernizations in China. They went in for the sham socialism of universal poverty or the feudal fascist type of socialism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," this

gang of vicious enemies of the people, wholeheartedly wanted to build their lordly and dissipated life on the basis of expropriating the fruits of labor of the working people and on the universal poverty of the working people. This is similar to the landlords building their luxury on the bankruptcy of the peasants and the capitalists building their enjoyment on the basis of the poverty of the workers. In the feudal fascist dynasty Lin Biao and the "gang of four" dreamed of day and night, the prosperity of a handful of people they represented could never be in harmony with the prosperity of the masses of working people. No wonder they were so energetic in opposing prosperity for the working people and so rabid in resisting the great strategic plan of realizing the four modernizations within the present century as personally formulated for us by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai.

Some comrades still have misgivings regarding the series of economic policies, particularly the economic policies for the countryside, put forward by the CCP Central Committee after the smashing of the "gang of four." They have lingering fears regarding the implementation of distribution according to work, rural trade fairs, normal domestic sideline occupations and private plots. The moment they see "outstanding household" or "outstanding collective," they act as though they have been confronted by a powerful enemy and devise means to "restrict" (restrict distribution according to work), "block" (block "the capitalist road") and "transfer" (practice egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of the property of the collective ownership unit). Getting to the source, they have still not broken away from the ideological prison that prosperity will give rise to "revisionism." Now is the time to make a complete break from this kind of ideological prison. We must use practice to examine our economic theory and economic policies, heighten our consciousness in implementing the line, policies and principles put forward by the CCP Central Committee, boldly allow the working people to become prosperous through labor and work hard to speed up the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

DO NOT GO BACK ON ONE'S WORD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 80 p 49

[Letter from readers Wu Xiangzheng [0702 3759 1813] and Ding Jirong [0002 4949 2837]]

[Text] Last year we had a good harvest of agricultural and sideline products, and the commune members were jubilant. In many places where the systems of fixing output quotas on a group basis and calculating remunerations according to output had been tried, however, the commune members had to worry as soon as their jubilation was over. They were afraid that the leadership would go back on their word and would not distribute the proceeds according to regulations. Their worry was, in fact, not unjustified, because in many localities there were indications that commune and production brigade (or team) leaders were not seriously or resolutely implementing party policies. When these leaders saw the masses getting a little more than usual, they would either refuse to pay or make some deduction. This led to dissatisfaction among the masses.

Why did the leaders of some communes and production brigades (or teams) go back on their word and refuse to pay? On investigation, we can generally find three reasons: First, because of the equalitarian habit of "eating out of the same pot and letting everyone have an equal share," these leaders could not bear the thought of some peasants getting "rich" ahead of others. Secondly, they worried that when some commune members received more benefits, the enthusiasm of the others might be dampened. Thirdly, a small number of cadres did not take party policies seriously and only treated them as "trifles." From the very beginning they did not believe that the masses could really fulfill their quotas, and therefore they had not planned on honoring their word. Now that the masses had really made it, they wanted to go back on their word.

We are of the opinion that, if the principle of paying according to work and more pay for more work is followed, there are bound to be differences in remuneration. If some people can get a little more for their extra toil and thus become "rich" ahead of others, this should be a good thing. Can there be any reason for Communist Party members to be afraid of

people getting rich?! Equalitarianism is the rope to restrict people's enthusiasm. Because of equalitarianism, there can be no system for production responsibility, and this will affect mass creativity and activism, as well as the rapid development of production. Now we are trying the method of calculating remuneration according to output, so that the peasants can combine collective benefits with individual benefits and thus further demonstrate socialist superiority. Compared with the "pauper's transition to high stages of collectivization" peddled under the signboard of "common prosperity" by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," isn't our method tens or hundreds of times better? The worry that it would affect the enthusiasm of some people is uncalled for. As the masses well understand, whoever works more should get more. Honoring one's word, far from dampening some people's enthusiasm, will further strengthen their faith in party policies and arouse their enthusiasm to promote collective production. It is true that in some cases, because of a lack of experience, the quotas were set too low, with the result that above-quota production became excessive and called for excessive remuneration. The masses may find this not quite reasonable, and adjustments can be made. But this should be no justification for going back on one's word. Those who were not prepared to honor their word to the masses in any case should carry out some serious self-reflection and try to determine whether they had the masses in mind at all.

One's word must be honored. This is one of the fine traditions and work styles of our party. We can gain people's confidence only by honoring our word. On the other hand, if policies are too easily changed, so that directives issued in the morning can be changed at night, the dignity of party policies will be seriously impaired. We must never do this foolish thing again.

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