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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 6, 16 March 1980

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16 May 1980

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 6, 16 March 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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A NEW ROAD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Xu Kuang [1776 0562]]



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**GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR INNER-PARTY POLITICAL LIFE--ADOPTED BY THE 5TH  
PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 2-11

[Text] The 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided to shift the emphasis of the entire party's work to socialist modernization. In the new historical period it is imperative to conscientiously uphold party rules and regulations, practically develop good party style, strengthen and improve party leadership and create a political situation of stability and unity throughout the party and the country in which there is centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, and unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Only thus can the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the party members be fully displayed and the whole party and all our nationalities be united to accomplish the great task of the socialist four modernizations.

Through protracted revolutionary struggles, particularly after the Yanan rectification campaign and the Seventh National CCP Congress, our party has made an all-round analysis of both positive and negative experiences in handling inner-party relations, and it gradually formulated the guiding principles for inner-party political life. The main points of this were: Seeking truth from facts, combining theory with practice, forging close ties between party members and leaders and the masses, unfolding criticism and self-criticism and persisting in democratic centralism. By adhering to these principles, all comrades in the party were united and worked in concert with each other as never before, thereby winning victories in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation.

After nationwide liberation the masses of party members in the main upheld the party's fine traditions and work style in the course of socialist revolution and construction. However, because some comrades became arrogant and complacent as a result of the victory of the revolutionary struggle and the position gained by the party as the ruling party for the entire country, because of the imperfect system of democratic centralism in the party and state and because of the influence of the ideology of the feudal and capitalist classes, such unhealthy tendencies

as being divorced from reality and the masses, subjectivism, bureaucracy, making arbitrary decisions, taking peremptory actions and seeking privileges had developed. At the same time, there were some shortcomings and mistakes in guiding the inner-party struggle, and normal inner-party political life was impaired to a certain extent.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, in particular, driven by their attempt to usurp party and state leadership, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the serious mistake committed by the party at the time and vigorously went in for feudal fascism, anarchism and factional splittist activities. They wantonly trampled upon party rules and regulations, did away with party leadership and seriously damaged party organization, the party spirit of the members and the party's fine traditions and work style. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party's fine traditions and work style have been revived to some extent as a result of the party Central Committee's vigorous efforts to consolidate party style and discipline. However, extensive and penetrating education and arduous and complicated struggle are still needed to heal the wounds inflicted on the party by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In order to achieve the all-round revival and further development of the party's fine traditions and work style, strengthen the party's democratic life, safeguard the party as a centralized and unified one, strengthen party unity, consolidate party organization and discipline and enhance the party's fighting capacity, the Central Committee, in view of the present condition of the party, hereby reiterates the following guidelines for inner-party political life to the whole party:

#### 1. Adhere to the Party's Political and Ideological Line

Adherence to the party's political and ideological line is the most fundamental guiding principle for inner-party political life. The basic content of the political line formulated by the party Central Committee is aimed at uniting the people of all nationalities and bringing 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 economic results in building a modern, powerful socialist country. (See footnote at end of document) It is a Marxist-Leninist line which reflects the highest interest of the people throughout the country. All party comrades must resolutely implement it.

The ideological line is the basis for the formulation and implementation of the party's political line. The party's ideological line demands upholding the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Our party has always advocated the dialectical materialist way of thinking and work method. The basic point of this is to proceed from reality in everything we do, combine theory with practice and seek truth from facts. For a long time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted and usurped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, ran counter to its essential spirit

and regarded, in a departure from the criterion of practice, Comrade Mao Zedong's every word as truth, law and dogma. This seriously fettered people's minds. Therefore, it is necessary to stress the need for breaking down blind faith, emancipating the minds and--using practice as the sole criterion for testing truth--earnestly studying new phenomena and resolving new problems. Only thus can we develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and truly defend and hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In order to adhere to the correct political and ideological lines, it is necessary to oppose two erroneous ideological tendencies.

First, it is necessary to oppose ossification of the mind and proceeding by the book in everything we do. The mentality that whatever is written in the book is unchangeable and whatever is not written in the book is not allowed to be said or done is anti-Marxist and a big obstacle to implementing the party's political line. In analyzing a situation, considering a question and handling affairs, we must proceed from objective reality. We must link the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the development of the current situation at home and abroad and with the concrete practice of socialist modernization. We must link the party's line, principles and policies with the specific situation in our own locality and unit and make objective studies in order to resolve the various theoretical and practical problems in our present revolutionary struggle and modernization process.

Second, it is essential to oppose and repudiate the erroneous view and revisionist ideological trend of negating the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Socialism is the only correct road leading to a rich, strong and prosperous China; the dictatorship of the proletariat is the guarantee of the victory of socialist revolution and construction; the party is the force at the core leading the people throughout the country to implement the four modernizations; and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis for guiding our revolution and construction. It is imperative to always uphold the four fundamental principles in the struggle for the realization of the four modernizations.

Party organizations and departments at all levels and each and every party member must consciously and unswervingly implement the party's political and ideological lines. Opposition or passive resistance to the party's lines and leadership or taking a doubledealing attitude of feigning compliance is not permitted by party discipline.

## 2. Uphold Collective Leadership and Oppose Arbitrary Decisionmaking by a Single Person

Collective leadership is one of the highest principles guiding party leadership. Party committees from the center down to the grassroots must



follow the system of combining collective leadership with a division of labor and individual responsibility in accordance with this principle. All major issues concerning the party's line, principles and policies, the assignment of important tasks, major appointments, removals, transfers and other decisions in handling the cases of individual cadres, important issues involving the people's interests, and matters which leading organs at higher levels assign to lower party committees for collective decision--on the merits of each case, all these issues should be submitted to the party committees concerned, their standing committees or secretariats, or to the leading party groups for discussion and decision collectively, and no individual is allowed to act arbitrarily.

Under no circumstances must any other type of organization be allowed to substitute for the leadership of a party committee and its standing committee. Any organization set up by a party committee to study and handle special issues must do its work under the leadership of the party committee, and it must not substitute for the party committee and still less place itself above the latter.

In deciding on matters within a party committee, it is essential to act in strict accordance with the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority. The relationship between the secretary and other members of a party committee is not one between a superior and a subordinate, and the secretary is a member of the party committee on an equal footing with its other members. The secretary or the first secretary should be good at summing up others' views and is not allowed to practice "what I say goes" or a patriarchal system.

All leading members should support and cooperate with one another and seek mutual understanding. They all should consciously uphold the prestige of their party committees' collective leadership. In performing criticism and self-criticism, it is necessary to uphold principle and to help others as well.

In discussing major issues, a party committee should let people speak out freely and air their views fully. When differences of opinion occur during the discussion, it is essential to give serious consideration to the opinions of the minority, and in order not to delay work it is impermissible to discuss something without reaching a decision.

Upholding collective leadership does not mean downgrading or negating the role of individuals. Collective leadership must be combined with a division of labor and individual responsibility. It is essential to explicitly define the specific responsibility of each leading member so that everything is taken care of by someone and everyone has his specific responsibility. Not all matters, big and small, should be submitted to the party committee for discussion.

As far as a division of labor and individual responsibility are concerned, the secretary or the first secretary bears the main responsibility of organizing the party committee's activities and handling its day-to-day work. The important role of the secretary or the first secretary in the party committee must not be downgraded or even written off under the pretext of collective leadership.

It is essential to correctly understand and handle the interrelationships of the leaders, party, class and masses. Publicity for leading members should be factual, and no unprincipled glorification of them is allowed. It is impermissible to praise leading members of the proletariat in the flattering terms of the exploiting classes. It is impermissible to distort history or fabricate facts in publicizing the contributions of leading members. There is to be no celebration of the birthdays of leading members, nor are they to be sent gifts or congratulatory messages. No museum should be built for any living person, and few museums should be built for deceased leaders. No street, location, enterprise or school is to be named for a leading member of the party. Except where diplomatic protocol requires, it is forbidden to greet or send off any leader with drums and gongs, put up slogans or lay on a feast for such an occasion.

### 3. Safeguard the Party's Unity and Centralized Leadership and Strictly Abide by Party Discipline

Democratic centralism is the party's fundamental principle of organization. The ultraleftist line and anarchism pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" undermined both democracy and centralism and both freedom and discipline. The pernicious influence of this anarchism has yet to be completely eliminated. It is therefore necessary to solemnly reiterate the principle that "the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee." Each and every party member must consider safeguarding the party's unity and centralized leadership and strictly abiding by party discipline to be the guiding principle for his words and deeds.

Each and every Communist Party member, especially the members of party committees at all levels, must resolutely implement the decisions of the party committees. If there are differing views, they may be reserved or reported to the party committee at the next higher level. However, before the party committee or that at the next higher level changes the original decision, it must be unconditionally implemented, except in an extremely urgent situation in which implementation of the decision will immediately cause grave consequences.

It is essential to oppose and prevent decentralism. That the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee is the first prerequisite for safeguarding the party's unity and centralized leadership and the basic

guarantee for implementing the party's line, principles and policies. Any department, lower party organization or party member which takes an each-goes-his-way attitude toward the party's decisions, implements only those to its or his liking, refuses to carry out those not to its or his liking, openly or covertly resists them or even presumptuously overturns them is in grave violation of party discipline.

With regard to differing views on theoretical and policy matters of great political importance concerning the vital interests of the party and state and concerning the situation as a whole, they may be discussed within the party on proper occasions. As for when and in what manner they should be discussed in the press, this should be decided by the party Central Committee. The party's newspapers and journals must unconditionally publicize the party's line, principles, policies and political views. If party members have views on theoretical and policy matters of great political importance on which the party Central Committee has made a decision, they may present their views according to the specified organizational procedure. But under no circumstances must anyone be allowed to express in the press or on the radio any views contrary to the party Central Committee's decisions, nor must anyone be allowed to spread among the masses any views contrary to the party's line, principles, policies and decisions. This is what party discipline requires.

All Communist Party members and party cadres must handle their personal affairs in accordance with the principle that the party's interests are above all else. They must consciously obey the party organizations' decisions in their work assignments, transfers and other arrangements. If they consider their work assignment improper, they may express their views. But when party organizations have considered their views and reach a final decision, they must obey it.

All party members must strictly guard party and state secrets and wage a resolute struggle against any divulgence of such secrets. In reading documents, hearing or relaying reports and attending party meetings, all party members must strictly abide by discipline concerning the guarding of secrets. It is strictly forbidden to reveal party secrets to one's family members, relatives and friends and to those who are not supposed to know such secrets. One must pay attention to making a distinction between those inside the party and those outside it, and whatever is not allowed to be publicized outside the party must not be spread outside the party.

Communist Party members, particularly leading cadres at various levels, should be models in obeying the law, observing labor or work discipline and adhering to communist morality.

At all times and in handling any matter, Communist Party members must take the interests of the party, the state and the people as a whole into consideration and educate the masses in this spirit. This is an

important expression of a Communist Party member's revolutionary consciousness, as well as an important guarantee for consolidating the stability and unity of the entire country. When a few people cause trouble, party members should perform propaganda work with them, give explanations and carefully handle them in accordance with the party's policies in order to calm them down. If they present some reasonable demands, it is necessary to convince them by helping them satisfy their demands through normal channels. Under no circumstances must Communist Party members instigate or assist people in creating disturbances or troublemaking.

#### 4. Uphold Party Spirit and Root Out Factionalism

The party is a united militant collective composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat. It is imperative to uphold the unity of the party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to oppose any factionalism and factional activities which undermine party unity.

Organizing secret groups within the party is a crime of splitting and subverting the party. No Communist Party member is allowed to join any secret organization or participate in any secret activities to oppose the party. Party organizations at all levels and every Communist Party member must draw lessons from Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" acts of inciting factionalism, organizing secret groups and plotting to usurp party and state leadership, heighten their vigilance and prevent a recurrence of similar incidents.

Factionalism is basically incompatible with proletarian party spirit. Organizing a factional group or forming a clique to pursue selfish interests is a manifestation of the exploiting classes' ultraindividualism and anarchism and a reflection in the party of ideas of the guilds of the feudal classes and small producers.

If some party members carry out organized activities which deviate from the party's line and make decisions behind the party's back, these are factional activities. Engaging in factional activities inevitably will impede implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and will undermine the political situation of stability and unity. If such activities are not resolutely checked and are allowed to run their course, they will lead to the splitting of the party.

Although there are now no overt factions within the party, some cadres and party members who were more deeply influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still harbor factionalism and are even still carrying out factional activities. In some areas, departments and units "there are no visible mountain strongholds, but there are hidden shoals." The "specter" of factionalism is still there, and factionalists often resist implementation of the party's principles and policies and higher-level decisions.

Party organizations at all levels and each and every Communist Party member must uphold party spirit and wage an unremitting struggle to root out factionalism. Severe disciplinary actions must be taken against those who cling to factionalism and refuse to mend their ways after repeated education. Such people must not be allowed to join leading bodies, and those in leading positions must be replaced.

In handling inner-party relations, the party's cadres--the leading cadres in particular--must adhere to the principle that it is "our practice to avoid exclusiveness." That is to say, we must unite with all the comrades who are loyal to the interests of the party and unite with the majority. A communist should have the communist trait of great broadmindedness, being strict with himself and broadminded with others. In handling interrelations among comrades, we should judge a person only as to whether or not he resolutely implements the party's line and observes party discipline. We must not always feel sick at heart because of personal grudges and try to push him aside and strike at others. We should not treat a person differently on the basis of different personal relations. We must absolutely ban factionalist activities and the practice of forming small coteries. We must not allow ourselves to draw some people in while pushing others out and build up some people while suppressing others. We must not squabble endlessly over past grudges.

On the relations between the party and the masses, we must guard against and oppose the sectarianist trend in the same manner. Communists are a minority among the masses. It is necessary to rally hundreds of millions of the masses around the party and work with one heart and one mind for the realization of the four modernizations. A communist must play an exemplary role among the masses, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and enthusiastically unite with those comrades who are not affiliated with the party to carry out work together.

In doing work with regard to cadres we must be honest and upright in our ways and persevere in appointing people on their merits and oppose the practice of appointing people by favoritism. It is strictly forbidden to practice factionalism and draw a demarcation line between one group and another and to make use of one's position and authority to establish personal influence within the party. A communist should be loyal to the party organizations and to the party's principles and should not pledge loyalty to a certain individual. No one should regard cadres of the party as one's personal property. Nor should one turn the relationships between cadres of the higher level and those of the lower level into relationships of personal dependence.

##### 5. Speak the Truth and Match Words With Deeds

To be loyal to the cause of the party and the people; to be honest in thought, word and deed; to be open and aboveboard; and to think and act in one and the same way are qualities that a communist must possess. The

comrades throughout the party must strive to eradicate the unhealthy trend of telling lies created during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway and must restore and bring into full play the fine work style of telling the truth, refusing to tell lies and matching words with deeds--a style of work always recommended by the party.

A communist must be faithful and candid and never hide his own mistakes and his own thinking and views from the party organizations. He should speak frankly and sincerely in dealing with people and things. He must put on the table whatever opinion or criticism he has. He should not keep quiet during a meeting while making irresponsible remarks after the meeting. He must not act in one way to one's face while acting in another way behind one's back. He must not say yes and mean no, and he must not comply in public but oppose in private.

It is essential to resolutely oppose the work style of a bureaucratic politician and the philistine practice of resorting to boasting, flattery and touting; of talking about and doing things on the basis of hints given by the leadership; of bartering away principles; of securing personal gain by fraud; and of asking the party for honor and position.

A communist must respect facts and truthfully reflect the situation according to the true features of things at any time and in any place and in dealing with himself and others. He should not provide whatever the leadership needs and report only the good news but not the bad. Still less should he resort to deception to win confidence, honor and rewards by fraud. A communist is not allowed to abet, suggest, induce, order or force his subordinates to tell lies for any reason or under any pretext.

Disciplinary actions of the party must be taken against those who practice fraud and create serious losses to the party and the people, those who have won honor and position by telling lies, those who tell lies to cover up their grave mistakes or achieve other individual goals and those who abet or induce their subordinates to tell lies. Those who are not afraid of retaliation and dare to speak the truth for the sake of safeguarding the interests of the party and the people should be commended.

The party's leading organs and leading cadres at all levels must play their exemplary role well in seeking truth from facts. In carrying out our work we must listen to different views and understand both achievements and shortcomings. We must encourage the comrades at the lower level to say what they have on their minds and reflect the true situation. We must strive to create and maintain the atmosphere of letting people air their views face to face, including sharp views, and unhurriedly discuss those views.

## 6. Promote Inner-Party Democracy and Take a Correct Attitude Toward Dissenting Views

To promote inner-party democracy we must, first of all, allow party members to express different views, fully discuss the issues and make a reality of the maxim: Say all you know and say it without reserve. Those who made wrong remarks or wrote erroneous articles owing to their wrong understanding should not be regarded as violating party discipline, and disciplinary actions should not be taken against them as long as they do not oppose the party's basic political stand, intrigue and conspire, carry out factionalist and splittist activities among the masses, spread among the masses fallacies that run counter to the party's line, principles and policies, or betray the secrets of the party and the state. It is necessary to strictly uphold the principle of "three nots"--not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. The so-called principle of not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick is aimed at forbidding any practice of exaggerating a person's errors at will, using such errors as criminal evidence to cook up charges, and striking at and even persecuting an individual politically and organizationally.

The patriarchal behavior of a number of leading cadres must be corrected. Such cadres lack the democratic spirit, turn a deaf ear to criticism or even suppress it. Criticisms and suggestions put forward by any party member should be accepted as long as they are correct ones. If such criticisms and suggestions are indeed mistaken, they should be pointed out by seeking truth from facts. It is impermissible to trace and investigate the so-called motive and background.

Attention must be paid to distinguishing among the following: To oppose the opinion of a certain comrade is not equivalent to opposing this comrade, and to oppose a certain comrade of a certain leading organ is not the same as opposing this organ. It is not equivalent to opposing the leadership. Still less should it be interpreted as opposing the party.

Leading cadres who make use of their position and power for retaliation or who bring false charges against comrades because of personal grudges, adopt measures such as "making things tough for them" and "filling them with data," and punish these comrades for "opposing the party," "opposing the leadership," "launching vicious attacks" and "committing errors in political line" are acting in violation of the inner-party democratic system and revolutionary ethics and qualities. Those who make false charges of committing counterrevolutionary crimes against comrades who dare to uphold truth, those who wantonly adopt the measures of dictatorship and those who carry out ruthless persecution are committing serious crimes against the law. They must be severely punished in accordance with party discipline and state laws.

It is not abnormal for there to be different ideological and theoretical views and disputes within the party. The only way to settle an ideological or theoretical dispute is to present facts and reason things out, hold democratic discussions and not take coercive measures. Disputes over some ideological theories cannot be solved within a short period of time. Hasty conclusions should not be made in such debates unless realistic and urgent problems of a significant political nature are involved. Further studies should be made later, and solutions should be worked out through practice.

To arbitrarily put such political labels as "pulling down the banner," "poisonous weeds," "bourgeoisie," and "revisionism" on problems concerning ideology and understanding and to arbitrarily label problems which arise between ourselves and enemies as political will not only undermine the correct inner-party political life but cause ossification of thinking. Those ambitious people who oppose the party may easily take advantage of these labels to undermine the democratic order of a socialist country. Such a practice should be checked.

#### 7. Protect the Rights of Party Members Against Any Encroachment

Party organizations at all levels must protect various rights of party members in an effective way. Any encroachment on the rights of party members constitutes a serious violation of party discipline.

Party members have the right to participate in discussion on formulating or implementing party policies either at party meetings or in the papers published by the party. They have the right to criticize any party organization or any individual at the party meetings. Those party members who have different opinions regarding party principles, policies or resolutions may make reports, either orally or in written form, to party organizations at all levels up to the Central Committee. Party organizations should welcome criticism and suggestions from the masses of party members and encourage them to express their creative opinions and propositions on promoting the cause of socialism.

Party members have the right to propose that those cadres who refuse to correct their serious mistakes or who are incompetent be recalled for transferred.

Party members have the right to present their statements, appeals, accusations and defense regarding the party organizations' manner of handling them or other persons at party meetings or to higher organizations up to the party Central Committee. Regarding the party members' statements, appeals, accusations and defenses, party organizations must process them or pass them on in due time and must not withhold them, and those responsible must not shift their responsibility to others. The letters of appeals and accusations should not be turned over to the accused and be handled by them. Retaliation against the appealing party and the accusers



are not allowed. The accusers and the accused are not allowed to frame up charges against others, and those who do will be seriously handled according to party discipline and state law.

Party members must be informed of a party organization's appraisal, conclusion and decision on disciplinary action against them. Except in certain cases, the party member concerned must be notified to be present at the meeting while the decision on disciplinary action against him is being adopted. The party organization must earnestly listen to and consider his opinion. If he holds a different opinion, it should refer the organization's decision along with his opinion to the higher authorities for determination.

#### 8. Elections Should Fully Embody the Electors' Wishes

Only when there are genuine democratic elections within the party can prestigious and strong leading groups be established among the party members and the masses.

Party organizations at all levels must convene general membership meetings and party congresses at regular intervals in accordance with the regulations of the party constitution. Party committees at various levels must be reelected according to schedule. At each session a certain number of delegates and members should be reelected. Elections should give full play to democracy and genuinely reflect the electors' wishes. Namelists of the candidates should be presented after full consultations and discussions among the party members or delegates. In elections the number of candidates shall be greater than the number of delegates to be elected. This election method may also be used to produce candidates in pre-elections which precede formal elections. This method of election and preelection can be skipped in units which have a small number of party members. The electors should be clearly informed of the basic status of the candidates. All elections shall be held by secret ballot.

The electors must pay attention to electing to leading groups those cadres who resolutely support and implement the party's political and ideological lines, who are perfectly impartial, who strictly observe law and discipline, who uphold the party spirit, who have a strong sense of the revolutionary cause and political responsibility and who are professionally knowledgeable and capable. The electors should pay particular attention to electing middle-aged and young cadres who meet the above requirements.

There should be no regulations stipulating who should or should not be elected. Even individuals whose cases are special and who need the recommendation of party organizations to be elected must also be truly approved by the majority of electors. Infringement of the party members' right of election and acts which make the elections a mere formality and which keep the electors from expressing their wishes must be resolutely opposed and guarded against.

When the various party congresses are not in session, the higher party committees may appoint, dismiss and transfer the responsible persons of the lower party committees when necessary.

With the approval of the higher party organizations, elections can be tentatively postponed in those units which must be consolidated and which do not yet have the conditions for a democratic election, and their leaders will be appointed by the higher authorities.

#### 9. Struggle Against Erroneous Tendencies, Bad People and Bad Actions

It is imperative to struggle against erroneous tendencies, bad people and bad actions in order to straighten out the party's work style, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote a fine social custom and unite all the people to dedicate heart and soul to the four modernizations.

Party organizations at all levels must give full play to the role of being the fighting fortresses and lead the party members and the masses to resolutely expose and strike at the counterrevolutionaries, embezzlers, thieves, criminals and serious violators of law and discipline.

Factionalism, anarchism, ultraindividualism, bureaucracy, seeking privileges and other erroneous tendencies must be solemnly criticized and denounced.

The unhealthy trends and evil practices and the erroneous and reactionary ideas in society must be criticized and denounced.

If Communist Party members assume a liberal attitude of being worldlywise and playing safe toward the erroneous tendencies, bad people and bad actions and avoid them instead of stopping, contesting and denouncing them, then they have shirked their fighting responsibility and have demonstrated a lack of party spirit.

In struggling against the erroneous tendencies, bad people and bad actions, Communist Party members, particularly the leading cadres at all levels, must have a dauntless revolutionary spirit, dare to step out, have no fear of offending people and expressing their true feelings, and have no fear of retaliation and persecution. Only thus can they combat and rectify the erroneous tendencies, rescue those who have committed mistakes and give the bad people the punishment they deserve.

#### 10. Treat Correctly Comrades Who Have Made Mistakes

In carrying out inner-party struggle our party's fine tradition is to follow the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the principle of "unity-criticism-unity," because this helps us to achieve the dual purpose of

uniting our comrades and clarifying their thinking. As for those comrades who have erred, we must historically and comprehensively evaluate their contributions, mistakes, rights and wrongs and must not totally repudiate their contributions just because of a mistake; nor should we continue to quibble over old problems and mistakes that have already been investigated and corrected. We must, on the basis of having clarified the facts, specifically analyze the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and, in a comradely manner, warmly help them understand why they made the mistakes, point out how to correct these mistakes and enlighten them to make necessary self-criticism. We must believe that most of the comrades who have erred are willing to correct their mistakes, so we must give them the assistance they need to correct their mistakes and continue to work for the party.

In analyzing a comrade's mistakes we must first strictly distinguish the two types of contradictions. This means that we should not interpret the common errors in work or mistakes in thinking and understanding as political mistakes; neither should we interpret the general political mistakes as mistakes concerning the political line, nor mix up the mistakes concerning the political line, which still belong to the question of inner-party struggle, with the counterrevolutionary issue of attempting to subvert the party and the socialist state.

The contradictions between the conspirators, careerists and counter-revolutionary doubledealers who attempt to subvert the party and the socialist state and the party and the people are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. The number of such people is extremely small. We must distinguish between those who have followed the higher authorities and principal leaders and have committed mistakes concerning the political line and those who have participated in the conspiracy of usurping party and state power.

In carrying out inner-party struggle it is impermissible to engage in ruthless struggle or to deal merciless blows. Although criticism of those comrades who have erred is entirely necessary, methods which arouse the masses to besiege them, forbid them to explain and forbid other comrades to hold "public accusation meetings" to express different opinions should not be adopted, because such methods in fact suppress people by force and do not convince people through reasoning. Within the party, acts of handling party members with anything more than party discipline and acts of violating state law are not allowed. The feudalistic and fascist method employed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to settle inner-party issues must by all means be prohibited. The so-called "drag out and struggle against" is strictly forbidden, as is physical humiliation and persecution and inducing and coercing a person to make a confession.

The handling of people must be very scrupulous. If contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people cannot be

immediately distinguished, such contradictions should first be handled as contradictions among the people. Particular caution must be exercised in handling the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and in handling matters which concern expulsion from the party, which must be handled by judicial organs. Under no circumstances should innocent family members, relatives and friends be implicated.

All frameups and false and erroneous causes that occurred after the founding of the country--no matter which organization or which leader made a decision on and approved them--must be corrected in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, for all false accusations must be overturned.

Those comrades who have committed mistakes should sincerely accept criticism, education and disciplinary action given by party organizations and fellow comrades. They should draw lessons from their mistakes, correct them earnestly and work for the party in a still better way. For those who have committed mistakes but refuse to admit them and keep on causing trouble, the punishment should be even harsher.

#### 11. Accept Supervision by the Party and the Masses, No One Is Allowed To Seek Privileges

Leading cadres at all levels are public servants. They have the obligation of serving the people diligently and sincerely, but not the right to seek privileges in livelihood. Although it is necessary to provide leaders with certain rational conveniences and insure their security according to the necessity of work, violating the system to seek special privileges is by no means permissible.

In our country there are only differences in the division of work, and there is no such thing as one who is higher and more noble than anyone else. No one is an inferior slave or of superior nobility. The idea that one who has power will not be restricted in any way is the idea of craving for the corrupted and feudalistic privileges, and such an idea must be denounced and corrected. Communist Party members and cadres must regard seeking privileges and private interests as the most shameful thing to do.

It is essential to uphold the principle that everyone stands equal before truth and everyone stands equal before party discipline and state laws. Party members who do not keep themselves within the bounds of party discipline and state laws and place themselves above party organizations are absolutely not allowed to exist within the party. Communist Party members are absolutely not allowed to seek private interests by utilizing their authority.

Leading cadres are not allowed to exceed the limits of authority bestowed on them by party organizations to violate the limits of authority of the

collective and other individuals. All the party members are comrades and comrades-in-arms on an equal footing. The party's leading cadres should treat others as equals and should not take for granted that others will follow their words whether they are correct or not, nor should they put on bureaucratic airs and frequently give people a dressing down and swear at them. If the shortcomings and mistakes of the upper-level leading personnel create problems in lower-level work, the upper-level personnel must take the initiative in shouldering the responsibility for lower-level personnel by first undergoing self-criticism themselves.

Leading cadres at all levels should maintain and develop our party's glorious tradition of hard struggle and share weal and woe with the masses. The bad tendency of some leading cadres to seek special treatment for themselves and their families must be overcome. Leading personnel are prohibited from wantonly approving the use of funds and materials in violation of financial and economic discipline. They are prohibited from using their position and power to seek preference for their family or relatives in such matters as enrollment in schools, transferring from one school to another, promotions, employment and going abroad. It is prohibited to use public funds for giving banquets, sending gifts in violation of rules and regulations, and building private houses for leading personnel in violation of rules and regulations. It is also prohibited to mix public and private interests, use public service for private gain, and appropriate and squander state and collective property under any pretext or by any means.

The party's leading personnel at various levels must consciously and strictly abide by the stipulations on livelihood and wages and conduct intensified education among their children at the same time. Disciplinary action by the party must be taken against those who violate related stipulations but still do not correct themselves after receiving criticism and education.

No leading cadre is permitted to violate the party's norms for the selection of cadres and organizational principles by promoting his family members or relatives to leading positions. He must not allow them to overstep their authority and meddle in party and state affairs, nor should he place them in key posts that are associated with him.

To maintain the intimate relations between the party and the broad masses of the people and to prevent the party's leading cadres and party members from converting themselves from public servants of the people into bureaucrats riding roughshod over the people, it is essential to adopt the method of achieving integration from lower to higher levels and from higher to lower levels, as well as between those inside and outside the party, and to strengthen the supervision of party organizations and the masses over the party's leading cadres and party members. They must be supervised in such matters as whether they are conscientiously studying and implementing the line, principles and policies laid down by the

party; whether they are abiding by party discipline and state laws; whether they are upholding the party's fine tradition and work style; whether they are seeking special privileges; whether they have played an exemplary role in relation to production, work, study and struggle against the enemy; and whether they have maintained close relationships with the masses and serve the interests of the people. It is essential to commend those comrades who, with higher conscientiousness and stronger party spirit, have performed their duties well and to criticize and educate those comrades who have achieved fewer results in performing their duties.

It is essential to establish and perfect, on the basis of fully following the mass line, a complete system for the examination, review, award and punishment, rotation, retirement and dismissal of cadres and, by enforcing this system, to clearly register a person's contributions and faults, to fairly mete out rewards and punishments and to encourage the advanced and urge on those who are backward.

Leading cadres at all levels should periodically solicit views and comments from party members and people in their units. Party organizations at all levels should value the people's criticism and views of the leading cadres and party members which are expressed in their visits or letters. Party organizations should report, after verification, the comments, criticisms and views of party members and people to the party committee of the higher level to be used as an important basis for the review of cadres.

Every party member, regardless of position, shall be placed in a party organization to take part in organizational life. Party committees or their standing committees at all levels should periodically hold a democratic life meeting to exchange ideas and to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

## 12. Study Hard and Strive To Be Red and Expert

The arduous task of the four modernizations demands the training and bringing up of a magnificent contingent of cadres who uphold the socialist road and possess professional knowledge. It demands, at the same time, the bold promotion to leading posts of middle-aged and young cadres (including party members and nonmembers) who meet this requirement in order to give full play to their strong points and to amend their weak points in the course of work. This is an urgent and important political task confronting the entire party.

A communist must be a vanguard fighter for the realization of the four modernizations and must strive to become both Red and expert. "Red" means the possession of a firm, correct political orientation and the upholding of the four fundamental principles. "Expert" means to learn and master a professional understanding of modernization and to become

a professional and good at one's work. To become expert does not necessarily mean one has become Red, but to become Red one must be expert. If a communist does not seriously learn his professional affairs but rests content with being a layman in his field indefinitely, then his so-called "political consciousness" and "advanced feature" become nothing but empty talk.

To improve and strengthen the party's leadership over modernization, it is essential to greatly raise the cultural, scientific and technological and vocational levels of the entire party. All communists--especially leading cadres at various levels--must tenaciously and arduously learn and master professional affairs with a high revolutionary, enterprising spirit and become experts in their fields. They must be proficient at whatever they do. To be content with exercising vague leadership in general terms, to be satisfied with being laymen indefinitely, to be ignorant and incompetent, to act in contradiction to objective laws or to give arbitrary and impracticable directions will undoubtedly seriously harm modernization. Persons who act like this should be removed from leading posts if they cannot correct themselves through criticism and education.

A communist must be strict with himself, use the standard of a proletarian vanguard fighter, strive to study and grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and continuously raise his awareness and the skills for modernization in order to make greater contributions to the four modernizations. Certain party members and leading cadres, with the waning of their revolutionary will, are not studying hard or working enthusiastically and are unable to play a vanguard and exemplary role in production, work, study and the struggle against the enemy. Their behavior is not worthy of the honorable name of a communist and is harmful to the party's prestige among the people. Such comrades must be given a rigorous education and criticism. They should be persuaded to withdraw from the party if they fail to correct themselves after a long period of education and therefore are disqualified as communists.

The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" is an important party regulation. All party members must seriously study and consciously observe these principles. They should earnestly examine their work and conduct in the light of the guiding principles. Leading organizations or bodies at all levels must take the lead in adhering to the guiding principles. Any party member who violates these guiding principles should be criticized and educated and, in serious cases, punished according to party discipline, up to expulsion from the party.

Party committees and discipline inspection commissions at all levels should periodically check on the observance of these guiding principles. The discipline inspection commissions shall report the progress to the party congress or party committees at their respective levels.

All party comrades must enhance their revolutionary vigor, eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and remove all kinds of interference and obstacles to insure adherence to party regulations and rules and improvement of party style--a task that has a vital bearing on the success of the four modernizations and the future of the party and country--so that our party can become a vanguard organization of the proletariat with greater unity and vitality and a higher fighting capacity.

(Footnote): The official wording of the party's political line shall be provided in a preamble to the party constitution to be adopted at the 12th CCP Congress.

CSO: 4004



THE ENTIRE PARTY MUST CONSCIENTIOUSLY STUDY AND CARRY OUT THE 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 12-14

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] After much expectation, the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" which were discussed and unanimously approved by the 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are now officially promulgated for implementation by the entire party. This is a great event in the political life of our party and is of tremendous practical significance for developing the positive factors and eliminating the negative ones inside the party, giving play to the exemplary vanguard role of party members and strengthening and improving party leadership. The "guiding principles" will go down in history as an important document on party building and will effectively guide our party building for a long time to come. They will enable our party to advance along the path of Marxism and always keep its proletarian fighting spirit young.

It is by no means accidental that our party has chosen this time to formulate these "guiding principles for inner-party political life." These guidelines have been formulated in answer to the hopes of the comrades of the entire party and in accordance with the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee after we had sustained bitter losses during the 10-year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and had drawn lessons from our experiences in handling inner-party relations over the past decades, especially in waging struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They are the crystallization of our experiences in inner-party political life. As an indispensable supplement to the party constitution, these "guiding principles," which radiate with the light of the party-building theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, are welded into the party constitution to become a relatively complete set of party rules and regulations. They clearly specify what course the party organizations at all levels and every party member must follow and what requirements they must meet in the new historical period. It is easy to see what the 12 "guiding principles" are aimed at, since they have as their salient points adherence to the party's political and ideological

lines, upholding of collective leadership, opposition to arbitrary decisionmaking by a single person and emphasis on the party's unity and centralized leadership and party discipline. As long as we conscientiously implement the "guiding principles," we can lead a normal inner-party political life and greatly enhance the party's fighting capacity. In this way our party will be able to stand all the tests of storm and stress and avoid repeating the mistake of being used by counterrevolutionary conspirators like Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It will be able to shoulder its historical mission in a better way and win victories in the four modernizations.

Our party has the great trust of the people of every nationality in China and is charged with the important task of leading our country in realizing socialist modernization. This is a revolution we must successfully carry out if we want the party to reach its full potential. Because of its scope and its profound and complicated nature, this revolution is bound to set a still higher demand on party leadership and on every party member. As a long-tested revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party is fully capable of leading the people of our country in realizing the four modernizations. The majority of our party members are either good or relatively good and are capable of doing a fairly good job in uniting the masses and leading them forward. However, as a result of the 10-year havoc wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the party's organization and work style were both seriously impaired. Today organizational and ideological remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" can still be found in our party. We must not underestimate their capacity for maneuvering. In addition, non-proletarian notions such as anarchism and extreme individualism are still contaminating our party. We cannot allow them to spread unchecked. It is true that some of our party members have a low level of political consciousness, are unqualified and cannot set an example for the masses, a fact that invariably will hamper the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Thus, the urgent task before us is to restore and enhance the party's fighting capacity. The fifth plenary session of the party urged that, "in the course of implementing the 'guiding principles' and along with the discussion on the draft of the revised party constitution, there be ideological and political education within the party on adhering to the party's political and ideological lines, strengthening party unity and reinforcing democratic centralism and the sense of organization and discipline in the party." This step is being taken to achieve our goal. The entire party must go into action at once and unfold a Marxist study drive to implement the "guiding principles" on the basis of education.

Can these "guiding principles" be implemented throughout the party? The answer is in the affirmative. "How far theory is realized in a state depends on how far it can satisfy the needs of that state." ("Introduction to 'A Critique of Hegelian Philosophy,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 10) These "guiding principles for inner-party political

life" are what the party urgently needed and what the historical mission to achieve socialist modernization urgently called for. The party Central Committee is resolved to insure the full implementation of the "guiding principles." The vast number of party members who have gone through both positive and negative education will certainly raise their consciousness in carrying out these "guiding principles." The exemplary deeds of many of our veteran party members who always stick to principle, correct things which have been thrown into disorder and dare to wage struggle against all erroneous and unhealthy tendencies have greatly influenced and spurred on the whole party.

Mutual supervision of party members and supervision of party members by the masses using the newly published "guiding principles" as a yardstick will also give a great impetus to implementation of the "guiding principles" by the entire party. Moreover, implementation of the "guiding principles" also has party discipline as a guarantee. Thus, we are fully convinced that these "guiding principles" can be implemented.

Naturally, we will encounter interference and obstacles in the course of implementing the "guiding principles." Since the "guiding principles" represent the aspirations and interests of the proletariat, they inevitably will touch a raw nerve among those extreme individualists and lawbreakers. The process of implementing the "guiding principles" is invariably a struggle between the vast numbers of party members and the organizational and ideological remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," between proletarian ideas and bourgeois ones and between proletarian party spirit and factionalism. It is undoubtedly the bounden duty of every communist to consciously implement and boldly uphold the "guiding principles." It is also an expression of party spirit.

The prerequisite and foundation for the thorough implementation of the "guiding principles" is to conscientiously study and correctly grasp them. In the course of study we must carry forward the style of study of integrating theory with practice which has been long advocated by the party. This is of key importance in determining whether we can turn the "guiding principles" into a material force. In this sense, we can also say that this is a question of primary importance. It is easy to say a few words to show our "support," but the important thing is to implement the guidelines in a thoroughgoing manner and truly act according to them. In judging how well a person has studied the "guiding principles," we must "listen to what he says and watch what he does." In a few words, we must look at the practical results. If he does not integrate study with application, says one thing but does another and behaves very badly despite his fine words, he is going against the "guiding principles." The fifth plenary session affirmed that "party organizations at all levels and all party members must conscientiously examine their work and conduct in the light of the guiding principles, add to their achievements and overcome their shortcomings; whatever is contrary to the 'guiding principles' must be correctly promptly and earnestly, and there must be a

radical change in the situation in which party organizations and some party members continue to engage in factional activities and do what they like in disregard of organizational principles and discipline." Every communist must make an earnest effort to implement self-improvement from now on. We must be strict in appraising ourselves, boldly carry out self-criticism, measure our words and deeds by the standards of the "guiding principles," continue those which conform to these guidelines and make a determined effort to correct those which do not. We must earnestly implement the "guiding principles" and never go against them. This is the basic requirement for the members of a party which is now in a ruling position and which shoulders the important task of bringing about the four modernizations.

Our party does not permit any of its members to hold themselves above the "guiding principles" and does not recognize that any party member can choose not to carry out the "guiding principles." Leading comrades at every level must take the lead in carrying out the "guiding principles" and set an example. In this way they can spur on and influence the vast numbers of party members and at the same time acquire the qualification to supervise and check on other members. It has always been the glorious tradition of our party for leading cadres to set an example in carrying out the party's principles, policies and resolutions. However, this tradition was destroyed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and has not yet been fully restored. This is an important reason why the leading groups of some party organizations do not enjoy much prestige among the masses. We must restore this glorious tradition while we study and carry out the "guiding principles." As long as the leading comrades of our party at all levels earnestly practice what they preach, teach by personal example as well as verbal instruction and make it their primary concern to strengthen the leading groups according to the "guiding principles," and as long as they are capable of spurring on the vast number of party members at every level, we stand a good chance of success in improving our party's style and party building.

Although we rely mainly on the consciousness of the party members to implement the "guiding principles," we cannot manage without some necessary criticism and self-criticism. In the course of study we must promote democracy to the fullest extent, conduct lively discussions in earnest and say all we know and say it without reserve. We must make good use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to help our fellow party members improve themselves. When we criticize our fellow party members or the party's leading persons at various levels, we must pay attention to the political climate, base ourselves on facts, make a concrete analysis and convince people by reasoning. We must be careful not to make groundless accusations, add inflammatory details to the facts, criticize everything "from the higher plane of principle and the two-line struggle" or randomly slap on political labels. Toward comrades who have made mistakes we must follow the principle of "unity-criticism-unity," persist in seeking truth from facts and warmly help them understand their

mistakes so as to achieve the goal of clarifying the facts and uniting the comrades. We should be patient when we help these erring comrades. We should not be short-tempered and subject these comrades to endless self-criticism. We should not allow a person to make mistakes, but we should also allow him to correct his mistakes, and we will wait for him to notice his errors. Those comrades who have made mistakes should welcome other people's criticism, conscientiously sum up what they have learned from their mistakes and readily admit and correct these mistakes. They should not conceal their faults for fear of criticism. Moreover, they must be sincere and must not go about the whole thing perfunctorily for the purpose of "just getting by." Considering how the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation pioneered the revolutionary cause amid hardship and considering the arduous tasks of the party during the period of doing away with the old and setting up the new, the problems of work which now face our party and our responsibility as members of the ruling party, there is no personal gain or loss that cannot be cast aside and no shortcomings or mistakes that cannot be corrected. Every communist must hold firmly to the truth and have the courage to wage struggle against all erroneous tendencies. If we adopt a liberal attitude, try to be worldly-wise and play safe toward erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds, and neither expose nor wage struggle against them, we are not only abandoning our militant responsibilities as communists but also going against the "guiding principles."

Party organizations at every level should place the work of leading and examining the progress made by party members in studying and carrying out the "guiding principles" on the agenda of the party committees and regard it as an important and regular task for strengthening party building. In particular, they must pay attention to checking how well those party members in leading posts are taking the lead in carrying out the "guiding principles." The discipline inspection committees at all levels should investigate the implementation of the "guiding principles" from time to time and report to the party congresses or party committees. Since the "guiding principles" represent the will of the whole party, violation of these guidelines means blaspheming the will of the whole party. Any party member who violates the "guiding principles" should be made a target of criticism and education, no matter how senior he is or how high his position. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions or have committed serious offenses should be punished according to the rules of party discipline.

The most important of the three magic weapons which our country relied on to win victory in the democratic revolution is party building. We have learned a lot from past experiences. To build a powerful and modern socialist country, in this new period we must rely on upholding the four basic principles, the core of which is party leadership. The 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted a series of strategic policy decisions to meet the needs arising from the development of socialist modernization and to solve the question of upholding

and improving party leadership. The promulgation of the "guiding principles" and their implementation by the entire party is one of these strategic policy decisions. Comrades of the entire party should work with one heart and one mind for the same cause, exert themselves, consciously uphold party rules and regulations and carry them out in an exemplary way. In this way our party can quickly restore and enhance its fighting capacity and better lead the people of every nationality throughout the country in winning a new great victory in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

LEARN FROM COMRADE LIU SHAOQI'S WORK STYLE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS  
AND LINKING WITH THE MASSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 15-20

[Article by Zhang Pinghua [1728 1627 0553]]

[Text] The rehabilitation and exoneration of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as decided by the 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee embodied the open and above-board spirit of our party in seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever they are found. This action reflects the desire of the whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country, and I warmly support it from the bottom of my heart. I first became acquainted with Comrade Liu Shaoqi in Yanan. Later, when I worked in the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee, he made several inspection tours to Hunan, during which we reported to him on our work and directly heard his comments. Thus, I came to know more about him as a truly great Marxist and a long-tested proletarian revolutionary, as well as one of the principal leaders of our party and state.

I remember that in 1942, when I was studying at the Central Party School, Comrade Shaoqi returned to Yanan from the New 4th Army. The party school held a special welcome meeting for him, and he made a speech to us. During the Yanan rectification, Comrade Shaoqi's famous works, including "How To Be a Good Communist" and "On Intraparty Struggle," were listed as rectification documents which we studied time and again. When the party convened its seventh national congress in 1945, he made a report on the revision of the party constitution. I was nominated a delegate to this congress, but because of my work at the front I was unable to attend it. But I soon heard of his report. At that time we felt profoundly that Comrade Shaoqi had done a lot of work, from theory to practice, and made a tremendous contribution to our party building.

At the seventh national congress Comrade Shaoqi introduced Mao Zedong Thought as "the only correct guiding thought of our party" and "the guideline for all party work." The scientific generalization that Mao Zedong Thought "is the theory of integration of Marxist-Leninist theory

and the Chinese revolutionary practice" was also raised by Comrade Shaoqi at the seventh congress and later formally included in the seventh congress documents. This generalization embodies the materialistic dialectical ideological line of proceeding from reality in everything, seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice. This is of great historical significance to the victory of the Chinese revolution. After the establishment of the CCP, various antiparty groups and forces attacked Marxism-Leninism, in which we believe, as a "foreign theory" which is "unsuitable for the situation in China." Comrade Shaoqi's scientific generalization of Mao Zedong Thought enabled us to refute this fallacy even more forcefully, because it showed that the CCP was proceeding from realities in China and that our faith in Marxism-Leninism, instead of being divorced from these realities, was based on its integration with the realities of the Chinese revolution. The dogmatists represented by Wang Ming mechanically used Marxist-Leninist phrases regardless of historical conditions and national traits. Instead of proceeding from the realities of the Chinese revolution, they did everything according to the book and thus brought serious losses to the Chinese revolution. Comrade Shaoqi's scientific generalization of Mao Zedong Thought was a powerful ideological weapon in educating the entire party and in eliminating the damage done by dogmatism. Furthermore, the principle that Marxism-Leninism should be integrated with revolutionary realities itself is a universal truth. In China, as well as in any other country, there must be the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the country concerned before the revolution can be successful. Similarly, every province, municipality and county in our country should follow the principle of integrating the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the local realities before it can do its work well and solve actual problems. This principle, in its literal meaning, seems quite simple. However, if we will recall our history, we will realize its profound meaning, because we had to pay dearly in blood in learning to master this principle. I personally witnessed the disasters brought by Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunist line. Wang Ming upheld dogmatism and paid no attention to the realities of the Chinese revolution. As a result, the Red Army and the soviet areas lost 90 percent of their strength, and the White areas were almost wiped out. Many party members became sacrificial offerings to the "leftist" line. These facts showed that, if we failed to uphold the integration of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of the Chinese revolution, the party would perish, and millions of heads would roll on the ground. The Zunyi Conference correctly affirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership of the whole party and the army, and, after the Yanan rectification and the seventh congress, Mao Zedong Thought, as the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of the Chinese revolution, was accepted and mastered by the comrades of the entire party, and this insured the success of the Chinese revolution.

On party building, Comrade Shaoqi also proceeded from the realities of Chinese society and our party. He gave a brilliant exposition of a series



of important questions and introduced many correct principles and policies. He strongly pointed out: "Our party is an advanced and organized force of the Chinese working class and the highest form of class organization, representing the interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people." ("On the Party") He pointed out that party members should intensify their study of Marxism-Leninism and their ideological cultivation and should understand that the communist cause is an unprecedentedly great and yet arduous cause in the history of mankind; that the personal interests of party members should be unconditionally subordinated to the interests of the party; and that party members, while enjoying their rights, should also fulfill their obligations. He said: "We must fully develop the democratic way of life in our party and bring about a high degree of inner-party democracy. At the same time, a high degree of centralism in party leadership must be achieved on the basis of this highly developed democracy." ("On the Party") He also pointed out: "The tendency to antidemocratic absolutism and the presence of ultra-democracy within the party are two extremes of inner-party life." ("On the Party") Both are detrimental to and destructive of party unity and solidarity. As to the correct handling of intraparty struggle, he wrote his outstanding "On Intraparty Struggle," in which he pointed out: "Intraparty struggle is basically a struggle between different thoughts and principles"; "opposition in thought and principle and the least possible opposition in questions of organization and form is the correct method which we should adopt in the intraparty struggle"; and "there should be the greatest possible use of moderate forms of discussion and debate." He advocated inner-party peace under an identical principle and opposed excessive struggle, unprincipled struggle and liberalism. He bitterly hated those unprincipled "battlers," "strugglers" and "fighters" addicted to fighting.

Comrade Shaoqi's theory of party building is a scientific summation of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on party building and the practical experiences of our party building. It is an enrichment of and a supplement to Mao Zedong Thought as well as one of its components. Practice has both positively and negatively proved that, if we act according to these principles, the cause of our party will flourish and gain vigorous vitality. In an attempt to clear away obstacles to their seizure of party and state leadership, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" slandered these principles as "poisonous weeds" and trampled them underfoot, thus bringing disasters to our party. Now that the party Central Committee is taking up the matter of party building seriously, a restudy of Comrade Shaoqi's theory on party building is of great practical significance in helping us to completely and correctly understand and master Mao Zedong Thought and to scientifically apply it to our party building; to strengthen our party leaders and to increase our party's fighting power; to strengthen our party spirit and eliminate factionalism; and to restore and promote our party's fine work style and oppose such unhealthy tendencies as subjectivism, bureaucracy and special privileges. Comrade Shaoqi's theory and practice on party building are the treasures

of our party, and we must store them in our treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and let them shed their splendor once again.

From my direct contact with Comrade Shaoqi, I was most deeply impressed by the ideology and work style of the party based on his theory and practice. He not only gave a full theoretical exposition of the party work style of seeking truth from facts and maintaining close contacts with the masses, but also set a personal example in practice.

He firmly adhered to the principle of conducting study and investigations and proceeding from reality in everything.

In 1961 our country was in temporary economic difficulties. To remedy the damage to the countryside caused by the "five winds" (namely, the communist wind, the exaggeration wind, the blind commandism wind, the privilege-seeking wind and the arbitrary order wind) and to restore and develop agricultural production, the party Central Committee drew up the "Revised Draft of Regulations on Work in the Rural People's Communes" (or the "60 Points"). In that early year Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the launching of a vigorous study and investigation campaign at a work conference held in Guangzhou. Although Comrade Shaoqi was already the chairman of the People's Republic of China and had to attend to numerous domestic and foreign affairs as well as matters within and outside the party, he still took the lead in conducting study and investigations. From 1 April to 15 May he spent 44 days on investigations in Hunan and stayed in the countryside for 32 days, during which he learned everything directly from the cadres and commune members. He spent 18 days with the Tienhua Production Brigade of Guangfu Commune in Changsha County alone and held 11 fact-finding meetings here. Since an ill-considered struggle against the so-called rightist opportunism had just taken place in the party, some cadres and the masses were afraid to speak the truth. Comrade Shaoqi said to them earnestly: "We have made some mistakes in the past several years, simply because we failed to carry out study and investigations. You must help us clarify the situation before we can help you. You must tell the truth before you can help us work out the correct policies." Later, he said at a cadres meeting: "Don't give false reports to the authorities. Better to say that you don't know and be reprimanded for your ignorance than to be reprimanded for making false reports." The question of the superiority of the public messhalls in the countryside was the subject of a big debate during his investigations in Tienhua, because some cadres did not share the commune members' views at a fact-finding meeting. Comrade Shaoqi encouraged everyone to air his views freely, to lay out the facts, to go into detail and to clarify the situation through discussion. Later, he said at a meeting: "Formerly I was not quite clear about the situation of the messhalls. People talked about their superiority because they save labor and emancipate the women. After coming down to take a look, I find no such thing at all. There are special people to cook the rice, special people to prepare the dishes, special people to cut firewood, special people to carry water and special

people to wash the rice before cooking, and a messhall takes up one-third of the total labor. When firewood is needed, they cut the trees but not the wild reeds. Facts have shown that there is nothing superior about the messhalls at all. This type of messhall should be abolished." "We must proceed from reality, for the sake of production and unity." He went to his home village--the Tanzichong Production Brigade of Huaminglou Commune in Ningxiang County, Hunan--for investigations. The local cadres reported to him that the reduced production in the preceding year was because of drought. Was this true? He went into the fields and talked to the commune members. Later he said to the cadres: "The main cause was not drought, but some mistakes in work or simply poor work. I asked several persons if the water in Menqian Pond and Anhu Pond was completely drained away, and they said that the ponds were half full of water. So I can see that the drought was not serious at all. I remember that for 2 years both Anhu Pond and Menqian Pond were dried up." For many years the Tianhua Production Brigade of Changsha County had been an advanced unit, and the secretary of the brigade's general party branch, Comrade Peng Meixiu [1756 2734 4423], was a model worker who had given an outstanding performance. Of course, she had her shortcomings, too. Comrade Shaoqi carried out his investigations. Then, while affirming the merits of the Tianhua Production Brigade's party branch, the good results in production and Comrade Peng Meixiu as a good comrade, he also pointed to the problems--and many problems, too--concealed by the red banner. This one-dividing-into-two method of seeking truth from facts was a correct one. Yet during the Cultural Revolution his work in Tianhua constituted a "crime" in "pulling up the red banner." This did not correspond to the facts.

In August 1964 Comrade Shaoqi again came to Hunan. At a meeting held on 10 August he asked us whether we had been down to the basic-level units. I replied that we had, although briefly, and that some of us had stayed there for 3 months, but not half a year or a year. He said: "Even a 3-month stay is not bad. What do you think we have relied on in providing leadership? Only on reports from others. We went down only to listen to reports, to look at the report forms and the estimated figures supplied by others, and then made our own decisions and issued directives. This was how we provided our leadership! I can say that everyone from the central authorities down to the provincial party committees, county party committees and even district and commune party committees did the same thing. If this is how the entire party and government provide leadership, decide matters and issue directives, it will be very dangerous. If this situation remains unchanged, we will be divorced from reality and the masses, and we will soon perish!" He also said to me: "Because of some defects and mistakes in the Big Leap Forward, and because these defects and mistakes remained undiscovered and uncorrected for a long time, the people have suffered a great deal. In view of this, Chairman Mao has proposed that cadres at various levels go down to the basic-level units. This proposal was made several years ago, but still the problem has not been solved. During the land reform in 1947,

Chairman Mao wanted the responsible cadres to personally 'dissect sparrows.' The dissecting of sparrows was proposed by Chairman Mao more than 10 years ago. After the Big Leap Forward he again proposed that the responsible cadres go down to the basic-level units to study and investigate seriously. But many comrades have not followed Chairman Mao's directives. In the past several years nobody has wanted to go at all, although many have talked about it. If the responsible cadres do not go, they will be cut off from reality and the masses." "Let me again stress: Those responsible cadres who have not yet gone down as proposed by Chairman Mao should do so quickly." Comrade Shaoqi's views gave a strong impetus to our work, and responsible cadres from the provincial party committee, the prefectural, municipal and county party committees and from various departments went down in an organized way. By the end of 1965, leading cadres at and above district level in the province had gone down to work in 1,261 production brigades, or 2 percent of the total number of production brigades in the province. These cadres numbered more than 7,000. If we include the cadres going down from the commune party committees, the total number of these production brigades reached almost 4,000. A provincial network of investigations and scientific experiments was beginning to take shape, and our work throughout the province soon improved. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There are two methods which we communists must employ in whatever work we do. One is to combine the general with the particular; the other is to combine the leadership with the masses." ("Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership") Comrade Shaoqi's stress on the need to go down was precisely a good combination of these two methods. If we do not go down to conduct systematic study and investigations on the spot, or if we do not work on the spot, we will not be able to understand the situation and cannot direct the work in the area by combining the general with the particular. Nor can we combine the leadership with the masses without going down to work in the basic-level units. There are tens of millions of people in a province. How can the leadership be combined with tens of millions of people unless the leaders first contact the masses in the basic-level units? Through this contact they can listen to the masses' voices, which directly reflect their feelings and needs. Only thus can the leaders obtain firsthand information and intelligently utilize second-hand information. Then there will be a combination of correct leadership with tens of millions of people throughout the province. Some comrades did not consider it necessary to go down as long as fact-finding meetings were held. Thus, working in the basic-level units and holding fact-finding meetings were separated or even set against each other. This view is incorrect. We should say that working in the basic-level units is a form of in-depth and systematic study and investigation, or a combination of "looking at flowers while riding a galloping horse" and "looking at flowers after getting off a horse." This method should be affirmed and systematically encouraged.

In August 1964 the "four cleanups" movement was going on in both the urban and rural areas of Hunan. After listening to our reports, Comrade

Shaoqi promptly reminded us of the need to seek truth from facts during the movement. He pointed out: "When the masses have been mobilized, some people may not speak the truth when they say that so-and-so belongs to the '10,000 brand' and so-and-so belongs to the '1,000 brand,' and some excesses may be committed. By that time we must stress the need to seek truth from facts and to conduct investigations and verifications in order to minimize mistakes." He added: "What will you do when you discover defects or mistakes? I think we have to correct them immediately instead of later. If any verdict has to be reversed, then reverse it immediately; if anyone should be rehabilitated, then rehabilitate him immediately. It is better to reverse wrong verdicts immediately. If the activists do not agree, the work teams should convince them with persuasion but must not show any temper. We would rather reverse wrong verdicts now instead of later. We should do this quickly instead of waiting for them to accumulate."

Now, when I recall Comrade Shaoqi's ideological style of persisting in study and investigations and proceeding from reality in everything, I am even more deeply impressed by the many benefits I received from him.

He did everything he could for the masses and relied on the masses in every way.

Comrade Shaoqi gave many brilliant expositions and developed the role of the mass line advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. He said on one occasion: "The viewpoints that we should do everything for the masses, that we should be responsible to the people in every way, that we should believe in the ability of the masses to emancipate themselves and that we should learn from the masses all combine to constitute our mass viewpoint, or the viewpoint of the masses' vanguard toward the masses. Our comrades must have these viewpoints, or a firm and clear mass viewpoint, before they can have a clearcut mass line in work and before they can provide correct leadership." ("On the Party") He further pointed out: "The masses must have their own vanguard--a vanguard with the characteristics of our party--before it is possible to achieve complete mass emancipation." "If the vanguard is divorced from the masses, then it cannot be the vanguard of the masses." ("On the Party")

Comrade Shaoqi thought of the people's interests in every possible way. In early May 1961 he returned to his old home in the Tanzichong Production Brigade for the first time in decades and stayed in the house where he was born. He knew that, because of the destruction by the "five winds," many commune members had had their houses torn down and had problems with their accommodations. He volunteered to offer his old house to the commune members, stopped the building of the memorial hall and let the commune members use the tables, chairs, cauldrons and storerooms in his own house. He pointed to the floor inside a room and told his men to remove the floorboards so that they could be used by the commune members for making doors. He said to the basic-level cadres: "Cadres are the

servants of the commune members, not their fathers. You should serve the commune members well, and they will be grateful to you." The cadres and commune members who were present were all deeply moved. In the past, when any emperor, king, general or prime minister visited their home village in glory, he had to show his style to the masses; that day, when our Comrade Shaoqi returned to his home village, he only showed his concern for the people. This fully demonstrated the quality of a proletarian revolutionary. He always thought of the people's well-being, down to minute details. Some commune members wanted to rent houses and worried about not being able to find suitable ones. He then told the commune and production brigade cadres to help these commune members. At that time the communes and production brigades were rectifying the mistakes of equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition caused by the "communist wind" and were making compensations. To protect the mass interests and to win the people's confidence, he wanted the accounts to be settled with the households one by one, and then a full account to be displayed on a placard or in a frame hung up in the commune office. He said that unless this were done the people would not be satisfied. He also pointed out that this was a serious lesson which should be passed on to future generations so that the mistake would not be repeated. Whenever he went he was ready to render assistance to anyone in difficulty and to criticize someone whenever he saw anything detrimental to the people's interest. On 10 April 1961, when he was on his way to see the old residence of Chairman Mao in Shaoshan, he stopped and left his car to see some commune members. He went to the home of a carpenter and found that the carpenter's mother was ill in bed. He entered the room to see her and asked the doctor accompanying him to treat the old lady. The carpenter did not know who the visitor was and continued his work. When he finally raised his head to look at the visitor and then turned around to look at a picture of the leader on the wall, he said excitedly: "So it is Chairman Liu! I never dreamed that someone like you would ever come to my house!" One day Comrade Shaoqi went to Huangcai Reservoir in Ningxiang County, and on the way he alighted from his car to talk to some commune members. One of them told him that the production brigade had taken away his house, and he immediately dispatched his men to find out why the house had been taken away and to arrange for it to be returned. When he later returned to Changsha, he still remembered this matter and asked if the problem with the commune member's house had already been solved. When he arrived at the Tianhua Production Brigade, he and several comrades climbed the Tianhua Mountain. He looked around and pointed at the mountaintops, saying: "Just look. Many mountains are so barren." One of his companions was concerned about his difficulty in walking in view of his age and cut off a tree branch for him to use as a walking stick. He refused to accept it and even criticized his companion.

Comrade Shaoqi once said: "In everything we must rely and base our decision on the consciousness and initiative of the masses, without which we cannot accomplish anything and our efforts will not be appreciated." ("On the Party") He had faith in the wisdom and strength of the masses

and knew that correct principles and policies can only come from the masses and be implemented through the masses. In April 1961 our party was working on the "Draft of Regulations on Work in the Rural People's Communes," or the "60 Points," and policies on many important questions had to be decided. At that time Comrade Shaoqi went deep among the masses in the Tianhua Production Brigade in Changsha County and discussed with the basic-level cadres and commune members such questions as the public messhalls, the ration system, grain, housing, forestry, household sideline occupations and private lots of commune members, commerce, trade fairs, and so forth. He listened to many comments, learned about the wishes and needs of the masses and obtained a lot of firsthand information for the Central Committee to formulate major administrative policies.

While at the Tanzichong Production Brigade, Comrade Shaoqi admonished the basic-level cadres to rely on the masses and to take the mass line in the performance of their duty. He said: "Some regulations must be drawn up so that such important matters as close planting, planting double-crop rice, planting cotton, repairing highways, and so forth are decided at commune members conferences and not by a few persons. It is particularly necessary to consult the old people, because they have the experience. If the commune members had discussed it, there would not have been any setting up of public messhalls and tearing down of houses. Remember not to do anything which the majority of commune members consider impossible." The principles raised by Comrade Shaoqi here still have their practical value today, because they concern the democratic work style, the mass line and the question of the power of production teams to manage their own affairs. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were riding high, all these principles were trampled underfoot, and serious damage was done to agriculture. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed these principles, and we have made some progress in practical work. However, the problem has not yet been completely solved. In some places today there are still such serious problems as failure to respect the authority of the production teams, blind commandism and attempts to settle all matters simultaneously.

Comrade Shaoqi attached great importance to the application of the mass line in socialist construction and in organizing the people's material and cultural well-being. Some comrades can still recall that in March 1957, when he went to Hunan to investigate a series of problems concerning economic construction and the people's livelihood, he also made a special trip to Zhuzhou Municipality, where he inspected the dormitories of the Xiangjiang Machinery Plant, a hard alloy plant, a hemp textile mill (which was still under construction) and the municipal party committee. In his report to a cadres conference of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee held on 24 March, discussing "Several Concrete Problems Concerning the Mass Line," he put forward many good proposals concerning the problem of dormitories for urban factories, mines, enterprises and government organizations; the problems of students, urban

construction and handicraft production during the busy and slack seasons; and the work-study problem. The solution of the problem of dormitories for the workers and staff members, for instance, should include not only state construction but also assistance to the workers and staff members to build their own houses. The difficult situation of the state, he said, should be truthfully explained to the masses, who should also be reminded of the difference between the new and the old societies, so that everyone would understand that the dormitory problem should be subordinated to the Five-Year Plan and that people should not be too hasty in moving their families to the cities. After all, in handling any matter, in his opinion it was necessary to be close to the masses, to be linked with the masses, to be concerned about the masses and to take the mass line. He also felt that, through discussions with the masses, some methods could be found whereby the masses would be able to solve their own problems without relying on the state, since the more they relied on the state, the more problems there would be. These proposals deserve our careful study even today.

Comrade Shaoqi wanted the leading comrades to maintain constant contact with the masses by various means, so that the voices of the masses could be heard. Some people in his home village wrote him frequently about the current situation. Later some cadres were not pleased with this method of "lodging complaints" and told the letter writers how they felt about it. When Comrade Shaoqi returned to his native village, he said to these cadres: "The masses did not write to me for the purpose of creating trouble for the communes or the production brigades. They did this so I could help you. I may have erred and helped you in the wrong way. In this case, I admit my error and will examine myself in your presence. But I still want to correspond with them and hope you will give me some freedom of correspondence. I hope the communes and production brigades will not intercept letters sent to me." He also criticized them, saying: "I have heard that even letters to Chairman Mao have been intercepted. This is very bad."

He preserved the spirit of hard struggle and shared every weal and woe with the masses.

At a meeting of responsible cadres of prefectural and municipal party committees and government organizations directly affiliated with the province of Hunan, Comrade Shaoqi said seriously and earnestly: "Since we are the state and party cadres of the proletariat, we should not be afraid of hardship and should not seek comfort. If we insist on getting privileged treatment or try back-door dealings, we will be cut off from the masses." When he came down to work in the countryside of Hunan in 1961, some comrades arranged to transport a sofa chair, a bathtub, and some daily necessities for him. When he learned of these arrangements, he criticized the comrades and returned all the articles. Before his departure for the countryside he said that he wanted to travel with a light pack, as though he were going to fight a guerrilla war. He carried



his own baggage, including his ricebowl and chopsticks. The sedan originally arranged for him was not wanted. Instead, he chose to ride in a jeep. At that time the people were enduring great hardship, and before having his meal he said to me: "Don't prepare too much. Just one dish and a bowl of soup, and that is enough." He also pointed out that members of the work teams dispatched to the basic-level units should eat and live together with the masses, and that it was all right if they wanted to make their own catering and accommodation arrangements provided they did not make these arrangements too special. When Comrade Shaoqi was conducting his investigations in the Tanzichong Production Brigade, the public messhalls were about to be abolished, and some commune members had difficulty obtaining kitchen utensils. He instructed that these utensils be produced immediately and distributed as soon as they were ready for use. At the same time, he spoke to the basic-level cadres about the priority of distribution. "Should the production team cadres get them first? Should the cadres get them before others? In my opinion, the first and second batches should go to those who urgently need them, and the commune and production brigade cadres should not get them first. If your family is in urgent need of them, let the masses compare your urgency with theirs. If the others can get them, you don't have to worry about yours. This is something cadres have to be careful about." He added: "This is my native village, and the province, county and commune all give some special consideration to this place. This is no good, and we can get by without it. As long as everyone works hard, we can certainly do our job well. Never ask for any special favors simply because it is my home village. I still have relatives here, but don't do them any favors just on my account." Although his remarks were then confined to some specific matters, the principle behind them is of universal significance in properly handling the relationship between our party and state cadres and the masses. During the revolutionary war period our party cadres and party members always placed hardship before pleasure, stayed in front during an offensive action and remained behind during a retreat. Their actions helped unite and mobilize the broad masses. In the new Long March we must more closely rally around the party Central Committee, hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and work hard in our pioneering undertaking with one heart and one mind. In striving for the four modernizations we must give full play to the role of the party in providing leadership and the role of the party members as the vanguard and good examples, and we must unite and lead the broad masses in advancing bravely toward the lofty goal of the four modernizations.

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THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT WILL SHINE FOREVER--IN MEMORY OF  
COMRADE CAI HESEN, AN OUTSTANDING LEADER OF OUR PARTY IN THE EARLY DAYS

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[Article by Cai Chang [5591 2545], reprinted from "Recollections of Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773]," soon to be published by the People's Publishing House]

[Text] This year is the 85th anniversary of Comrade Cai Hesen's birth. I welcome the day with incomparable excitement, because he was one of the leaders in the early period of our party and a flesh-and-blood senior who led my entire family to dedicate ourselves to the revolution. This is the first time that he is being commemorated, almost 50 years after his courageous sacrifice. How can I not feel an upsurge of emotions?

Comrade Hesen was active in the early days of the revolution led by our party. In the stormy 12 years from the end of 1919, when he went to France to work and study and search for the revolutionary truth, to June 1931, when the British imperialist Hong Kong government arrested him and handed him over to the reactionary Guomindang Guangdong government, ending in his secret assassination, he choreographed a shining and magnificent short life with the great ideal of a communist, outstanding expertise in Marxism-Leninism and the heroic bearing of a proletarian revolutionary.

Among the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in our party, Comrade Hesen was among the first to become proficient in Marxism-Leninism, especially in mastering Russia's October Revolution and the new things brought by Leninism to the Marxist theory. It seems only yesterday: I remember clearly the scene of his studying the original works of Marx and Lenin in Montanay in France in the first half of 1920. Wearing thin and old clothes, sitting in a simple and crude middle school dormitory and suffering from his severe chronic asthma, he checked in the dictionaries and stubbornly and repeatedly weighed each word. His arduous and diligent mental labor, plus his extensive and intensive ideological exchanges with a large number of Chinese and foreign figures, especially the staff and workers, brought him great

results. He wrote Comrade Mao Zedong: "After a comprehensive examination of all kinds of doctrines recently, I find that socialism is indeed the correct remedy to reform the world, and China is no exception." ("Correspondence of the Members of the Xinmin Society," Vol 3) Thus, he rapidly turned into what he called "a radical Marxist." After enduring many years of hardship, he finally found the truth for the self-liberation of mankind which had eluded Hong Xiuquan, Tan Sitong, Yan Fu and Sun Zhongshan. He was filled with happiness, enthusiasm, a boundless energy and a childlike joy. It was at this time that he and Comrade Xiang Jingyu [0686 6226 0056] became lovers-in-arms. Precisely as was described by Comrade Jingyu, the two of them became "new persons engendered in 1920 and could be called the children of the 20th century." From then on they made the great communist ideal the inexhaustible motive force to transform and dedicate themselves to the revolution.

In 1920, not long after his arrival in France, Cai Hesen, together with such members of the Xinmin Society as Xiao Zisheng [5135 1311 0581], Li Weihan [2621 4850 3352], Xiang Jingyu, Zhang Kundi [1728 2492 1717], Luo Xuezan [5012 1331 3895], Chen Shaoxiu [7115 4801 0128] and Xiao Zizhang [5135 1311 8517], held the Montanay Conference, launched the great debate on the socialist path to "reform China and the world" and raised the curtain on the work to create a party organization among the students working and studying in France. Immediately he wrote Comrade Mao Zedong at home and informed him with deep feeling: "I predict that in 3 to 5 years a Kerenskiy government will emerge in China. In other words, a Russian February Revolution will occur, those starting it will be the disguised old warlords and political and financial lords, and the result will be the emergence of an odd revolutionary regime in the German-Austrian style. I believe that a few young people will take part in it, but I hope you will not do so. I hope that you will prepare for a Russian October Revolution. I believe that my prediction is 90-percent correct. Therefore, you must make early preparations at home." (Ibid.) Comrade Mao Zedong agreed with him fully and clearly expressed himself by saying that "...I do not support the ideas of Zisheng and Hesheng [0735 4563], but I agree fully with Hesen's idea." (Ibid.) In addition, he pointed out frankly: "One may say that the concrete planning of the society began with the Montanay Conference and the letters of my seniors (referring to the letters from Cai Hesen and Xiao Zisheng).... Now that I have received your letters, it is no longer necessary for me to draw up a plan." (Ibid.) Early in 1921 Comrades Mao Zedong and He Shuheng [0149 0647 5899] and others held a meeting of the Xinmin Society in Changsha and for 3 days enthusiastically discussed the various issues brought up by its members in Paris and by Cai Hesen, thereby directly launching the ideological preparatory work for creating a party organization in Hunan.

Meanwhile, Comrade Mao Zedong demonstrated the outstanding essence of a future leadership figure. The moment he read the "personality appraisals" of the Paris members in the letters, especially in regard to

Comrade Hesen's being "firmly against eccentricity" and Comrade Jingyu's being "gently against haste," in his replies he promptly and tactfully suggested "contacts among the comrades." He admonished them sincerely: "I feel that the great cause of creating a special environment and reforming China and the world absolutely cannot be accomplished by a few persons, and I hope that the 70-plus of us will each give it his attention.... Be they men or women, old or young, scholars, peasants, workers or merchants, as long as they are sincere in their feelings, upright in character and advanced in ideology and can be of mutual benefit, it is all right to contact them and become one with them." (Ibid.) I feel that Comrade Hesen was, during his entire revolutionary practice in France, deeply influenced by Comrade Mao Zedong's profound wisdom. Precisely under the policy of conscientiously implementing the expansion of unity, the revolutionary movement of the work-study students in France was able to develop from the "two-eight" movement, promoted solely by the Work-Study World Society, to the "reject fund" movement and the "movement to return to the University of Lyon," which had a more extensive mass foundation; the Work-Study World Society, with members of the Xinmin Society as its nucleus, was able to take concerted actions in the revolutionary movement with the Work-Study Society, which had the Labor Society as its nucleus; the Chinese Communist General Branch in Europe created by Comrades Zhao Shiyan [6392 0013 3508], Zhou Enlai and Li Wei-han was able to lay a firm ideological and theoretical foundation and a strong political foundation; and Comrade Hesen himself was able to meet more good comrades-in-arms with the same goal and sharing the same destiny, such as our revered and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrades Chen Yi [7115 3015], Zhao Shiyan, Wang Rofei [3769 5387 7378] and Li Lisan [2621 4539 0005]. I also remember that, after the Fifth CCP Congress in 1927, Comrade Hesen, as a Standing Committee member of the Politburo, acted as secretary general of the party Central Committee for a time. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong was in charge of the national peasant movement in Wuhan. Comrade Hesen frequently visited Comrade Mao Zedong in the latter's home for short periods, held conversations with the cadres and peasants of Hunan and had heart-to-heart talks with Comrade Mao Zedong. His letter suggesting that the party Central Committee and the army "draw up a military plan to forestall all eventualities" in regard to Tang Shengzhi's [0781 3932 2535] return to Hunan to launch reactionary activities was written in Comrade Mao Zedong's house. At the critical moment of the revolution during the "Eight-Seven Conference" period, to turn the tide Comrade Hesen, pointing to the slate proposed by the Communist International delegates, repeatedly suggested that Comrade Mao Zedong and others who had undergone the baptism of war of the great revolution serve on the Standing Committee of the Politburo and perform the leadership work of the party Central Committee. Thereafter he righteously declared: "My relationship with Comrade Mao Zedong is absolutely not an attempt to organize a leftwing faction. The only reason is that Mao Zedong has always opposed the peasant policy of the Central, and since the winter of 1926 he has completely represented the trend of Hunan's land revolution, encountering the hatred of all enemies and winning the support of all

peasants. Therefore, after the 21 May 1927 Incident, I feel that he should return to Hunan to work, while the Eight-Seven Conference feels that he should stay with the Central." One may say that Comrade Hesen was one of the first in our party to correctly understand Comrade Mao Zedong and his thinking and to feel that he should participate in the leadership work of the Central. One must say that he rendered a great service to China's revolution.

I have often wondered why, on all key issues of the revolution at that time, Comrades Cai Hesen's and Mao Zedong's viewpoints were so amazingly similar. After much pondering I find that there was only one reason: They were indeed good partners and comrades-in-arms with the same goal, sharing the same destiny and mutually consulting each other. Their "goal" was the great ideal to reform China and the world, to overthrow the three big mountains pressing down on the Chinese people, to create a proletarian dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance and to finally realize communism. They had only this one "goal," free of any selfish ideas and personal considerations. This "goal" was the beginning and end of all their words and deeds. Their "way" was the highway of the practice of integrating Marxism-Leninism and China's reality. Starting from China's concrete reality, faithfully while also creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist universal truth, remaining loyal to the Marxist-Leninist guiding principles, having the courage to disregard the individual articles of the "books" and possessing the audacity to break through certain "orders" and "directives" in violation of theory and divorced from reality which were issued by individual authorities sent by the Communist International constituted precisely the common characteristics of the group of Chinese Marxist-Leninists such as Mao Zedong and Cai Hesen who emerged in the early period of the new democratic revolution.

In this respect, the statement of Comrade Hesen during the discussion of the peasant and land issues at the sixth party congress deserves special mention. The sixth congress was held in Moscow in July 1928. Comrade Mao Zedong did not attend; at that time he was creating and expanding the red base at Jinggangshan under extremely arduous conditions, and Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi had just led the remnant troops of the Nanchang Uprising to rendezvous with him. At this time, when the great revolution had failed, the "leftwing" adventurism had not been rectified, the idea of fighting for big cities was staging a comeback and the correct path of struggle was still being explored, Comrade Hesen, with the penetrating analysis of a Marxist-Leninist theoretician, concisely revealed the great prospect of the peasant guerrilla struggle. The tenor of his statement was: 1) The guerrilla struggle was the main form of the peasant movement, in the north as well as in the south. Once the class struggle became aggravated, it would proceed in this direction. 2) Mobilizing the broad masses would make possible a separatist situation. Here the key was in correctly solving the relationship between land distribution and the political power issue. Hesen firmly opposed the so-called

"nationwide land distribution" promoted by Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614] and advocated that "partial political power and partial land confiscation, in the struggle process, are possible and necessary." 3) The future of the peasant guerrilla struggle was not only in creating a separatist situation or in organizing a peasant militia and a Red army, but would finally develop to occupying the cities and activating the urban workers against the reactionary regime and imperialism. Only thus would the victory of the peasants be consolidated. Obviously, Hesen's statement was an extremely forceful and timely support to Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De, who were then in the process of creating the revolutionary path of the villages surrounding the cities.

Comrade Hesen fought for only a short 12 years in the early period of the new democratic revolution, but the shining path of his short life fully proved him to be a mature Marxist-Leninist. In the party's ideological and organizational construction, in the strategy and tactics of the new democratic revolution, in the policy of the united front, in the fundamental issues of the peasant movement and land revolution and in the socialist transformation of China's revolution, he made tremendous contributions to the party in both theory and practice. The rich theoretical legacy he left had a beneficial historical impact on the formation of the great Mao Zedong ideological system.

When commemorating the 85th anniversary of Comrade Hesen's birth, what I can never forget is how he led my entire family to dedicate ourselves to the great revolutionary cause of the CCP. The moment he plunged into the revolution, he resolved to "make the women progress at the same time" and even mobilized our old mother, who was in her fifties, to cross the ocean and live and attend classes with us in Montanay in France. The courageous image of our old but vigorous mother for a long time served as a model to encourage us of the younger generation in our arduous struggle. Hesen was even more strict with and concerned about me, a "mere child of a girl." He ingeniously and organically linked leading me and my mother to work and study in France with solving the larger issue of women studying and working. For this purpose he delayed his trip abroad for almost a year. After Xiao Zisheng ascertained the feasibility of women studying and working in France, he helped me and Jingyu, my senior, to form the "Hunan Women's Society for Work-Study in France" and promoted the creation of the "Embroidery Company" (which did not come into being) in order to enable us to go abroad without worry. In France he held heart-to-heart talks with me many times and urged me to join the Xinmin Society. At meetings of the Xinmin Society and the Work-Study World Society he talked many times about saving China with socialism, aptly criticized such ideological trends as anarchism and saving the nation with industry, and hit the vital spots in our thinking. I remember that Comrade Fu Chun [1381 2504], under his repeated persuasion and guidance, finally abandoned his idea of saving the nation with industry and firmly embarked on the socialist path.

Comrade Hesen not only inculcated us with Marxism-Leninism but also taught us to sacrifice ourselves selflessly for the revolution and the people. After "30 May" 1925 he personally asked Comrade Luo Zhanglong [5012 4545 7893] (then in charge of the Central Office) to introduce our second elder brother, Cai Lusheng [5591 7773 3932] (Lin Zheng [2651 5544]) to work with the Guangdong and Hong Kong Strike Committee. In barely a few months Comrade Lusheng tragically sacrificed himself in the forward patrol of the pickets and became the first revolutionary martyr of our family. After the failure of the great revolution, Comrade Jingyu, on 1 May 1928, courageously died a heroine's death in Wuhan. In the second half of 1931 Comrade Hesen himself was shamelessly and secretly assassinated by the Guomindang reactionaries in Guangzhou. After the formation of the Chinese People's Republic, the tortuous and endless class struggle did not disappear. In the last stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, Comrade Fu Chun, in January 1975, died from exhaustion in the long and complex struggle against the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Our revered and beloved Premier Zhou once pointed out in sorrow and indignation: "I never expected him to go before me!" Like millions of revolutionary households, our family is hoisting the banner of our martyrs, stepping into the breach as others fall and marching along the path made crimson with their blood.

Today our party has smashed the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The party Central Committee is raising even higher the great red banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, restoring and developing the party's glorious traditions, activating all positive factors, readjusting all the dislocated relationships and, with one heart and one mind and uniting together, leading the entire people to stride toward the great goal of the four modernizations. Our cause and our strength today far surpass those in the time of Comrade Hesen, and this is what we are happy to report to him. However, our cause is still unprecedented, and we will encounter complications and difficulties. We must, under the guidance of the party Central Committee and the long-tested proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, continue to develop the revolutionary spirit of pioneering through difficulties and struggling arduously which was demonstrated by Cai Hesen and the innumerable martyrs and march toward the lofty goal of communism along the bright highway illumined by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought!

6080

CSO: 4004

## REMINISCENCES OF MARTYR QIUBAI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 24-26

[Article by Mao Dun [5403 4163]]

[Text] Twenty-five years ago, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of Comrade Qu Qiubai, I wrote an article entitled "Commemorate and Learn From Comrade Qiubai." Twenty-five years later, taking up my pen again to write an article in commemoration of Comrade Qiubai, I celebrate his "rebirth" with tears in my eyes! The 10-year catastrophe was no more than a cold shower for Qiubai, who is dead and buried, but it was a galling and unforgettable shame and humiliation for us who are alive!

I became acquainted with Qiubai in 1922. At first I knew him only through his writings. I guessed from his articles that he was a pale-faced, erudite scholar, subtle in mind, talkative and humorous. Later, when I first met him at Shanghai University, I found out that his writings mirrored him: he was tall and pale and wore a loose long gown made of starched, light-blue cotton cloth. At that time he was the dean and concurrently the head of the Department of Sociology at Shanghai University. I was a part-time teacher in the Department of Chinese at the university. Qiubai was already an old friend of Zheng Zhenduo from the days when they were in Beijing. Through my connection with Zhenduo I became acquainted personally with Qiubai and gradually discovered that he did possess the makings of a scholar but was primarily a politician. He frequently wrote articles late at night. He had a ready pen and mostly wrote inspiring political commentaries which were used for speeches in restricted circles and were seldom published openly. Sometimes he translated literary articles and wrote some short literary commentaries. As a result, Zheng Zhenduo invited him to join the literary study group. Because of the political situation at that time, it was impossible for him to give full play to his literary talent.

In the winter of 1924 Qiubai married Yang Zhihua. They moved into 12 Shuntai Lane, Zhabei area, and organized their little family there. This was next door to my apartment (I lived in apartment 11). There were more frequent contacts between us. At that time I was a party



branch secretary of the commercial press, and meetings of the party branch were often held in my apartment. Qiubai attended these meetings quite often as a representative of the party Central Committee. Qiubai and I frequently discussed the political situation and problems within the party. Qiubai had a high regard for Chen Duxiu but was dissatisfied with his peremptory actions. Qiubai and I were unhappy with Peng Shuzhi. We thought that Peng Shuzhi had a very meager knowledge and that his work style was not good. We strongly objected to Chen Duxiu's trust in Peng Shuzhi. After the "30 May" massacre, Chen Duxiu held that we should wage the "three strikes" (shopkeepers strike, workers strike and students strike) to mobilize the masses, whip up public opinion and force the imperialists to make concessions. Qu Qiubai maintained that we should take more positive actions. When he talked with me privately he insisted that we should mobilize a large number of workers and students to successively stage demonstrations in Nanjing Road and see if British policemen dared open fire. If they did so, that would mean pouring oil on the fire and would enable us to set off a more extensive anti-imperialist and patriotic surge of anger throughout the country and win extensive sympathy and support from people of various countries in the world. In that way we could put pressure on the then current Chinese Government. Qu Qiubai told me that Chen Duxiu disagreed with his views.

In 1927 I had another association with Qiubai in Wuhan. At that time I was editor in chief of the Hankou MINGUO RIBAO. Ostensibly the newspaper was the organ of the provincial council of the Kuomintang in Hubei. In fact it was completely controlled by communists. Its publisher was our revered Comrade Dong [Dong Biwu], and the general manager was Mao Zemin. With the exception of one nonparty editor, all members of the editorial board were communists. Our revered Comrade Dong was too busy to attend to the editorial policy of the newspaper, and the newspaper was thus led by the Central Propaganda Department. At that time Qiubai was concurrently in charge of the Propaganda Department. Later Peng Shuzhi (who was director of the Propaganda Department) came to Wuhan and took charge of the newspaper. After the "12 April" incident, Chen Duxiu and Peng Shuzhi repeatedly told me: The MINGUO RIBAO is too progressive, and the leftist faction of the Kuomintang has complained about it. They asked me not to publish too many reports on the peasants movement, the workers movement and the women's movement. I consulted with revered Comrade Dong on the matter, and he asked me to pay no attention to what they had said. I passed the matter over to Qiubai, and after thinking it over he said: Let us run another newspaper. Qiubai was then busy with his work, and I seldom met with him except when I had important news to check or needed to ask him for instructions. However, he always paid a good deal of attention to the newspaper, which was the mouthpiece of the party. However, since the Hankou MINGUO RIBAO was published as an organ of the Kuomintang, both the rightist and leftist factions of this party interfered in my editorial affairs. I frequently complained about this to Qiubai. Therefore, he had long since decided to publish another newspaper. He said: It is abnormal that the policies of communists should

be propagated through a Kuomintang newspaper, because we can only express half of what we want to say. We would rather hand over the newspaper to the leftist faction of the Kuomintang and transfer our comrades to run another party newspaper to propagate the communist policies in an open and firm way. He asked me to be editor in chief of the party's new newspaper. In addition, an editorial committee composed of responsible comrades of the party Central Committee was to be formed to write the editorials. Qiubai attached importance to this matter and was actively engaged in the preparatory work. However, due to the drastic change in the political situation, the plan to run the party newspaper did not materialize.

In the summer of 1930 Qiubai and Zhihua returned to Shanghai from Moscow. They looked for me once they knew that I had also returned from Japan. In the letter which was passed to me by the Kaiming bookstore they used their secret signals instead of their real names. Qiubai had changed his surname to He and Zhihua to Lin, and their address was also written on the letter (I have forgotten it). My wife (Kong Dezhi) and I tried to visit them by going to the address. They lived in a very common apartment. The upstairs was used as a bedroom and study and the downstairs as a sitting and dining room. We talked upstairs. Qiubai asked about my life in Japan and told me something about the recent revolutionary situation at home. He agreed with my choice of professions as a novel writer. A year or so later, after Wang Ming had already assumed power, I heard a rumor that Comrade Qiubai had been unfairly treated and was in a bad mood. Dezhi and I visited him again. I discovered that Qiubai had become thinner, and Zhihua told me that he was suffering from tuberculosis again, although he was strong in spirit. Qiubai was glad to see us and asked me what I was writing. I told him that I was writing "Midnight," and with interest he asked me about the general outline of the story. This was in the summer of 1932, and I had just finished several chapters of my novel "Midnight." So I suggested that we discuss the matter again when I brought him the manuscript another time. A few days later I brought him several chapters which I had finished. We talked from 1300 to 1800. He gave me his views while he read the manuscript. We focused our attention on the chapters concerning the peasants rebellion and the workers strike, because the workers strike described in "Midnight" showed tendencies of putschism, and there was no mention of agrarian revolution in the chapter on the peasants rebellion. Qiubai told me which party policies were successful and which policies should be considered a failure. He suggested that I revise the chapters in "Midnight" concerning the peasants rebellion and the workers strike. (Since I did not even have indirect materials on hand on the peasants rebellion, I did not revise this chapter as Qiubai had advised. Instead, I retained chapter four as a separate part of the novel.) Before our discussion came to an end, dinner was ready. We planned to finish the discussion after dinner. After we had finished eating, Qiubai was unexpectedly told: "Something has happened in your wife's family; leave immediately!" This was a code word that the party's organ had been sabotaged and that the Qu family should move at once. Since

they were pressed for time and wondered where they could go, I brought them to my apartment. At that time I lived in Shude Lane off Yuyuan Street. The sublessor of the house was a merchant from Ningbo. This was a three-story house with side rooms. I lived on the third floor and reportedly was a teacher by vocation. After the Qu family reached my apartment, I told my sublessor that they were my relatives who had come to Shanghai for medical treatment and would return home in a few days. Zhihua only stayed overnight at my home and moved elsewhere the next day. Qiubai stayed at my home for more than a week. In that period Qiubai continued to discuss "Midnight." He read the novel carefully. In the novel I originally had written that Wu Sunpu used a Ford. But Qiubai said: "Ford" is a common limousine, and a capitalist like Wu Sunpu would use a "Citroen." He added: "When a big capitalist was beside himself with rage, he would usually damage something or even commit hideous barbarities." I accepted these two suggestions and revised the chapters accordingly. Later we discussed the situation in the literary and art circles at that time. Qiubai was critical of the "leftist" literary and art trend of thought. He wanted to write some literary works. He inquired about Lu Xun, and I realized that they had never met. I promised to introduce him to Lu Xun some day. One day Feng Xuefeng suddenly rushed in. Since he did not know Qiubai, I introduced them. I was afraid that other people might also barge in, so I suggested that it might be better for Qiubai to stay in Lu Xun's apartment. At that time Lu Xun lived in an apartment house located near the end of North Sichuan Road. People living in that apartment building were mostly foreigners, and only a handful of them were Japanese. The headquarters of Japan's Marine Corps was diagonally opposite the building. That place was safer than mine. I asked Xuefeng to take Qiubai to Lu Xun's house and introduce him to Lu Xun. After that, Qiubai took refuge in Lu Xun's house. He returned to his former house after Zhihua discovered that nothing had happened there. This was the beginning of Qiubai's contact and friendship with Lu Xun.

From that time until the end of 1933, Qiubai and Lu Xun together led the leftwing movement in literature and art in Shanghai. Qiubai was enthusiastic in studying and discussing Marxist theories on literature and art. He also used assumed names to write a number of trenchant essays attacking the Kuomintang reactionaries and their hired writers. When I met him we often talked about the issues of literature and art, and we sometimes debated some matters. Most of the time I was convinced by his deep and exquisite ideas and his spirit of seeking truth from facts. However, when Qiubai talked about himself he was always modest. I still remember that he once wrote a short letter to me and Lu Xun signed with an assumed name, "Quan Geng" [3689 5087]. We did not know its real meaning. Qiubai said: When I am engaged in political work I am like a dog plowing the land, because I am not competent at the work. He further explained: It does not mean that I do not want to be a communist. I unswervingly believe in Marxism. It is all right for me to be a member of the Central Committee, but if you want me to be the party's general secretary to lead the work of the entire party, I will be like a dog plowing the land. The

way he viewed his own limitations and dissected himself gave us a feeling of profound respect.

At the end of 1933 Qiubai received orders to set off for the central soviet area. Before his departure he said goodbye to Lu Xun and me. He talked a lot, and I learned that he was depressed. This was probably because of his reluctance to depart and leave the literary and art front which he liked in order to start a new journey. That was the last time I saw Qiubai. A year later we learned that Qiubai had been betrayed by a traitor. Not long after that the grievous news came--Qiubai had gone to his death unflinchingly, loudly singing the "Internationale." Qiubai was only 37!

Comrade Qiubai was one of the outstanding leaders of the Chinese Communist Party of the early period. He was an important figure who propagated Marxism and Leninism in China in the early stage. He was also one of the prominent leaders of China's leftwing literary and art movement. Throughout his short life he made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. I had an adequate acquaintance with Qiubai for many years, and I never doubted that he was a genuine revolutionary, a firm communist, a selfless and dauntless fighter and a person who could show utter devotion to friends! Qiubai was treated unfairly during his lifetime and was framed by the "gang of four" after his death. Now the wrong has been righted. I sincerely hope that Qiubai's soul rests in peace!

CSO: 4004

## UPHOLD THE UNITY OF DEMOCRACY AND CENTRALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 27-31, 46

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932]]

[Text] A particularly important task in socialist political construction is that of extensively developing socialist democracy and systematizing and legalizing democracy in order to insure the people's right to be masters of their own affairs and the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

Socialist democracy as a political superstructure is based on the socialist economic foundation and services that foundation. Our purpose in developing socialist democracy is: 1) To consolidate and perfect socialist state power, so that it will effectively exercise dictatorship over the antisocialist enemy and fulfill its function in organizing and defending the socialist economy and culture. 2) To correctly work out the line, principles and policies for economic and cultural construction, coordinate the interests of different sectors in socialist society and bring the positive factors of all sectors into full play, so that economic and socialist construction will develop along the socialist orientation. 3) To safeguard the people's right to take an active part in the administration of state affairs and management of the economy and culture and to insure the social-political conditions under which our people can constantly bring their initiative and creativity into full play. It is necessary to strengthen ideological and political work for the masses, so that they will voluntarily and consciously accept the principles and policies of the party and government and unite as one to strive for the socialist cause. 4) To correctly use and select cadres so that there are talented persons who are fully competent at their posts on all fronts, including economic and cultural fronts; it is necessary to increasingly place the cadres and leading organs under the criticism and supervision of the masses and strengthen the close ties among cadres, leading organs and the masses. In a word, the purpose of developing socialist democracy is to bring the masses' enthusiasm for socialist construction into full play and to consolidate the socialist cause of the proletariat and the entire people. The more socialist democracy has developed, the better

progress of socialist economic and cultural construction will be insured. In the meantime, the smooth progress of the socialist economy and culture will contribute to the increasingly consummate material conditions. Thus, the development of socialist democracy and that of the socialist cause are unified, and they belong to one and the same social process. If there is a kind of democracy that can be used to undermine the people's unity and their initiative for the modernization programs, this kind of democracy can also be used to weaken the socialist cause. This kind of "democracy" is by no means socialist democracy.

The general political purpose of developing socialist democracy is to create a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness in the political life of our party and state. History and current facts have shown that to create and maintain such a political situation we must do a lot of work and exert considerable efforts to explore in practice and set up a series of fully effective democratic forms, a democratic process and an organizational structure. To do this we should first of all correctly understand and handle well the relations between democracy and centralism on the one hand and democracy and discipline on the other. At all times and in all conditions, while safeguarding democracy and freedom, we should protect centralism and discipline. We should uphold the unity of democracy and centralism on the one hand and democracy and discipline on the other.

Upholding the unity of democracy and centralism is the basic principle of socialist democracy and an important trait of the socialist state system. Our party has always maintained that the system of democratic centralism, which means combining democracy with centralism, should be pursued among the people, between the leaders and the masses and between the higher and lower levels. During the 17 years after the founding of the PRC we basically implemented the principle of democratic centralism, although we made many mistakes. During the Cultural Revolution, democratic centralism was completely destroyed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We learned a profound lesson from this. These conspirators not only sabotaged democracy and freedom but also undermined centralism and discipline, making our democratic centralism exist in name only and causing our party organizations to suffer great losses. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, the party has succeeded in summing up historical experiences and has put forward correct principles to extensively develop socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system. We have adopted a number of effective measures to enlarge the people's democracy ideologically, politically and organizationally and to consolidate centralized unity, so that our country again follows the system of socialist democracy and creates a political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness throughout the country. All these have fully manifested the common desire and unshakable will of the people throughout our country. We will uphold such a democratic system permanently and constantly score positive results as the people have expected.

However, because the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not been completely eliminated and due to other social historical reasons, we should realize that in the present process of bringing about democracy not everyone is able to correctly handle the relations between democracy and centralism and consciously uphold the unity of democracy and centralism. Actually, some comrades among our cadres and masses still absolutely set democracy against centralism, separate them and consider them to be incompatible. They incorrectly think that strengthening centralism is tantamount to restricting and negating democracy. Such a tendency is the same as that of unduly stressing centralism and neglecting democracy. This is wrong and distorts the theories and practice of socialist democracy. If we do not correct these wrong tendencies, they will certainly impede our progress in bringing about democracy and hinder the consolidation and development of the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness.

In the system of socialist democracy, democracy and centralism are inter-related and promote each other. Democracy and centralism are a unified process and cannot be separated. They are indispensable. Otherwise, such a process will be blocked or sabotaged and will not promote and develop democracy.

The actual meaning of democracy is the rule of the majority over the minority. Socialist democracy means administering state and social affairs in accordance with the will and desire of the proletariat and the whole people. To facilitate such administration, we should first of all guarantee that people can positively bring the spirit of being masters of their own country into full play and amply air their views, demands, desires and will through various forms and channels such as meetings, discussions, proposals, inquiries, appeals, elections, criticism, supervision and so forth. This is what we usually call an extensive promotion of people's democracy. Centralism means that leading organs and leading cadres at all levels established on the basis of democracy expeditiously and correctly summarize and generalize the opinions, demands, desire and will of the people and turn them into the unified principles, policies, discipline, decrees and so forth that we use to guide and organize the entire people to strive for their own interests and will. Such an objective process from democracy to centralism has shown that democracy is the prerequisite and basis of centralism. Without democracy there will not be any centralism, and without an extensive democracy there will not be any correct centralism. The so-called "centralism" devoid of democracy can only be an autocracy. Without centralism based on democracy, without principles, policies, discipline and decrees which embody the people's unified will and interests, and without the unified leadership of the party and state, the people will have different views, be divided in their will and be discordant in their actions. Under such circumstances, the so-called socialist democracy of running the state in accordance with the will of the entire people will never come about and can only be an empty word. We should like to ask: Without the unified

and correct leadership of the party Central Committee, would it have been possible for the people throughout the country to triumphantly realize their will and desire in October 1976 to overthrow the "gang of four" and put an end to a social and political situation of protracted confusion? Without the correct line, principles and policies which have been adopted by the party Central Committee since the smashing of the "gang of four" and in accord with the interests and will of the people, could we have extensively brought order out of chaos, redressed false charges, wrong sentences and framed-up cases, safeguarded the masses' political and economic rights and expanded socialist democracy? Could the people throughout the country have swiftly promoted the four modernizations with one heart and one mind? Therefore, socialist democracy and socialist centralism should not be divorced from each other. Centralism is an essential condition and form which insures the advance of democracy. In this sense, centralism itself is an important part of democracy. Socialist centralism is essential not only for bringing about socialist democracy but also for developing the socialist cause. The fact that we stress expanding socialist democracy, improving the democratic system and measures of the party and state, absolutely safeguarding the people's right to express their views and their other rights, and strengthening the people's supervision over leading organs and leading cadres at all levels does not mean that we should weaken or negate socialist centralism. On the contrary, we should provide a firm and vigorous basis for socialist centralism so that the unity of the party and state conforms still better to the interests and will of the entire people. Of course, in the process of pooling the opinions and wisdom of the masses and exercising unified leadership, leading organs and cadres of the party and state at all levels will unavoidably commit various mistakes or have certain shortcomings. We should criticize and correct these shortcomings and mistakes. However, our purpose in doing so is to consolidate the unified leadership of the party and state, and not to bring about the disintegration of the contingent of masses and throw the state's political and economic life into confusion.

In the system of socialist democracy, democracy and centralism are interrelated and also different from each other. When discussing the training of the masses to take part in the administration of the state and the economy, Lenin, in the "Preliminary Draft of 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government,'" pointed out: "We must strictly differentiate these two distinct functions: One is debate and the holding of mass meetings, and the other is the setting up of a strict responsibility system and unconditionally carrying out instructions and orders in a disciplined and voluntary manner in labor so that the economic organ can really function like clockwork." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 193) This clearly showed us that giving play to the democratic spirit of the masses in administering the state and the economy and strengthening centralized leadership over labor and work are both functions of socialist democracy. However, they are also "two democratic functions" with distinctions and we cannot mix them together or replace and negate



one with the other. We must learn to grasp their relations from their distinctions. Only in this way can we correctly bring about the combination of democracy with centralism and better understand and master the law governing the development of socialist democracy.

As we have mentioned before, centralism can only be carried out on the basis of democracy by summing up the views and experiences of the masses. However, this kind of centralized summing up is not the simple summing up of views. Leadership organs must systematize, analyze and generalize the scattered and unsystematic ideas of the masses and translate them into a centralized, systematic one and into the policies and principles of the party and government. These centralized, systematic ideas represent neither this nor that section of the people nor a handful of leading members, but the unified will of the whole people. Therefore, the transformation of democracy to centralism is a qualitative leap, and centralism is the highest form in the development of democracy. Precisely because of this, centralism also becomes the guiding force for the further development of democracy. Here we see not only the internal relations of democracy and centralism but also their mutual distinctions. As the product of centralism, once the policies and principles of the party have been drawn up, they must be firmly and resolutely implemented by the cadres and people on various fronts and in various units and translated into action. Naturally, we must examine these policies and principles in the course of implementation, accumulate experiences to amend, supplement and enrich them and prepare conditions for the leadership to carry out new centralism. These ideas which come from the masses are returned to be embraced by them and are again concentrated and again returned over and over to become more correct, vigorous and vivid each time, until they fully reflect the law governing the development of the unity of opposites and of democracy and centralism. So long as we always carry out work according to this objective law, our democratic centralism will continue to be strengthened and consolidated, and there will be a high degree of democracy in the political life of the party and the state.

From the point of view of the interests of the people, upholding the unity of democracy and centralism means upholding the unity of individual interests and collective interests, the unity of partial interests and overall interests and the unity of temporary interests and long-term interests. In the final analysis, the relationship between democracy and centralism is precisely the manifestation of these interrelated interests in politics and law. In our country the working class and the whole people have built their economic and political life on the basis of joint ownership of the means of production. Their basic political and economic interests are identical, and there is no fundamental conflict of interest. That is why we have been able to bring about centralized unity in the will and action of the people. However, since differences exist in the form of ownership and distribution of the means of production, the living conditions and the degree of socialist consciousness among people of various classes and stratum, there are still all kinds of

contradictions among them on the basis of identity of interests and contradictions of individual and collective interests, partial and overall interests and temporary and long-term interests. This requires that we keep on solving these contradictions and readjust the mutual relations of various interests according to the principle of democratic centralism and the policy of taking all factors into consideration in making overall plans. This kind of readjustment does not negate individual interests, partial interests and temporary interests, but correctly combines them so that individual interests are subordinate to collective ones, partial interests are subordinate to collective ones, partial interests are subordinate to overall ones and temporary interests are subordinate to long-term ones. If we one-sidedly seek individual interests but go against collective interests, seek partial interests but go against overall interests and seek temporary interests but go against long-term interests, the outcome can only be harmful to both sides. Because of the sabotage carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a long period, the economic and political interests in our country experienced difficulties and problems. At present we are carrying out the arduous task of readjusting, restructuring and consolidating. Under these conditions, we must place particular stress on combining democracy with centralism and combine individual interests with collective interests, partial interests with overall interests and temporary interests with long-term interests. Only if everyone from top to bottom, both inside and outside the party, persists in doing so can we quickly overcome the difficulties and triumphantly attain the great goal of realizing the four modernizations.

To uphold the unity of democracy and centralism we must wage an unflagging struggle against two erroneous tendencies. This means that we must not only oppose bureaucracy but also oppose anarchism. Both these erroneous tendencies negate democracy and centralism and are ideological and political factors which are harmful to stability and unity, to democratic centralism and to party leadership. In actual life, bureaucracy is manifested mainly in two forms: The first is that of distorting centralism and not acknowledging that centralism must be based on democracy and that leaders must centralize and carry out the will of the people. It means turning centralism into the "concentration" of personal power above the masses and organizations, practicing the patriarchal type of "what I say counts," personal autocracy and monopoly and severely sabotaging the ties between the party and government and the people and the principle of collective leadership. This kind of peremptory bureaucracy is what the people often call despotism. The other form of bureaucracy involves using "democracy" as an excuse but actually completely abandoning the functions of democracy, standing high above the masses, not listening to their views or showing concern for their interests, not making essential decisions based on actual conditions, shifting the blame to others if anything goes wrong and turning the leadership organ into an arena for empty political talk with no one shouldering responsibility. The principal manifestation of anarchism is displaying on the banner of

"enlarging democracy" but actually proceeding from the factional interests of the individual or a handful of people, opposing all essential collective unity and obedience, opposing the policies and decrees of the party and government which embody the will of the people, opposing the authority of the leaders and administrators carrying out the will of the people and seeking a so-called kingdom of absolute freedom without any form of restriction. Despite the fact that the manifestations and sources of these two erroneous tendencies are different, they nevertheless are completely similar in nature. They both place the interests and will of the individual or a handful of people above the interests and will of the majority of people and above the interests and will of the party and the state. Therefore, they are basically incompatible with socialist democracy and democratic centralism. If we do not resolutely struggle against these erroneous tendencies, we will not be able to develop democratic life, give play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses or advance the cause of socialism. Bureaucracy and anarchism are not things which are found only today; they have a long history in China's social life. They are shameful residues left over from thousands of years of feudal politics. Their deepest foundation for survival is the economic condition of small production. The complete eradication of these "uneliminated relics" cannot be accomplished within a short time. We must wait until our socialist, modern, large-scale production is fully developed and there is a big improvement in the level of the material and cultural life of the whole people. However, we definitely cannot slacken our ideological and political criticism or our struggle against them. An important aspect of developing socialist democracy is to thoroughly struggle against bureaucracy and anarchism. Whether or not our cadres at various levels and people on various fronts are able to educate and remold themselves with democratic methods under the leadership of the party and state, and whether or not they can quickly break the shackles and influence of bureaucracy, anarchism and other old ideas left behind from the old society, eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and advance along the road of upholding the unity of democracy and centralism and consolidating democratic centralism will be an important hallmark for measuring the degree and orientation of the development of our democracy.

To uphold the unity of democracy and centralism we must uphold the unity of democracy and discipline. Discipline is the product of centralism and an extremely important aspect at that. Therefore, to a certain extent the unity of democracy and centralism is also the unity of democracy and discipline. In any social organization, so long as there is concerted action, there must be specific discipline and obedience. Any democracy is interrelated and interlinked with specific discipline. Capitalist democracy must have appropriate capitalist discipline established on its own basis for its protection, and socialist democracy must also have appropriate socialist discipline established on its own basis for its protection. There is no such thing as democracy without discipline. As a historical phenomenon, socialist democracy no doubt will

also eventually wither away in history. However, this can only be brought about in a communist society. This also means that it can only wither away with the withering away of socialist democracy. We can imagine that, when the time comes, it will be replaced by a kind of "democracy" and "discipline" which is more advanced in content and form. We are historical materialists, and we definitely have no illusions that we can do without discipline, obedience or authority. Those illusions that negate all discipline, obedience and authority, due to a misunderstanding of the nature and task of socialist democracy, are basically incompatible with Marxism. The power of socialist democracy is not determined by the fact that it is the greatest democracy in the history of mankind but by the fact that it is the most disciplined and orderly democracy. Under the socialist system, if the minority can refuse to subordinate itself to the interests and will of the majority, the individual can refuse to subordinate himself to the organization and the lower level can refuse to subordinate itself to the upper level, that basically will not be socialist democracy but the kind of antidemocratic and antisocial actions which socialist democracy must correct and prevent.

To destroy socialist democracy, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frenziedly sabotaged socialist discipline, including the legal discipline and administrative discipline of the state, as well as labor discipline, work discipline and study discipline. The ravages left by the long sabotage caused a slackening of discipline and a laxity of organization in some of our localities and units. Therefore, in the process of giving play to socialist democracy at present we must particularly strengthen education in discipline for the cadres and people and energetically restore the authority of socialist discipline. All lower levels must unswervingly implement the policies and principles of the Central Committee and the decisions of leadership organs at the upper level. If they have any dissenting views, they may reserve them or bring them up through organizational channels. However, before changes are made in the original decisions by the upper level, the lower levels must still resolutely implement them. It is entirely possible for us to discuss in an appropriate form theoretical questions of overall and political importance concerning the fundamental interests of the whole people. After the party and state have explained these theoretical questions of great political importance, and if there still are dissenting views, they can still be brought up through regular organizational channels. However, making public statements in the press expressing dissenting views is not allowed. In labor, work and study we must conscientiously obey the rules and regulations provided by organizations representing the will of the majority. The practice of everyone going his own way and laxity in discipline is not allowed. Without this strict socialist discipline, our democratic life will be destroyed, all socialist organizations will lose their rightful fighting power and we will not be able to win victory in any struggle. For the majority of people, observing socialist discipline is a personal need and conscious demand. However, for out-and-out egoists

and people with ideas of feudal privilege and anarchism, this is a coercive force. The handful of people who lack consciousness must feel this kind of coercive force. Everyone, regardless of his position, is equal before socialist discipline, and no one has the right not to be bound by discipline or to place himself above it. Our cadres at various levels must set an example of being paragons at observing discipline and law. They must use their own actions to set the pace for the people and wage a relentless struggle against all actions which sabotage socialist discipline.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin on many occasions exhorted the Soviet people, "In the interests of socialism," to "unquestioningly obey the unified will of the leaders of the labor process" and to learn to "combine democracy with iron discipline while at work." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, pp 247, 249) Today we are embarking on a new Long March. To bring about this great but arduous socialist cause of the four modernizations as quickly as possible, it is even more necessary for us to strive to combine democracy with discipline and democracy with centralism in labor, work and political life. This should be an unshirkable duty for each and every one of our cadres and people.

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COMRADE LIU SHAOQI'S TIANJIN SPEECH SHOULD BE CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 32-35

[Article by Yu Mingren [0205 2494 0088]]

[Text] The founding of the PRC in 1949 marked the fundamental victory of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in our country. Our party faced the arduous tasks of restoring and developing the national economy during the initial period after the founding of the country.

In the spring of 1949, that is, on the eve of the overall victory of the liberation war, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a report on behalf of the seventh party Central Committee at its second plenum, laying down the correct line for us after the victory of the liberation war. He analyzed the various sectors of the economy in Chinese society after the liberation and pointed out the policy which our party should follow. Which were the sectors that constituted the economy in Chinese society after the liberation? Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The state-owned economy is socialist in character, and the cooperative economy is semisocialist; these, plus private capitalism, plus the individual economy, plus the state-capitalist economy in which the state and private capitalists work jointly, will be the chief sectors of the economy of the People's Republic and will constitute the new democratic economic structure." With regard to the attitude toward private capitalist industry and commerce, he pointed out that they should be allowed to exist and expand for a fairly long period of time and that only when conditions were ripe should they be transformed into sectors of the socialist economy. He said: "There will be a need, for a fairly long period after the victory of the revolution, to make use of the positive qualities of urban and rural private capitalism as far as possible, in the interest of developing the national economy. In this period all capitalist elements in the cities and countryside which are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and expand. This is not only unavoidable but also economically necessary."

The second plenum of the seventh party Central Committee was held from 5 to 13 March 1949. Not long after that, Comrade Liu Shaoqi came to Tianjin, bringing with him the instructions of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. On 24 April he delivered a speech on the work in Tianjin. He talked about the question of the capitalist exploiting system in this way: "The capitalist exploiting system cannot be abolished completely, because it is still useful. Some people say that 'it is better to have some people than no one to exploit us,' because having no one to exploit us means losing our jobs, and it is better to have a job than to have none. Workers suffer today not because capitalism has developed but because capitalism has not developed. Under the present conditions in China, some development of private capitalist exploitation will be beneficial to the national economy, to China and to the workers." On 19 May he also delivered a speech at a meeting of cadres in Beijing. He said: "In China today, capitalist exploitation is allowed to exist because the development of capitalist industry and the mode of capitalist exploitation are progressive in nature under given historical conditions." Touching on the business management of a private factory in Tianjin, he pointed out: This was a rather progressive factory, although it practiced exploitation. "However, this exploitation has its progressive quality. It is meritorious and not reactionary."

Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speeches were identical with Comrade Mao Zedong's speech in spirit. He made the statement that "exploitation is meritorious" in view of some cadres' anxiousness to wipe out exploitation and the bourgeoisie. He just carried it to an extreme. During the Great Cultural Revolution, however, his words became an unpardonable crime, were labeled the "theory that exploitation is meritorious" and were subject to relentless denunciation.

The living soul of Marxism is to analyze concrete conditions in a concrete way and to base all things on the time, place and other factors. Let us first of all look at the time, the place and other factors when Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivered his speeches.

The Chinese PLA began crossing the river on 21 April 1949 and liberated Nanjing on 23 April. Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivered his speech on the work in Tianjin the day after Nanjing was liberated. On 27 May the PLA liberated Shanghai, China's largest industrial and commercial city. Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivered his speech at the meeting of cadres in Beijing 8 days before Shanghai was liberated. It was extremely necessary to explain the party's line, principles and policies to the cadres there and then in order to implement the party Central Committee's instructions and Comrade Mao Zedong's speech at the second plenum of the seventh party Central Committee and to win over the national bourgeoisie and rally it around the Communist Party.

Our party adopted different policies toward bureaucrat capital and national capital. Toward the former it adopted the policy of confiscating

its property. Toward the latter it adopted the policy of use, restriction and transformation, that is, using those aspects beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood, restricting those aspects harmful to the national economy and the people's livelihood and, through state capitalism of various forms, transforming it into a sector of the socialist economy. Because we had to use the capitalists, we had to allow them to make profits, that is, to exploit the workers within a certain limit. Otherwise, why should we talk about using them? This was commonsense. However, regardless of this commonsense, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brazenly chopped up history and used "exploitation" as a magic wand to swindle people!

Actually, it is in accordance with the Marxist viewpoint and not the bourgeois viewpoint to reveal that the capitalist system is an exploiting system and to expose the exploitation of workers by the capitalists in industry and commerce. Bourgeois economics tries to cover up exploitation in every possible way. For example, Jean Baptiste Say, a philistine bourgeois economist, held that capital, land and labor create values and that, with the three of them forming an organic whole, it is quite natural for capital to engender interest, land to engender rent and labor to engender wages. The capitalists tried to avoid using the word "exploitation." During the early postliberation period the capitalists were frightened when they heard their names linked with "exploitation." They wanted to find a substitute word for "exploitation," even going to the extent of looking in the Greek dictionary for a new translation of this word. Comrade Liu Shaoqi told the capitalists that they were exploiters and that their exploitation was permissible at that time. When he said this he was entirely taking the Marxist stand, transmitting the party's policy to the capitalists and persuading them to work in the interests of the national economy. This had absolutely nothing to do with "capitulation," not to mention preaching capitalism.

Exploitation should be analyzed by taking a historical point of view and should not be assessed by one's emotions alone. In the long river of the history of the development of human society, at first there was primitive society without exploitation, then the emergence of the slave-owning system and later the transition from the feudal system to the capitalist system. The change from the absence of exploitation to the presence of exploitation marked the progress of history. Marx and Engels said in the "Communist Manifesto": "The bourgeoisie once played a highly revolutionary role in history." They meant that the substitution of the capitalist exploiting system for the feudalistic exploiting system was a historical progression. Of course, the task of the proletariat is to wipe out all exploiting systems. The change from the existence of exploitation to the abolition of exploitation is all the more gigantic a leap forward in history. In old China the society was a semicolonial and semifeudal one. The Chinese revolution had to be carried out in two stages. The first stage was the new democratic revolution and the second the socialist revolution. The capitalist economy had to be



allowed to exist and to develop to a certain extent for a considerably long period of time after the nationwide liberation--this was correct theoretically and practically. We should judge the merits and demerits of the capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises and the deeds of their owners by linking them with the social economic conditions at the time and not by taking them as an isolated matter. We should consider these points: First, whether they were conducive to the development of productive forces in Chinese society; second, whether they were conducive to the stabilization and improvement of the people's standard of living; third, whether they were conducive to the subsequent socialist transformation. Judging by these points, the capitalist industry and commerce and the national bourgeoisie contributed to restoring and developing the national economy during the early postliberation period.

Before the nationwide liberation, China went through the 8-year war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the 3-year civil war. Its industrial and agricultural production was devastated by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Monetary inflation and skyrocketing commodity prices cast the people into dire poverty. After the founding of the PRC, the most pressing and important task was to quickly restore and develop production. At that time, the agrarian reform had not yet been completed, so that it was impossible to carry out all-round socialist transformation in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. As far as agriculture was concerned, the most important thing was to carry out agrarian reform, abolish feudal exploitation and liberate the rural productive forces step by step. With regard to industry, as Comrade Mao Zedong said, the most important thing was to help develop the state-operated factories and, at the same time, to restore and develop the private industrial and handicraft production. This was the only way to comprehensively utilize and develop the productive forces in Chinese society. In 1949 there were more than 123,000 capitalist industrial enterprises whose total output value exceeded 6.8 billion yuan and accounted for 63.3 percent of that of all industrial enterprises. Means of consumption accounted for 81.5 percent of the total output value of the capitalist industrial enterprises and were very much needed in people's daily lives. We had to make full use of these enterprises.

During the early postliberation period there were large numbers of unemployed workers in the cities. It was necessary to give them jobs in order to stabilize and improve the people's standard of living. At that time the socialist state-operated enterprises which had been newly established by confiscating the bureaucrat capital were at the restoration stage. They alone could not recruit all these unemployed workers. In 1949 there were 1.64 million workers engaged in production in the capitalist industrial enterprises, accounting for 53.7 percent of the total number of factory workers in the whole country. At that time the Kuomintang had just been driven away, and the people of the whole country had been liberated from reactionary rule. It was impossible for our people's government to substitute a state-operated economy for the

privately operated economy and to immediately transform the privately operated industry and commerce into sectors of the socialist economy. It was necessary to allow private industrial and commercial enterprises to exist and develop in order to solve the problem of the workers' standard of living. Exploitation by capitalists was certainly to be tolerated if workers were employed by private enterprises. At that time we could only enforce the policy of "considering both the public and the private interests and benefiting both the workers and the capitalists." We could only restrict capitalist exploitation; we could not abolish it completely.

Allowing exploitation by capitalists to a certain degree over a given period of time did not mean refusing to wipe out capitalist ownership. When conditions were ripe, the capitalist industry and commerce would be subjected to socialist transformation, and then the capitalist exploiting system would be wiped out. Did the situation not develop in this way? From 1949 to 1952 the total output value of capitalist industrial enterprises increased by about 54 percent, and the retail sales of privately operated commercial enterprises grew by about 20 percent. During the First Five-Year Plan period, as a result of socialist transformation, the assets of the capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises became assets of the socialist state-operated enterprises.

Of course, we the proletariat should repudiate capitalism and the bourgeoisie. However, in no way should we regard any form of repudiation of capitalism and the bourgeoisie as something which is beyond doubt and correct and which should be approved. There were many different attitudes and methods of repudiating capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Marxism has revealed the exploitive essence of the capitalist system and pointed out the trend of the capitalist system toward destruction. It has also fully confirmed the inevitability of the substitution of capitalism for feudalism in history and the progressive role played by the bourgeoisie. This is a correct viewpoint of utilizing and transforming capitalism, a viewpoint of looking forward and taking socialism as the goal. The reactionary feudal landlord class also repudiated capitalism. Making an empty show of strength, the landlords totally negated the progressive role played by capitalism and the bourgeoisie in history. They acted like people who had fallen into reduced circumstances and cursed the upstarts. They did not show the slightest concern for the interests of the working people but proceeded from the interests of the feudal class which had already been overthrown. Their aim was to push society backward. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution were feudal fascists who attempted to turn back the wheel of history!

Truth is concrete. The Marxist theory of social science must be put to the test under concrete historical conditions. In evaluating whether a policy or measure is right or wrong, successful or erroneous, good or bad, if we pass our judgment arbitrarily or by divorcing it from

historical reality, we shall land ourselves in historical idealism. One should only respect history and act according to objective laws and should never try to put historical laws at one's disposal. Our country today is in the new period of realizing socialist modernization. Anyone who comes forward and says that we should restore capitalist exploitation and that exploitation is meritorious is trying to turn back the wheel of history, and his viewpoint is very wrong. (Of course, some exploitation still exists in the few enterprises which take in foreign capital to tap our country's economic resources, but this is to our advantage.) However, conditions in 1949 were quite different. The people's liberation war was then going from victory to victory. The people rejoiced over the liberation of Tianjin and Beijing. The economy left behind by the Kuomintang was in a mess. Problems piled up and urgently needed solution. Many people were filled with precious revolutionary enthusiasm. Faced with a revolutionary storm, the national bourgeoisie was in a constant state of anxiety. Under those conditions, an important task was to reassure the people, to size up the situation soberly, to restore urban production quickly and steadily and to lead economic work on the correct path. Socialism is fine, but it cannot be achieved at one go. We should walk along a path step by step. We cannot cover 1,000 li in just one step. The most important task confronting us at that time was to teach the workers and the masses to link their revolutionary ideal with their scientific attitude, to reassure the national bourgeoisie and to arouse all positive factors to work for the new China's economic construction under the leadership of the CCP. Some of the speeches delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi at that time did play such an important role. History has proved that these speeches brought excellent results in using, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce and restoring and developing the national economy.

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THE RELATIONS OF REVISIONISM, DOGMATISM AND EMPIRICISM TO THE POLITICAL LINE

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[Article by Huang Nansen [7806 2684 2773], Zhang Yixing [1728 5065 2502], Zhao Jiexiang [6392 1367 4382] and Chen Zhannan [7115 2069 7181]]

[Text] What is revisionism? What is dogmatism? What is empiricism? What is their relation to the "left" and right opportunist political lines in the international communist movement? These issues were so confused over many years that for a time we were unable to correctly determine the nature of the political line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." For this reason, the clarification of these issues is not only necessary in terms of theory but a meaningful thing to do in our present endeavor to criticize the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and its theoretical basis and to sum up the experiences and lessons we have learned in the struggle between two lines and in theoretical and ideological struggles over the past three decades.

"Left" and right opportunism are two erroneous political lines in the international communist movement. Although they have some points in common, they also have their special features. They are at once inter-related and different from each other. Both of these two erroneous political lines are incompatible with the objective development of revolution, but the "left" opportunist line outstrips this objective process. Both of these two erroneous political lines are out of step with the level of political consciousness of the masses. The right opportunist line lags behind the masses' level of political consciousness, but the "left" opportunist line is above this level. Both of these two erroneous political lines are unable to correctly handle class relations and correctly grasp the tactics of struggle. The right opportunist line preaches class conciliation; it favors class cooperation, yielding to and even knuckling under the bourgeoisie. The "left" opportunist line overestimates the enemy and magnifies the scope of class struggle; it maintains that whatever the circumstances, even if the revolution is at its ebb, we should not make compromises and concessions. This is manifested as putschism and adventurism in action. Due to differences in

social and historical conditions and due to changes in the situation of class struggle, these two erroneous political lines may occur alternately or at the same time. They may even transform themselves into each other. Although they each have their own distinctive features, they share the same qualities as far as their harm to the revolution is concerned. Their harm to the revolution varies according to the extent of their development and the kind of resistance they meet, but in any case they will cause the revolution to suffer great setbacks or losses. It is completely wrong to think that "left" is better than right or to prefer being right.

Revisionism and dogmatism are two erroneous attitudes toward the basic principles of Marxism in the international communist movement. They are at once interrelated and different from each other. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work": "Both dogmatism and revisionism run counter to Marxism. Marxism must certainly advance; it must develop along with practice and must not stand still. It would become lifeless if it remained stagnant and stereotyped. However, the basic principles of Marxism must never be violated; otherwise, mistakes will be made. It is merely dogmatism to approach Marxism from a metaphysical point of view and to regard it as something rigid. It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth." In this passage Comrade Mao Zedong gave us a marvelous explanation of revisionism and dogmatism. It is basically characteristic of revisionism to negate the basic principles and universal truth of Marxism and preach the theory that Marxism is "outmoded." It is basically characteristic of dogmatism to regard Marxism as a rigid dogma and mechanically apply it everywhere regardless of differences and changes in time, place and conditions. Both revisionism and dogmatism run counter to the principles of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the principle of the unity of the general and individual characters of materialist dialectics. Thus, although they have their own characteristics and are different from each other, in real life they are often interrelated and interpenetrating. Under given conditions they may appear alternately in different guises. The typical representatives of revisionism often smack of dogmatism. On the other hand, the representative figures of dogmatism, who are rigid in thinking and have lost their ability to make analysis and judgment in real life, are apt to accept revisionist ideas and change their stand to a revisionist one at an abrupt turn in history or when new problems arise. Kautsky, the famous ringleader of the Second International, was ridiculed by Lenin as a bookworm who carried with him index cards of Marx' quotes so he could repeat Marx' writings by rote. However, he degenerated into a revisionist in the early 20th century.

What, then, is the relation of revisionism and dogmatism to the "left" and right opportunist political lines? In the history of the international communist movement there are indeed obvious examples of right opportunists taking a revisionist attitude toward Marxism and "left" opportunists taking a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism. The former

include the revisionist chieftains of the Second International; the latter include the representative figures of various "left" deviationist lines during the period of the democratic revolution in China. Taking the part as the whole and individual instances as the general picture, some people casually equated revisionism with right opportunism and dogmatism with "left" opportunism. For a time this view was accepted by practically everyone, including us. This is an erroneous view, because it is one-sided and does not tally with facts. Life is complicated. In history as in reality, we can find right opportunists taking a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism and "left" opportunists taking a revisionist attitude toward Marxism. In his book "Marxism and Revisionism," written in 1908, Lenin made a distinction between "revisionism from the left" (a kind of "revolutionary syndicalism" which existed among the Romanic countries at that time and a branch of semianarchism) and "revisionism from the right" (revisionists of the Second International represented by Bernstein). Later, in his book "'Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," written in 1920, he further distinguished "left dogmatism" (referring to the anarchist trends of thought which existed among a number of countries in Europe and America at that time) from "right dogmatism" (referring to opportunism and social-chauvinism championed by the Second International). Thus, it can be seen that revisionism is not completely equivalent to right opportunism in politics. Revisionism and dogmatism can be divided into left and right and can manifest themselves as right opportunism as well as "left" opportunism. "Revisionism from the right" and "right dogmatism" are manifested as the right opportunist line, whereas "revisionism from the left" and "left dogmatism" are manifested as the "left" opportunist line. For example, during the second revolutionary civil war, Chen Duxiu sometimes took a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism in a rightist way; during the period of the socialist revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took a revisionist attitude toward Marxism in an ultraleftist way. In short, the relation of revisionism and dogmatism to the "left" and right opportunist political lines is intricate and complex. This shows the complex nature of class struggle and the diversity of the forms of struggle. It demands that we fully grasp the actual situation, distinguish the things that are different in nature and guard against oversimplification and one-sidedness. On the other hand, it also shows that ideological and political lines are at once interrelated and different from each other and that there is no oversimplified equivalence between the two. Only by seeking truth from facts and making concrete analysis of concrete conditions can we achieve greater success in unfolding struggles in the fields of basic theory and political line and in opposing revisionism and dogmatism of various descriptions.

Empiricism and rationalism are erroneous epistemological viewpoints. There are materialist and idealist rationalism and empiricism, but here we may just as well leave idealist rationalism and empiricism aside. Materialist rationalism and empiricism have some partial truth in them but are erroneous on the whole as far as epistemology is concerned. Comrade Mao Zedong incisively analyzed these two viewpoints in his work

"On Practice." He pointed out: The rationalist school "admits the reality only of reason and not of experience, believing that reason alone is reliable while perceptual experience is not. This school errs by turning things upside down. The rational is reliable precisely because it has its source in sense perceptions; otherwise, it would be like water without a source, a tree without roots, subjective, self-engendered and unreliable." Empiricism "errs in failing to understand that, although the data of perception reflect certain realities in the objective works, ...they are merely one-sided and superficial, reflecting things incompletely and not reflecting their essence." They have one feature in common, that is, they both carve up the unity between perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge and between theory and practice. In the international communist movement, rationalism and empiricism are often linked with two erroneous Marxist attitudes, namely, revisionism and dogmatism. Since rationalism stresses theory at the expense of perceptual experience, it is bound to put undue emphasis on the importance of Marxist theory, pay no attention to studying the actual situation and its development and changes, go against the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of revolution in various countries, regard the general principles of Marxism as immutable dogmas and arbitrarily apply them everywhere, thus making the mistake of dogmatism. Empiricism stresses perceptual experience at the expense of theory and does not pay any attention to studying, learning and mastering the universal truth of Marxism. Those who belong to this school of thought "cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth." Thus, they are not only apt to be intimidated by the "stereotypes" and "hard and fast rules" of dogmatism and become its captives but are likely to be fooled by revisionism. Because of this trait, the empiricists may be identified with the "left" opportunist line and may be identified with the right opportunist line. Therefore, we must make concrete analysis of concrete conditions if we want to appraise the relation of empiricism to the "left" and right opportunist lines. It is inappropriate to casually connect or equate empiricism with the right or "left" opportunist lines.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were counterrevolutionary conspirators donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Our struggle against them was originally an antagonistic struggle outside the party and the working class. However, because they usurped a considerably large part of our party and state power and formulated and pushed an ultraleftist political line for a fairly long time, our struggle against them was also a two-line struggle inside the party. At present the overwhelming majority of the people think that what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed was an ultraleftist political line. However, the relation of this ultraleftist line to revisionism has yet to be probed for its dogmatism and empiricism. We think that the philosophy of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" fell within the category of unbridled voluntarism and was at the same time extremely pragmatic. They totally adulterated and

revised the basic principles of Marxism. Revisionism was the theoretical basis of their ideological line, the principal aspect of their ideology. There was also some dogmatic and empiricist traits in their thinking. Their ideological system was a hodgepodge made up of all kinds of idealist and metaphysical viewpoints.

First, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went all out to practice revisionism. In one of his speeches Lin Biao openly opposed the study of Marxist-Leninist works. He said: "Marx and Lenin have written too many books. We can never read all of them. They are also too far removed from us." Is this negative view of the basic principles of Marxism not a typical example of revisionism? In fact, what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had in mind when they distorted and tampered with the Marxist teachings on philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and changed Marxism-Leninism beyond recognition was to totally revise Marxism-Leninism.

Second, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also practiced dogmatism. Dogmatism was a special device which they employed to conceal their revisionist essence and push their ultraleftist line. They gave much publicity to what they called the "theory of the peak," "absolute authority" and "every word is truth" and preached that we must "act in accordance with every sentence said" and "forever act according to the principles laid down." They idolized the leader, regarded the leader's words as religious doctrines and turned the people's love for their leader into some kind of religious fanaticism. This kind of modern superstition is the concentrated expression of their practice of dogmatism.

Third, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also practiced empiricism. In his "foreword to the second edition of 'Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong,'" Lin Biao undisguisedly opposed the correct style of studying Marxism "systematically rather than piecemeal, realistically rather than aimlessly" as advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. He vigorously preached that "one should have specific problems in mind, study and apply his [Mao Zedong's] works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results." This is the concentrated expression of empiricism. Their practice of empiricism was particularly obvious in the field of science and education. For example, they opposed the systematic acquisition of theoretical knowledge; students were only allowed to learn applied rather than basic science. On the pretext of "taking society as a factory," they encouraged people to go to the factories and the countryside, deeming this a revolutionary act. They also put forward the pragmatistic formula of "practice, practice and more practice" and dealt a crippling blow to science and education. It should be pointed out that empiricism as practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was different in nature from that found among the cadres. Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had indeed opposed empiricism for a time, they were merely taking it as a pretext to attack and persecute large numbers of long-tested



revolutionary veteran cadres and thus realize their reactionary political program of equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders."

Because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not just practice dogmatism but also practiced revisionism and empiricism, we must criticize their mistakes of dogmatism as well as their mistakes of revisionism and empiricism when we criticize their ultraleftist line and its theoretical basis. We must pay attention to all three and not overemphasize one at the expense of the other. If we only criticize them for practicing dogmatism but not for practicing revisionism and empiricism, objectively we are bound to run counter to the basic principles of Marxism. If we only criticize them for practicing revisionism and empiricism but not for practicing dogmatism, we would give those who uphold the viewpoint of two "whatevers" an opportunity to exploit and make it impossible to emancipate those minds which have long been fettered by the trammels of modern superstition. We should guard against and prevent these two types of one-sided thinking.

For a fairly long time we mistook the political line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for an ultrarightist line. There were many reasons for this, but most important of all, we did not fully understand what is revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism and what is their relation to the "left" and right opportunist lines on the basis of integrating theory with practice. We were accustomed to linking or equating revisionism with right opportunism and dogmatism with "left" opportunism, always deviated from the principle of making concrete analysis of concrete conditions and one-sidedly emphasized revisionism as the main danger. This explains why we mistook the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for an ultrarightist line.

The experiences and lessons we have learned in our struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also show that in conducting struggle on the political and ideological lines we must guard against oversimplification and one-sidedness and persistently fight on both fronts. We must oppose both right opportunism and "left" opportunism, both revisionism and dogmatism-empiricism, both revisionism from the right and revisionism from the left and both right dogmatism and left dogmatism. In opposing a principal trend or danger we must also pay attention to guarding against another trend or danger. Only in this way can we insure the implementation of correct political and ideological lines and speed up the realization of the four modernizations.

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REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION INTO BUILDING A NEW AND RICH COUNTRYSIDE IN LIAONING PROVINCE

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[Article by Zhan Wu [6124 2976]]

[Text] In the process of implementing the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the Liaoning provincial party committee introduced concrete measures in response to the party Central Committee's appeal to let some of the areas and people prosper first. It first set up models for the entire province at experimental points in Yingkou, Luda and Shenyang, the three areas with relatively favorable conditions. Thereafter, on the foundation of such experimental points, it launched provincewide discussions on "whether we dare to prosper, whether we can prosper, whether we will prosper, and whether we may prosper" to further activate the people's thinking. It is determined to gradually build the rural villages in Liaoning into prosperous socialist new villages after several years of arduous effort.

I. Preliminary Economic Results

In spite of severe natural disasters last year, Liaoning still reaped an overall bumper harvest. Compared with 1978, its total grain output increased by 600 million jin, its total oil seed output by 61.8 percent and the unit area yield of cotton by 87.2 percent. Total agricultural output value increased 3.2 percent and the output value of commune and brigade enterprises 11.3 percent.

First, the receipts of the communes and brigades and of individual commune members rose. According to statistics from Yingkou, Luda and Shenyang, the 1979 average receipts per capita were 140 yuan, 140 yuan and 147 yuan, respectively, or 36 yuan, 36 yuan and 43 yuan, respectively, higher than the provincial average of 104 yuan, and showed increases of 22 yuan, 36 yuan and 36 yuan, respectively, compared with the previous year, all above the average growth level of the province.

Next, many ordinary brigades gradually prospered, and large numbers of poor brigades showed an obvious transformation. The number of poor brigades with an average income per capita below 55 yuan, which constituted 18.6 percent of the total number of brigades in 1978, dropped to only 10 percent in 1979, with about half of them undergoing a transformation. Most of the poor brigades in Yingkou Prefecture, which constituted 8 percent of the total, transformed to varying degrees in 1979.

Thirdly, the peasants prospered more and more, and changes occurred in the consumption structure. According to the comrades of the commerce units of Yingkou and Luda prefectures, the peasants have changed the pattern of their purchase of consumer goods in recent years, mainly in buying more daily use and dwelling (construction material) articles, durable goods and medium and high-grade merchandise.

According to surveys of some households, the living standard of commune members of the prosperous brigades rose appreciably, and their savings increased. In Shagangzi Brigade, Yingchengzi Commune, Ganjingzi Ward, Luda City, 430 households built new tile-roofed houses, 90 percent of the commune members owned sewing machines, wristwatches and bicycles, the total bank deposits of 600 households reached 350,000 yuan, and they basically cooked with methane.

Due to the overall bumper harvest, urban and rural markets in the province flourished, the supply of vegetables and fruits improved considerably, the supply of pork, eggs and oil increased 36, 160 and 25.6 percent, respectively, compared with the previous year, commodity prices in the market stabilized and the prices of some products dropped. In the month of December last year the prices of grain, soybeans, peanuts, fish, meat, eggs and vegetables, a total of 13 commodities, in the Agricultural and Sideline Trading Market, Shenyang City, dropped an average of 23.6 percent compared with those of the same period the previous year. On the other hand, due to the increase in the rural per capita income, a considerable gap existed between urban and rural purchasing power and commodity supply, thus urgently requiring commensurate developments in industrial production and commodity circulation.

## II. How to Prosper?

While Liaoning Province has made an encouraging step on the path to prosperity, the prosperous communes and brigades and commune members are still in a minority today. In their experience, to enable the rural villages to prosper gradually the main thing is to act according to natural and economic laws. Attention must be paid to the following five points in developing agricultural production:

(1) Firmly Shifting the Emphasis of Work to Economic Construction: The leaders gradually concentrated their energy on production, thus creating a favorable premise and conditions for the prosperity of the

rural villages. For instance, after the Tutai Brigade, Huzhuang Commune, Yingkou County, launched the "four-cleanup" movement in which a work team inspected the brigade 10 times to promote class struggle, the average income per capita dropped from 60 yuan to 30 yuan, grain output per mu hovered around 300 jin, and 60 to 70 percent of the households were short of grain and in debt. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the brigade no longer criticized and struggled haphazardly but charged full steam ahead in production. Consequently, it made three big strides in 3 years: the grain output per mu last year was 850 jin, almost two times greater than that of 3 years ago; the apple output doubled that of the previous year; and the average income per capita rose to 140 yuan, or 4.7 times that of 3 years ago.

(2) Carrying Out the Simultaneous Development of Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock, Sidelines and Fishing and Combined Operation of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce: In recent years Liaoning has vigorously readjusted the economic structure of agriculture by starting from reality, adjusting to the locale, widely expanding the methods of production, fully utilizing the superiority of local resources, launching diversification while giving first place to one enterprise, actively promoting commune and brigade industries and developing the range and quality of production. Consequently, some units prospered by transforming waterlogged lowland, expanding paddy fields and striving for a high yield, by planting peanuts and sunflowers, by planting trees, breeding fish, doing transport work or pursuing other sidelines, or by running brigade industries. The results were all very obvious. They also concretely improved the fundamental conditions for agricultural (forestry, livestock, fishing and sideline) production and rectified the relationship between money and grain in order to prosper continuously.

(3) Paying Attention to Both Output and Income Increases: To bring prosperity to the collective economy, besides adjusting the agricultural structure, they also conscientiously followed the various economic policies, and one important item was to introduce such appropriate measures as the responsibility system linked with output or quota management and to concretely implement the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." The number of brigades in the Yingkou area which firmly followed the output responsibility system last year was 31.2 percent of the total number of brigades, and that in the Luda area was 20.4 percent. Not only did most of such brigades increase their output and income, but the range of their output increase was much greater than that of those brigades which did not follow the output responsibility system. The number of brigades in the Yingkou suburbs following the system was 47.4 percent of the total number of brigades, yet the increase in their grain output constituted 80 percent of the total output increase of the entire area. Last year the output of most of the 60 of the 74 brigades of Pingshan Commune, Zhuanghe County, which did not follow the system dropped, while all 14 brigades which followed it increased their output. This commune had two adjacent poor brigades,

with identical conditions, named Yinshang and Yinxia. Last year Yinshang introduced the output responsibility system; the result was a total grain output of 340,000 jin, an average income per capita of 127 yuan and removal of the label of poor brigade in 1 year. Yinxia continued in the old way; the result was a total grain output of only 240,000 jin and an average income per capita of only 75 yuan.

To realize output and income increases, they paid attention to improving operations and management and lowering production costs. In 1979 the proportion of total expenses compared with gross receipts of the communes throughout the province dropped from the 40.26 percent of 1977 to 37.12 percent, and that of the Yingkou area from the 36.2 percent of 1977 to 33.23 percent.

(4) Placing Expansion of the Collective Economy in the First Place, Supplemented With Household Sidelines: Controlling the principal production means of the rural villages, the commune and brigade collective economy is the main source of rural prosperity and the fundamental guarantee of common prosperity, and the greater portion of the peasants' income comes from collective distribution. Therefore, they first vigorously developed the collective economy and let the broad masses of peasants prosper by relying mainly on the expanded collective economy. While doing so they also conscientiously implemented the policy of developing household sidelines, returned all the private plots to the commune members for cultivation, supported household domestic animal and fowl raising, planting, weaving and other legitimate sidelines and declared unequivocally that there would be no exploitation and no destruction of state and collective resources and that, on the condition of not interfering with the collective production and of benefiting the consolidation of the collective economy, the commune members were permitted to pursue their sidelines freely, without restriction as to quantity. Last year the average income per capita of the commune members in the Luda area just from raising hogs, chickens and rabbits was 18 yuan, and that in Yingkou County from household sidelines was 27 yuan. In short, a situation of joint advancement of the collective and the commune members and income from both sources must be created before the collective and the commune members will prosper rapidly.

(5) Stabilizing the Policies and Continuously Improving the Concrete Measures: Under the principle of giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, the distribution policy permits the prosperous brigades and households to "stand out," firmly prevents egalitarianism and prohibits suppressing the standouts, egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources. This policy must be maintained steadily; it must not be announced in the spring and nullified in the fall, thus destroying the people's trust. However, the concrete measures must be constantly perfected in practice and must strive for rationality. In Liaoning, all the measures decided in the spring which were rational were to be firmly honored; the improper ones

were to be honored at first but studied and revised the following year; the truly irrational ones were to be handed to the masses for discussion and decision. This had a great impact on activating the enthusiasm of the production teams and commune members to get rich.

In addition, the various communes and brigades possessed leadership teams which firmly followed the socialist path and were expert in directing production. They also organized all the expert craftsmen and those with any special skill to think of ideas and exert themselves for the common prosperity.

### III. Several Issues of Understanding

In the process of building prosperous socialist new villages in Liaoning there were many comments and many questions of understanding. Many of the questions were answered in practice. In short, there were the following questions:

#### (1) How is socialist prosperity distinguished from capitalist prosperity?

What we advocate is prosperity according to the socialist path, not according to the capitalist path. The dividing line between socialist prosperity and capitalist prosperity can be summarized in two premises, three conditions and four characteristics. The two premises are the system of public or collective ownership of the means of production and the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his labor." The three conditions are that, when a commune member operates his private plot or household sidelines, he must not engage in exploitation, speculation and illegal activities; he must not damage state and collective resources; he must actively participate in collective labor. The four characteristics refer to the characteristics in the creation, distribution and use of the wealth of the prosperous brigades and commune members: First, their prosperity comes from relying on their own diligent labor and thrift, not from exploitation, speculation or illegal activities. Second, their prosperity comes from relying primarily and mainly on development of the collective economy. They must not pursue their sidelines at the expense of collective productive labor but must benefit the development of the collective economy. Third, consideration must be given to all three sides. In other words, in distribution, the relationships between accumulation and consumption and among the state, the collective and the individual must be handled correctly. Distribution to the individual commune members is made after obligations to the state have been discharged and a proper deduction for the collective accumulation has been made. Such prosperity signifies not only a larger income for the individuals but also a greater contribution to the collective and the state, thus embodying the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and the convergence of current and long-range interests on a higher plane. The fourth characteristic is common prosperity. Some of the communes, brigades and commune

members are permitted to prosper first, thereby spurring other communes, brigades and commune members to follow suit, toil hard and prosper. The state and the collective must also adopt measures to help the poor brigades and households experiencing difficulties.

Whether the prosperity of the production teams or commune members is legitimate is determined by whether they followed the socialist or the capitalist path to attain prosperity, not by the extent of their prosperity. Currently some of the production teams and commune members in Liaoning Province have become standouts; for example, the average distribution per capita of the Heping 9th Brigade of Dongling Commune, Yuhong Ward, Shenyang City is 720 yuan; that of the Zhangzi Commune, Changhai County is 465 yuan, and some prosperous households have even larger amounts. We should not disparage them for their prosperity and say that they are "outrageously rich." There is only one criterion, which is to determine whether the direction and path of becoming prosperous are correct. If their prosperity has resulted from adhering to the socialist path, then the more prosperous they are, the better it is, and we absolutely should not censure or restrict them. The six members of Guo Zhenfa's [6753 2182 4099] household of the Donggeng 2d Team, Gengzhuang Commune, Haicheng County, for instance, had a private plot of 1.5 mu. Skilled in farming, Guo Zhenfa planted garlic, tobacco and Chinese cabbage last year, harvested 3 or 4 crops, sold 5 of the 12 hogs he raised to the state for a total of 350 yuan and won an award for selling over 3,000 jin of grain to the state. His income from the private plot and household sidelines totaled 2,050 yuan or an average of 341 yuan per person. In the first place, he and his family's operation of the private plot did not greatly interfere with their participation in collective production. That year Guo Zhenfa himself participated in collective production for 200 days, his son for 300 days and his daughter for 280 days, all completing the required number of basic workdays. In the second place, they did not infringe on the collective interest. That year they supplied the collective with 75 cubic meters of fertilizer while they kept only 5 cubic meters for themselves. In the third place, relying on their own diligence, they did not exploit others. Besides buying bicycles and wristwatches and repairing the house with their income, they deposited over 3,000 yuan in the bank. Thus, they spent their money properly. For this reason, the way they operated their household sidelines was legitimate. Zhao Zhongfu [6392 0022 3940] of the Shuangjiwan Brigade, Xijiao Commune, Jinxi County, was over 50 years of age. Three of the four members of his family were laborers, and every year they participated in collective labor faithfully, completing the attendance requirement. Every year they also supplied the collective with over 20,000 jin of fertilizer, and last year they received over 2,000 yuan from the collective. Utilizing their spare time for household sidelines, they raised 4 milk goats, 2 sows, producing 40 shoats in 1 year, and 1 milk cow, and received over 1,700 yuan from the sidelines. Their total income was over 3,700 yuan, averaging over 920 yuan per person. All such factual instances prove that, under the party's leadership, the members of our

people's communes can prosper along the socialist path, and the potential is great.

(2) When some of the communes, brigades and commune members prosper first and stand out, will it create a situation of "polarization" and violate the socialist principle of "common prosperity"?

We feel that "polarization" requires a prerequisite, which is private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of others on the strength of it, making the rich ever richer and the exploited ever poorer. Why was there polarization in some areas after the land reform? Because at that time land was still under private ownership and could be bought and sold. Those who sold their land had to seek work elsewhere, and they encountered exploitation, and a situation of polarization between the rich and the poor appeared. But today the production means are under the collective ownership system. The individual commune members have the right to use their private plot, but not the right to sell or lease it. They rely on their own labor for their household sidelines; they may not hire help or exploit others. They may only use their income for subsistence consumption or deposit it in state banks; they may not loan it out at high interest or turn it into capital. Labor may not be turned into a commodity, and such illegal activities as speculation and profiteering are even more strictly prohibited. Under such conditions, no one may prosper from buying and selling land, hiring help or engaging in illegal activities. Any individual who does so is violating the law and has no future. Under the socialist collective ownership system, the differences in amount of income, in degree of prosperity and in the time required to become prosperous are a result of following the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his labor" and are normal under the socialist system. Fundamentally, it is not "polarization."

The socialist principle of distribution according to labor permits differences among the laboring masses in the degree of and time required to attain prosperity, thereby activating the socialist labor fervor of all and promoting the common prosperity of the entire laboring people. As aptly put by the masses of Liaoning, "on the premise of adhering to the socialist direction, we must advocate the 100-meter dash, not marching in step." We absolutely must never interpret the socialist "common prosperity" as "simultaneous prosperity" or "equal prosperity" or refuse to recognize differences in the time required to achieve prosperity and the degree of prosperity which are due to differences in the amount of labor put in. This would be a sort of unrealistic egalitarian fantasy, not socialism. During their rampage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" refused to recognize such differences and condemned them as the bourgeois right. As a result, the diligent no longer worked, and the lazy worked even less. On the surface this appeared to be "equality," but actually it was common poverty. Can one say that such a lesson was not profound? Furthermore, only when the collective economy expands and prospers will



it be possible for such differences to be gradually reduced. Take the Huangqi Brigade of the Yingkou suburban Hongqi Commune, for instance: In the past, when its collective economy was not properly handled and it failed to satisfy the basic living needs of the commune members, many of them had to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Some prospered while others remained poor, and the gap between the rich and the poor was fairly large. But in 1978 its average income per capita rose to 351 yuan and even that of the household with the lowest income amounted to 160 yuan, showing a difference of only 50 percent. As the brigade subsidized this particular household with 400 yuan and helped it build 3 rooms, the actual difference was narrowed down to a great extent. The average distribution per capita last year of the Ningguan Brigade, Yangzhan Commune, Yuhong Ward, Shenyang City, was 503 yuan, and as a result of firmly promoting the collective prosperity, there was no household in difficulty. All 863 households of the brigade had bank deposits, totaling 400,000 yuan.

(3) Will the development of household sidelines interfere with the growth of the collective economy?

Under China's socialist system, the commune members' private plots and household sidelines exist only as supplements to the collective economy. As long as the production team makes overall arrangements for the collective production and household sidelines and properly performs ideological-political work, the commune members will be able to participate in collective production and operate their household sidelines as well, without their interfering with each other. Last year the Dazui Production Team, Donggang Commune, Fu County, for instance, began to permit the commune members to "chase the little sea" (collecting marine products on the beach at ebb tide), guided them in their discussions on how to properly handle the relationship between collective production and household sidelines and decided on a system: Upon completion of the work and production quotas of the production team in quality and quantity and according to a time schedule, the commune members were permitted, with the approval of the team leader, to do such collecting on the beach. The production team promptly mastered the schedule of the tides, made unified arrangements and notified the commune members to proceed with their collection on the beach, and there was no interference with collective labor. The Linxi Production Team of Desheng Commune, Jin County, helped the commune members develop household sidelines. The team signed a batch of coir processing contracts with other units and distributed the work to the commune members, according to their labor force, for processing during their spare time. The men and women, old and young, all devoted noontime and evening to weaving coir ropes, without interfering with collective production. From June to August last year they received a total of 6,000-plus yuan, averaging 100 yuan per household. When the excessive number of domestic animals and fowl raised by some individuals interfered with their collective labor or infringed on the resources of the collective, some areas adopted appropriate forms to link their sidelines with the collective economy. For instance, after appropriate

discussion the experts in raising hogs and keeping bees were designated specialized households of the collective economy, benefiting both the individual and the collective.

(4) When the peasants prosper and increase their own consumption, will it reduce the agricultural and sideline products supplied to the state?

Liaoning's situation tells us that, after the production teams and the peasants become prosperous, the total volume of agricultural and sideline products supplied to the state increases and the commodity rate rises. As a whole, the greater the peasants' prosperity, the more will be the agricultural and sideline products supplied to the state, not the other way around. When it was relatively poor, the Huangqi Brigade mentioned above, for instance, relied on a state supply for grain and mostly on loans for spending money, and it supplied only 30,000 to 40,000 jin of aquatic products annually to the state. Now it basically requires no state grain and owes no money to the state, creates an annual output value of over 1 million yuan for society and sells 400,000 jin of aquatic products to the state annually, which is more than 10 times greater than before.

(5) On the issue of prosperity, what are the tendencies to which we must pay attention?

Basically, two kinds of tendencies at present call for our attention: fear of prosperity; disregarding the direction and path of prosperity.

There are some cadres who are apprehensive and fear the "standing out" of some of the production teams, especially the commune member households: (i) They are afraid that there may be a policy change in the future and another campaign to "cut off the capitalist tail," and that thus they will be criticized. (ii) They are afraid that the household sidelines will interfere with collective production. (iii) They are afraid that the prosperity of some commune members will result in "polarization." (iv) They are afraid that, if they do not suppress the standouts, they will be criticized as "rightwing," etc. Thus, in their actions they are afraid to forcefully implement the relevant policies of the party, and they consciously or unconsciously set up roadblocks. Or they pay lip service but take no action.

However, there is also a small number of cadres who only seek prosperity, disregarding the direction and path. According to them, "anyone making a fortune is honorable"; "as long as they do not steal or rob, whatever way they make their money is all right." In regard to those individuals with undesirable tendencies emerging in society which are contrary to the socialist direction and path, such as those who devote their main energy to household sidelines and fail to or seldom participate in collective productive labor, the craftsmen who work on their own elsewhere without the approval of the production team, and those who abandon

farming for commerce and speculate and profiteer, they let them drift along, without education and management.

Though different, the two tendencies are linked. The latter often serves as an excuse for the former. As a whole, the tendency to fear and suppress prosperity, the first one, is the main one at present, but the latter must not be ignored. Both must be overcome and prevented. We must constantly inculcate the cadres and commune members with the socialist ideology, conduct education on the socialist direction and path and ask them to prosper as rapidly as possible on the premise of the socialist direction and path and to consciously overcome all kinds of spontaneous tendencies which depart from such premise. As long as education and management are reinforced, the problems are not hard to solve. But we must not give up eating for fear of choking and create excuses for fearing and suppressing prosperity. Today it is not a situation in which too much attention is given to prosperity or in which the commune members are "outrageously rich." Actually, the number of "standout" prosperous teams and households is not too large but too small. Furthermore, the so-called standouts are in relation to the past and to their neighbors, and their actual level is very low. Compared with the goal we want to attain, the distance is great. We have just begun to stress prosperity, and we must not take the "beginning" as "overdoing" or the tributary as the main stream. Troubles may occur in the pursuit of prosperity, but we must not be unduly alarmed, we must be skillful in rendering guidance.

(6) What is the great significance of letting some areas and people prosper first?

The practice in Liaoning Province indicates that the party Central Committee's appeal to let some areas and people prosper first and to build prosperous socialist new rural villages enjoys immense popular support. It shows that the work of seeking prosperity has great significance. First, it embodies our revolutionary purposefulness. Our Communist Party members' revolutionary goal is to transform the masses from slaves to masters and to turn poverty into prosperity. To build prosperous socialist new rural villages is to realize the second target of our revolution. Next, it is a reflection of the urgent desire of many years on the part of the broad masses of peasants and cadres. The broad masses of peasants urgently desire to prosper as rapidly as possible. According to computations in the Luda area, currently it costs the peasants 70 yuan per capita annually just to take home the grain and hay distributed to them. If they make use of the cloth rations issued to them and buy one or two items of clothing, it will come to 100 yuan. Yet in 1978, 72 percent of the production teams in the Luda area received an average per capita income of less than 100 yuan, and in some production teams it was less than 50 yuan. The responsible comrades of the Luda municipal party committee said: "It has been 30 years since the founding of the nation. If we fail to change this situation promptly and do not think of ways to let the peasants prosper, we will not be discharging our duties, and we will

not be able to justify ourselves to the party and the people." These words expressed the feelings of the broad masses of cadres. Thirdly, it is an effective measure to further activate the socialist fervor of the broad masses of peasants and hasten the pace of agricultural modernization. Those production teams and commune members who have first begun to prosper on the socialist path set a great example and serve to rally the communes, brigades and masses nearby, so that, the poor trying to catch up with the rich and the low emulating the high, together they accelerate their march toward agricultural modernization and advance on the road to common prosperity. Agricultural modernization requires funds, and only prosperity will supply the funds and accelerate its progress. Naturally, only modernization will make the peasants prosper on a higher plane. Fourthly, it is an indication of the superiority of the socialist collective economy. Practice has proved that only when the socialist collective economy brings prosperity to the peasants will the peasants become dedicated to the collective, and only then will the collective economy be consolidated. Last year the annual average income per capita of the Houpuzi Brigade, Gaokan Commune, Yingkou County, was 420 yuan, and the bank deposits totaled 146,000 yuan. After the commune members had become prosperous, obvious changes occurred in their thinking and mood: they rallied closer to the collective; there was harmony in their families. Brigade party branch secretary Li Jiafan [2621 1367 5400] said: When the collective was poor, the commune members were disunited. Now that the collective has prospered, they have become closer to it. The formerly disharmonious families have now become harmonious. Fifthly, it is an effective refutation of the "gang of four's" fallacy of "poor socialism" and a means of bringing order out of chaos. On the road to common prosperity, the broad peasants realize even more fully the superiority of the socialist system and become even more devoted to socialism.

6080

CSO: 4004

**A DISCUSSION OF THE 'SCISSORS' DIFFERENTIAL IN PRICES BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 pp 45-48

[Article by Ji Long [1323 7893] and Lu Nan [6424 0589]]

[Text] Gradually reducing the scissors differential in prices between industrial and agricultural products is an important economic policy consistently followed by our country. It is of great significance to the mobilization of the peasants' enthusiasm, acceleration of the development of agricultural production and realization of the four modernizations.

In old China the scissors differential in prices between industrial and agricultural products reflected a relationship of exploitation of the countryside by the cities. At that time, imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists controlled the lifeline of the national economy and monopolized the market, using the method of having agricultural products sold cheaply and industrial products bought dearly to exploit and plunder the vast ranks of the peasants. The scattered small peasant economy, for its part, was incapable of competing with big capital and hence was forced to accept such an unreasonable pricing policy. Just as Marx pointed out, "So long as the price of his product is enough to compensate his wage, he will cultivate his land; and until his wage is reduced to the minimum he often will continue to do so." This made it "unnecessary to raise the market price to a level equal to the value of production cost of his product." ("Das Kapital," Vol 3, pp 908, 909)

Since liberation the scissors differential in the exchange between industrial and agricultural products continues to exist. But in essence it is radically different from the scissors differential in old China. The fact that the peasants, through this scissors differential, provide part of their surplus products to the state constitutes a labor discount which is sustained for the sake of satisfying the needs of society; it is a great contribution made by the vast ranks of the peasants to our socialist construction.

## History and Present Situation of the Scissors Differential in Prices Between Our Industrial and Agricultural Products

The scissors differential in prices between our industrial and agricultural products was left to us by history. During the period of the Guomindang's reactionary rule, even before the anti-Japanese war, there already existed a great scissors differential; during the anti-Japanese war and the war of liberation, this scissors differential was even further widened. Typical surveys of several rural primary markets in Anhui, Guangxi, Sichuan and Shaanxi showed the following changes in the rate of exchange between industrial and agricultural products: Take the rate of exchange in 1936 prior to the Sino-Japanese War as 100 percent, then by 1948 the same amount of agricultural products could exchange only for 60.5 percent of the industrial products. In terms of individual commodities, at Liuan County of Anhui Province each 100 catties of rice could exchange for 37.4 chi of cloth in 1936, but by 1948 for only 10.6 chi. This shows that the broad masses of peasants could buy less and less industrial products from the proceeds of their agricultural products, signifying an increasingly severe exploitation.

After the country was liberated the situation underwent a great change. During the early period of the founding of our state, the party and the government, in response to the confusing situation of general inflation and rising prices, took the initiative to adopt firm price-stabilizing measures and then also began to solve the scissors differential problem left by the old society. In his article "On the Ten Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the exchange of industrial and agricultural products, our policy is to reduce the scissors differential and to have them exchanged at equal or nearly equal prices." Along with the development of our national economy, we have repeatedly raised the uniform purchase price for agricultural products, stabilized the overall level of retail prices of consumer goods, reduced the sales price of industrial products for agricultural use such as agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals and gradually reduced the scissors differential in prices between industrial and agricultural products. According to statistics, compared with 1950, the 1958 uniform purchase price for agricultural products was raised 49.4 percent, while the retail price of rural industrial products was raised only 11.4 percent; the amount of industrial products which could be obtained in exchange for agricultural products increased by 34.1 percent, and this was a restoration to the average level prevailing during the 7 years between 1930 and 1936. After 1958 this scissors differential continued to decrease. Compared with 1958, the 1966 uniform purchase price for agricultural products was raised 29.5 percent, while the retail price of rural industrial products was raised only 3.2 percent, with the amount of industrial products which could be obtained in exchange for agricultural products increasing by 25.5 percent.

During the 10-year period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" exerted their tyranny, the national economy suffered serious sabotage and was on the brink of collapse; the prices of some industrial and agricultural products which should have been readjusted were not readjusted, and the uniform purchase price for grain was not raised at all for 12 consecutive years from 1966 on. During that period, in order to increase the per unit output of agricultural products, work days were increased considerably, and the use of agricultural machinery and the consumption of chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals likewise increased conspicuously; generally speaking, the quality of these goods for agricultural use was low while their price was high at the time, and people also followed no objective economic laws in doing things, paid little attention to economic effects and issued directives blindly. As a result, the per unit production cost for agricultural products rose a great deal, and a situation in which the prices of industrial and agricultural products deviated from their values became rather serious; hence, the scissors differential, which had already been reduced, again widened.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," there was a deepening criticism of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; various policies for production on the part of the vast ranks of peasants was mobilized. The rate of labor productivity in the countryside was quickly raised, and the ratio of expenditure in respect to total income was reduced slightly. In 1978, even though many districts suffered serious natural disasters, the total value of agricultural output still increased by 8.9 percent compared with that of 1977. In addition, the uniform purchase prices for some agricultural and subsidiary products such as cotton and soybeans were raised, and there was a corresponding reduction in the scissors differential; as a result, agricultural net income increased considerably. The income each commune member gained from the collective economy increased by 8.9 yuan, or 13.7 percent, compared with that of the preceding year. The public accumulation for enlarged reproduction also increased by 18.5 percent compared with that of the preceding year.

In 1979 serious efforts were made to carry out the Central Committee's two documents concerning the development of agricultural production and to further realize the party's various policies in the countryside. From March onward the uniform purchase prices for the main agricultural and subsidiary products such as grain, cotton, oil and pigs were also greatly raised, with the overall average purchase price for the country's agricultural products being 19.8 percent higher than that prior to this raise. The raised prices, calculated from the dates they became effective, totaled more than 7 billion yuan, with each peasant gaining an additional income of more than 8 yuan on the average. In addition, as the state also reduced or exempted the agricultural, subsidiary production and industrial taxes for some communes and brigades which suffered from poor economic conditions, the income increase for communes and peasants in the countryside was thus even greater. Apart from all this,

by way of investment and credit, the state also increased the supply of funds for agriculture and increased the manufacture and supply of the means of production for agriculture. These measures have already begun to demonstrate their great role in mobilizing the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of peasants, in promoting the development of agricultural production, in raising agricultural labor productivity and in increasing the purchase and supply of agricultural products. In this way the difference between the prices and values of industrial and agricultural products is bound to become smaller, and the existing situation of a great scissors differential will also ameliorate considerably.

#### The Reason Why the Scissors Differential Has Continued To Exist Since the Country's Liberation

In our country, the reason why the scissors differential exists in prices between industrial and agricultural products is actually that agriculture must provide a part of the capital for industry. In poor and backward old China the industrial foundation was very weak, and agriculture was scattered and backward. In attempting to build a prosperous and powerful socialist new China on such a foundation, we inevitably face the question of how to raise large amounts of construction capital. Insofar as the source of this capital is concerned, apart from what industry can provide, agriculture must also provide a part. Through the taxes and profits they submit to the state, workers turn over the surplus products they have created to the state. Apart from submitting agricultural tax directly to the state, peasants also provide part of the surplus products they have created indirectly to the state through the form of the scissors differential. Stalin called this situation one of "making capital flow from agriculture to industry." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 12, p 45) This kind of "flow" is necessary in the period of our socialist industrial construction, especially in the initial period of such industrial construction.

The accumulation of funds by the state through scissors differential is controlled by the following: (1) The peasants' labor compensation (the "V" in the formula "C+V+M"--component parts of the value of an agricultural product) which should be raised step by step to bring it increasingly closer to the workers' labor compensation (wage), and (2) the peasants' surplus product (the "M" in the formula "C+V+M") which should be used for providing accumulation not only for the state but also necessarily for the production brigades concerned to facilitate the expansion of production. In pace with the progress of agricultural modernization, the brigades' accumulation should be increased accordingly.

It is clear that the existence of the scissors differential for long periods of time will result in a series of ill effects in respect to the development of agricultural production and the development of the national economy as a whole. When prices of industrial products are



too high and prices of agricultural products too low, the net gains of the peasants can only be very small, and they can scarcely improve their livelihood; this of course will hurt the peasants' enthusiasm for developing production, and the peasants at the same time will lack the necessary capital for developing agricultural production. The slow development of agricultural production in turn will run into sharp contradiction with the need to improve the people's livelihood, as well as with industry's increasing demand for agricultural products. Meanwhile, the peasants' purchasing power can only be very low, and the rural market for industrial products will also be small; this can hardly be beneficial to the development of industrial production.

Naturally, we also cannot be too impatient in our demands, because this question of solving the scissors differential is one which not only touches upon such important policies as the development of socialist agriculture and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, but also which has to do with the speed of socialist economic construction and with the interests of the state, the collectives and the commune members as well; it must be treated properly. If this scissors differential is removed too early, the financial receipts of the state are bound to be greatly affected. If the state's financial receipts are reduced, this is likely to also reduce investments in the development of industry and expenditures for other aspects, including investments in the construction of water conservancy projects for large farms and expenditures on projects for developing agricultural, forestry and water resources. If funds allocated for these purposes are greatly reduced, this would affect not only the development of industrial, scientific, cultural and educational, and sanitation projects, but also the development of agriculture itself and hence the progress of agricultural modernization. Therefore, the question of this scissors differential can only be solved gradually, along with the development of the national economy and the progress of modernization.

Ordinarily, we should have been able to achieve greater results in trying to solve this question of the scissors differential. But because of the serious interference and sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," plus the errors in our work, the development of our national economy suffered repeated setbacks; this also prolonged the time needed to solve the scissors differential question.

#### Ways To Solve the Scissors Differential Question

In the process of realizing our four modernizations we must gradually solve the scissors differential question. Along with the development of our modern industrial construction projects, the capital for such industrial construction needed by the state may be gradually turned into a responsibility of the industries themselves, so that they will no longer rely on the peasants to supply it to them through the scissors differential. That would make it possible to gradually reduce the

proportion of the state's revenues from agriculture and increase the proportion of the state's expenditures on agriculture.

At present the technical equipment of our agriculture is very low; the fixed assets allocable to each agricultural laborer are very scarce, and compared with the fixed assets allocable to each laborer in industries owned by the whole people there is a difference of several dozens of times. In certain economically developed countries of the world the fixed assets of agriculture, calculated on a per-laborer basis, often exceed those of industry. Since we have a large population but very little land, the low technical equipment of our agriculture is an important reason for the low labor productivity in our agriculture. To change the backward outlook of our agriculture we must control our population increase in a planned way and at the same time increase and improve the technical equipment of our agriculture. But increasing and improving the technical equipment of our agriculture requires large amounts of capital. The source of such capital, apart from the support provided by the state, depends even more importantly on the internal accumulations of agriculture itself. Only by further reducing the scissors differential until it is eliminated, so that surplus products created by the peasants can be mostly or entirely used for the modernization of agriculture, will it be possible to accelerate the pace of modernization of our agriculture.

To solve the scissors differential in prices between industrial and agricultural products we must rely on raising agricultural labor productivity and reducing the cost of our agricultural products; at the same time we must also readjust the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products in a planned way.

It is also possible to reduce the difference between price and value by raising agricultural labor productivity and reducing the cost of our agricultural products at the same time. Labor productivity varies in an inverse ratio to the amount of value. When labor productivity is raised, the amount of value per unit for agricultural products is reduced; when price remains unchanged under such circumstances, the deviation between price and value as well as the scissors differential in prices between industrial and agricultural products also is reduced. At present our agricultural labor productivity is very low; the difference between levels of management of communes and production teams is very great; there is much potential which can be exploited. The development of agricultural production and the raising of agricultural labor productivity depend mainly on relevant policies, on science and technology, and on the raising of the level of management. We must further carry out the party's various policies for the countryside, including price policy; we must economically pay attention to the peasants' material interests, politically protect the peasants' democratic rights; we must respect the production teams' ownership and autonomy, fully mobilize the peasants' enthusiasm for production, and exploit their productive potential. On the basis of the special characteristic that we have a large population

but very little arable land, we must strive, by raising per-unit production and agricultural labor productivity through parsimonious consumption of labor by implements as well as human labor, to achieve high yields, stable production, low costs, and greater revenues in order to reduce the amount of value per unit for agricultural products. In the meantime we must accelerate the modernization of our agriculture by making general use of all modern science and technology. We must also comprehensively develop farming, animal husbandry and auxiliary industrial enterprises. At present too much labor is used in our agriculture. From 1957 to the present the number of our agricultural laborers increased from 200 million to nearly 300 million, with only 5 mu of land under cultivation charged to each laborer. Although there have been increases in both the quantity and quality of agricultural production, these were offset by the increases in labor power and in expenditures for agricultural means of production; hence, in balance there is no increase in the net value of production calculated on the basis of individual laborers. In the developmental process of accelerated modernization of our agriculture, the question of how to rationally arrange the use of labor power will become increasingly demanding. We must fully utilize labor power in the countryside and extensively open up avenues of production; while cultivating existing arable land well we must make use of grasslands, wastelands, hillsides and vast tracts of shallow seashores and freshwater areas to comprehensively develop agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary and fishing enterprises, commune and production team industries, and joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises and thereby score a more rapid increase in agricultural labor productivity. If we bank on such multienterprise operations, commune and production team industries should be able to absorb 100 million laborers; the other 200 million laborers can cultivate the existing arable land just as well, with labor productivity thus raised 50 percent.

Raising the state's uniform purchasing price for agricultural products or reducing the sale price for industrial products in a planned way and thereby gradually readjusting the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products is also a necessary measure for reducing the scissors differential. For a certain number of years in the future the degree to which our agricultural labor productivity can be raised will continue to lag behind the degree to which our industrial labor productivity can be raised. Therefore, relying on the raising of our agricultural labor productivity will not by itself solve the problem of the price of our agricultural products being lower than their value. And if we irrelevantly readjust the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products, there may even be the possibility of facing an expanding scissors differential. The Decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development pointed out: "From now on we must continue to carry out readjustments of the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products on the basis of the developing situation of our national economy and the principle of exchange at equal value." Such readjustments

of the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products can be achieved by the method of raising the price of agricultural products, by the method of reducing the price of industrial products, or by a combination of both methods; the decision as to which of these alternatives to use will depend on actual conditions at the given time. To reduce the scissors differential we must make concrete arrangements on the basis of the state's financial capability, on the extent of the supply of our industrial products, and on the situation regarding wage increases for our employees and workers.

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## IS THE DEVIATION BETWEEN PRICE AND VALUE A VIOLATION OF THE LAW OF VALUE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 80 p 49

[Article by Li Shengxue [2621 0524 1331] of the Yantai Teachers College, Shandong]

[Text] Is the deviation between price and value a violation of the law of value? Opinions differ on this question. Some comrades say that "price corresponding to value is only the static state of the law of value" (RED FLAG, No 1, 1979, p 62); the unspoken suggestion here appears to be that price not corresponding to value would be the dynamic state of the law of value. This is the negative view. Some other comrades also say that "a violation of the law of value is generally reflected in a deviation between price and value. If such a deviation between price and value is the dynamic state of the law of value, then there would be no violation of the law of value." (RED FLAG, No 4, 1979, p 49) This is the affirmative view.

Both views are justifiable, yet both are also partial. To say, on the basis of the principle that price fluctuating around value is the form of expression of the law of value, that a deviation between price and value is not a violation of the law of value is correct. But this view takes only the two forms of correspondence and deviation between price and value in the process of exchange as conforming to the law of value; it cannot answer the question as to what kind of exchange would constitute a violation of the law of value. Similarly, to say, on the basis of the law of contradiction, that correspondence between price and value conforms to the law of value, while deviation between price and value constitutes a violation of the law of value, is also correct. But it would be impossible for this view to explain why, objectively, deviation between price and value should become a regular and common phenomenon; does this not constitute an admission that the law of value is regularly and commonly disrupted? This shows that to say simply either that deviation between price and value constitutes a violation of the law of value or that it does not constitute a violation of the law of value is similarly incomplete.

The situation of a deviation between price and value is relatively complex. Sometimes price fluctuates around the center of value but does not deviate from value very far, and taken as a whole, the portion of price which is higher than value and the portion of price which is lower than value are generally the same, so that they offset each other. This situation is the most commonly witnessed phenomenon and hence cannot be said to be a violation of the law of value. If price were higher or lower than value for long periods of time, and also a great deal higher, the situation would be very different. For instance, when a "scissors differential" appears in the exchange between industrial and agricultural products, with the price of agricultural products lower than their value for long periods of time and the price of industrial products higher than their value for long periods of time, by the time this deviation affects enlarged reproduction in agriculture or makes it impossible even just to sustain simple reproduction, that then becomes a violation of the law of value. Under such circumstances, if the price of agricultural products is not readjusted higher or if the price of industrial products is not lowered, an imbalance in the proportionate development of industrial and agricultural production will result.

To sum up, we must analyze the situation of a deviation between price and value concretely; it may be a violation of the law of value, or it may not be, depending on the degree of such deviation and its consequences. For this reason, it is suggested that from now on we refrain from expressing such undifferentiated views as "deviation between price and value is a violation of the law of value" or "deviation between price and value is not a violation of the law of value."

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