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No. 8, 16 April 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 8, 16 April 1980

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

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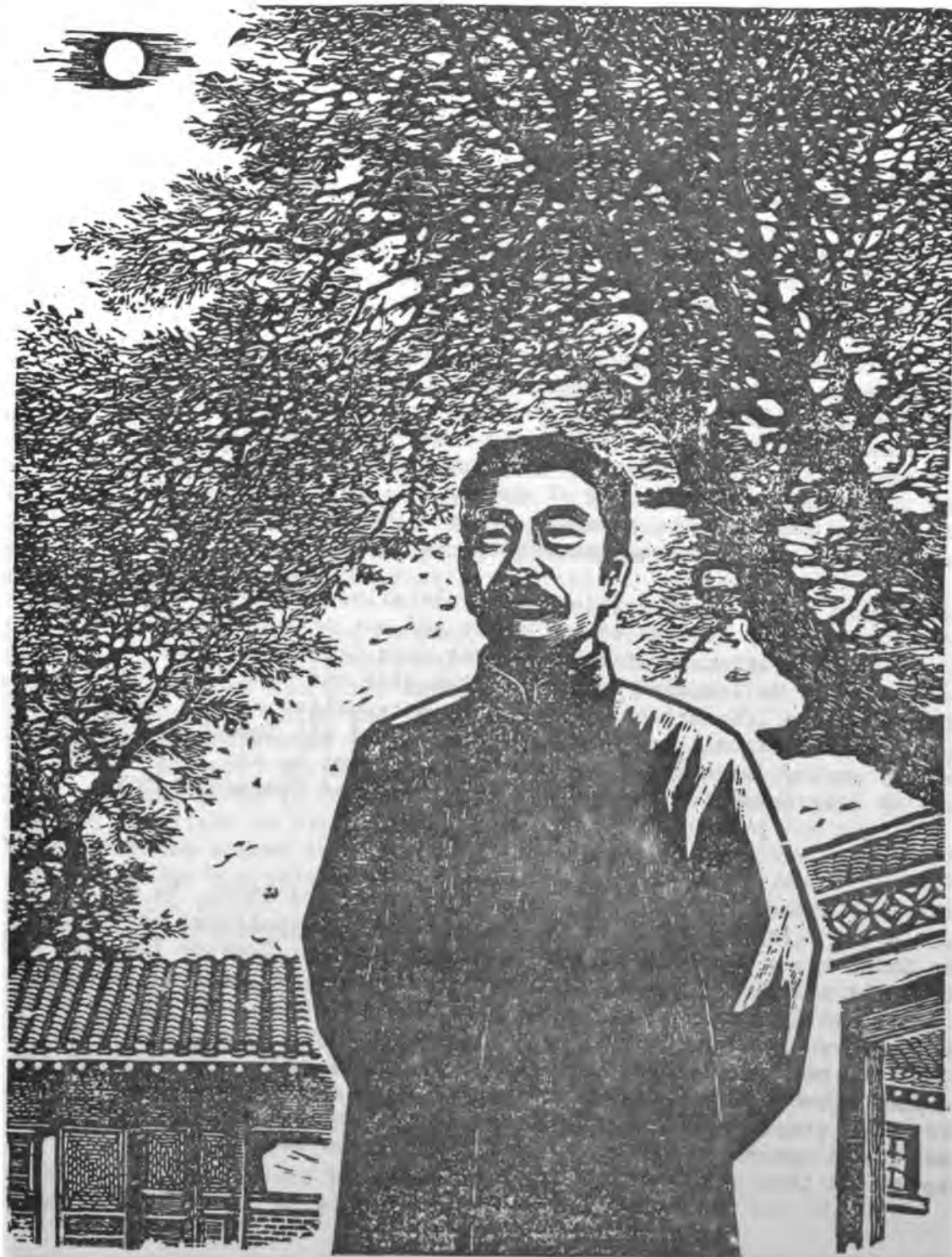
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AUTUMN EVENING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Wang Qi [3769 3823]]



CSO: 4004

IN MEMORY OF COMRADE LIU SHAOQI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 2-9

[Article by Yang Shangkun]

[Text] At the 5th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee the wrongs done to Comrade Liu Shaoqi were righted. Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser had employed all sorts of despicable intrigues against him. They fabricated evidence of his guilt, trumped up charges against him and did everything to frame him. This resulted in the gravest injustice in the history of our party. Fortunately, history is written by the people. The glorious image of Comrade Shaoqi has now been restored after a decade of catastrophe.

Comrade Shaoqi was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary. He was one of the excellent leaders of our party and our nation. During the 50 years of his revolutionary life he did not fear hardships, dangers or self-sacrifice. He launched undaunted struggles and made indelible contributions to the liberation and socialist enterprises of the Chinese people. It is difficult for me to discuss all of his immortal deeds here. I can only employ fragmentary reminiscences to vent my sad feelings and express my deep memory of the beloved and respected Comrade Shaoqi.

I

I first met Comrade Shaoqi in Moscow in the summer of 1930. He was attending the Fifth Congress of the Red Workers International as the head of the China trade union delegation. My leaders sent Comrade Yan Jian and me to assist him in his work. At that congress he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Workers International. He also stayed at the Workers International to work as our country's chief representative and did not return to China until the fall of 1931. Although he was a renowned communist by then, he was amiable and did not put on airs before young students like myself. He was cool-headed and keen-minded. He was a good speaker. His conversation was vivid and replete with both a theoretical tone and experiences of struggle.

When Comrade Shaoqi was working in the Workers International two incidents taught me a great deal.

The first was that Comrade Shaoqi opposed the proposal to set up Red opposition factions in the yellow unions. The leaders of the Union of Communist Parties who were delegated to the Workers International did not take into consideration the realities of various countries. They demanded the creation of Red opposition factions in all the yellow unions in order to turn them into Red trade unions. They put forward a draft resolution. Comrade Shaoqi disagreed with it. He thought that the realities of China and some other Asian countries were different from those of the European capitalist countries. It was impossible to attempt to set up Red opposition factions overtly in the yellow unions when the latter were very powerful while the Red unions were illegal. He advocated that members of the Red unions join the yellow unions. They could then take advantage of their legal status to win the masses over and raise their consciousness. They could turn the yellow unions into Red ones only when the conditions were ripe. Setting up Red opposition factions in all yellow unions without regard to the conditions would only expose one's own strength prematurely and isolate oneself. When the Executive Committee was ready to vote on this draft resolution, Comrade Shaoqi firmly opposed it and put forward another draft resolution which he wrote himself. This offended the leaders of the Workers International. They said that his draft resolution was "against the program" and "against the resolution." This way of saying things was indeed frightening, because these were the terms in which the Union of Communist Parties criticized Trotsky.

The other incident was that Comrade Shaoqi opposed the discrimination shown by the Workers International leader against foreign delegates. Many members of the Executive Committee of the Workers International were delegates from Asian and Latin American countries. The agencies of the Workers International looked down upon them and discriminated against them. For instance, documents were issued in Russian only, but the delegates were not aided in translating the documents. In addition, they were not permitted to bring translators along. At one of the meetings these delegates voiced their opinions on this matter. The Workers International leader not only rejected their criticisms but arrogantly rebuked them. Comrade Shaoqi supported the reasonable demands of the delegates and seriously criticized this leader.

Because of these two incidents the Workers International leader labeled Comrade Shaoqi a "right opportunist." This label stuck with him even when he came back to China. Consequently, for a considerably long period some comrades did not know the truth, and the "left" opportunists inside the party used the label to attack him. This was one reason why later on many of his correct proposals were not adopted.

Comrade Shaoqi was never bothered by the "label" put on him. He was always broadminded. He manifested the noble virtues of not blindly

believing in authority, being fearless in the face of pressures and courageously upholding the truth.

II

Comrade Shaoqi was involved in workers movements since his youth. He also worked in the white area for prolonged periods. He was one of our country's famous leaders in the workers movement. I had contacts with him in this respect mainly from 1931 to 1932. In the spring of 1931 I returned to Shanghai from Moscow and worked as the head of the Propaganda Department of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. At that time the situation of the workers movement in Shanghai was very bad. The trade union organizations were seriously damaged due to the frenzied suppression of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the erroneous influence of the "left" opportunist line and the factionalist activities of some people. Even those famous trade union organizations with good working foundations broke down. Examples were the trade union of the streetcar company in the French Concession, the color printing trade union in the British Concession, the trade union of the "13 factories" of the cotton textile trade inside and outside the concessions, as well as the federation of the seamen's trade unions. Thus, the "All-China Federation" became a useless organization. In the face of this situation, we tried by every means to restore those broken-down trade union organizations. At that time Comrade Shaoqi returned to Shanghai to take up the posts of minister of workers under the party Central Committee and secretary of the party and the League of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

In those extremely complex and difficult circumstances Comrade Shaoqi correctly assessed the vast differences between the enemy forces and our own forces. He clearly put forward the guiding principle for the work in the white area. Defense was to be the main strategy, and legal opportunities for launching activities were to be fully exploited. Thus, on the basis of mass work the party could be concealed for long periods and forces could be accumulated until the opportune time came. He not only opposed the passive attitude of yielding to difficulties but also resolutely boycotted various errors of "left" putschism. Comrade Shaoqi held that, to implement this principle, overt and covert work should be strictly demarcated but at the same time ingeniously linked. He opposed the discarding of all legal means, or even the confusion of overt and covert work, because such practices would sabotage both overt and covert work. When Wang Ming came to power, he and his company called for organizing Red opposition factions overtly in the yellow unions. Comrade Shaoqi told me that this was a foolish act of putting on the "Red label" but isolating themselves. At that time the Workers International introduced the pamphlet "Strike as Warfare," written by a German. It introduced the German and French experiences of overtly setting up "Red opposition factions." Comrade Shaoqi opposed the mechanical copying of the experiences of European trade unions. He barred the publication of this pamphlet.

Comrade Shaoqi advocated linking economic struggles with political struggles. He actively led the daily struggle of the workers and masses for their immediate benefits, in order to win the masses over and accumulate forces. He was against empty political propaganda which was carried out without regard to the economic benefits of the masses and which blindly called for "struggle! struggle!" After the "28 January" incident, the Japanese occupied Shanghai's Zhabei area. Thousands of workers of the 13 Japanese-run textile factories became homeless. They swarmed into the British Concession in large numbers, staged an anti-Japanese strike and became "refugees." Under party leadership we organized the "Shanghai People's Association for Opposing the Japanese and Saving the Nation." We went into the streets to collect money, bought rice to cook porridge and provided relief to this group of workers. We united the masses and expanded the revolutionary influence. Comrade Shaoqi highly praised this campaign and wanted it to be reported at a Political Bureau meeting. The renowned patriotic leader Song Qingling donated 2,000 silver dollars in support of the anti-Japanese strike of the workers and masses. However, this led to controversy within the party Central Committee. Those comrades who were heavily infected with "leftist" sentiments did not agree to accept this donation. How "left" the party Central Committee was then! Comrade Shaoqi resolutely resisted this erroneous idea and supported our acceptance of the whole donation. When the Kuomintang reached a compromise with the Japanese invaders and fighting in Shanghai stopped, the situation changed. Should the scores of thousands of workers on strike go back to work? Another fierce controversy ensued. Some objected to going back to work, for it would be tantamount to "surrender." Others were for going back to work. Comrade Shaoqi clearly pointed out that the workers should go back to work. This was an issue concerning the livelihood of scores of thousands of workers, and there was not to be any hesitation. He decisively supported our decision to go back to work and won the enthusiastic support of the vast numbers of workers.

Comrade Shaoqi paid great attention to the strategies of struggle and the art of leadership. He held that when the situation and conditions were unfavorable we should avoid fighting decisively against the enemy, so as to prepare ourselves for a revolutionary attack in the future. We should proceed from the economic benefits and immediate needs of the broad masses of people and select the right opportunity to launch struggles. We should also gradually raise the struggle of the masses to higher stages on the basis of changes in various conditions in the process of struggle, or we should temporarily put an end to combat "when it was appropriate to stop," in order to get prepared for the next combat, which would be at a higher stage and on a wider scale. He opposed the closed-door policy of "absolutely no cooperation." He advocated making the necessary concessions to those allies who were willing to cooperate with us, in order to attract them to join us and take common action. Then we could try to influence them and win over the masses at the lower levels.

Comrade Shaoqi repeatedly put forth these correct ideas in the party Central Committee. The party Central Committee, which was controlled by the "left" opportunists, not only rejected his ideas, but even used them as an excuse to criticize and attack him and even dismiss him from his posts. They falsely accused him of being a "right opportunist."

History is just. The success of the "9 December" movement in 1935 proved that Comrade Shaoqi's ideas were correct. However, during the seminar on the work in the white area, convened by the party Central Committee in May 1937, that man who obstinately stuck to the "left" opportunist line still directly scolded Comrade Shaoqi as a "rightist" when his "letter to the party Central Committee concerning work in the white area" was being discussed. At that seminar Comrade Mao Zedong praised Comrade Shaoqi's letter as a very well written and correct one, summing up the party's work in the white area. Later on, at the seventh plenary session of the sixth party Central Committee convened and chaired by Comrade Mao Zedong, he again affirmed and commended Comrade Shaoqi's implementation of the party's correct line in an exemplary manner in his work in the white area.

III

In July 1937 the party Central Committee resolved to send me to work in the Northern Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. By then Beijing and Tianjin had fallen into enemy hands, and the Northern Bureau was moved to Taiyuan. When I reached Taiyuan, Comrade Shaoqi was already there.

I remember that in December 1935, when meetings were held at Wayaobao, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee resolved to name Comrade Shaoqi as the representative of the party Central Committee. He was to go to Beijing and Tianjin, which were the fronts for resistance against Japan. He was to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of leading the struggles in North China and establishing a national united front of North China for resistance against Japan. When he arrived there, new waves of national revolution were forming, but the Kuomintang still persisted in the reactionary policy of "internal security must take precedence over resisting foreign aggression." The white terror following the failure of the great revolution had gravely damaged the party. In the vast stretches of North China there remained only one provincial party committee in Hebei, a few local party organizations in certain cities and rural areas, as well as several dozen cadres at the middle and lower levels. Furthermore, the "left" opportunist line still reigned powerfully in these organizations and among these cadres. The "left" opportunists advocated "down with everything," "absolutely no cooperation" and "struggling to the end, whatever it is." They failed to acknowledge that, strategically speaking, revolution is a long-term, complicated and tortuous undertaking. They also negated the policy of defense and retreat under adverse conditions.

As soon as Comrade Shaoqi arrived in the Northern Bureau he took up the intense and heavy organizational and propaganda work. Working to build the party, he tried to eliminate the influences of "left" opportunism, raise the party's standard of theory and policymaking and restore the party organizations at various levels. He strengthened the party organizations in Beijing and Tianjin. He established the Shandong provincial party committee, the Shanxi Working Committee and the Henan Working Committee. The number of party members in North China rose to over 5,000. He also sent a small number of leading cadres to Central and South China to restore party organizations. He actively worked to rescue from prison a number of cadres who had a firm stand and rich experiences and sent them to Shanxi and other places to work. He also restored connections with communists who had worked with the allied forces resisting Japanese aggression. His work for the united front included publishing many articles with pen names like "KV," Taq Shangxing [7118 1424 5887] and Hu Fu [5178 2591]. The articles explained the party's policies and viewpoints. They aroused very good responses and enabled our party's proposals concerning the national united front for resisting Japanese aggression to become quickly and widely known. Through various channels and relationships he contacted various factions in North China which had proven strength, as well as celebrities, scholars and so on. He united all forces which were willing and able to resist Japanese aggression. He established links with certain high-ranking patriotic military officers in the Kuomintang armed forces and made them join the Chinese Communist Party. He tried to win over the high-ranking military officers of the Kuomintang's 29th Army, so that they became sympathetic to the resistance against Japan. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee as well as by virtue of the assiduous work of comrades like Shaoqi and party organizations at various levels, there were many achievements. The Association of All Circles in North China for Saving the Country, the Students Association for Saving the Country and the National Liberation Vanguard were established one by one. Mass movements flourished, including demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, boycotts of Japanese goods and so on which were staged by the cities' workers, inhabitants and students. In addition, large numbers of students went to the countryside to launch propaganda and mobilize the peasants to join the struggles to resist Japanese aggression and save the country. Initiated by some save-the-country organizations in North China, a congress of all save-the-country organizations nationwide was convened in Shanghai. The congress established the National Union of All Circles for Saving the Country. The union's directors included renowned figures like Shen Junru, Zou Taofen, Tao Xingzhi, Shi Liang, Sha Qianli and Zhang Naiqi. The National Liberation Vanguards were later organized in big and medium-sized towns nationwide, with Beijing and Tianjin as the centers. Thus, large-scale movements of resistance against Japan and saving the country were formed. They created favorable conditions for the party and the 8th Route Army to later fight the war of resistance independently in North China.

After the Lugouqiao incident the whole country began to fight against Japanese aggression. The Northern Bureau was in Taiyuan at that time and was later transferred to Linfen in south Shanxi. During that period I was with Comrade Shaoqi all the time and could see for myself how he brilliantly led the people of North China to fight the war of resistance.

At this important turning point of history Comrade Shaoqi opportunely pointed out that the main form of struggle against the Japanese invaders in North China should from then on become a large-scale armed struggle of the people in place of the unarmed struggle before the Lugouqiao incident. From then on the focal tasks of the North China party organizations were to organize, lead and develop large-scale guerrilla wars against the Japanese in the enemy's rear areas, to establish bases of resistance against Japan in the enemy's rear areas, to set up democratic political authorities and to expand the 8th Route Army into a group army with several hundred thousand men and guns. In other words, the focal tasks were to arm ourselves and the people and persist in the war of resistance independently in North China.

However, at that time a minority of comrades disagreed with this policy. They thought that North China would not fall completely into Japanese hands and that it was unnecessary to prepare for guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in North China. They thought that the expansion of the 8th Route Army to a strength of several hundred thousand men and guns was not feasible and would provoke the Kuomintang, leading to a "major split" in the united front. Furthermore, the establishment of bases and democratic governments would be an "impermissible move." They advocated "doing everything through" and "everything subordinate to" the united front. They were against the party leading the war of resistance independently. In addition, other comrades were not good at altering their work style in response to changes in the situation. They were accustomed to the style of covert work and were satisfied with achieving a little at a time. At that moment Comrade Shaoqi manifested the capabilities of having the revolutionary situation well in hand, mastering the overall situation and pushing the situation forward. He criticized the right opportunist viewpoint of "doing everything through" and "everything subordinate to" the united front, which was tantamount to fettering oneself. He also explained that when the objective situation did not favor making advances we should be good at waiting and accumulating strength and should not practice putschism or adventurism. However, when the situation developed very rapidly and when revolution was surging forward we should take advantage of the good opportunity, launch our work on a large scale and advance in big strides toward a set target.

Before Taiyuan fell into enemy hands the party Central Committee sent Comrade Zhou Enlai to Taiyuan. As the representative of the Communist Party and the 8th Route Army he worked to win over Yan Xishan and other high-ranking Kuomintang military officers to join the united front. Comrades Shaoqi and Enlai worked together. They mastered the overall

situation, made farsighted and careful plans, divided North China into certain regions for carrying out guerrilla warfare and created a certain set-up. They sent a large number of leading cadres to places like Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong and Henan to lead the guerrilla wars of resistance against Japan and coordinate these wars with the activities of the 8th Route Army's main forces. They also secured links with Comrade Ulanhu and restored the party organizations in Daqingshan and the nearby places in Nei Monggol. Within a short time they had opened up and established many bases of resistance against Japan, which included the Shanxi-Chahaerh-Hebei base, the Taihangshan base, the Taiyueshan base, the northwest Shanxi base, the central Shanxi base, the Hebei-Shandong-Henan base, the east Hebei base and the south Hebei base. Hundreds of guerrilla forces were organized in various places, and the 8th Route Army rapidly expanded into a group army with several hundred thousand men and guns. In the bases, democratic governments which resisted Japanese aggression were set up. Policies of assigning rational burdens and cutting rents and interest rates were adopted. The people's livelihood was improved. We also organized training classes for party members and cadet teams in the name of the 8th Route Army's Linfen Office. We trained up to 1,000 military and political cadres and sent a number of outstanding youths to study in Yanan. At that time Comrade Shaoqi's work was exceptionally heavy and his health was poor. But he perseveringly spared time to compile and write teaching material himself and give lectures to the cadets. In Linfen he wrote a famous pamphlet for the party members' training classes entitled "Basic Policy Issues Concerning the Guerrilla Wars of Resistance Against Japan."

In most of North China regions we adopted the method of independent and direct advance. In Shanxi we mainly adopted the method of cooperating with the New Faction. Comrade Shaoqi concretely analyzed the situation in Shanxi. He pointed out that the Japanese attack on Shanxi forced the local warlord, Yan Xishan, to "defend his land and fight a war of resistance," because he could not retreat to other places. Although Yan Xishan's subordinates were divided into the New Faction and the old faction, it was possible for him to support the New Faction to fight a war of resistance. However, Yan Xishan was a feudal warlord, and he had had connections with Japanese imperialism, so his resistance was limited and temporary. If the power of the progressive New Faction exceeded the limits that Yan Xishan permitted, he would take repressive measures. Therefore, Comrade Shaoqi thought that Shanxi's forces of resistance against Japan under our party's leadership must be developed under Yan Xishan's banners and through the New Faction and the "Sacrifice and Save-the-Country Alliance." We sent large numbers of communists to become the mainstay of the "Sacrifice and Save-the-Country Alliance," created the new army ("Dare-to-Die Corps") and the workers self-defense squad, and created the new 1st Army in conjunction with the renowned patriotic high-ranking military officer Xu Fanting. These armed forces flaunted the banners of Yan Xishan, so that Yan was under the illusion that he had strong forces. Yan could boast about them, but actually nearly all of the officials at various levels were communists. They were controlled

directly by our party. Under Comrade Shaoqi's instructions we employed Yan's banners and made concessions to him on certain matters. But we did not "do everything through" him or "in every respect make ourselves subordinate" to him. We independently mobilized the masses and led the struggle of resistance against Japan. Thus, the people's armed struggle against Japanese aggression began to flourish in Shanxi, North China and other regions.

While the people's war of resistance against Japan was developing rapidly in North China, the people's struggle against Japanese aggression in Central China did not develop very well. There was a sharp contrast between the two regions. In Central China the right opportunist Wang Ming refused to implement the correct instructions of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. He was satisfied with merely helping the Kuomintang armies to fight the war of resistance. When the Japanese invaders attacked them, the Kuomintang armies did not even fire their guns and just ran away. They abandoned large stretches of land and hundreds of millions of people in the central plains and south of the lower reaches of the Chang Jiang. But the right opportunists inside the party dared not lead and organize the people of these regions to resist the Japanese. They did not even dare pick up the several hundred thousand guns abandoned by the Kuomintang armies to arm the communist forces when the Kuomintang armies collapsed and retreated from Shanghai, Nanjing, Xuzhou and Wuhan. In October 1938 the sixth plenary session of the sixth party Central Committee criticized Wang Ming's right opportunist line and resolved to abolish the Chang Jiang Bureau, set up the Central Plains Bureau and appointed Comrade Shaoqi as secretary of the Central Plains Bureau. When Comrade Shaoqi was leaving for the south, we walked with him to Shengchi in Henan before he departed.

When Comrade Shaoqi reached Central China he made conscientious investigations and studies. He systematically summed up the serious harm which the right opportunist line had done to the revolution. He used the lessons of this experience to educate the cadres. He analyzed the difficulties and favorable conditions in Central China and clearly put forward the tasks and guiding principles for Central China's future war of resistance. Comrade Shaoqi made repeated reports. The vast numbers of cadres were heartened. They now clearly knew the direction, and their courage to accomplish the new tasks was boosted. Comrade Shaoqi worked out the strategic deployment. He assigned cadres to various localities for pioneer work. He sent Comrades Li Xiannian, Peng Xuefeng and others to Hubei, the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu region, Dabieshan and other places to launch guerrilla wars. After the south Anhui incident, he took up the posts of secretary of the Central China Bureau and political commissar of the New 4th Army. Under the leadership of Comrades Shaoqi, Chen Yi and others, the passive state of affairs in Central China was changed. After more than 3 years of heroic fighting, our forces smashed the mopping-up operations of the Japanese and their puppet armies and the repeated attacks of obstinate Kuomintang factions. The people's armed

forces for resistance against Japan were greatly developed. Bases and democratic governments for resisting Japanese aggression were established. Thus, the task of "developing Central China" assigned by the party Central Committee was accomplished.

Both in North China and in Central China Comrade Shaoqi performed immortal feats for the final victory of the war of resistance against Japan and for the enterprise of liberating the Chinese people!

IV

Comrade Shaoqi always paid great attention to building the party. He devoted tremendous efforts to building a Marxist-Leninist party.

As early as the initial stage after the founding of the party--when he was leading the workers movement in Anyuan--he paid attention to educating and training enthusiasts and expanding the party's membership. When the fourth national congress of the party was convened in 1925 there were over 900 party members in the entire country, 300 of whom were from Anyuan. At the sixth plenary session of the sixth party Central Committee, Comrade Shaoqi summed up the experiences of party building. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, Wang Ming and company had been practicing decentralism, which had done great harm to the party's enterprises. In view of this, Comrades Shaoqi and Mao Zedong together put forward the basic principles of the party's democratic centralism: "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 membership is subordinate to the Central Committee." Written by Comrade Shaoqi with the assistance of Comrade Zhang Haq and me, the "Resolutions Concerning the Regulations and Discipline of Work at Various Levels of the Party and Its Departments" was drafted for the plenary session. This document embodied the more detailed inner-party rules and regulations which realized democratic centralism. It was adopted by the session and played a positive role in unifying the actions of the leading bodies at various levels and strengthening the party's fighting power. Later on Comrade Shaoqi also wrote a series of works on building the party which radiate with Marxist brilliance. These works included "How To Be a Good Communist," "On Struggle Within the Party" and "On the Party" (which was the report on amending the party constitution at the seventh national congress of the party). In both theory and practice he made major contributions to preserving the purity of the ideology and theory of the party, establishing rules and regulations for inner-party life and building our party into a real Marxist-Leninist political party. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly praised "How To Be a Good Communist" as a very wholesome book. He said that it very thoroughly elaborated such issues as the relations between party members and the party as well as a communist's self-cultivation of ideology. At that time each cadre in Yanan, whether new or old, had a copy of this book. Everyone studied it conscientiously and frequently

used its contents to examine oneself. This book, together with "On Struggle Within the Party," were chosen by Comrade Mao Zedong as documents which should be studied for rectifying the cadres' work style. They played an important instructive role in rectifying the work style of the cadres in the liberated areas. In his work "On the Party" Comrade Shaoqi gave an outstanding exposition on major issues concerning our party, such as its essence, its guiding ideology, the mass line and democratic centralism. He also scientifically established that our party must take Mao Zedong Thought--China's Marxism-Leninism--as the guiding ideology for all our work. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, he comprehensively and systematically summed up and theoretically analyzed China's abundant experiences in building the party.

After the liberation, our party became the party in power. Comrade Shaoqi paid special attention to building the party. In 1931, when wars were raging, he admonished the party members: When revolution gains the victory and the people are grateful to us and support us, we should heighten our vigilance even further and preserve our pure proletarian revolutionary qualities. Only thus could we avoid following the same old erroneous roads of the leaders of peasant uprisings and their regimes in past Chinese history. They all degenerated after victory. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, at a national organizational work conference, Comrade Shaoqi made a report and presented his conclusion on "struggling for even higher qualities of a communist." He stressed: After the victory of revolution, communists must have even higher qualities than before, and all communists must be educated on how to be a communist. After the conference, rectification of the party was carried out nationwide. The vast numbers of party members followed the instructions of the party Central Committee and Comrade Shaoqi. They conscientiously studied Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and examined themselves according to the "eight criteria" of communists put forward at that time. They carried out criticism and self-criticism and greatly raised their political ideology and consciousness. This played a very important role in preserving the purity of the party's ideology and organization. In 1956 the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong entrusted Comrades Shaoqi and Xiaoping to prepare the "Political Report" and the "Report on Amending the Party Constitution" for the eighth national congress of the party. These two reports emphatically elaborated a series of major issues concerning the party in power: How should it implement the mass line, oppose the divorce from reality and oppose bureaucracy? How should it implement the principle of democratic centralism and oppose the dictatorship of one man? How should it preserve consolidation and unity and oppose splits? How should the relationships among the masses, the party and the leaders be correctly understood and handled? Today, in view of the grave sabotage to our party caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we more deeply feel that solving these problems is very important for strengthening and improving party leadership and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's our country's national economy suffered grave setbacks. Comrade Shaoqi assisted Comrade Mao Zedong in correcting the mistakes in our country's rural and economic work. At the work conference of the party Central Committee convened in January 1962 he summed up the experience of our work and carried out self-criticism on behalf of the party Central Committee. He pointed out markedly: We not only put forward some economic and political tasks which far exceeded practical possibilities, but also made many mistakes in the organization. "Many of them are related to not doing things strictly according to democratic centralism." With the concern and instruction of Comrade Shaoqi, the national organizational work conference convened at the end of the same year and once again emphatically discussed the issue of building the party in power. The conference pointed out that during the socialist construction period the tasks of building the party became heavier than before, not lighter. Building the party was still one of our main magic weapons. If the party was to control itself, it had to rigorously supervise its members. The party in power must conscientiously build and perfect the democratic centralism of the party and state. This was the fundamental system for insuring that our party and country would never change their political color. It is distressing that for various reasons the correct ideas mentioned above were not implemented. Thus, there were opportunities for the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They ran wild for a decade and brought about a catastrophe for the party and the country. It all started with the deliberate violation of democratic centralism. This is a serious lesson which we must remember well.

V

Comrade Shaoqi employed Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to analyze and solve various practical problems in his prolonged revolutionary struggles. He was adept at raising practical experiences to the high plane of theory. His theoretical viewpoints and ideological principles concerning building the party, work in the white area, workers movements, the building of a united front and independently launching a guerrilla war of resistance against Japan constitute an important part of the Mao Zedong Thought treasury. They contribute to augmenting and enriching Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Shaoqi paid attention to seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality, diligently carrying out investigation and study and striving to maintain close links with the vast numbers of cadres and masses. Although he was the president of the state and had to handle numerous affairs every day, he still took the lead in going deep into the frontline of industrial and agricultural production to personally conduct investigation and study and to listen directly to the opinions and demands of the masses of workers and peasants, as well as those of the cadres at the grassroots level. In April and May 1961 he went to Hunan for investigation. For 32 of the 44 days he lived in the countryside. He lived in an ordinary hut of the

Tianhua Production Brigade in Changsha County's Guangfu Commune for 18 days. During that time he attended 11 seminars, visited the homes of commune members, asked them about their livelihood and talked intimately with old party members and old poor peasants. He perceived that the broad masses of commune members were victimized by the tendency toward boasting and exaggeration, the prevalence of giving blind directions and widespread inappropriate communist practices. He presented a timely investigation report to the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong which put forward his opinions and expressed his concern for the hardships of the peasants, as well as the restoration and development of agricultural production. In July and August of the same year he went deep into the Daxingan Mountains and the Xiaoxingan Mountains, without concern for rain, slippery roads and muddy paths, the trouble of climbing mountains and crossing waters and other troubles involved. He inspected the forest resources there and observed the livelihood of the forestry workers. Since he paid attention to keeping links with the masses and going deep into reality, he could put forward many opinions and proposals about building the country that were in line with the objective situation.

There was oneness in Comrade Shaoqi's body and soul, in his words and deeds. He was very strict with himself. What he required of others he would do himself in the first place. He was very diligent and lived a plain life. He maintained the same style for decades. In October 1937 Taiyuan fell into enemy hands, and we retreated to Liu village in Linfen. Comrade Shaoqi's stomach disorder recurred then, and he could not eat normal food; thus he became thinner. When we reached the Northern Bureau the party Central Committee gave him several hundred thousand yuan in legal tender for use as the party's activities funds. He let me keep the entire sum. He did not ask for special attention from the party organizations. He insisted on receiving a mere allowance of 5 yuan a month according to regulations of the party Central Committee. Every day he bought some radishes and made some steamed buns. That was his daily food. After moving to the city, Comrade Shaoqi placed strict demands on his family. His children often participated in manual labor. He never allowed his official automobile to be used for private business. When Comrade Wang Guangmei was to go abroad with Comrade Shaoqi and had to have dresses made, Comrade Shaoqi told her to consult me at the office, and the dresses were made strictly according to the regulations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His family also lived a plain and thrifty life. Usually Comrade Shaoqi's meals consisted of slightly better food, but his children had ordinary, standard food. Later he and his family had their meals at the canteen. Comrade Shaoqi paid for his late-night snacks from his own pocket. Once he discovered that the authorities had reimbursed him for his late-night snack expenses. He sincerely told the comrade of the administrative office: "I am used to working at night. My situation is different from that of other comrades. My late-night snack expenses should not be paid out of public money." He insisted that the comrade of the administrative office bill him for the late-night snacks. Comrade Shaoqi remained for a long time in high-ranking posts,

posts, but he still preserved the true qualities of a servant of the people: He drew a clear line between public and private business, abiding by the law and preserving his integrity.

Comrade Shaoqi maintained a democratic style and vigorously abided by discipline. He never put his position above the organization. He strictly submitted himself to collective leadership and the resolutions of the organization. When he was in charge of the work of the central authorities he never displayed a paternal and dictatorial style. He always discussed business with the comrades in the leading group, and he was glad to exchange views with other people. When he put forth his views on a certain task, he had invariably prepared himself, and very often he would win other people's agreement. He had a strong sense of principle. He was serious and conscientious. Sometimes he was very "severe" when he criticized certain comrades, but these comrades would nevertheless not feel that he was undemocratic. He never said or did anything unfavorable to the party's solidarity. When he had complaints he always spoke in front of the people concerned and would not comment about them behind their backs. I worked with Comrade Shaoqi for a long time. We were rather familiar with each other and had fairly frequent communications, but he never told me his opinions about other leading comrades. He also did not tell Comrade Wang Guangmei and the comrades working around him what should not be told to ordinary cadres.

When Chairman Mao withdrew to the second line for a time, he delegated the routine work of the Political Bureau to Comrade Shaoqi. Comrade Shaoqi sought the instructions of Chairman Mao on all important matters. At the Political Bureau, Comrade Shaoqi often said: "We have expressed our views during this discussion. Comrade Xiaoping and I will report them to Chairman Mao. If Chairman Mao agrees, we will begin to implement them. If there are any different views, we will discuss them next time." He never abused his power or made final decisions alone. He respected Comrade Mao Zedong very highly.

In the initial stages of the Great Cultural Revolution, during the "bombarding" and attacks from all sides and cries of "down with," Comrade Chen Yi still said with a sense of justice: "Comrade Liu Shaoqi is my good teacher." Premier Chen spoke honestly. What a good generalization! I had contacts with Comrade Shaoqi for over 30 years and deeply feel that he was our good teacher and a friend with a wholesome influence. Comrade Shaoqi was unjustly persecuted and left us prematurely. This is an irreparable loss to our party and country. We must turn our grief into strength, learn from the lofty virtues of Comrade Shaoqi as a communist, and devote more of our own efforts and abilities to achieving the magnificent enterprise of the four modernizations.

The enterprise of the proletarian revolution, to which Comrade Shaoqi devoted himself, will last forever!

CSO: 4004

'FOSTER PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY AND ELIMINATE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY' IS AN IMPORTANT TASK IN DOING POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 10-14

[Article by Zheng Li [6774 7812]]

[Text] The All-Army Political Work Conference held in 1978 proposed to "fight a fine political and ideological battle to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology." The CCP Central Committee in the same year issued regulations governing political work in our army, stipulating that we should "lead cadres and soldiers to unfold the struggle to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, correct erroneous ideas, overcome bad tendencies and firmly foster the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people rather than seeking personal fame and gains and fearing hardships and death." It is of great significance in the new historical period to persist in the struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology," to strengthen our army's political and ideological work and to accelerate our army's revolutionization and modernization.

I

"Eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" was put forward in the 1950's.

The founding of the PRC marked the conclusion of the new democratic revolution, the beginning of socialist revolution and construction and the shifting of the party's work focus from the rural areas to the cities. Comrade Mao Zedong warned the whole party to guard against the bourgeoisie's attack with "sugarcoated bullets," and he repeatedly pointed out that we should draw a clear line between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies and guard against contamination by bourgeois ideology and work style. In light of the new situation of class struggle, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong led the whole party and all the Chinese people promptly to launch the movements against the "three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the party, government, army and mass organizations) and the "five evils" (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state

property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, as practiced by owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises). As a result, the bourgeoisie's flagrant attack was beaten back, the bourgeois ideology and work style was criticized and proletarian ideology and socialist morality and practices were greatly fostered.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, our party's leading cadres repeatedly put forward the task of "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" in light of the spirit of the speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." In his talk to secretaries of provincial and municipal CYL committees in May 1957, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology is our long-term task, which we will continue to work on into future decades. Our young generation must begin to perform this task now." In his report on the work of the CCP Central Committee to the second session of the eighth national congress in May 1958, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "In order to build a socialist and communist society we must not only wipe out all the old systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, but also utterly eliminate obsolete ideas and habits which are derived from and served these old systems; we must eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology. That is to say, we must eventually eliminate all vestiges of the exploiting classes and exploiting systems from the minds of the people." Comrade Zhou Enlai also talked many times on the issue of "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology." In his report on the work of the government at the first session of the Third NPC in December 1964, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "In the socialist period the task of the ideological and cultural fronts is to oppose imperialism and feudalism. However, the most essential task is to thoroughly oppose capitalism, foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology." Our army has attached great importance to "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology." The "Resolutions on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Army" adopted in 1960 by the Military Commission of the Central Committee specifically included the issue of "launching the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology." It demanded that we strengthen the education of cadres and soldiers and overcome the fear of wars, the waning of our fighting will, the lack of organization and discipline, decadent liberalism and other bad tendencies. By persisting in the education and struggle which are aimed at "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology," our army has had great successes in strengthening the ideology of the troops, enhancing the political consciousness of cadres and soldiers and fostering proletarian ways of thinking, morality and social practices. However, out of their need to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" completely distorted the original meaning of the slogan "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" during the Cultural Revolution. This slogan was

actually a matter in the area of ideology and remolding the world outlook. However, they exaggerated it and said that it was an extremely intense and complicated life-and-death struggle. They were absolutely not "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" but doing the opposite. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," some comrades have begun to doubt whether we should still adhere to the slogan of "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology." Some think that this slogan is wrong and should no longer be mentioned; others think that we should continue with this slogan. However, they are not bold, because they do not know how they should wage this struggle. We must restore the original meaning of this slogan and correctly carry out the education and struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology."

II

The political work of "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" in our army refers to criticizing, overcoming and defeating bourgeois and other nonproletarian ideologies by means of proletarian ideology. It refers to ideological work. "Fostering proletarian ideology" means strengthening education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, occupying all ideological fronts and equipping cadres and soldiers with the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people and fighting for communism. "Eliminating bourgeois ideology" means criticizing, overcoming, defeating and then eventually eliminating the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Generally speaking, bourgeois ideology is the most influential and harmful ideology of the exploiting classes in our society during the socialist period. It is the main direction of attack in the proletarian ideological struggle. When we stress the struggle against bourgeois ideology, we do not in the slightest degree mean that we are negating or giving up the struggle against the ideology of any other exploiting classes. Judging from the above-quoted speeches and documents of leading comrades of the Central Committee, the implications of this slogan were very clearly understood in the past.

Eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology is a task entrusted to us by history in the socialist period. When he clearly issued the theory of proletarian dictatorship for the first time in 1850, Marx pointed out: "The class dictatorship of the proletariat is the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all social relations that correspond to these relations of production and to the revolutionizing of all ideas that result from these social relations." ("The Class Struggles in France 1848-1850," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 479-480) Obviously, "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" is an important task during the historical period of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, to establish proletarian dictatorship in the socialist period we must

eliminate not only the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, but also their ideological influence on the working people. The former task has been accomplished in our country, while the latter is a long-term one.

As the superstructure, social ideology (including politics, law, philosophy, art and literature, ethics and religion) invariably serves a given economic base. We have established a socialist economic system. To protect, strengthen and consolidate this system we need a corresponding ideology. Landlords, rich peasants and capitalists no longer exist as a class in our country. However, their ideology will continue to exist. It will continue to affect and contaminate people's minds and will certainly not step down from the stage of history of its own accord. The struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies will remain for a long time to come. Of course, problems in the ideology of socialist society are more complex. There are still struggles between right and wrong, contention among different schools of thought and new theoretical problems which arise from practice and which are being explored and discussed. There is still class struggle in the ideological field. This is an undeniable, objective fact. In his speech at the recent All-Army Cultural Work Conference, Comrade Wei Guoqing, director of the General Political Department, pointed out: "We must enthusiastically wage an ideological struggle to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology." "Only when we do so can we accomplish the difficult tasks in political work."

The ideological struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" is aimed at remolding the ideology of all peoples in society. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1957: In building a socialist society, everyone needs remolding--the exploiters as well as the working people. The reason is that the influence of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and various exploiting classes cannot be eliminated all at once, but will remain for a long time to come. Just as Lenin said: "When the old society perishes, you cannot nail its corpse in a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us." ("Joint session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies and the trade unions," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 407)

We clearly understand that "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" is a protracted and tortuous struggle. Particularly in a country like ours, which has emerged from a semifeudal and semicolonial womb, there is still fertile ground on which capitalist, feudal and various nonproletarian ideologies can live. We cannot and will not thoroughly eliminate them in one day. Some people think that bourgeois ideology cannot be immediately eliminated, so they do not agree with this slogan. However, their argument is untenable. "Eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" is a long-term strategic task as well as an important routine and realistic one. In 1848 Marx and Engels put forth the view that there should be "the most

radical break with traditional ideas." Although they fully understood that a "radical break" would mean a protracted struggle, they still raised this slogan. If we are only allowed to put forward those slogans that can be achieved immediately, are we then allowed to put forward the lofty ideal of wiping out capitalism from the earth and fighting for communism? When we say it is not possible to immediately eliminate bourgeois and all nonproletarian ideologies, we absolutely do not mean that we should not try our best to eliminate them. In fact, we must have a clear-cut stand in criticizing, boycotting and struggling against them, gradually reducing their ground and overcoming them bit by bit. We must continue to remold our world outlook in this struggle. One method is to carry out self-cultivation; another is to wage positive ideological struggles. All comrades must follow the example of Comrade Zhou Enlai, who never found himself too old to learn or to remold himself. As long as we persist in the struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology," the healthy trend of the proletariat will prevail, while the unhealthy ones of the bourgeoisie will be boycotted. Otherwise, if we weaken or give up this struggle, bourgeois ideology will spread unchecked, and the healthy trend of the proletariat will not be encountered. All of us have seen such facts.

III

It is of theoretical and realistic significance to persist in "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology."

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party's work focus has been shifted to the four modernizations, and our army's work focus has been shifted to building a modernized revolutionary army. While we are trying to achieve the four modernizations, we must adhere to the four basic principles. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must greatly foster proletarian ideology, boycott and criticize bourgeois and all other nonproletarian ideologies and overcome all forces of old habits which are harmful to the four modernizations. With the increase in international contacts, the bourgeois decadent and moribund ideology and ways of life will invariably exert their influence on us. The overseas bourgeoisie adopt every possible means to infiltrate our minds ideologically and culturally by flaunting their bourgeois ways of life before us. This makes it difficult for us to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" even if we are waging the struggle in a conscientious way. It will be even more difficult if we give up this struggle.

In our present society, class struggle actually exists (including class struggle in the ideological sphere), and this struggle is extensive, deep-going and unavoidable. We cannot change the nature of this struggle even if we change its name. The struggle between proletarian ideology and bourgeois, feudal and petty bourgeois ideologies has never stopped. The ideological and organizational remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four,"

the so-called "liberals" and "holders of differing political ideas" still exist. They adopt various methods to negate and oppose the four basic principles, incite the ideological trend of anarchism and propagate bourgeois liberalization. Some people are socialists in their words but capitalists in their deeds. They pursue the bourgeois way of life, admire various Western material comforts and even degenerate to violating the law and discipline. Extreme individualism also exists among a handful of young people who care only for themselves. They eat, drink and seek pleasure rather than care about the state and the collective. They have no revolutionary ideals, but are decadent and degenerate. Bureaucratism exists among some cadres who seek special privileges, divorce themselves from the masses and pay no attention to the well-being of the people. Some people make use of their posts and power to seek personal gain, encourage unhealthy trends and change the comradeship of human beings in a socialist society into the relationship of commodities exchange. Under the influence of bourgeois liberal ideology, feudal and superstitious activities have run rampant in several districts. This situation runs counter to the fighting goal of our party. It is extremely harmful to the four modernizations and severely corrosive to our ranks. The essential trend of today's young people is good and should be fully affirmed. However, they have not experienced the hardships of the old society and have no concrete feelings about the advantages and disadvantages of the two social systems. They grew up when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck. Some young people's understanding of socialism has been confused by the sham socialism pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their understanding of the party has also been confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who replaced the party with the gang. As a result, some young people doubt the superiority of socialism and the correctness of the party's leadership. Some advocate anarchism and pursue bourgeois liberalization. Some individuals even commit crimes. If we allow bourgeois ideology to spread unchecked instead of criticizing and boycotting it, the socialist state will be in danger of changing its political color. This is absolutely not alarmist talk.

We may therefore say that if we do not persist in the struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" and if Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought does not hold sway and occupy a dominant position, our four modernizations will encounter greater difficulties. If worse comes to worst, they will vanish like soap bubbles. To achieve the four modernizations there must be a prerequisite--a political situation characterized by stability and unity. If bourgeois ideology spreads unchecked, there will invariably be ideological confusion, political turmoil and sabotage of production, work and social order. In this situation, how can we make concerted and concentrated efforts for the four modernizations? Our modernization is different from bourgeois modernization. Ours is socialist modernization under the leadership of the Communist Party and the guidance of Marxism. We should build not only a high-level material civilization, but also a high-level socialist spiritual civilization. We should absolutely not follow the capitalist

countries' road of material development and spiritual degeneration. The modernized capitalist countries have highly developed productivity and are able to create tremendous material wealth. However, their social evils are increasing daily, and various conflicts are intensifying daily. No bourgeois politician or adviser can find a way out. Even men of insight in the West cannot deny this point. Are we going to follow their old track? Our road to modernization is one under a socialist system in which material production is rich and people's ideological consciousness is high and their moral qualities noble. This is our ideal. Therefore, we must "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" to meet the requirements of the four modernizations and to guarantee their realization.

Our army is a pillar of proletarian dictatorship. Our officers and men of the PLA, who carry weapons to safeguard the motherland and the four modernizations with their blood and lives, must enhance their political consciousness, be stricter with themselves and be organized and disciplined. Only then can their combat effectiveness be strengthened. We must not allow bourgeois ideology to contaminate our comrades and our army's body. It is absolutely necessary to persist in the ideological struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" if we want to enhance the political consciousness of the PLA's commanders and fighters, to maintain our army's proletarian color and fine traditions, to insure the unswerving implementation of the party's line and to accomplish our army's historical task.

IV

"Eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology" is a day-to-day task of ideological and political work in our army. To persist in this struggle we must make efforts to strengthen our political and ideological work and strengthen the propaganda and education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We are neither waging a political movement nor attacking anybody. While thoroughly correcting the "leftist" tendencies in political and ideological work, we must also pay attention to the rightist tendency of being lenient and slack in the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

Our urgent need now is to strengthen education in Marxism. Since many people cannot distinguish between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, between democracy and centralism and between freedom and discipline, they are vulnerable to the influence of anarchism and bourgeois liberalism. We must help the cadres and soldiers genuinely master the basic principles of Marxism in connection with their actual thinking. Only when we continue to conduct education in Marxism and equip people with proletarian revolutionary ideology can we resist contamination from bourgeois ideas.

We must strengthen education in the communist outlook on life and inspire cadres and soldiers with the lofty ideals of communism and with the glorious mission of achieving the four modernizations. While we firmly practice the socialist distribution principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," we must oppose the ideology of extreme individualists who do everything for money and for themselves. We must strive to unfold activities to emulate Lei Feng, Lu Shicai and the heroes who fought in the self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam. We must oppose seeking comfort and pleasure and relaxing the fighting will, the vulgar interests of admiring the bourgeois way of life and bad habits of mediocrities who lack ambition and mental fortitude.

To persist in the struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" we must seek truth from facts, specifically analyze problems reflected by cadres and soldiers and determine whether they are ideological problems or questions of standpoint. We must describe the problems as they are and must neither exaggerate them as matters of principle nor evade the conflicts and take a laissez-faire attitude toward erroneous ideas. We must enthusiastically guide, educate and criticize comrades who have made mistakes and have erroneous ideas and must persist in the principle of the three nots—"not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using big sticks." We must be firm in presenting facts and reasoning things out and in applying the formula of unity-criticism-unity and the method of handling contradictions among the people to do ideological and educational work well and to improve the ability to boycott nonproletarian ideologies. We must be even more patient in persuading and educating those comrades who have muddled and erroneous ideas because they lack the knowledge of basic theory and history. We must convince people by reasoning rather than suppressing them by force.

To persist in the struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" we must draw a line between right and wrong in ideology and must not try to correct the reasonable wishes, rational demands and correct opinions of cadres and soldiers as if they were wrong ideas. In light of the situation among the armed forces, we must pay particular attention to the distinctions between personal interests and individualism, between the proper exercise of democratic rights and anarchism and between improving living standards and hedonism. However, we cannot criticize the decent love between men and women, hobbies and proper material and cultural needs as if they were bourgeois ideas. Of course, if we proceed from the reality among the armed forces, we can also lay down some stipulations on these matters.

While we wage the ideological struggle to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology," we must continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Instead of casting aside the correct slogan of "eliminating bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology," we must wipe it clean of the slop thrown on it so that it will again shine with brilliance and play its combat role. Only when we do this can our army adhere to the correct political orientation and march triumphantly along the Marxist track of modernization.

OUR PARTY HAS PROVED ITSELF TO BE A GREAT PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 15-17

[Article by Jin Qiu [6855 4428]]

[Text] The historically important 5th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee recently announced to the whole party and the people throughout the country the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and the restoration of his honor as a great Marxist, a proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the party and state. The plenary session also admitted that the party made serious mistakes during the Great Cultural Revolution. These errors were used by counterrevolutionary conspirators such as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to defame party history and bring dire consequences to the whole country. This shows that our party upholds the materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts and has thus proven itself to be a great party, open and aboveboard.

The CCP was founded nearly 60 years ago. During this period it led the people across the land in transforming a semifeudal and semicolonial old China into a socialist new China. After making strenuous efforts over a prolonged period, the people throughout the country have increasingly realized that our party is a progressive and revolutionary political party of the proletariat. They are convinced that "without the Communist Party there would be no new China."

The CCP is equipped with Marxist-Leninist teachings and Mao Zedong Thought. It is a party that upholds the principle of integrating theory with practice, cultivates close ties with the masses and earnestly conducts criticism and self-criticism. It refrained from acting arrogantly and rashly when it was winning great victories but has the courage to admit its mistakes and make a public confession of its errors. It is because of this courage that our party has been able to consolidate itself by summing up both positive and negative experiences and to lead the people across the land to win fresh victories. Thus, the people have greater faith in our party and support it.

However, some comrades take the view that current official admissions that the CCP was guilty of serious errors during the Great Cultural Revolution and the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi will harm the prestige and greatness of the party. Young communists in particular are still under the influence of the fallacies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their attempts to defame the party's image. As a result, these young communists have doubts about the greatness of the party. Their doubts are caused by the past miscarriage of justice in Comrade Liu's case, described as "the biggest frameup in the history of the party." In publicizing the 5th plenary session's spirit and with their mental outlook in mind, we should help them to view party history and its present circumstances dialectically, so that they will understand the CCP and its attributes correctly and increase their faith in it.

There is no political party in the world that does not make mistakes. The CCP is leading a populous, large country under very complicated and difficult circumstances in undertaking unparalleled revolution and construction. In exploring and gaining experiences it is not surprising that shortcomings and mistakes will appear. Although the CCP has made many mistakes and encountered numerous setbacks, compared with its immense contributions the mistakes it has made and the setbacks it has encountered are simply a side issue. As far as the fighting party of an advanced class is concerned, the question does not rest with the possibility of making mistakes but with the approach toward such errors. To make mistakes is not something dreadful. What is dreadful are attempts to justify such mistakes. Lenin once said: "A political party's attitude toward its mistakes is an important and reliable yardstick for measuring the implementation of its obligations to its own class and the toiling masses. Admitting mistakes in public, revealing the causes of such errors, assessing the circumstances surrounding the mistakes and carefully discussing ways of rectifying them exemplifies a serious-minded political party committed to fulfilling its obligations, such as educating and training the classes as well as the masses." ("Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 39) The CCP is a revolutionary party based on the revolutionary theory and work style of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a revolutionary party responsible to the proletariat and the laboring masses. As such, it is naturally a revolutionary party capable of upholding truth and correcting its mistakes. Our party is not afraid of admitting its mistakes and criticizing them before the whole party and the people across the land, nor will it be so in the future. During the democratic revolution the CCP criticized the mistakes of Chen Duxiu's right opportunist line. It later on several occasions corrected errors in the line, particularly the fallacies of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line. During the period of the socialist revolution and construction the CCP exposed Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary conspiratorial group, which vainly tried to usurp party and state power, smashed the "gang of four"--a scourge to the nation--and eliminated the ultraleftist line they pushed. Our party's consistent and open and aboveboard approach toward the mistakes it has made is above reproach.

The fact that the CCP approaches political issues realistically and openly admits its mistakes and corrects them exemplifies its strength and confidence. As the vanguard of the proletariat, our party symbolizes the advance of history. It is equipped with scientific and revolutionary theories and has firm faith in the revolution and a broad mass basis. We believe in our just cause, which is compatible with the law of social development and will eventually triumph. Although the CCP has made many mistakes and encountered numerous setbacks in the past half century, each time it has openly admitted its mistakes and criticized and corrected them.

The fact that the CCP is able to approach political issues realistically and openly admits and corrects its mistakes is an example of its devotion to the interests of the people. Working wholeheartedly for the people's welfare has been the CCP's sole objective. With the exception of the people's interests, our party has no special interests of its own. What the CCP says or does, its principles and policies, and its programs and line are based on the highest interests of the broadest sections of the people and what they support. It acts on what benefits the people without fear of sacrifice and refrains from doing what does not benefit them. If it is responsible for wrongful acts, it is always ready to redress them. It is because of this unbounded devotion to the people's interests that the CCP has nothing to hide from them and is always ready to make a public confession of its errors and to admit and correct them. This is because mistakes in any form are not compatible with the people's interests and will harm them.

The fact that the CCP is able to approach political issues realistically and admit its mistakes and criticize them also is an example of upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Marxist dialectical materialism and the scientific world outlook of historical materialism regard practice as being of prime importance. They believe that people's social practice is the criterion of the public understanding of the truth. In its struggle to transform society and the natural world the CCP follows this scientific world outlook and uses practice to test the correctness of its line and policies. It is thus able to uphold truth and correct mistakes. It upholds what is correct and rectifies what is wrong. Comrade Mao Zedong on many occasions taught us to seek truth from facts and to correct mistakes. We must not doubt the CCP's greatness because it corrects its mistakes. Comrade Mao was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist and one of the founders of the CCP, the PRC and the PLA. He was an outstanding representative of the CCP and the Chinese people. All these are unquestionable historical facts. In the past half century he made important contributions and achieved enduring merit. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries led by Comrade Mao applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in guiding the Chinese revolution and construction. This enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism, turned Mao Zedong Thought into a scientific system and handed down a precious heritage to the CCP and our people. It will play

a guiding role in furthering our cause, now and in the future. The 5th plenary session's rehabilitation of Comrade Liu and its reversal of the wrong decision of the 12th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee--expelling Comrade Liu from the party forever on the grounds of having been "a traitor, scab and renegade"--was an important step in restoring the original features of Mao Zedong Thought. It shows that the CCP is truly a materialist political party upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

More than half a century of history has proved that, whenever the CCP openly criticized its mistakes and corrected them, its strength was not weakened but increased. The CCP's cause advanced rather than retrogressed; its prestige was enhanced rather than decreased. For example, after the fallacies of the Chen Duxiu line were corrected, the CCP pulled itself out of a difficult situation and opened up new possibilities of armed struggle. After the fallacies of the Wang line were criticized, the CCP was united as never before and won great victories in the war of resistance against Japan and in the war of liberation. After the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was eliminated, the CCP regained its vitality and led the whole country in a new Long March toward modernization. The facts show that if the CCP failed to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and did not dare to admit its mistakes and correct them, would it have been able to keep on advancing? Would it have prospered as it does now? Stalin put it rightly: "If we refuse to conduct self-criticism and mend our ways, we will block our road of advance, obstruct our cause and be prevented from making new achievements." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 283)

To realize modernization before the end of this century requires 20 years of effort. A longer journey is needed to achieve communism. The struggle ahead is protracted and arduous, and there are twists and turns. However, despite the twists and turns, the future is bright. Our cause will be successful. This trend is determined by the law governing the development of human society. As long as we strengthen and improve the party leadership and restore and carry forward the work style of seeking truth from facts, we will avoid making mistakes.

The fifth plenary session's decision to rehabilitate Comrade Liu and correct the CCP's serious mistakes during the Great Cultural Revolution has enabled the party and people to bear in mind this profound lesson. We must exert ourselves in preserving, consolidating and perfecting socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, so that miscarriages of justice will not be repeated in the future, the CCP and the state will not change their colors and the cause of communism can advance. This is a decision of immediate significance. History will prove that by implementing the spirit of the fifth plenary session the CCP's prestige will be enhanced, the unity of the party will be strengthened and the work style of seeking truth from facts will be carried forward. We are optimistic that the whole party and the people throughout the country will rally around the party Central Committee and confidently devote themselves to the grand goal of the four modernizations.

FIND ORE DEPOSITS ACCORDING TO THE OBJECTIVE LAW OF GEOLOGICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 18-21

[Article by Sun Daguang [1327 1129 0342]]

[Text] China is among the few countries in the world with a fairly comprehensive assortment of mineral ores. Geological prospecting in the past 30 years has produced certain achievements, and by now we have 132 different types of known deposits. Our proved deposits of iron, coal, phosphate, copper, aluminum, lead, zinc, wolfram, tin, molybdenum and antimony ores rank first in the world, and they basically guaranteed the supplies for our several five-year plans in the past. However, because of the prolonged interference and disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and certain defects and mistakes in our work, geological work still remains one of our weak links and cannot meet the requirements of a high-speed national economic development. In order that geological work can be ahead of construction in speeding up the four modernizations, we must conscientiously sum up experiences, deepen our knowledge of the objective laws of geological work, and endeavor to improve our geological work and prospecting in order to provide more mineral resources for the socialist modernization.

Need and Possibility

Socialist modernization requires many mineral resources and geological products which geological work should supply. From the standpoint of construction requirements, we naturally hope to be able to find rich and easily smelted ore deposits close to the surface of the earth and within easy reach through communication lines. Most of all, we hope to find a fairly complete assortment so that the resources can all be assembled at the same spot. Geological workers should undoubtedly make every effort to meet state requirements to the maximum extent. However, such questions as where the ore deposits are located, what kind of ore deposits they are, how deep they are and of what grade they are are governed by numerous geological conditions which are independent of the will of men. People can only try to understand them, adapt themselves to these conditions and give full play to subjective initiative within the limits

prescribed by the same conditions in order to locate and verify the deposits and meet the requirements of modernization. As Comrade Chen Yun pointed out 20 years ago: "The means of providing resources required for developing industry cannot be created at will, even though people understand their characteristics, their uses and the process of their formation. For example, if there is no copper mine in a certain place, nobody can possibly create one there." Therefore, if we one-sidedly stress the need without considering the possibility as permitted by geological conditions and insist on meeting the need, we will certainly be punished by objective geological laws.

We have done many foolish things and learned many lessons in this respect. In 1958, during the mass steel-smelting campaign, some people had to abandon the locations with favorable mining conditions and look for iron and coal everywhere, hoping to find everything they needed in a complete package and in the immediate vicinity. In 1970, because of the interference from the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there was the absurd demand for "changing the situation of uneven geographic distribution of mineral deposits." For a fairly long time the disposition of geological forces went directly against objective geological laws, and concentrated efforts were made to prospect without any geological data and to locate ore deposits through subjective will alone. In some cases, work was continued fruitlessly year after year, involving heavy investments and causing great losses to the state. Sometimes construction was undertaken with no assurance of the availability of the required resources. For instance, a factory was built before any attempt was made to locate ore deposits. So it was the factory that led to the attempt to look for ore deposits. Some people even proposed that geological workers direct their efforts "toward the cities" and insisted that the geological teams drill for oil right in front of the plants or to look for salt nearby, and any dissenting voice was ruthlessly criticized. As a result, the production of some traditionally rich mines with known deposits registered a sharp drop, while the average annual amount of verified deposits was even lower than the average amount of extracted ores in the same years. There were also some mines where the deposits remained unverified for several years.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the discussions on the criterion of truth in the light of realities on the geological front, many localities have changed their methods and proceeded from the actual geological conditions. They have also achieved considerable success in a relatively brief period by resolutely readjusting certain key issues in geological prospecting. Experiences, both positive and negative, have convinced us that, since socialist modernization should proceed in a planned and proportionate way, geological work should likewise follow objective rules in developing subjective initiative, so that we can explore ore deposits in a planned way and with a definite purpose. We must never follow the practice that we did in old China, when anything discovered, and in any amount, was considered a fulfillment of duty.

If we fail to change this practice, the supply of materials for state construction cannot be guaranteed, and geological work will lose the motive force for its own development. At the same time we must respect objective laws on the geographical distribution of mineral resources, and the planning and arrangements for geological work should be governed by objective geological conditions. There must be a unity of need and possibility. Basically, there should be no conflict between respect for objective geological conditions and catering to the needs of construction in an economically rational way. We must proceed from objective realities concerning the distribution of mineral resources before we can discover ore deposits, and good deposits, so that by the time they are required for state construction we will have a safety margin based on the principle of economic rationality. In order that the planning and disposition of forces for geological work conforms to reality, it is necessary to strengthen investigations on the main geological conditions and the study of basic geological theories, so that the people can be well acquainted with the laws of mineralization and the long-range development of mineral resources. In organizing the operational structures and the disposition of personnel, consideration should be given to the objective realities of the geological units or the mineral belts and mineral areas. Neither the mineral belt nor the mineral areas are governed by administrative zones, since ore deposits usually are not determined in or required by one province alone. Therefore, we should take the whole country into account and carry out our work in a way suitable to local conditions and free from any obstacles caused by the disregard of national interests and ignorance of the characteristics of mineral resources. Then we can ascertain the location of ore deposits urgently needed for construction.

"Pure Mine" and "Mixed Mine"

People usually call mines of a single type of ore "pure mines" and those with many associated elements "mixed mines." From the standpoint of construction and utilization, "pure mines" are of good utilization and can be quickly exploited. Therefore, all people like "pure mines" and dislike "mixed mines." However, mineral ores are the accumulated forms of mineral substances, and the composition, accumulation, movement and concentration of mineral substances are controlled by various geological conditions. There are many "mixed mines" in nature, because the frequent geological movements have led to the accumulation of various mineral substances. Therefore, a mineral bed usually has many useful elements, and there is no such thing as an absolutely "pure mine." When we look for the main ore deposits we should also make a comprehensive study of the associated ores. Similarly, in evaluating a mineral bed we should also note the associated ores, including the conditions and laws of their accumulation, the available amounts, the grades and the special processing required. This thoroughgoing way of prospecting will obviate the need for repetition.

Comprehensive prospecting is an objective requirement for the development of geological work. However, it takes time to learn it. In the 1950's we concentrated our efforts on items urgently needed for state construction, such as iron, coal, copper, aluminum, manganese, lead and zinc in the known areas. Because of the level of our geological technology and people's limited knowledge at that time, most of the jobs were done by special geological teams, each looking for one specific ore. In the 1960's, when mineral deposits were discovered in more places, a series of new problems came to light in the course of exploitation and utilization. For example, because of the lack of thoroughness in checking up on the associated elements and the unsolved technical problems of separation and recovery, the utilization of the deposits was adversely affected. In some cases the discovery of some other ores spoiled the entire original plan, and prospecting had to be carried out once again. In prospecting at the Baiyun Ebo [4101 0061 6759 0590] Iron Mine in Inner Mongolia, the associated elements were not thoroughly evaluated, thus directly affecting the construction of the Baotou Iron and Steel Plant. Furthermore, a large quantity of rare metals was not separated and recovered. One year the exported pig iron carried with it a large amount of niobium, and evaluation of the ore deposits had to be carried out once again. After another 3 years' work it was determined that there were many associated ores in the same mine, including niobium and scores of other rare metals and rare earth elements. Thus the export of wolfram ores from a mine in Jiangxi in effect meant giving away a medium-sized tellurium mine. Because of the stress on specialization and division of work, those looking for coal did not care about iron, and those looking for iron did not care about copper, lead or zinc. There were many such cases. In the early 1960's a timely decision was made regarding comprehensive prospecting and comprehensive evaluation, and it produced outstanding results. However, because of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," this policy was overemphasized, and the one-sided stress on comprehensiveness led to the neglect of specialization, regardless of the concrete conditions. Many geological cadres had to look for ores with which they were not familiar, and this seriously affected the results of exploration and hampered the progress of prospecting.

The "mixed mines" given us by Mother Nature can all be identified and utilized. The key to this success is a higher scientific and technological level, better knowledge, and greater skill in the comprehensive utilization of mineral resources and in separating and recovering the many different elements. Thus, one mineral bed can become many beds, and we can not only fully utilize natural resources but also avoid environmental pollution. The Baiyun Ebo and the Panzhihua [2372 2655 5363] iron mines are well known for being "mixed," and after the technical problems in separating the relevant elements were solved through the efforts of various quarters they have become highly precious to the four modernizations.

Experience has taught us that we must, according to geological laws, start with a specific mineral bed in a special area and, after locating the ore deposits we have in mind, proceed to find other ores. Also, after conducting a comprehensive survey and verifying the deposits, we can carry out a comprehensive exploration and evaluation. This will provide the conditions for a comprehensive exploitation and utilization of the mineral resources and for bringing about the unity of specialization and comprehensiveness. We must understand the conditions of the main deposits before we can, on the basis of their evaluation, explore further for the other potential deposits, fully utilize the resources and effectively set up the construction sites.

Means and End

The purpose of geological work is to determine the geological conditions and the mineral resources in order to meet the requirements of social economic construction and national defense construction. Geophysical exploration, geochemical exploration, drilling exploration, tunneling exploration, remote sensing analysis and other techniques for comprehensive investigation are all means to an end--to obtain complete and accurate geological data.

"If a carpenter wants to do a good job, he must first sharpen his tools." Without the necessary engineering and technical means, therefore, it will be impossible to attain the end of geological survey and mine exploration. In a certain sense, means have a decisive impact on the end. Therefore, in geological work we must organize management well and coordinate the various engineering and technical means in the most efficient manner. At the same time we must also promote new technology and new methods. Yet all these engineering and technical means are themselves not the end, because they only serve geological investigation and the exploration of ore deposits as the end. If there is no end to be served, then the means are meaningless. Our work in exploration for a long time has been cut off from geological investigation because of the one-sided stress on the footage of tunneling and drilling. This was because of the confusion of means and end and resulted in terrible waste. Although propaganda and education have time and again been stepped up to provide an accurate understanding and handling of the relationship between means and end on the part of the leading cadres in an attempt to end this situation, no result is yet in sight. After many years we have gradually learned that this, instead of a simple question of knowledge, has been the outcome of a defective system of management and evaluation in geological work. For example, to examine the result of geological work we should base our judgment mainly on whether it can complete the assigned task of geological investigation and whether exploitable ore deposits have been confirmed. Accomplishing this task, which is the goal or the end, with less footage of tunneling should be a sign of greater efficiency. However, the ultimate result of geological work cannot be shown until after the completion of the entire work process, and so far no

scientific method has been discovered for controlling and examining the progress of this work. On the other hand, the quality and quantity of work in drilling exploration and other engineering and technical means can be reflected concretely every day. In the past, therefore, we were only too prone to use the footage of drilling as a criterion of geological work control. A unit having fulfilled or overfulfilled the footage quota was supposed to have fulfilled or overfulfilled its production plan; and if the assigned task of geological investigation was completed with less drilling footage, the saving was not considered, and instead of receiving any commendation, the unit might be even judged as having failed to complete the plan. That was an important reason why some units one-sidedly stressed drilling, as though their achievements were measured in terms of drilling footage.

The key to changing this irrational system of control and examination lies in the adaptation of management methods to the special nature and characteristics of geological work. The ultimate result of geological work is the main concern of planned control and examination. Therefore, it would be meaningful to examine the various means used only when they could be instrumental in attaining the end. Thus, the first step to be taken should be a revision of the present all-purpose geological teams according to the principle of specialization and division of work, so that geological investigation and ore deposit exploration are clearly separated. In other words, the geological teams should be organized, according to the conditions of geological resources, to undertake investigation of geological and mineral resources and to report to the state on various geological conditions. Control and examination of this work should be carried out in a scientific way. On the other hand, ore deposit exploration teams should acquire the character of enterprises for undertaking drilling exploration, tunneling exploration and other construction jobs according to designs supplied by the geological investigation teams. The exploration teams should have independent cost accounting, with responsibility for their own profits and losses. The decisionmaking power of both the geological teams and the exploration teams should be gradually expanded, and after completing state plans or tasks the teams should be free to accept contracts from plants, mines, enterprises and the countryside for geological investigation or drilling exploration to increase their own revenues. At the same time, special companies should be formed to supply materials, geological machinery and instruments and to provide other services that support the work of geological investigation and ore deposit exploration. Stable cooperative relations should be established among the various units in the form of contracts which clearly specify the economic and technical responsibilities to be undertaken. Any party failing to meet the contractual obligations should be held responsible for the economic losses, while violation of contracts should be subject to economic punishment.

Speed and Procedure

Geological work should be divided into different stages and proceed according to certain procedures which reflect the laws of geological work. Generally speaking, geological work is divided into the stages of geological investigation, general survey and prospecting. These stages reflect the depth of people's knowledge of the geological conditions and the mineral resources in certain areas and their different duties in conducting different investigations. Geological investigation refers to the study of rocks, earth layers, composition of mineral substances and geological structures, all concerning the basic geological conditions in large areas. It also brings to light the origin, development or evolution of these conditions and attempts to discover the most favorable conditions for mineralization, so as to guide the general survey and supply the basic geological data to the relevant departments of the national economy. A general survey means the use of comprehensive methods of investigating the promising mineralization areas to provide a preliminary identification of the forms of ore deposits, their approximate sizes and the grade of the ores, as well as the prospect of their utilization and processing. Based on the result of the general survey, the best location is then chosen, and the most effective means will be employed to further clarify the geological conditions and to ascertain the laws of the distribution of mineral resources, their quantities and their grades, as well as the technical conditions for processing. Then an economic-technical evaluation is worked out on the amount of reserve and other geological data for designing. All this belongs to the prospecting stage. The work in each stage can be speeded up, but the stages must be clearly separated, and the work involved in each stage cannot be reduced or skipped.

In all work stages the order of designing first and work later must be followed. Design is the "program of action" for each stage, and its purpose is to choose suitable methods and means, to specify a rational engineering plan, and to help obtain geological results in the most economical and effective way. Without a design there will be no basis and no goal for the work, and acting blindly can only result in waste. The work should also follow the proper order. Generally the work sites should be few and widely scattered at first and later more thickly spread out. The order of work progress should be from the shallow to the deep layers, from nearby to faraway places, and from the known to the unknown sites. In other words, in a general survey and in prospecting we should first clear the ground surface and then obtain data from the surface or the shallow layers of earth. This is followed by the drilling of some shallow wells or holes for the purpose of collecting more detailed information. The wells or holes will then become progressively deeper, and the areas of drilling will continue to expand. People will thus gradually learn about the ore deposits in depth and in breadth. In the past, because of the interference and sabotage from the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the principles reflecting the

laws of geological work in different stages and the order of work progress were all discarded as "old conventions" and "foreign dogmas." There were then no different stages, and the order of work progress was sometimes reversed. In some cases "heavy forces" were concentrated for large-scale prospecting without a general survey. Instead of starting by drilling sparsely to collect diversified data, they concentrated all the drilling in one place. As a result, there were very few proved deposits, despite the expenditure of years and tens of millions of yuan. In other cases sustained efforts were concentrated in one place without any prior investigation of the geological conditions of the area. Thus, no evaluation was possible for a long time. In still other cases people were "flying all over the sky" in conducting a general survey, but no effort was made to investigate the basic geological conditions. Even several years later they had still failed to discover a real reserve base for prospecting. Instances of violations of the work progress order, starting work before designing or starting work without designing at all were even more numerous. Practice has proved that haste usually means less speed if the proper order and the laws of geological work are not followed. We must follow the proper order and the laws of geological work, give play to subjective initiative in the correct way and build a firm foundation before we can achieve better results at greater speed.

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REREADING 'THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'--COMMEMORATING
THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 22-27

[Article by Luo Gengmo [7482 5087 5459]]

[Text] This year, on 22 April, will be the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin--a great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. One practical way for us to commemorate Lenin is to conscientiously study his works and carry out his thoughts in light of our present reality to achieve the socialist four modernizations and our militant task of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the national economy. I recently reread Lenin's well-known article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government." Although Lenin set forth the "immediate tasks" in light of the actual conditions less than half a year after the victory of the October Revolution, namely, in the period of postwar economic restoration and the transition from capitalism to communism, most of the basic principles and ideas Lenin advanced to deal with the problems are suitable to the whole socialist period and are of profound guiding significance to our present economic reform and readjustment. I would like to express my views on the following three problems:

I. The New Situation of the Russian Revolution in Early 1918 and the
Expeditious Shift of the Central Tasks

During the period after the victory of the October Revolution until March 1918 the revolutionary situation in Russia changed. First, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed, and the Russian soviet republic achieved peace, although it was an unstable peace based on onerous terms. Second, the task of suppressing the resistance of oppressors at home after the seizure of power was accomplished for the most part, although it was not yet completely concluded. Under these circumstances, the central tasks of the revolution began shifting as the situation changed. In other words, the main (central) tasks of the revolution began shifting from seizing power, confiscating the property of the landlords and the business capital of the capitalists and suppressing their resistance to "organizing the administration of Russia." Lenin sometimes called these

new central tasks the tasks of administration or the tasks of organization and used these names alternately. One point was certain, and that was that the specific features of these tasks were to do a good job of transforming, administering and organizing Russia, which had been won from the rich for the poor, in accordance with the socialist principle. Their main and specific contents consisted of healing the serious wounds in all the social structures in Russia brought about by the war (including speculation and restoration attempts by exploiters); "restoring the productive forces destroyed by the war and the mismanagement of the bourgeoisie"; "reviving the country's economy"; "establishing the strictest system of state accounting and control of production for producing and distributing goods"; "carrying out planned production and distribution of the goods required for the livelihood of tens of millions of people"; "raising labor productivity" and strengthening labor discipline, "organizing competition," setting up "harmonious organizations," giving full play to the power of soviet dictatorship according to the principle of democratic centralism, fighting against the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucratism as well as combating violations of law and discipline. Lenin pointed out: "At the present time the soviet system can secure Russia's transition to socialism only if these very elementary and most elementary problems of maintaining public life are solved practically in spite of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the right Socialist Revolutionaries."

Lenin stressed that "organizing the administration of Russia" had become the main and central task. Of course, this did not mean that after March 1918 the Soviet Government was no longer confronted with the tasks of safeguarding itself against another imperialist invasion and suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie at home. The only difference was that these (central) tasks were not as important as they had been before. Lenin explicitly explained the matter in his analysis of the situation. Later, in less than 3 months, the order of priority of these tasks was reversed due to another armed intervention by the imperialists. The young Soviet Government was forced to adopt the policy of wartime communism. In the spring of 1921 the foreign armed intervention was crushed, and Lenin immediately led the whole party and state to pursue the New Economic Policy and to revive the plans worked out by the Soviet Communist Party in March 1918.

It was obvious that once the proletariat had succeeded in seizing power and basically suppressing the resistance of the landlords and bourgeoisie, and once there was peace and a breathing spell, Lenin lost no time in seizing the opportunity to shift the focus of revolution to socialist economic reform and construction. As mentioned above, although these new plans were later sabotaged by the armed intervention of the imperialists, once the armed intervention was crushed, Lenin again shifted the work focus of the party and state to the tasks of socialist economic reform and construction in 1921. How firmly Lenin grasped the second task of the proletarian revolution--economic construction!

We still remember that after the victorious end of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea the party Central Committee deliberated and put forward the general line for the transition period and expeditiously shifted the focus of revolution to economic construction. All this was in accordance with the situation of the revolution and the desires of the masses. We therefore won a great victory. In 1958 the general line for socialist construction was further set forth in accordance with the basic spirit of the eighth party congress, which reflected the earnest desire of the people throughout the country to go in for economic construction. However, due to our lack of experience and the influence of the work style characterized by exaggeration, we made such mistakes as forcing up targets, making excessive grain requisitions, issuing confused orders, practicing "equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources," attempting a "premature transition to communism," and so forth. As a result, our socialist construction was severely harmed. In fully 10 years, from 1966 to 1976, we not only let slip from 1964 to 1965 the good opportunity for economic recovery as a result of the 3-year readjustment and neglect of socialist productive construction, but also suffered from the extensive sabotage of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At that time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" charged that anyone who attached importance to productive construction was guilty of propagating the "theory that only productive forces should be taken into account" and being a "revisionist." This was gross nonsense and completely violated Leninism. We should never forget such a profound lesson. We should no longer follow the wrong track. Instead, we should strive for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, because the four modernizations are the biggest politics of the whole party and nation.

II. Lenin's Ideals on "Nationwide Accounting and Control" and "Unified Economic Planning"

In his "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" Lenin pointed out that the establishment of the Soviet state only solved "a small part of the difficult problems of the socialist revolution. The principal difficulty lies in the economic sphere, namely, the introduction of the strictest and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising labor productivity and socializing production in actual practice." He added: "We should set up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of goods required for the livelihood of tens of millions of people." Although these two principles were not entirely the same, they were closely related.

Lenin's "nationwide accounting and control" was sometimes translated as "nationwide statistics and control." Of course, they mean the same. We should not think that this involved only Soviet accountants and statisticians. It should be pointed out that the work of "nationwide accounting and control" can only be done well through the joint efforts

of staff members of every enterprise and economic section (including party and government cadres as well as specialists whom we will mention later). The work of "nationwide accounting and control" was brought up after the victory of the October Revolution. At that time the Soviet Government adopted two policies for the capitalists: State capital (big capital) of the prerevolutionary period was to be directly expropriated and taken over by representatives sent by the Soviet Government; various industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural enterprises which had employed not less than five workers or employees or which had a turnover of not less than 10,000 rubles per annum were to have their production, raw materials, stock, business transactions, accounts and other documents placed under the control of the staff members or representatives elected by the staff members. The former owners were not allowed to conceal anything or violate the law and regulations. Lenin said: "The decisive thing is the organization of the strictest and nationwide accounting and control of production and of the distribution of goods. We have not yet introduced accounting and control in those enterprises and in those branches and fields of the economy which we have taken away from the bourgeoisie." During the period between February and March 1918 the Soviet Government succeeded in suppressing the military resistance of the capitalists, defeating the bourgeoisie (including specialists with a bourgeois world outlook) and suppressing the sabotaging resistance and obstruction of the petty bourgeoisie who had controlled the former consumers cooperatives. Under these new conditions, Lenin said: "Now the organization of accounting and control in those branches of the economy in which the capitalists have already been expropriated and in all other branches of the economy can advance to the forefront." This showed that the regulations of control by workers had to be applied to those nationalized enterprises, because at that time their business and production were actually controlled by the former administrative personnel, who had not remolded themselves well. (Soon after the liberation we actually applied the above-mentioned methods of control to the former enterprises of bureaucratic capital which we had taken over from the Kuomintang.) It was apparent that the task of organizing "nationwide accounting and control" meant that, under the leadership of the Soviet Government and with the participation of trade unions, all the staff members had to be aroused to charge the former owners (including former administrative personnel of the expropriated enterprises) with the work of submitting statistical reports on the actual conditions of production, distribution, business transactions, stocks, and so forth. The former owners and administrative personnel had to be controlled, so that they would run the business in accordance with law and in order to avoid sabotaging resistance, waste, corruption, secret transfers of goods and embezzlement of property.

However, as Lenin stated, the work of organizing "nationwide accounting and control" needed the "art of administration," which was more complicated and difficult than the "art of expropriation," because it could only be acquired through study. Although those bourgeois specialists who

had served the capitalists had acquired profound experiences and knowledge in this respect, they generally bore a grudge against and adopted an attitude of going slow and resisting the Soviet system. To truly introduce nationwide accounting and control over the production and distribution of products, the Soviet Government followed two compromise policies in accordance with Lenin's instructions: First, the Soviet Government paid a very high price to employ bourgeois specialists and arouse their enthusiasm. At the same time it encouraged the broad masses of staff members to learn from them the skill of accounting and control, because at that time the masses in Russia were culturally backward. "The transition to socialism will be impossible without the guidance of specialists in the various fields of knowledge, technology and experience." Second, the Soviet Government used the consumers cooperatives left over from czarist Russia and regarded them as transitional economic organizations for further dealing with the distribution of and transactions in products in a planned way, and he delayed turning them into "communes of producers and consumers."

To introduce nationwide accounting and control over the production and distribution of products was a complicated struggle. This task could be accomplished only through protracted and practical efforts. Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie, especially the numerous petty and peasant bourgeoisie, is putting up the most serious fight, disrupting the control that is already being organized, disrupting the grain monopoly, for example, and winning positions for profiteering and speculative trade. We have far from adequately carried out the things we have decreed." In the meantime, while dwelling on the "significance of the struggle for nationwide accounting and control," Lenin again stressed: "Until workers' control has become a fact, until the advanced workers have organized and carried out a victorious and ruthless crusade against the violators of this control, or against those who are careless in matters of control, it will be impossible to pass from the first step (from workers' control) to the second step toward socialism, namely, to pass on to workers' regulation of production." Lenin's main viewpoint has not been fully elaborated, and I wish to make the following three explanations:

1. In view of Russia's then internal and external economic relations and the actual conditions of class struggle there, capitalists of those small and medium industrial and commercial enterprises which had not been immediately expropriated could not be made to accept socialist transformation through joint state-private operation as China's national capitalists had done. Therefore, in accordance with the policy at that time, the capital of small and medium industrial and commercial enterprises was not expropriated at once in order to differentiate it from big capital. In the meantime, in accordance with the "Draft Regulations on Workers' Control" (see preceding passages), this type of capital was controlled. In other words, the capitalists' ownership and rights of production, marketing and management were actually "frozen" or "semi-expropriated." Therefore, Lenin called "workers' control" the "first

step toward socialism," namely, a half transition from capitalism to socialism.

2. Once various management tasks stipulated in the "Draft Regulations on Workers' Control" had been truly accomplished, the working class, through the state organization representing it (the Soviet Government), was not only the organizer of the "nationwide accounting and control" over the industry and commerce of medium and small capital, but also became a direct regulator, namely, the determiner of their production (their distribution and exchange were, of course, included). Under these conditions, small and medium industry and commerce could be brought into line with the state plans. Lenin's idea on the "second step toward socialism"--"workers' regulation of production"--referred to the above-quoted conditions. At such a stage, capitalism passes on to (enter into) socialism.

Although the above-mentioned two stages are closely related, they are not entirely the same.

3. Lenin maintained that the development of a socialist economy and the establishment of a planned economy went through a process from a quantitative change to a qualitative change, namely, from a partial change to an overall change, and that we should make an accurate and dialectical analysis of it. While pursuing the principle of a socialist planned economy and working out economic plans, we should bear in mind the spirit of Lenin's methodology. With regard to the process of economic development (various links in the chain of production, distribution and exchange) which could or possibly could be brought into line with the state plan, the formulation of long-term and short-term plans which would positively reflect such a process, the attainment of a degree of socialization of production and the compilation of data in the plans, Lenin always dealt with them in a dialectical and proper way in the light of actual conditions. He strictly aimed for the targets that could be accomplished and never allowed any propensity to boasting and exaggeration. When the prevailing conditions were not favorable or suitable for planned production, he adopted a down-to-earth manner and never made excessive demands which were divorced from reality. He held that if we failed to do this the superiority of the socialist planned economy would be hampered and could not be brought into full play.

I would like to cite another example by way of explanation. In his article "On the Unified Economic Plan" published in 1921, Lenin praised those practical and honest specialists who had worked out the 10-year electrification plan for their "accurate calculation of all basic problems." He pointed out: "The calculations for various economic departments are contained in the plan. Let me cite a very small example: There is a calculation for the output of leather production, including the calculation for two pairs of leather shoes for every person (300 million pairs), and so forth. In a word, we can find in the plan a

balance sheet of the materials and goods for the electrification project and the financial balance sheet for the project (based on gold rubles)... Lenin never allowed plans to be formulated without leaving "some substantial margin" or "leeway" and never regarded such plans as positive ones. In the meantime, he commented on the electrification plan in a practical way: "It is apparently a rough, preliminary and makeshift plan containing some errors. Although it is only a 'rough plan,' it is genuinely scientific." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 470) Lenin also brought up the way to deal with the approval authority of the upper levels, saying: If we correctly understand this authority, we will understand the real meaning of the word "approval"—placing orders for goods, issuing some orders, deciding what construction should be undertaken, what materials should be collected and where they should be shipped, and so forth. Lenin never saw the work of authorization as marking words and phrases with dots or small circles. He pointed out from the opposite side that authorization was not tantamount to adhering to the stubborn views of the big bureaucrats or tolerating their dilatory work style and that "practical work should not be buried by a bureaucratic manner." (Ibid., p 473)

The specific objects and relations to which Lenin's principle of "nationwide accounting and control" applied no longer exist in our country. However, we should point out that such a principle (accounting and control from the bottom to the top by the broad masses of people and staff members) should still be used and implemented in the economy of our present state-run industry, commerce and people's communes and in the production, distribution and exchange of recently emerging collectively owned service trades in towns and cities in light of the new conditions and new relations in our country. In this respect, new rules and regulations should be enacted, because within our socialist economy there are grafters, embezzlers and speculators. Such abominable conduct as practicing fraud, seeking private gain and privileges, loving ease and hating hard work, and so forth still exist. They should be checked, exposed, criticized and struggled against. If we fail to implement the principle of "nationwide accounting and control," it will be difficult to maintain socialist economic order.

As I mentioned above, organizing nationwide accounting and control does not simply mean accounting and compiling statistics. However, it does not mean that doing the work of accounting and compiling statistics well is not one of the most important conditions for thoroughly implementing the principle of exercising control. We lack a complete and highly effective accounting system in our industrial and commercial enterprises. We have not yet done sufficient and expeditious work of compiling accounting and statistical reports. As a result, while working out plans we frequently lack systematic data that can be used as the basis for our plans. We have not paid sufficient attention to this work and have not overcome the influence of the small-scale peasant economy. If we fail to understand the socialist economy of socialized big production and fail

to pay more attention to establishing an extensive and comprehensive network of data collection, we will be more "blind men" than the capitalists (because a spontaneous market is a "barometer" of a capitalist society). Therefore, the problem of improving and strengthening accounting and statistical work and training cadres in this area should be regarded as a matter which has a direct bearing on the success or failure of our four modernizations. This is not an excessive demand. Lenin's ideas on the electrification plan and his practical and scientific spirit in dealing with economic construction are naturally still a direct guiding line in our country for formulating long-term and short-term plans and readjusting and reforming our national economy. The problem lies in the way to interpret Lenin's ideas in our specific action.

III. We Should Strictly Readjust Organization, Heighten Discipline and Resolutely Fight Against Various Sabotage Activities

In his "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" Lenin explicitly stressed that the following tasks set by the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets were the most "important and urgent": "Strengthening the discipline and self-discipline of laborers; setting up powerful and harmonious organizations in various places to handle the production and distribution of all products; and waging a ruthless struggle against chaos, disorganization and sabotage activities." ("The Fourth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 183) Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element is fighting against the Soviet system in two ways: On the one hand it is operating from without with the methods of the Savinkovs...by conspiracies and rebellions...; on the other hand, this element operates from within and takes advantage of every manifestation of disintegration and every weakness in order to bribe and increase the lack of discipline, laxity and chaos"; "the nearer the proletariat approaches the complete military suppression of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous does the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy become." In other words, under the conditions that the young Soviet Government had achieved temporary peace and suppressed "in the main" the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie at home in March 1918, strictly readjusting organizations and heightening discipline to eradicate the danger from within, namely, putting down outrages of every kind committed by "bad elements" who "had revealed themselves," became the "most important and urgent" tasks. In the meantime, while carrying out a new struggle to shift its central task to administering Russia, the young Soviet Government, as Lenin stated, was confronted with the following contradictory conditions. "Our government is excessively mild; very often it resembles jelly more than iron." Therefore, the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets issued the above-mentioned resolutions and call to all workers, soldiers, peasants, laborers and the oppressed masses.

We should realize that the tasks set forth by Lenin to strictly readjust Soviet organizations at all levels, strengthen discipline and combat disorganization as well as violations of law and discipline are still comprehensively applicable to present-day China 3 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," even though our present specific conditions are slightly different from those of the past. The harm which resulted from the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution was as bad as that caused by a civil war. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought our national economy to the brink of bankruptcy, confused people's minds, corrupted our social order and the general mood of our society and extensively undermined the fine revolutionary tradition of our party. Although we have scored great success in bringing order out of chaos and healing our wounds over the past 3 years, the remaining forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still exist in our organizations and minds. Although these people are few in number, they have an enormous capacity for maneuver. We should never underestimate them. In some areas and departments, bourgeois factionalism is still exercising its influence, and work discipline and labor regulations are becoming lax. A number of young people in society who were strongly influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have committed serious crimes. All these facts prove the seriousness of the harm caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." To solve these problems we should rely mainly on developing the economy and strengthening education. In the meantime we should use an iron hand to enforce proletarian discipline upon those saboteurs. We should no longer resemble "jelly."

In his "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" Lenin said: "As the fundamental task of the government becomes, not military suppression, but administration, the typical manifestation of suppression and compulsion will be, not shooting on the spot, but trial by the court." He emphasized the role of the rule of law. After the liberation, in light of the experience of the people's courts in the old liberated area, we carried out the work of "judicial and public security" to maintain social order and promote socialist construction. However, our socialist democracy and legal system were not yet complete. During the period from 1966 to 1976, due to the fascist sabotage activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts were completely paralyzed. Since the 3d plenum of the 11th party Central Committee we have strengthened the work in this respect. We enacted and officially promulgated the first statute book of new China on the basis of democratic discussion. Our task in the future is to arouse the masses and to promote cooperation between professional personnel and the masses in intensively investigating and verifying cases. On this basis we will be able to handle and decide cases accurately and reasonably. Hence the role of dictatorship and education will be truly brought into full play.

Lenin discussed many subjects in his "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government." Dealing with the administration of Russia, Lenin raised the

question of how to use the Taylor system and piece rate wages according to socialist methods to raise labor productivity. He organized socialist economic competition and suggested that the press use "honor rolls" to commend and popularize good administrative methods and achievements and use "dishonor rolls" to unmask and condemn those who persisted in anarchy, disorder, laziness and profiteering. Lenin also explained the way to handle well the relations between the strong and unified leadership and the flexibility and initiative at the lower and higher levels. All these are also problems that should be solved in China today. Not all of Lenin's ideas are included in this article. However, one point should be mentioned. From time to time Lenin stressed the staunch leading role of the proletarian vanguard (the Bolsheviks), that insured the successful accomplishment of various tasks of the Soviet Government. This, of course, is the most basic principle. We must follow such a principle in order to achieve the magnificent goals of the four modernizations and carry out well the work of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the national economy. The fifth plenum of the party Central Committee recently adopted an extremely important historical document entitled "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." Its promulgation and implementation will undoubtedly play an important role in upholding and improving party leadership, strengthening the party's flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and raising the fighting power of the party in carrying out the four modernizations. Now people of various nationalities throughout the country and patriotic Overseas Chinese heartily support us and earnestly hope that the whole party will unite as one to carry out a profound education in the party's work style and discipline and restore and bring forward our party's revolutionary tradition, which was severely damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that our party will become a locomotive on the new Long March of the four modernizations. To commemorate the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, our great revolutionary teacher, we should highly treasure the people's earnest hope for our party!

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IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSTANTLY MAINTAIN A NATIONAL ECONOMIC BALANCE

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["Economic Forum" column by Liang Wensen [2733 2429 2773]]

[Text] Like all other things, the imbalance in socialist economic development is absolute, while the balance is relative. Precisely because of this, we have to be careful to constantly maintain a balance in our national economy. Lenin said: "Constant and consciously preserved balance actually means planning." ("Noncritical Criticism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 566) For many years there has been a one-sided understanding of this question and the mistaken idea that, since imbalance is absolute, there seems to be no need to try to constantly maintain a balance. Such an idea will bring the utmost harm in actual work. From our experiences in the national economic construction we can see that whenever a relatively stable and constant balance is maintained in the national economy and there is a fairly harmonious proportion, social production will be accelerated and people's livelihood will continue to improve. On the other hand, whenever we fail to maintain a stable and constant balance in the national economy, social production will become stagnant and may even backslide instead of developing speedily, and the people's standard of living will be lowered instead of being raised.

Then how can a constant balance in the national economy be preserved? I think it is very important to solve the following problems.

Leaving Behind Gaps or Leeway

In planning, deliberately leaving behind gaps is against the laws of national economy. We must constantly maintain a balance before we can effectively meet objective demands. For some time in the past, gaps were left in planning, and when the tasks of capital construction and production were handed down to the lower levels, there was usually some shortage of materials and equipment. This method of planning forced people to find their own supply of materials, even though they were objectively unable to do so. This practice has time and again landed us in a passive position in the fulfillment of plans.

Actually, planned requirements should be objective if they are to be met. Planning should never be carried out irresponsibly. In planning for the national economy, we must not only take into account the development of production and the improvement of people's livelihood, but also consider the objective possibility of executing the plans. One important question here is the assurance of material supplies. Plans can materialize only when there is a balanced unity of need and possibility.

If we only consider need without any assurance of materials, the planning will leave a big gap, with serious consequences in production and construction. First, there will be a semiplanned and semianarchic state. The part of the plan with a gap is actually divorced from state planning. To fill the gap, the departments concerned will be forced to obtain funds and materials by any possible means and will eventually come to clash with state planning, bring chaos to production and disturb the regular order of circulation. Secondly, it will cause great waste and seriously diminish economic results. If any gap is left, the different departments and enterprises will have to "join the scramble," and the construction projects, lacking assurance of financial and material resources, will have to be held up until they are received. They may, as an alternative, be forced to use substandard materials. Eventually the speed of construction has to be reduced.

If any gap is left in planning when materials in general are in short supply, a deficit budget may result, with currency inflation in its wake. This means the transfer of part of the people's money to the state to be used for expanding capital construction. This inevitably will affect people's consumption and undermine the proportionate relationship of the national economy. If this situation continues, there will be a shortage of market supply and a rise in prices. When money is plentiful and materials are scarce, it will be difficult to maintain a constant balance in planning or impossible to continue a high-speed, steady and proportionate increase in production.

There must be some leeway in planning before a constantly balanced development of the national economy can be preserved and before any initiative is possible. Since there are still many realms of necessity in people's objective knowledge, complete conformity with reality is hardly possible. Furthermore, in the course of production and construction, unforeseen incidents, such as natural disasters, are unavoidable. As a precaution against such incidents, some leeway, or something held in reserve, is quite necessary. The leeway generally refers to the safety margin for the rate of production in long-range plans and for financial and material resources in short-range (annual) plans. Of course, I do not mean that there should be as much leeway as possible, because this is not a good way of utilizing resources. But the method of leaving behind gaps not only fails to create the necessary conditions for avoiding imbalances but also arbitrarily expands them. Instead of preserving harmonious and steady high-speed development, it even causes

serious fluctuations, reduces the national economy to an impasse and finally calls for a major readjustment. In the past 30 years our national economy has experienced two major imbalances (or disproportionate developments). Are the lessons from these experiences not yet serious enough?

Balances on the Bases of Long and Short Lines

Long-line goods [which are in full supply] and short-line goods [which are in short supply] in varying degrees are the signs of an imbalanced economy. The prolonged existence of short-line goods in the national economy will upset the balance. To maintain a constant balance we must ascertain which type of goods are in full supply and which type in short supply and then study whether it would be better to adjust the production on the basis of the long-line or the short-line goods.

In planning, if the balance is based on long-line products and other departments have to produce at full capacity, there will be many gaps left in the planning, because the production of these goods calls for full or overextended production capacity. As a result, some construction projects cannot be commissioned on schedule, and the result of investments will be adversely affected. If we try to protect some key projects by neglecting others, it will affect the entire construction program and upset the balance between production and construction, or their internal balances. It is also impracticable to base the balance on short-line products and force other departments to produce in the same way. Since short-line products call for small, or unduly low, productive capacity, there will be too much leeway left. Many departments and enterprises can easily fulfill or overfulfill the production quotas, and huge amounts of manpower and financial and material resources will be left idle, resulting in a waste of resources. Finally the speed of social production will also be reduced. That is to say, in the working out of plans, balance based on either long- or short-line products cannot maintain the steady and proportionate development of the national economy at a sustained high speed.

Then, on what type of goods should the balance be based?

I feel that we should, if at all possible and with every possible effort, base the balance on the short-line which can be stretched, provided some effort is made. In this way the goods in full supply can meet the requirements of national economic development at its present level and also encourage the broad masses to do their best in tapping the productive potentials, so that the productive capacity required for producing short-line goods, or the goods in between long and short lines, could be raised to a higher level as required during the planned period. At the same time we can avoid dislocation among different departments when short-line products cannot catch up with the long-line ones, if the latter is used as the basis of balancing, and promote the speedy and

harmonious development of social production. The method of balancing is identical with that of balancing on the basis of average advanced quotas. It does not accommodate the backward units or skip the present stage of development. It maintains the balance without reducing the speed of development and does not one-sidedly strive for speed by upsetting the constant balance. This type of planned balance is both reliable and scientific.

It must be pointed out that long-line and short-line products are only relative. But there is a certain objective standard which is ultimately decided by the need and possibility of social reproduction, rather than by subjective imagination. In industry at present, certain steel products and machinery come under the category of long-line products, while coal, electricity, petroleum, and construction materials belong to the short-line category. Except for aluminum pans, rubber shoes, plastic combs and some textile products which belong to the long line, most of the light and textile industrial products are in short supply. During the present readjustment of the national economy we should bring about a balance by increasing some short-line products, which can be increased through some special efforts, so that the long line can be shortened (or exported) and the short lines stretched.

In planning, the problem is with the way to stretch the short lines and eliminate the weak links? I feel that the following measures can be adopted: First, to increase investments in capital construction or to expand productive capacity by technical innovation and tapping potentials, so as to greatly increase the quantity of short-line products. Second, to practice economy. For example, in the utilization of energy there is great waste in our country at present, and there are strong potentials to be tapped. While increasing the production of energy, we should also vigorously practice economy and resolutely overcome waste. Then we can alleviate the strain on the energy situation. Third, to achieve balance through international trade, when some short-line production which is restricted by the shortage of domestic resources fails to meet the demand despite all our efforts. For example, in the case of rubber, balance can be maintained through international trade. Furthermore, since short-line products have a close bearing on the success of the entire national economy, it is quite necessary to arrange our long-range and medium-range plans well in advance.

Long-Range and Short-Range Plans

Without an all-round long-range plan, it will be quite difficult to maintain a constant balance in our national economy. Therefore, in planning we must attach great importance to the study and application of forecasts. We must devote our efforts to the study of new conditions and new problems. We must plan now for what will happen 10 or more years hence. Only thus can we create favorable conditions and lay a solid foundation for future balances. Therefore, in a planned balance we must

note not only horizontal relations (between departments and regions), but also the vertical relations (between long-, medium- and short-range plans and the relations between the preceding and the following years). Long-range plans cover 10 or 20 years or more; medium-range plans generally cover 5 years, while short-range plans are for every year. Long- and short-range plans play a very important role in attaining the goals of our national economy, in making our strategic dispositions and in guaranteeing the high-speed development of our national economy in a planned and proportionate way. While working out our national economic plans we should first attend to the long-range plans well and treat them as the core of our planning. With a long-range plan we will have a clear orientation for our efforts, and it can help to mobilize millions upon millions of laboring people and arouse their enthusiasm and creativeness in striving for the great goal. At the same time, there should be a close coordination between long-range and short-range plans, because long-range plans lead short-range plans, while short-range plans guarantee the success of long-range plans.

Practice has proved that in the working out of long-range plans the coordination of long-range, medium-range and short-range plans is of great importance in maintaining a sustained balance in the national economy. With the exception of the First Five-Year Plan, which was fairly successful, for quite a long time we failed to recognize the importance of the need for a good and scientific long-range plan, with the following results: First, the plans were usually "1-year plans or planning for 1 year" which lacked long-range strategic dispositions and led to frequent changes and difficulties in maintaining a constant balance. Secondly, if we only pay attention to the short-range planned targets of a few principal means of production in a certain department, we may bring about a temporary rapid upswing in certain products. However, without an overall arrangement there will be a decline after the upswing, and the national economy will suffer. An example of this is the one-sided development of steel in the country, which lasted a long time. Thirdly, if we only pay attention to the short-range products, a disharmonious structure will be formed inside certain departments. For example, in our petroleum industry we are only concerned with the recovery of petroleum without paying attention to the prospecting and exploiting of reserve resources. In the case of the coal industry, we are only concerned with extraction and tunneling without paying attention to the increase of newly commissioned productive capacity. This situation results largely from the absence of long-range plans or the lack of harmony between long-range and short-range plans.

As we know, in increasing productive capacity there is the question of construction cycles, or the so-called investment time lag (or a lapse of time). For example, historical experience shows that the construction of a large or a medium-sized mine generally requires 5.5 or 6 years, while the construction of a large new oil base, from the beginning of prospecting to the building up an industrial reserve, generally takes 5

to 10 years. If the investment time lag required for the production of a certain department is 6 years, then investments in capital construction should have been started 6 years earlier. At the same time, the production for this type of products, and the departments responsible for investments in these production departments, should also make due allowance for their own coefficient of time lags and work out long-range, medium-range and short-range plans accordingly. Only a comprehensive and overall balance can guarantee the on-schedule commissioning of the productive capacity for these products and the smooth completion of the production plans.

Without a practical long-range plan and a clear orientation for the development of the national economy, and if our attention is focused only on the immediate future, the planning cannot be fruitful. Therefore, in accordance with the requirement of socialist modernization and on the basis of a successful readjustment of the national economy, we should start making long-range plans, look far ahead and act promptly. When we have arranged for the development of our national economy on the most favorable proportionate foundation according to the needs of society and the availability of resources, we will be able to develop social productive forces with steady and sustained high speed and also raise the people's standard of living.

9411

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EDUCATION AS AN IMPORTANT MEASURE TO SERVE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--STUDY
COMRADE LIU SHAOQI'S TALK ON THE DUAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

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[Article by Wang Yugeng [3769 0060 5087]]

[Text] Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, as well as an outstanding leader of our party and state. He always attached great importance to education and the growth of the younger generation and had many brilliant original ideas on education. In the late 1950's he strongly favored the dual system of education, based on instructions from the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. This system was an important measure for implementing the party's policy on education and for adapting education to our national economic development. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in their counterrevolutionary plot to usurp party and state leadership, were bent on political persecution of and personal attacks against Comrade Liu Shaoqi and made various trumped-up charges against the dual system of education he advocated. Consequently, serious disruption was brought to education in our country. Today, in our remembrance of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, we should restudy his talk on the dual system of education in order to improve our education as a means of serving the general task in the new period. This will help train more people of talent for accomplishing the four modernizations for the motherland.

I

The dual system of education did not come as the result of a coincidence. The general line adopted at the second plenary session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee for going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results greatly inspired people throughout the country in socialist construction. In September of that same year the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Directive on the Work of Education," clarifying the party's educational policy. It also mentioned the three different types of schools in the country: full-time schools, work-study schools and spare-time schools of various types. Guided by the party's general line and

educational policy, many localities set up agriculture-study and work-study schools, which called for only small investments but yielded good results. They were warmly welcomed by the broad masses. After 1962, when our people, under the strong leadership of the CCP, had overcome their temporary difficulties and economic construction had been readjusted, there was a need for education to train more talented people for various undertakings. However, there were some problems with the school system, which needed to be improved. This was how things stood when Comrade Liu Shaoqi inspected the work-study schools run by the Electronic Instrument Plant and the Photofilm Plant in Tianjin and delivered a series of talks. He said that our country should have a dual system of school education, including full-time and work-study or spare-time education. Full-time schools, in his opinion, should be responsible for raising the standard of education and should be run mainly by the state. However, because of the limited manpower and material and financial resources, it was impossible to accommodate all young people or children of school age in full-time schools. Therefore, only part of them could be enrolled. Schools operated under the work-study, agriculture-study or spare-time system had the responsibility of popularizing education. The students could study and work, and schools of this type, run by the factories, mines, enterprises or people's communes with the necessary assistance from the Ministry of Education, could accommodate more young people and were satisfactory to the state as well as to the masses. Later, Comrade Shaoqi spoke on this subject many times at meetings of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and in cadre meetings at the provincial and municipal levels, reiterating the great significance of the dual system of education. He also requested the necessary legislation for this system, which included a 5-year experimentation and a 10-year popularization of these schools. His proposal was approved by Comrade Mao Zedong and many other Central Committee leading comrades and was supported by the broad masses. At that time many educators were greatly impressed by Comrade Shaoqi's talks and felt that we had at last discovered a good way to run schools.

This dual system was of great significance in developing education in a greater, faster, better and more economical way and in better serving socialist construction by bringing about a combination of education and productive labor.

China is an economically and culturally backward country with a vast area and a large population. In such a country it would be difficult to popularize education through full-time schools alone. After visiting many places and listening to reports from the education departments, Comrade Shaoqi sharply pointed out that full-time schools could not serve the purpose of popularizing education, because it was in fact producing illiterates while attempting to wipe out illiteracy. He added: Despite all the efforts in education for many years, less than half of the children of school age could attend school. This situation could not be allowed to continue under a socialist system. He pointed out that it was

only legitimate for primary school graduates to hope for entering secondary schools; for secondary school graduates to hope for entering high schools; and for high school graduates to hope for entering universities. However, the burden would be too heavy for both the state and the families if all students attended full-time schools. Therefore, it was necessary to arouse mass enthusiasm in running schools and to encourage the work-study or agriculture-study program so that the students could work and study. In this way, many more people would have the opportunity of studying, and neither the state nor the families would be overburdened, while both elementary and middle schools could become more accessible.

Our Beijing Teachers Training University established a rural education research institute in 1964. Acting in accordance with the directive of the Ministry of Education at that time, this institute conducted a series of investigations on education everywhere. The result of these investigations entirely confirmed the accuracy of Comrade Shaoqi's conclusion. There were then two phenomena in the countryside: On the one hand, there was a strong mass demand for cultural emancipation, because people wanted their children to have an educational opportunity. On the other hand, full-time schools in many places could not complete their enrollment, and the dropout rate among the students was alarming. The cause of the latter phenomenon was the slow development of the rural economy and the hardship for the peasants. Even though the peasants hoped that their children could go to school, these children, at a certain age, had to share the economic responsibility of the household through some form of subsidiary labor. If only a full-time system were promoted for the middle and elementary schools, a number of children would certainly have to leave school halfway. Under such circumstances the solution was to run schools in different forms. While trying to make full-time schools a success, it was also necessary to set up a number of agriculture-study schools in the production teams or close to the families so that the commune members' sons and daughters could easily attend schools. Comrade Shaoqi's idea of the dual system was based on an objective appraisal of the situation after summing up the experiences of schools run by the masses under the "hard work and frugal study" program.

The dual system of education is advantageous in training people of talent for various undertakings. When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward in good time the general line for socialist construction and the whole set of policies of walking on two legs with the goal of building our country into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology within the shortest possible time. In order that education could serve the general line and economic construction, we had to not only teach more people to read and write but also train scientific and technical personnel for various departments of economic construction. If we only ran full-time schools and neglected technical and vocational

schools (in which the majority of students are engaged in productive labor along with their study), then education would be divorced from economic construction or fail to meet its requirements. In the early 1960's the experiment with the dual educational system took many forms and succeeded in diversifying the roles of education. A large number of backbone elements and vanguards for technical innovation were trained by combining education with productive labor in an organic form. According to statistics, of the 8,376,000 middle school students throughout the country in 1963, 90 percent were ordinary middle school students; in 1965 the number increased to 14,810,000, of which 65 percent were regular students while 35 percent were in secondary technical schools, agricultural schools, work-study schools and other vocational schools. The composition of middle school students thus underwent a radical change.

The practice of the dual system in education is of far-reaching historical significance. It helped raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation and gradually reduced the difference between mental and manual labor. As Comrade Shaoqi said, graduates from the work-study schools were a new type of people, different from workers of the past, because of their education and all-round development. They could work not only physically but also mentally. Comrade Shaoqi put forward his ideas of the dual system of education and the dual system of labor simultaneously. He held that the dual system of education was not only an important educational reform but also the forerunner of a change in the labor system. The work-study system saved social labor, strengthened technology in the factories and enterprises and helped raise labor productivity. When work-study schools were run by the factories and enterprises, a vast majority of the workers were students at these schools. After receiving cultural, educational and technical training, the young workers were able to undertake technical work in addition to ordinary labor; they were competent in both physical and mental labor. In this way the difference between manual and mental work gradually diminished, and conditions were created for the all-round development of workers.

In advocating the dual system of education, Comrade Shaoqi not only gave directions regarding general principles but also provided the specific methods required. Special organizations were formed in various localities and charged with the responsibility of popularizing the work (agriculture)-study program, and some departments under the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Learning held a series of meetings and symposiums to study the methods of popularizing this program. As a result of these discussions, it took only 2 years for the full-time schools to be further consolidated and developed and for the work (agriculture)-study schools to become widespread. Elementary education in the countryside then became very popular. Before the Great Cultural Revolution the work (agriculture)-study schools had already graduated several classes and had played a positive role in the factories' technical innovations and in the countryside's production and cultural progress.

Many of these graduates returned to the production teams to work as production team leaders, electricians, veterinary doctors, accountants, workpoint recorders, storekeepers, tractor operators, medical workers and technicians. They became a backbone force in building a new countryside.

II

Confounding right and wrong, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" arbitrarily charged that Comrade Shaoqi's "dual system of education" was a criminal act of "pushing the bourgeois double-track system of education" and "a program for capitalist restoration in education." They caused a great deal of confusion in theory and disruption of actual work, with serious consequences.

What is the "bourgeois double-track system of education" after all? The "double-track system" is a concept for comparing the functions of education and refers to the establishment of two different types of schools for the two different classes. One of them is intended for children of the aristocrats and the bourgeois magnates. Under this system the students can begin in elementary schools and continue to study until they graduate from universities. The other type is intended for children from poor working families. Under this system graduates of elementary schools can only enter vocational schools, rather than any institute of higher learning. There can be no meeting point between these two types of schools, which are likened to the two tracks of a railroad. Therefore, this system of education is called the "double-track system." It originated in the European countries, such as England, France and Germany, during the early stage of capitalism, because these countries had a caste tradition. From this we can see that the double-track system is based on class antagonism. One of the tracks was intended for training aristocrats or the bourgeoisie so that they could better exploit the workers, while the other track was for the working class or the victims of exploitation. Some bourgeois countries, such as the United States, practice the single-track system, because they do not have the caste tradition. However, their education system is still based on class antagonism, and their schools turn out two different types of people--the exploiters and the victims of exploitation. For this reason, we call this type of education "single-track in appearance but double-track in essence." Because of the vigorous development in science and technology during the past several decades, education has been gradually popularized. Furthermore, because of the constant struggle between the working class and the democracy advertised by the bourgeoisie, restrictions on enrollment based on consideration of the students' class background have been lifted, and the double-track system has gradually faded away, at least in appearance. However, as decided by the class nature of capitalist society, its schools still turn out two different types of people of opposing classes.

Our educational system is essentially different from that of the capitalist countries. Marx held that the antagonism between mental and manual labor is based on the exploitation of the manual worker by the mental worker. Since the exploiting class and the exploiting system have been abolished in our country, our dual system of education was then built on a foundation of socialist public ownership. Therefore, the people turned out by these schools, who are either workers, peasants or intellectuals, are nevertheless laborers with socialist consciousness and culture as well as masters of the country. Despite the division of work among them, they no longer belong to the exploiting or the exploited class. Our system was therefore entirely different from the double-track system, which is based on class antagonism.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" slandered Comrade Shaoqi's dual system of education as an attempt to "expand the three major differences." This fallacy can hardly stand examination. Under the present socialist system the three major differences exist objectively, although the need for their elimination was mentioned by Marx and Engels long ago. Marx held that the economic base characterized by antagonism between workers and peasants, between urban and rural areas and between manual and mental labor belonged to the capitalist system of exploitation. Along with the disappearance of capitalism and the system of exploitation and the consolidation of the socialist system, this antagonism will certainly disappear. But the elimination of these differences is another matter. Marxist classical writers have dealt with the question at great length and finally illustrated one point, namely, that these differences can be eliminated only when large-scale industrial production has been developed, labor productivity has been greatly raised and material production has been greatly increased, with the elimination of the exploiting system as a prerequisite. In his work "The Housing Question," Engels pointed out: "Just because of this industrial revolution, people's productive labor has risen to such a high level that they are able to not only carry out large-scale production to satisfy the needs of the social members' consumption and to build up a reserve, but also to enjoy sufficient leisure in order to receive something valuable from the cultural heritage of history, such as science, the arts, the forms of intercourse and so forth. Instead of merely receiving, they can even transform what was formerly exclusively owned by the dominating class into common social wealth and further develop it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 246) How can we raise labor productivity and increase material production to the maximum extent? One of the most important conditions is to popularize education, to raise the cultural and scientific levels of the whole nation, to develop science and technology, to apply advanced science and technology to production, and to organize modern large-scale industrial and agricultural production--all these as the foundation for reducing the three major differences. In advocating the dual system of education, Comrade Shaoqi was only proceeding from the concrete conditions for the development of our national economy and culture at that time in an attempt to solve the problems of popularizing education, raising the cultural and

scientific levels of the broad worker-peasant masses and increasing labor productivity. On the one hand the full-time schools had to be run well so as to guarantee the steady improvement and development of science and technology in our country, which would at the same time improve the quality of education in other types of schools. On the other hand the work (agriculture)-study schools and the various spare-time cultural and technical schools had to be vigorously developed so as to raise the cultural and scientific levels of the entire nation. This task had to be accomplished before labor productivity could be raised and before industry and agriculture in our country could catch up with the advanced world levels and provide the foundation for reducing the three major differences. If we only ran ordinary full-time schools, only a small number of people could afford to attend them, while the majority would be denied the opportunity of technical training and scientific education. Thus, labor productivity would not be raised, and the reduction of the three major differences would be out of the question. The possibility of lowering the cultural and technical levels of the mental workers, engineers and technicians to match those of ordinary workers, or the method of equalizing the cultural and technical levels of the mental and manual workers as a means of eliminating the difference between mental and physical labor, is most absurd. Instead of progress, this would mean going backward.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vilified the dual system of education as "the 'work-study' system which is divorced from revolution and politics and which one-sidedly stresses technical skill purely for economic benefits." What is proletarian politics? What is the revolutionary task for the proletariat at the present stage? Comrade Zhou Enlai said before the first plenary session of the Third National People's Congress: "We must break the conventions and adopt advanced technology to the full extent in order to build China into a powerful, modern socialist country within the not too distant future." Such is the revolutionary task for the Chinese people; such is the greatest politics at the present stage. Unless we can build China into a modern, powerful country, we cannot join the family of nations or consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. To attain this goal, Comrade Zhou Enlai continued: "We must give full play to our people's wisdom and ability and vigorously conduct scientific experiment. ...The adoption of new technology must be combined with mass technical innovation and technical revolution. We must also combine scientific research for education and production." Enforcement of the dual system of education will enable the broad worker-peasant masses to receive education in science and technology and will help launch the movement of technical revolution. It will also enable China to become a powerful, modern socialist country.

Work-study schools require little expenditure on the part of the state, the enterprises or the students, but they will enable the students not only to learn science and technology but also to create material wealth for the country. This was what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" termed

the quest "for economic gains." In our fairly poor country this method, far from being any evil, is certainly something to be encouraged as a means of bringing happiness to the people.

Displaying the banner of reducing the three major differences, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" colluded with one another in the attempt to destroy culture and to reduce the worker-peasant masses to a state of ignorance. Under the influence of their ultraleftist line, all agricultural secondary schools, work (agriculture)-study schools and intermediate technical and vocational schools were abolished. As a result, the popularization of education was undermined and the school dropout rate increased. The composition of intermediate education was also destroyed, which led to an imbalance in the educational system. The deterioration of education seriously affected the development of science and technology in China as well as the national economy.

III

Comrade Shaoqi's directives on the dual system of education are still of practical significance in educational reform today. History has now entered the 1980's, and this is the crucial period for China to accomplish the four modernizations. Science and technology are the key to the accomplishment of the four modernizations, and the training of scientific and technical talent, economic management personnel and workers who are able to master advanced techniques depends on education. In this sense, education is an indispensable foundation. Along with the development of science and technology and their application in production, the development of the national economy is increasingly relying on high labor productivity. Labor productivity is decided by many factors, but the main ones are the average skill of the workers, the development and application of science and technology and organized management in the process of production. All these factors are connected with education. We must therefore make every possible effort to advance our education in order to train talented people for the four modernizations.

To improve our work in education and make it serve our socialist construction we must decide on an educational program and educational system that are suitable to the development of our national economy according to a long-range plan based on reality. Since our country has a vast area and a huge population, economic and cultural development in different places is very uneven, and it is impractical to enforce a uniform system of education. Therefore, education must take different forms, and the dual system advocated by Comrade Shaoqi should remain in our country for a long time to come. In other words, while doing our best for full-time schools and setting up a number of key universities and key middle and elementary schools, so that people of talent can be quickly produced, we must at the same time vigorously develop technical schools, work (agriculture)-study schools and correspondence, television and broadcasting spare-time schools in order to develop our education with greater,

faster, better and more economical results. At present we must be particularly careful in reforming the composition of intermediate education, reactivate the various types of special technical schools, develop agricultural middle schools and popularize elementary education in the countryside in order to train more laborers with socialist consciousness, scientific and cultural knowledge and production skills for the various fronts in socialist construction.

To improve our education we have to make full use of the resources of the whole party and arouse the enthusiasm of all trades and professions. To reform the composition of intermediate education it will not suffice for us to merely rely on the initiative of the educational departments. We must therefore also arouse the enthusiasm of the factories, mines, enterprises and people's communes in running schools. Every production unit should have two tasks and two different products in mind. In other words, after fulfilling their production task, they still have to fulfill their educational task, or to produce both products and talented people.

Comrade Shaoqi left us more than 10 years ago. His contributions to the party and the revolutionary cause are everlasting. A restudy of his instructions today should give us full confidence in the accomplishment of the four modernizations.

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STUDY THE CEREBRUM, RAISE THE NATION'S INTELLECTUAL POWER

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[Article by Zhang Xiangtong [1728 7449 2717]]

[Text] The cerebrum is the material basis for all intellectual behavior. Man must have a healthy, developed cerebrum in order to adapt to the changes in the natural environment and social environment and thereby react relevantly to such changes so as to create his own civilization. Without the cerebrum it is impossible for man to have a civilization to begin with. The prosperity or decline, rise or fall, of a state or a nation is closely related to the brain power of its people; this is an incontestable fact. At present the development of such sciences as physics, chemistry, and engineering has already reached a very high level; we must try to further uplift man's sensual and mental capabilities so that these sciences can develop further and also serve the people further.

During the past 10-odd years, along with the appearance of new techniques and the needs of practical life, the study of the nervous system has scored advancement in great strides. It has become one of the issues which gained great attention in scientific circles, and it was also one of the subjects of study which developed the fastest during the last 10 years. The main purpose in studying the brain is to enhance our knowledge of the structure and function of the central nervous system and thereby provide the theoretical basis for us to elevate the effectiveness of the nervous system and to preclude and cure diseases of the nervous system. The ultimate purpose of the study is to solve the question concerning the cerebrum's process of growing, aging, decaying and dying, to ascertain the possibility of changing this process and to find out how to control this process. The process of the cerebrum's growing, aging, decaying and dying is not only a scientific question but also a practical question which concerns everyone, because inevitably we must all pass through this process, and each stage of this process is also bound to have its social significance.

Let us first discuss "growth." Is the brain everyone has at birth the same as everyone else's? What factors would affect its normal growth?

What measures should we adopt in order to assure that all sons and daughters of China have a good brain? This is a question that concerns all of us.

Old science books always say that the number of man's cerebral cells is determined before birth and that there can be no increase once man leaves his mother's womb. This is because people generally believe that the mitotic process of the cerebral cell proceeds most actively during the period of pregnancy, and that once the child is born the process completely stops. But research in recent years proves that this is not necessarily the case; the splitting of the nerve cell may continue up to 6 months after the child's birth. This is to say that the number of nerve cells in man's brain continues to increase 6 months after his birth. But this multiplication of the cells requires a full supply of protein, nucleic acid and certain auxiliary nutrients. Hence, whether before or after birth, if his nutrition is not good, the number of the child's cells will not continue to increase. During the period of the mother's pregnancy the problem is relatively less serious, because the fetus can absorb the necessary nutrients from the mother's body; but it does so really at the expense of the mother's health. Once the fetus leaves the mother's body to become an infant, it must exist independently, and its nutrition depends entirely on what it can secure for itself. If at this stage his food lacks sufficient protein and nucleic acid, the cerebral cell's mitotic process will not be able to continue, and the child's pallium is likely to have an insufficient number of nerve cells; the future development of his intellectual power will then become subject to limitations.

It should be pointed out that the full supply of foodstuff with sufficient protein is but a precondition for the number of cerebral cells to increase. There are still other factors which help maintain the normal growth of these cerebral cells, such as the various hormones, vitamins, micro-elements and monamine precursors, etc. The lack or ill adjustment of these factors may also lead to spasms after the child's birth or deficiency in the development of his intellectual power.

Not a few children born with an inherited idiocy and deficiency in the development of their intellectual power are scattered about the countryside and in the cities of our country today. The brains of these sufferers are tardy; their intellectual capacity is limited; and some of them cannot even count when they are in their teens. In some areas the number of children born with mongolian idiocy is surprisingly high, although the cause of the birth of such children is still not very clear. Some say that it is because of heredity; some say that it is because of the lack of iodine in the mountainous regions; and some say that it is because of marriage between close relatives. However we look at the situation, it is a question we must study and attempt to solve from now on. It is by no means easy to solve questions of this sort, but scientific advancement in recent years has increased our confidence.

There are some born sufferers of idiocy in every society who cannot make a positive contribution to the country's production and construction or who cannot even adapt to the normal life of society and thereby bring difficulties to the state. In terms of preventive measures for and treatment of these sufferers, medical people have always felt helpless in the past. But because of the development of studies of the nervous system in the last few years, people have already found a preliminary way of providing preventive treatment. About 20 years ago people already knew that a normal person usually experiences at a certain stage in his sleep swift trembling of his eyeballs, and on such occasions there would appear on his encephalograph a brain impulse of a peculiar pattern which is called the "fast eyeball movement" brain impulse. Later some people discovered that the frequency of the appearance of this "fast eyeball movement" brain impulse was in general related to the degree of the man's intellectual power. Results of a survey of a large number of encephalographs indicated that, in the case of children born with an inherited inanity or deficiency in the development of their intellectual power, their sleeping time is reduced and the frequency of their "fast eyeball movement" type of brain impulse is also low.

Comprehensive studies of man's brain and behavior in the last few years indicate that a pregnant woman's "fast eyeball movement" type of brain impulse is closely related to the fetus--i.e., in the case of a pregnant woman the frequency of the appearance of whose "fast eyeball movement" type of brain impulse happens to be low, the frequency of the appearance of this type of brain impulse in the child to whom she gives birth is also relatively low. Therefore, the frequency of appearance of a pregnant woman's "fast eyeball movement" type of brain impulse may be used as an indicator for measuring the developmental process of the brain function of the fetus. If the frequency of appearance of a pregnant woman's "fast eyeball movement" brain impulse is found to be low in the last 2 months of her pregnancy, this suggests that there is going to be a possible deficiency in the development of the child's intellectual power after its birth. If such a situation is discovered early enough, then it is possible to adopt measures to prevent or treat its consequence; it is said that either to replenish the supply of aminoacid or to inject pentahydroxyamino precursor would have a definite result. This shows that even in the case of children who are mongolian idiotic it is possible to prevent the consequence early or even before their birth.

Viewed in the long-range perspective, the mongolian idiocy question is a very serious question. It is a grave matter concerning the quality of our population, as well as a question concerning the intellectual level of our Chinese nation. We must develop research in this regard, and we must adopt measures to solve this question. Our present scientific level has already provided beneficial conditions for the solution of this question.

Many new realities have been discovered in modern neurology. These realities have proved one old principle, which is this: The organization of the basic functions of the brain and the basic model of the internal structure and of the brain are determined by factors of heredity. But this organizational form man is born with has a high degree of modifiability, and it can be changed by environmental factors. The importance of the environment to the development of the cerebrum is therefore very conspicuous. The impressions acquired by a child during the period of his growth, even those of ephemeral events, can remain forever in his brain and will never be forgotten by him. Even those things which seem to have been long forgotten will still reappear in his dreams. A dream is a form of activity of the cerebral cells. We cannot but recognize that the formation of the nervous network within the brain affected by imparted information during the period of growth of the cerebrum is of a perpetual character. Hence, we must place emphasis on children's education; we must promote the development of the cerebrum through education in order to mold people's thinking.

The greatest difference between a biological entity and an inorganic thing is that the former goes through a process of growth and decline. All men become old, and when men are old the structures and functions of various organs of their bodies all undergo conspicuous changes. For instance, the wrinkles in an old man's skin multiply; his hair becomes white; his eyesight becomes blurred and his hearing becomes hard; his blood pressure tends to be high; his glandular functions decline and his procreative capability becomes lost. All of these are relatively easy to detect. As for the symptoms of the declining function of the brain, they are rather hard to determine. Generally speaking, symptoms such as tardy reaction and failing memory are easily recognized, and all old persons have direct experiences to prove the point. But these are only superficial symptoms; perhaps most crucial is still the change in the cerebral cells themselves.

Research in this regard has already accumulated large amounts of data in recent years, and they indicate that the declining of the cerebrum is a gradually developing slow process. This process starts rather early, but it worsens rapidly after one reaches his sixties; this can be seen in the degree of decrease in the weight of the brain. Generally speaking, the degree of decrease in the weight of a man's brain is in a straight-line relationship to the increase in his age. When a man reaches 70, the weight of his brain is only 95 percent of the weight of his brain in his youth. By the time he reaches 80, it decreases to 90 percent. By the time he reaches 90, it decreases to 80 percent. In the brain-shrinking process in one's old age, the vacated space inside one's skull increases correspondingly; the covering membrane of the brain thickens and becomes translucent; the arachnoid membrane also gradually becomes fibroid and calcified. The folds on the surface of the cerebrum also shrink, and the furrows between the folds widen and deepen. The brain chamber enlarges, and the cerebrospinal fluid increases. An old

man's cerebrum shrinks in volume because its dendrites* wither; its weight also decreases; but the number of cerebral cells is by no means reduced.

Studies of nerve chemistry indicate that the amount and rate of renewal of water, nucleic sugar and nucleic acid, protein and fat in the brain texture all decrease gradually along with the increase in one's age. The atrophy, swelling or transformation of the dendrites of cerebral cells is a rather routine phenomenon. The length of the dendrites and the number of their side branches both decrease considerably and, at the same time, the various cell organs in the cerebral cell also undergo a qualitative change. We know that the capability of information transmission within the brain is exercised through the discharge of various impulses. The vitality of the impulse system in an old man's brain is also lower than that of a young man, and this is what causes the former to exhibit sluggish thinking and tardy reaction.

In a word, the withering of an old man's cerebrum and the decline of his intellectual power are objective laws of the world of nature. But we should know that the individual differences between one man and another are very great. Some people are not yet old but are already declining in health. The heads of some people are still very clear when they live to be 80 or 90 years old, so that they are no worse off than young people. But people like these are few in number. The cerebrums of most people start to decline in capacity when they reach 60 or 70. Even if these people can still do some work, when compared with their energy and efficiency in their younger days they are surely no match for their past.

The purpose of scientific research is to understand the laws of the world of nature and to utilize these laws to change nature. Then, is it possible, after the laws of the brain's decline are understood, to try to slow down that aging process? This is entirely possible. We do not necessarily fancy longevity and eternal youth, because that is impossible. But it is possible to slow down the development of the aging process and thereby enable us to use our brains for a few more years. The reason we have developed in recent years the study of nerves and the study of old age is precisely for the attainment of this goal. I would like to introduce certain results in this regard in order to sustain our optimistic view on this question.

*A nerve cell is divided into three parts: (1) cell body; (2) a very slender cord extending from the cell body named axon which plays the role of transmitting nervous information to faraway areas; (3) dendrites, the bulge in the shape of tree branches around the cell body whose function it is to receive nervous information and adjust the cell body's state of excitement.

Apart from the symptom of the aging of the cerebrum mentioned above, there is also another important fact, which is the accumulation of lipofuscin in the cerebral cells. About 30-odd years ago a Chinese scholar discovered a method of separating a whole nerve cell from fresh brain texture. By this method he discovered that the amounts of lipofuscin contained in the nerve cells of people of various ages are different. No such pigments seem to exist at all in the nerve cells of a newborn infant, but they gradually increase as the infant grows older. There is an accumulation of large amounts of such pigments in the nerve cells of people 60 years of age or older; in some cases they even squeeze the nucleus of the cell aside and occupy more than half the space in the cell. We should be aware that lipofuscin is a product of metabolism, a waste, which must be eliminated in time before it damages the function of the nerve cell. Just imagine: when the cytoplasm of the nerve cell is full of such waste of metabolism and all cell organs which help maintain the vitality of the cell are squeezed aside, how is the nerve cell to perform its normal function?

In 1974 someone discovered that if a certain medicine used to treat senile nervous disorder is injected in an aging mouse, it can reduce the lipofuscin in its cells to 25-42 percent. On the contrary, if the mouse is fed food which lacks vitamin E, its amount of lipofuscin may be increased. These studies have an important practical meaning, and they also gave us considerable enlightenment, suggesting that the cerebrum's aging process can be changed. So long as we develop and strengthen our studies in this regard, there is bound to be hope. Our old cadres, old scientists and old intellectuals have abundant experience and extensive knowledge; their brains are the state's incomparably precious wealth. To enable these brains to give one more day of play to their normal function is the desire of every one of us.

In man's practical life the death of an entire organism often comes earlier than the age it should live. Death resulting from the natural aging of cerebral cells to the limit of their life is very rare; in an overwhelming number of cases it results from disease. It may thus be said that the cerebral cells often die a premature death. Because the cerebrum is a finely organized organ, its internal structure is extremely complex--more complex than the world's most complicated electronic calculator--and there is also a high degree of coordination among the internal components. If a certain part encounters trouble, the whole machine is unable to operate normally. Since the brain is the central hub which controls and adjusts the activities of various organs of the entire body, the slight malfunction of one part often endangers a man's whole life, and sometimes it affects his perceptive activity and spiritual condition. Then, even if he does not die, he is unable to live or work normally, and he also needs others to look after him. Therefore, the prevention of nervous diseases is a very important question.

Neurology is still a relatively backward science. In the case of many nervous diseases the diagnosis is certain, but effective treatment is lacking. This inevitably leaves the sufferer in endless hardship and makes the family of the sufferer feel desperate; even the physician must feel a spiritual pressure because of his helplessness. Why does such a situation occur? This is mainly because our understanding of the basic laws of the function of the brain is insufficient.

Along with the development of modern industry in our country, large numbers of paralytics have been created because of various accidents. For example, because of industrial injuries and accidents, anesthetic accidents, drowning, suffocation, electric shock and the like, people who suffer an oxygen shortage in the brain often lose their senses entirely; they have ears that cannot hear and eyes that cannot see; they no longer know how to move about; they have no more feelings and cannot talk; they lie in bed all day long, neither living nor dying, leaving themselves in other people's care, causing great pain to the family and turning into great burdens to the state and society. In addition, there are hundreds and thousands of children who, because of heredity, lack of nutrition, fever or local causes which obstruct the development of their brains, have become simpletons. There are likewise hundreds and thousands of sufferers of various forms of insanity and schizophrenia; for their nervous diseases we do not have very many effective means of treatment either; even if we have some, they are extremely limited. This has to do not only with the question of medical treatment; it also has to do with the question of fundamental theory in neurology. Because, whether at home or abroad, nobody can really do very much about these nervous diseases; this is mainly because of a lack of knowledge about the fundamental theory concerning the function of the brain. Therefore, we must develop and strengthen our research in respect to the fundamental theories on the nervous system and think of fundamental solutions.

Perhaps some people still have doubts; to develop research in fundamental theories now would be like asking people to quench their thirst by looking at the plum tree, i.e., present problems can hardly be solved that way; thus, there is a question as to whether this is worth doing. Our answer is in the affirmative. The ancients said: "With a 5-year illness, we should not mind conducting a 3-year search for the needed herb." If we start right now, it is still not too late. Today's scientific advances have already provided a great possibility for finding a fundamental solution to the problem of nervous diseases. Because of the application of new technology and new methods, rapid advancement has already been achieved in recent years in research concerning the functional recovery of the brain after injury and in research on the regeneration of the nerve cells. Studies such as those concerning the laws by which protein or enzyme is transmitted within the axons and dendrites of a nerve cell and those on the direct observation of the regenerating process of cultured cells outside of human body, the formation of axons and dendrites, the law of its impulse emission, etc., will ultimately provide extremely

important basic knowledge on the ultimate solution of the problem of functional recovery in the case of an injured central nervous system. Also, research in electrophysiology in recent years has discovered that the transmitting function of the cerebral cell can still recover after the cell has gone half an hour without oxygen. This fact broke down the superstition by which people for years have thought that a lack of oxygen for 8 minutes would make it impossible for brain functions to recover; it also gave hope to the families of countless such sufferers.

In the most recent years, research concerning the nervous impulse and research concerning the internally originated morphine-like substance inside the brain also have their extremely important theoretical and practical meaning. This internally originated morphine has already been initially tested in the treatment of nervous depression and violence, reportedly with definite results.

Many of the nervous diseases have to do with the loss of nervous myelinic membrane. For example, recurrent hardening of the brain has always been, and still is, a very challenging disease which urgently awaits relevant methods of treatment. Apart from this, although obstructions and disorders in the nervous system, causing such symptoms as listlessness, headache and dizziness, insomnia and endless dreaming, decline in memory, etc., are not necessarily very serious illnesses, they are also troubling hundreds and thousands of people. On the other hand, by what way can we keep our brain constantly in a highly alert condition, so that it is able to carry on creative and logical thinking, will also be a new issue in our future brain research.

All the problems broached above can hardly be solved independently by the medical institutions of the health and sanitation departments alone, because they involve the most fundamental questions in biology, including cell theory and physiology; breakthroughs can hardly be achieved without the undertaking of research at various levels employing the most advanced physical and chemical methods of the modern day. Our scientific circles must place emphasis on this question, organize their manpower, establish their institutions and thereby develop this science. They must, in conjunction with practical needs, develop fundamental theoretical research on the structure and function of the cerebrum, find effective ways to promote the development of people's intellectual power and prevent nervous diseases, and serve the cause of the people's health and happiness.

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CSO: 4004

LENIN AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT--COMMEMORATING THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 pp 40-44

[Article by Peng Pingshan [1756 1627 1472]]

[Text] Lenin, the great teacher of revolution to the proletariat, oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world, lived and fought in the times of imperialism and proletarian revolution. He devoted his life and all of his wisdom to the glorious cause of socialism. In his struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie and their lackey, the revisionism of the Second International, he defended and developed Marxism. The Great October Socialist Revolution led by him ushered in a new era in world history. Holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, Lenin made immortal contributions to the cause of the liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. His name will always be etched in the hearts of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world.

Since the 1960's the Soviet ruling clique headed by Brezhnev has vainly attempted to dominate the world, pushed a policy of hegemonism and aggression and expansion totally incompatible with socialism, and betrayed Leninism. To deceive the peoples of the world, it has displayed the banners of "Leninism" and "internationalism" while carrying out its evil deeds. Last year the CPSU Central Committee, in a "decision to commemorate the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin," said that "all its international activities are faithful to the ideas of the great Lenin" and that "the CPSU and USSR have in the past and at present done everything possible to help and support the peoples of all countries in opposing imperialism, new colonialism and racism." This is the greatest insult to Lenin and Leninism! Today, restudying Lenin's basic theory on the national and colonial question on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth will be of immediate significance in exposing the swindle of the Brezhnev clique and discerning the nature of Soviet social imperialism.

Lenin stressed: "In solving all colonial and national questions we must not proceed from abstract principles but from concrete and actual phenomena." ("The Second Congress of the Communist International," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 333) The main points should be: "First, on an exact estimate of the specific historical situation and, primarily, of the economic conditions; second, on a clear distinction between the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers and exploited, and the general concept of national interests as a whole, which implies the interests of the ruling class; third, on an equally clear distinction between the oppressed, dependent and subject nations and the oppressing and sovereign nations, in order to counter the bourgeois-democratic lies." ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on National and Colonial Questions," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 271)

In the latter part of the 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries, "free capitalism" developed to the stage of imperialism, and large-scale monopoly displaced free competition. A handful of monopoly capitalists controlled whole groups of industrial departments not only in individual countries but also throughout the world, and this gave rise to domination on an unprecedented scale by a handful of monopoly tycoons. Various imperialist monopoly groups oppressed and plundered the colonial people, completely carving up the world. No place could escape their evil clutches. Therefore, Lenin pointed out: "The distinguishing features of imperialism are the division of the world into two parts. On the one side is the oppressed people who are in the majority. On the other side is a handful of oppressing nations with enormous wealth and actual military strength!" ("The Second Congress of the Communist International," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 336) At that time all basic capitalist contradictions, those leading to revolution and those in the workers movement giving rise to violent struggle against the Second International, were connected with this division. Moreover, the imperialists and the traitors of the Second International tried their utmost to cover up this fact, propagated national chauvinism, sabotaged the international unity of the proletariat, instigated the workers of various countries to slaughter each other to realize the desire of the bourgeois governments of their own countries to redivide the world, and interfered with and undermined the proletarian revolution and national liberation movement. Lenin's theory with regard to dividing the world into oppressing and oppressed nations provided the proletarian political party with a reliable theoretical basis for the formulation of national and foreign policies and played an enormous role in exposing the conspiracy of capitalism and defeating the social chauvinism of the traitors of the Second International.

Today we are still living in a time of imperialism and proletarian revolution, with the basic contradictions Lenin pointed out still in existence. The basic ideas Lenin mentioned above can still serve as our guide for

studying international problems. However, we should also see that a very great change has taken place in the international situation since World War II, particularly since the 1960's. This is mainly manifested in the following:

1. The unprecedented upsurge in national liberation movements and the disintegration of the old colonial system. Many colonies and semi-colonies have thrown off colonial rule to become independent countries. However, quite a few are still rather backward in many respects. Politically, they have still not consolidated their independence; economically, they still cannot keep the initiative in their own hands. What merits greater attention is that the moment some of these countries have driven the tiger from the front door they have let a wolf in through the back, again finding themselves in the predicament of being controlled or menaced by hegemonists and new colonialists.

2. Following many serious setbacks at the hands of the revolutionary people of the world, the influence of the imperialists of the old school has been greatly weakened. U.S. imperialism, which claimed to be the foremost power, has been forced to turn from strategic offense to strategic defense after its defeat in the wars of aggression against Korea and Vietnam. Naturally, these imperialists of the old school have still not renounced their imperialist and new colonialist policies.

3. The Soviet leadership clique headed by Brezhnev pushes a social imperialist policy and carries out aggression and expansion in all parts of the world. Relying on its rapidly growing economic and military strength, it has adopted the strategy of "historic offensive" and even resorted to force to conquer, oppress and menace other nations and countries in an attempt to gain world domination. Soviet social imperialism is a budding imperialism which is more desperate, adventurous and deceptive than the imperialism of the old school. The serious threat of this reactionary force to national independence and its sabotage of the national liberation movement cannot be underestimated.

Proceeding from the above changes in the world situation, our party upholds the principle of proletarian internationalism and sets a demand for strengthening unity among the working people and progressive forces of the world, unity with socialist countries and with the masses of Asian, African and Latin American countries and peoples, and unity with all forces that can be united with in the world in a common endeavor to oppose the hegemonist policies of aggression and war and defend world peace. The progress of world developments has proved that this policy of our party accords with Marxism-Leninism and actual contemporary world conditions and is correct.

Even before the October Revolution, Lenin proposed: "Down with all colonial policy, down with the whole policy of intervention and capitalist struggle for the conquest of foreign lands and foreign populations, for

new privileges, new markets, control of the straits, and so forth!" ("Events in the Balkans and Persia," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 15, p 203) He also said: "If the proletariat is not afraid of allowing 'its' nationals to take violent action against other nationals, it cannot be a socialist proletariat." ("Socialism and War," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 684) The fact that the Brezhnev clique has constantly carried out external aggression and expansion and pursued a new colonial policy explains that there is no longer any trace of Lenin's teaching among its members. They have not only taken a bit of violent action but have also carried out large-scale armed intervention and military occupation. We can roughly work out their accounts: In 1968 they brazenly sent their troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. In March 1969 they openly sent large numbers of border guards to invade our Zhenbaodao Island. In 1975 they sent Cuban mercenaries to carry out armed intervention in Angola. In 1977 they used Katangan mercenaries trained by Cuban troops to invade Zaire. In 1978 they sent Cuban mercenaries to intervene in the conflict in the Horn of Africa. In December 1978 they instigated and supported the large-scale Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea. In December 1979 they again brazenly sent their own troops to invade the sovereign state of Afghanistan.

The Afghan incident clearly shows that Brezhnevism has reached a new turning point. In the past the Soviet ruling clique only used its armed forces to occupy countries within the "socialist community" and mainly adopted such means as economic and military infiltration, training surrogates to carry out subversion from within and sending mercenaries to carry out armed intervention in countries outside of the "community," but today, it has seen fit to reach its paws of aggression outside the "community" to invade and occupy an independent nonaligned country. The constant escalation of the aggressive action of Soviet social imperialism explains that opposing Soviet social imperialism is the urgent common task of the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world as well as the principal content of the national movement of many countries at present.

II

Leninism held that the national liberation movements of colonies and semi-colonies had become important components and allies of world proletarian revolutions in the era of imperialism. The proletarian revolutions of capitalist countries could only achieve victory by allying themselves with the national movements of colonies and dependencies. Only by maintaining close contact with the revolutions of the proletariat could the national movements genuinely solve the national question.

Based on the new characteristics of revolutionary movements in the era of imperialism, Lenin developed the idea of "proletariat of the world unite" in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" and put forth the slogan of "proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world unite!" He pointed out: "Proletarian internationalism demands, first of all, that the interests

of the proletarian struggle in one country be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world scale. Second, a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie must be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capitalism." ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on National and Colonial Questions," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 274) He also pointed out: The whole policy of the proletariat of all countries "must be closer union of the proletarians and working masses generally of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landlords and bourgeoisie, for this alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible." ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on National and Colonial Questions," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 274) Therefore, the proletarians of all countries, including those of "ruling" nations, must resolutely and actively support the national liberation movements of all oppressed nations. However, this does not mean that they must support national movements everywhere at all times. When appraising the national movements of oppressed nations, the proletariat must not study them in isolation but must take into consideration the overall situation of the world struggle against imperialism. So long as the national liberation movements of colonies and oppressed nations are in favor of attacking the international bourgeoisie and weakening and overthrowing imperialism, such national movements are progressive and revolutionary and should be supported by the proletariat of all countries.

A fundamental change has taken place in the international situation since the 1960's, with the Soviet Union deteriorating into a social imperialist country that is going all out to sabotage the proletarian revolution and national liberation movements. This is an important factor we must bear in mind when appraising the contemporary national movements of oppressed nations.

The main flow of the flourishing development of national liberation movements at present is good. Many countries that have suffered deeply from the oppression and plunder of imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism are waging a struggle against them and striving for national liberation. Despite the existence of certain differences in the attitudes of these countries toward imperialism and hegemonism and toward the people of their own country, their struggle against imperialism and social imperialism conforms to the fundamental interests of the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world. Proletarians should give it their active support. The present situation in Afghanistan has clearly explained this point. The war waged by the Muslim armed forces of Afghanistan against Soviet social imperialism for the independence of their country is just and progressive. As this struggle will deal a blow to Soviet social imperialism, it is in the interests of the liberation of oppressed nations in the world and the defense of world peace.

At the same time we should also see that the policy of colonialism and hegemonism pushed by the Soviet Union in the world has caused a split in the national movement of some countries and given rise to two kinds of conditions. The first is that the rulers of some countries, in violation of the interests of their own people, have thrown in their lot with Soviet social imperialism, served as its tool for external aggression and expansion, invaded and oppressed other weak nations and degenerated into bourgeois nationalists, as in the case of the leaders of Cuba and Vietnam. The other is that some countries, deceived by such Soviet slogans as "internationalism" and "support for national liberation movements," have been temporarily hoodwinked because they do not clearly understand the essence of Soviet social imperialism. This has resulted in setbacks in their own national movements. Following the continued exposure of the true features of Soviet social imperialism, the people of these countries will quickly wake up and actively throw themselves into the struggle of the world's people against Soviet hegemonism.

In short, on this important issue of national liberation movements we must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat of the whole world and from the overall situation of the struggle against imperialism, particularly against Soviet social imperialism. This is the correct Leninist attitude we should adopt today.

III

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin raised a question: Is the argument actually correct that the stage of capitalist development in the national economy of backward countries struggling for independence and already possessing a progressive movement cannot be avoided? Lenin said: "Our answer to this is no." ("The Second Congress of the Communist International," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 336) "The stage of capitalist development in the national economy" of backward countries is not unavoidable. However, Lenin maintained that communists should explain this question more fully from the point of theory. It cannot be pointed out beforehand how this road can be realized specifically, but it must depend on the practice and creative spirit of the tens of millions of revolutionary masses. Lenin consistently held that revolution can neither be "exported" nor "forcibly promoted." Whether backward countries can take the road of noncapitalist development depends mainly on conditions inside the country.

At present the Soviet leadership group is practicing deception and bluff under the guise of "helping" backward countries take the "noncapitalist road of development." It has declared: The Soviet Union is the "reliable support" and "natural ally" of countries taking the noncapitalist road of development. The Soviet Union has established ties of "close and comprehensive cooperation" with these countries, and the "comprehensive aid" given economically, militarily as well as culturally and educationally "is an extremely important condition." Under this guise it has

infiltrated these national independent countries, gradually strengthened control over them and strived to change them into its colonies and dependencies. Lenin pointed to "the need to constantly explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, particularly of backward countries, the deception systematically practiced by the imperialist powers in creating states, under the guise of politically independent states, which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily." ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on National and Colonial Questions," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 275) In this respect, present Soviet social imperialism is similar to the imperialist powers exposed by Lenin in former years, only it is even more crafty in its duplicity.

In short, after casting off the shackles of imperialism of the old school, backward countries in the present era of imperialism and social imperialism are still faced with two different kinds of future. One is that, after consolidating and developing the fruits of victory, they can take the socialist road according to the wishes of the people when conditions are ripe. The other is that, after breaking away from the control of a kind of imperialism, they are again controlled by another kind of imperialism, lose their independence and are reduced to colonies and dependencies. However, there is no stopping the trend of history. The oppressed people will certainly win final victory in their struggle for liberation.

While consistently placing the stress on upholding proletarian internationalism, Lenin at the same time called for a struggle against two erroneous tendencies: great-nation chauvinism and great-Russia chauvinism. Lenin regarded great-nation chauvinism, particularly great-Russia chauvinism, with extreme repugnance. In October 1922 Lenin solemnly said: "I declare a struggle to the death against great-nation chauvinism. The moment the disgusting decayed tooth is removed, I will eat it with my mouthful of good teeth." ("Memo to the Politburo on Opposing Great-Nation Chauvinism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 334) Lenin anticipated that even in the Soviet Government people would "drown in this sordid era of great-Russia chauvinism just as a fly will drown in a bowl of milk." ("On National and 'Autonomy' Questions," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 629) Unfortunately, Lenin's prediction has become a reality. After Lenin's death, the CPSU did not stamp out great-Russia chauvinism. By the time of Brezhnev the great-Russia nationalism left behind by the old tsars had become even more malignantly inflated and developed into great-Russia social imperialism. It can be said that great-Russia nationalism is an important sociohistorical source which gave rise to great-Russia social imperialism.

At present Soviet social imperialist expansionism is constantly escalating, along with the growth of its economic and military strength. The more ruthless its oppression of other nations, the greater will be its debt of blood to the people of the world. "The enslavement of the people of other nations will result in putting shackles on oneself."

("Confidential Circular," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 312) Each time the new tsars of the Kremlin occupy a piece of territory in the world and each time Brezhnevism is escalated, they will also be adding heavier shackles on themselves and will meet with thorough defeat in the end.

CSO: 4004

A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POSTWAR U.S. ECONOMIC CRISES

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[Article by Wu Dakun [0702 1129 3824]]

[Text] Since World War II there have been many important economic changes in the entire capitalist world. In dealing with periodic economic crises, the capitalist countries, where state monopoly capitalism was developing, have tried to "intervene" in the occurrence and development of crises with Keynesian anticrisis methods, which have given the crises a new feature. Western bourgeois economists termed economic crisis with this new feature "recession" and even held that the Marxist theories on economic crises were already "outdated" and inapplicable to the postwar economic crises in the capitalist world. Facts have proved just the opposite, because many new phenomena of the economic crises since the war can only be correctly interpreted according to Marxist theories on this subject. In this article I will briefly discuss the features of postwar economic crises in the United States according to Marxist theories.

New Historical Conditions After the War

Postwar economic crises and the succeeding economic cycles in the United States have been produced by new historical conditions or the new stage of a general capitalist crisis characterized by a further large-scale development of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

As everyone knows, economic crises are a special phenomenon of the development of capitalism into the state of large-scale industrial production. Marx began watching the capitalist economic cycles in 1825. Since then, from a historical point of view, economic crises have passed through three different stages. The first was the stage of free competition, and the second was the stage of monopoly before World War II. During these two stages the policies implemented by the bourgeois governments were mainly those of "laissez faire," meaning that there should be minimum state intervention in social reproduction. The third stage was

after the war, when the United States (and the other well-developed capitalist countries) mainly adopted the Keynesian policy, meaning that the state had to use its financial and banking powers to intervene in the process of reproduction.

Postwar reproduction in the United States has, in effect, been carried out with state powers (particularly state financial powers) by the monopoly capitalist syndicates. The main feature of this reproduction is the constant reliance on heavy financial outlays in the state budget, on military contracts, and on preferential tax rates for the monopoly organizations as a means of boosting production and increasing investment in social fixed capital. Although these measures enabled the monopoly capitalist syndicates to gain tremendous profits, the innate contradictions in U.S. society, namely, the contradictions between the social character of production and the capitalist form of possession of the fruits of production, still remained unsolved. Quite to the contrary, these contradictions were intensified, because, despite the increase in social fixed capital and social productive forces, social consumption is relatively reduced, and, above all, there was the blind and uneven development and imbalance among the departments under the two major categories. Consequently, after a certain period, whenever there is the slightest weakening of state efforts to boost production (mainly through military production) or the slightest reduction of investment in social fixed capital, production will immediately drop and a periodic crisis will follow. After the economic crisis occurs, monopoly capital will again try to stimulate production, investment and consumption through even larger government spending. Although the crisis can be temporarily tided over by such means, a new crisis will be brewing. After all, this is what has happened, and it follows the economic laws of capitalism expounded in Marxist economic theories.

Special Features of Postwar U.S. Economic Crises

Postwar economic crises and the consequent economic cycles in the United States took different forms because of the different conditions of production.

In more than 30 years after the war the United States experienced six economic crises as a result of overproduction. The following data are based on U.S. official statistics:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
First:	Nov 1948-Oct 1949	10.1	492	-2.7	58
Second:	Aug 1953-Aug 1954	9.1	393	-0.4	16
Third:	Mar 1957-Apr 1958	13.5	508	+4.2	75
Fourth:	Feb 1960-Feb 1961	8.6	500	+1.6	30
Fifth:	Oct 1969-Nov 1970	8.1	503	+6.6	74
Sixth:	Dec 1973-Apr 1975	13.8	854	+15.3	154

Key:

1. Duration of crises
2. Reduction in industrial production (in percentage)
3. Maximum number of unemployed workers (in 10,000)
4. Consumer goods price variations (in percentage)
5. Reduction in private investment in fixed capital before and after the crises (in 100 million dollars)

From the above table we can see the following salient features of postwar U.S. economic crises:

First, in terms of economic cycles the first four crises were less than 5 years apart. The interval between the fourth and the fifth was exceptional, because at that time the U.S. Government was escalating its war of aggression against Vietnam in an effort to boost production with military spending. However, this effort could not be long sustained. Thus, in 1969, despite increased investment in fixed capital by various industrial departments, full utilization was impossible because of reduced social consumption. The constantly diminishing utilization capacity (down to 72 percent in 1970) led to the fifth crisis. After the end of the Vietnam war the effort to boost production was correspondingly reduced, so that in less than 5 years the sixth crisis, the most serious one after the war, occurred. This shows that, because of the intensification of basic social contradictions in the United States after the war, economic crises became more frequent and the economic cycles became shorter. There are different views on these crises at home and abroad. Some people hold that some of these crises were intermediate rather than periodic crises. I personally believe that they were periodic. According to Marx, all crises related to the renewal of fixed capital are periodic ones. If they are not related to the renewal of fixed capital, then they can be called "partial crises" or "intermediate crises." Since all the crises in the United States after the war coincided with decreased investment in fixed capital, they should be called periodic crises.

Secondly, when the crisis appeared the drop in production did not look serious. The biggest reductions occurred during the third and sixth crises, when the rate was only 13.5 and 13.8 percent, respectively. Except for the sixth crisis, the number of unemployed was generally around 5 million. The duration of the crises was not long, generally being slightly over 1 year. Why was this so? As we pointed out earlier,

the process of expanded reproduction in the United States after the war had to be bolstered by the state, and this can be seen from the tendency toward increased purchases of material and labor by the government (including the federal government, state governments and local governments), as shown in the figures in "Total National Output Value," released officially in the United States. According to these statistics, after 1952 the average rate of increase reached 20 percent. Before World War II--in 1929, for instance--the rate was only 8 percent. A comparison of these two rates will show that the financial resources used by the state to support reproduction were greatly increased, and this largely reduced or concealed the seriousness of the crises.

Thirdly, the particularly important point is that, with the exception of the first and second economic crises, when commodity prices fell only slightly, the other four crises were accompanied by increased prices, and the rate of increase became much higher in the 1970's. During the crises prices increased instead of decreasing, and in the light of prewar conditions this is certainly quite abnormal. This was the result of the Keynesian policy adopted by the United States after the war.

According to the "theory" of Keynes, the cause of economic crisis is insufficient social "effective demand." The general social demand, according to this theory, consists of the demand for both consumer goods and means of production, and the scope of production and number of jobs for people are decided by the amounts of consumption and investment. Based on this analysis, he proposed the method of encouraging investment and consumption in order to create the social "effective demand." He knew that when there was serious overproduction there would not be heavy private capital investment, despite various government measures. He therefore proposed that the government make direct investments in order to compensate for the shortage of private investment. Where will the money for direct government investments come from? He held that, since even increased taxation was not enough, additional funds should be raised by floating bonds. Increased taxation by a wide margin, in his opinion, would only mean the transfer of money from private individuals to the government; so increased government investment will only mean a corresponding reduction in private investment, and this cannot be any effective remedy. Therefore, besides issuing bonds and practicing deficit financing, it is also necessary to stimulate individual consumption and investment through the credit system.

We can say that the United States' postwar economy is based on huge public and private loans. This is a typical loan economy. From 1974 to 1979 the United States had to increase public and private bonds by an average amount of nearly 200 billion dollars (based on the fixed price of 1972) each year. By fiscal 1978 the federal bonds already amounted to 780.4 billion dollars, being 40 percent of the "national output value" of that year. Of the 35 years after the war, 26 were deficit years in the United States. At first deficit financing was enforced only during

a crisis. After the economic crisis of 1957-1958, it had to be used as a precautionary measure, even though there was no economic crisis. Thus, every year in the 1970's was a deficit one. This shows that in the process of reproduction the United States had to constantly draw on the future social purchasing power for support, or, as the saying goes, to "eat supper at lunchtime." Although it temporarily succeeded in concealing the seriousness of overproduction, such efforts cannot be sustained and will certainly lead to even more serious crises of credit and currency inflation.

From this we can see that the United States has been able to go through postwar crises without serious reduction of industrial production or widespread unemployment, and even with rising instead of falling commodity prices, only because of currency and credit inflation and increased bond issues. The rise in commodity prices, aside from the above causes, was also the result of the exclusive control over prices by monopoly capital. Before the war, when economic crises occurred in the United States, the steep fall in prices and the bankruptcy of many enterprises could objectively force a temporary return to a balance between production and social consumption. But this is no longer the case. During the crisis, apart from the bankruptcy of some small and medium-sized enterprises, the large monopoly organizations can usually reduce the utilization capacity to suit the reduced purchases in the market. They can still maintain their exclusive control over prices and make high profits. Instead of temporarily resolving the contradiction between social production and social consumption, the crises can only postpone such a resolution. We can say that the longer the "breathing spell"--obtained through the resolution of contradictions in the capitalist society by such "forceful methods" as price reductions--is maintained by the monopoly interests with state financial and banking methods, the greater will be the disaster following the end of this "breathing spell."

The economic crises related to the currency inflation crisis cannot be less serious than the many crises before the war. They have shaken people's confidence in the U.S. dollar and hastened the crises of U.S. international receipts and payments as well as the U.S. dollar. As a result, the economic position of the United States in the capitalist world continues to decline. These crises have forced the unemployment rate and consumer goods prices to rise in spirals to their present height. In January and February 1980 the rate of U.S. currency inflation reached 18 percent. At the same time, the number of unemployed also increased from 6.1 million in December 1979 to 6.43 million, an increase of 6.5 percent. According to the Keynesian "theory," the increased unemployment should be attributed to insufficient "effective demand" in society, while the rise in prices of consumer goods should be attributed to excessive "effective demand" in society, and these two phenomena cannot coexist. However, facts have already disproved this "theory," and that is why the U.S. Government is now in a serious

predicament in implementing its economic policy. Because of the serious credit inflation and currency inflation, the United States still dares not immediately resort once again to the same measures of credit and currency inflation as a means of boosting U.S. economic development, even though it is now faced with the seventh postwar economic "recession" (as admitted by President Carter in his "Budget Message" this year). Thus, a five-point anti-inflation plan, which includes the use of such measures as curtailing government spending, restricting bank credit, controlling certain consumer credit, reducing oil consumption and regulating increases in wages and commodity prices, was announced in March 1980 in an attempt to check currency inflation. This is enough to show the great harm of currency inflation as a result of the application of Keynesianism in postwar United States! The treatment of economic crises which the Keynesians considered effective has not only failed to alleviate the crises but even turned currency inflation itself into a series of crises. This is like the side effect of some drug which causes a new chronic disease.

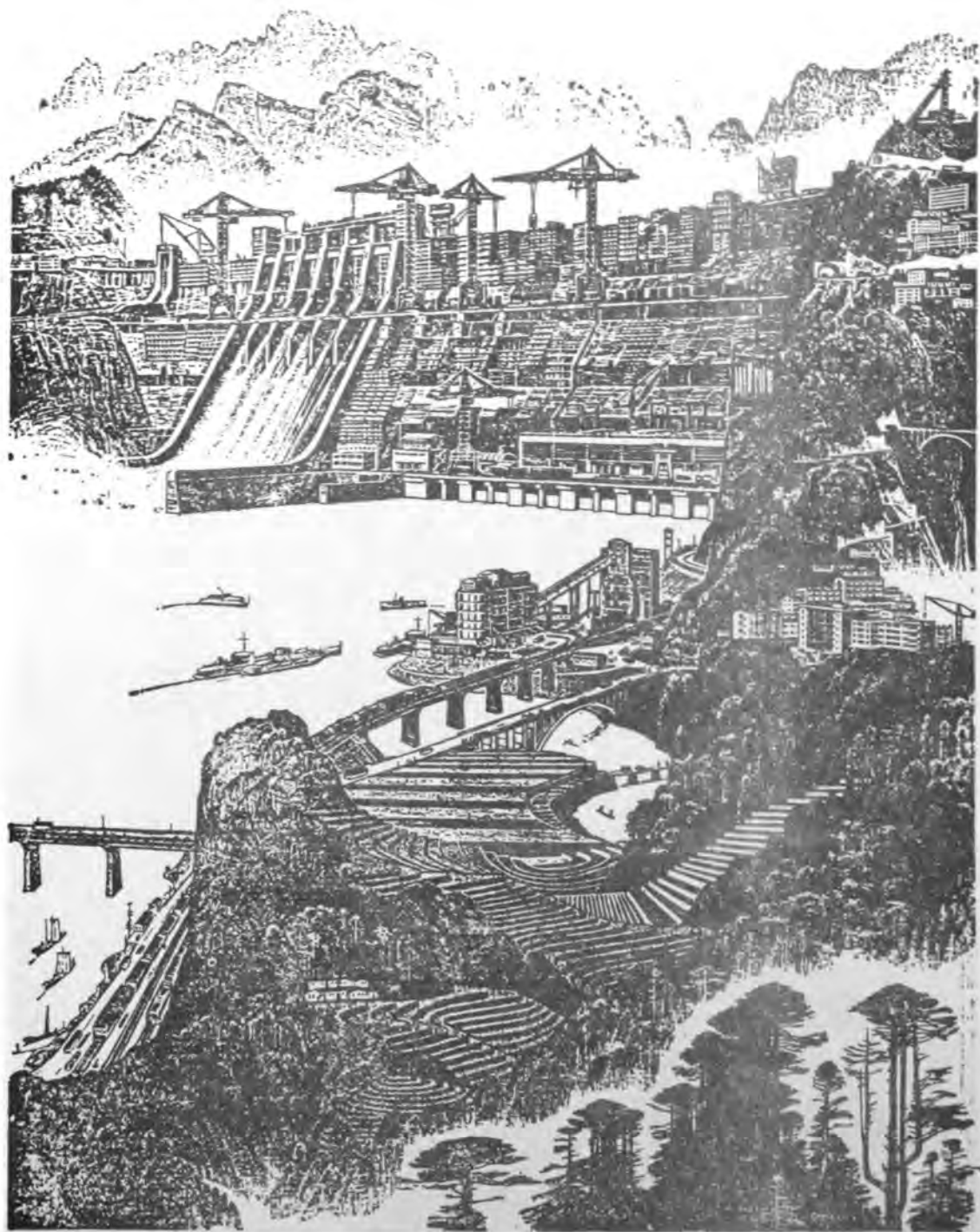
From the above, we hold that although postwar and prewar economic crises in the United States have taken different forms, this difference by no means indicates any real alleviation or reduction of the seriousness of periodic economic crises in capitalist societies. Quite to the contrary, it proves that the continuing intensification of the general capitalist crisis is an important sign of the gradual decline of the entire capitalist system in the world. All the bourgeois economic theories are helpless to prevent this. We must apply the Marxist theory of economic crisis to illustrate the new phenomena and new features of the postwar economic crises in the United States.

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NEW LANDSCAPE FEATURES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 80 inside back cover

[Woodcut by Feng Zhongtie [6785 0022 6993]]



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