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The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

China Report

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No. 13, 1 July 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 13, 1 July 1980

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

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CONVENTION SITE OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Tie Mu [6993 2606]]



CSO: 4004

LEADING CADRES MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN BECOMING QUALIFIED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 2-7

[Article by Zhang Tingfa [1728 1694 4099]]

[Text] Our party has a 59-year-old history of struggle and is now leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country toward the new Long March. The key to the realization of the four modernizations in this century lies in strengthening and improving party leadership, giving full play to the exemplary vanguard role of party members and increasing the party's fighting effectiveness. In his report "Our Current Situation and Tasks," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "To restore our party's fine traditions and work style we must have qualified party members. Both new and old party members are faced with the problem of whether they possess the qualifications and meet the requirements of party members." The vast numbers of party members, particularly party cadres at all levels, must seriously deal with this problem and strive to be genuinely qualified party members in the new historical period.

I. Leading cadres must take the lead in becoming qualified party members. This is decided by the fact that our party is in power and by the tasks we are facing. With regard to the breadth and depth of the revolution, the masses to be mobilized and the difficulty of the tasks, our socialist modernization is unprecedented. Our party has 38 million party members. They are leaders at various levels and on various fronts and localities, each taking charge of a district, department or unit. Whether the party members holding leading positions are really qualified and whether they have a strong party spirit are not personal problems. They directly affect the work of different districts, departments or units and the progress of the four modernizations. The faith of the masses in the four modernizations is closely related to their faith in the leaders. The construction of the four modernizations is the cause of millions upon millions of people. Lenin said: "The dynamic creative power of the masses is the basic factor of the new society." ("Meeting of the All-Russian Central Committee," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26,

p 269) Communist Party members are advanced elements of the masses. Leading cadres of the party at all levels must take the lead in implementing the party's line, principle and policies, carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of struggling hard and doing pioneering work, maintaining close ties with the masses and listening attentively to the views of the masses. Only then can they mobilize the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses to achieve the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. While achieving socialist modernization we must uphold the four basic principles. This demands that our leading cadres have a better understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and spot and resist the disruption of the erroneous "left" or right ideological tendencies in order to advance in the correct direction of the four modernizations. Therefore, leading cadres must take the lead in being qualified party members. This is a prerequisite for our party to carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future. It is an important and urgent matter.

In the present situation the masses demand that leading cadres take the lead in becoming qualified Communist Party members. Being trained and educated by the party, most comrades have performed well and have been forerunners during the protracted revolutionary struggle. However, we must also note that some previously qualified members are not so good now. This is due to the disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for 10 years and the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideology. Although some people performed well during wartime, they cannot stand the test of a peaceful environment. Since the victory of the revolution they have changed, because they hold higher positions and greater power. They do not regard their promotion as additional revolutionary responsibilities but as a reward for their deeds. They think they have the right to seek pleasure and act like overlords. They have forgotten that their power was given to them by the people and that they should work for the interests of the masses. On the contrary, they use their power to pursue private interests, seek special privileges and create bad tendencies. As a result, they cannot be examples to the masses and are divorced from them. Some comrades cope well when the revolution is progressing smoothly. However, they cannot stand the test when setbacks and complications emerge in the revolution. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, some party members seized every chance to gain advantage by trickery. They even bartered away principles, impaired the party's unity, jeopardized the party's revolutionary cause and lost the integrity of party members. Among those people who have made serious mistakes, only a few refuse to mend their ways, stick to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and bear resentment against the correct line formulated by the party since the third plenary session. All this shows that how to be good communists is a very serious and realistic problem for leading cadres in the new historical period when our party is in power. If these leading cadres do not rapidly change the above-mentioned situation, they will find it difficult to hold leading positions. Moreover, they will lower the prestige of the party and affect the faith of the people in the realization of the four modernizations.

To restore and carry forward our party's fine traditions and to win a victory in the new Long March, leading cadres must take the lead to become qualified party members and play an exemplary vanguard role. Our veteran cadres who have gone through wars have experience in this. During wartime, leading cadres made strict demands on themselves according to the requirements of party members. They placed the party's interests above everything, totally disregarded their own interests and were always the first to fight and the last to withdraw from the battle. They were also the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort. Commanders would provide leadership wherever fighting was fiercest. Leading cadres appeared wherever work was most difficult. When life was more difficult, leading cadres paid more attention to the hardships of soldiers and maintained closer ties with the masses. The exemplary vanguard role of these leading cadres inspired the masses and eventually won their wholehearted support. As a result, the masses made concerted efforts with the party to win victories. While achieving the four modernizations we are shouldering heavy responsibilities. Leading cadres must clearly understand their historical responsibilities and consciously carry forward the fine traditions of our party and army. They must set a good example to gain the trust of the people, further enhance the party's prestige, maintain close ties with the masses and heighten the people's enthusiasm, creativity and steadfastness to achieve the four modernizations. In this way our party organizations at all levels will become a genuine core for uniting the masses and the combat headquarters for leading the masses to achieve new victories for the four modernizations.

II. How should leading cadres take the lead to be qualified party members? Their thinking, words and deeds must be in line with the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" as well as with the standards of party members, as stipulated in the "Draft of the Revised Party Constitution" and with the party's fundamental requirements for leading cadres at all levels. Those who meet these requirements are qualified. Otherwise they are not. The four modernizations demand that leading cadres at all levels take the lead in doing the following things:

First, they should resolutely uphold the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and firmly follow the party's political and ideological lines. This is the most basic requirement of a qualified party member and is a concentrated expression of party spirit. During the new historical period our army is still an armed group carrying out political tasks under the leadership of the party. The proletarian nature of our army determines that we should have undying faith in the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and resolutely uphold the party's ideological and political line. In practice we can clearly see that since the smashing of the "gang of four" the party Central Committee has restored and strengthened the system of collective leadership. We have veteran proletarian revolutionaries at the helm and many well-tested, experienced comrades in their prime holding leading posts. Holding high the banner

of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought over the past 3 years, the Central Committee has turned chaos into order. As a result, we have basically changed our party's situation, our leading groups and our ideological line and have made tremendous achievements in economic work. The party Central Committee has formulated a correct political line and led the entire party to shift its work focus--something we had not been able to achieve for a long time--and to march toward the great goal of the four modernizations. All this shows that the leadership of the party Central Committee has a high level of Marxism and leadership technique. It is correct, strong and completely trustworthy. Whether one is firm in upholding the leadership of the party Central Committee and whether one is resolute in implementing the party's line, principles and policies are not ordinary work problems but important problems concerning political principles, party spirit and political discipline. Leading cadres must not be vague on these problems.

Some comrades support the party's current policies and measures. However, they worry that reversals may occur. We must admit that when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck and when the fierce struggle between revolution and counterrevolution occurred, there were many reversals, including great reversals and setbacks. Such reversals and setbacks were caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who took advantage of our party's mistakes and pushed an ultraleftist line. The situation has changed fundamentally. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been smashed, and the roots of great reversals no longer exist. As mentioned before, our present party Central Committee has gained the complete trust of the whole party and the whole people. Having summed up both positive and negative experiences and lessons, our party obviously has a better understanding of the four basic principles and of the socialist economic law than at any other period in the past. As long as we adhere to the four basic principles, stress investigation and study, persist in seeking truth from facts and do things according to the socialist economic law, there will be no great reversals. Moreover, the entire party and the whole people will absolutely not allow such reversals to recur. Of course, it will be a metaphysical point of view if we demand that no mistakes, shortcomings or problems emerge in certain areas. To have a better understanding of matters, people often have to undergo the process of practice-knowledge-practice. To achieve the four modernizations in such a great nation as ours we must acquire more experience. There are many realms of necessity which we must understand and many new problems arising from the new situation which we must study and solve. It is inevitable to make mistakes while carrying out specific duties to achieve the four modernizations. Revolution is never smooth sailing. We are bound to encounter difficulties. We are constantly overcoming difficulties, adding to our achievements and correcting our mistakes in the new Long March. We must capture one height after another and scale one peak after another in order to arrive at the new destination. Therefore, we must adopt a positive attitude toward the shortcomings and mistakes of our work, rather than adopt an irresponsible attitude, grumble and find fault

with others. Our party Central Committee persists in seeking truth from facts. As soon as it discovers a mistake it adopts measures to make corrections. Our undying faith in the party Central Committee, in its line, principles and policies is built on the foundation of dialectical materialism. It is an entirely conscious faith, different from the blind faith trumpeted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, we must conscientiously study and resolutely implement the directives of the party Central Committee and the CCP Military Commission. We must implement these directives to the letter, rather than bargain or complain of hardships. We should not pretend to agree with these directives and secretly spread skeptical, resentful or dissenting views about them.

Some comrades have asked whether they should carry out those decisions that they think are wrong. This actually is a problem of how to deal with problems of political and organizational principle. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that we should observe party discipline. That is to say, the individual should be subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the entire membership to the Central Committee. The most important thing is that the entire membership should be subordinate to the Central Committee. If one party member does not obey the party organization because it has made a wrong decision, or if another member refuses to implement the party decision which he thinks is wrong, turns a deaf ear to the orders of the party Central Committee and goes his own way, party leadership will be done away with. Of course, this does not mean that party members cannot criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of the party's work. Party members can state their dissenting views on party decisions to party organizations at all levels or even to the Central Committee. However, while implementing party decisions they should be resolute and should not show any objection. There is unity between political principle and organizational principle, between political discipline and organizational discipline. It is wrong to set political principle against organizational principle. Those who ignore the party's principles, disobey the party's decisions, arbitrarily publicize their opinions or even oppose the party are not qualified party members. When there are numerous arduous tasks to be undertaken in economic construction, we must particularly stress that the entire membership should be subordinate to the Central Committee and maintain political unity with it. This is in the supreme interests of the party and is the key to the smooth progress of the party's cause.

Second, they should stress unity, consider the overall situation and be promoters of stability and unity. A basic guarantee of the four modernizations is stability and unity. Therefore, one important criterion in judging whether party members holding leading posts are qualified or not is whether they stress unity, consider the overall situation and make concerted efforts to achieve the four modernizations.

To strengthen unity we must strengthen party spirit and eliminate factionalism. Factionalism is a great enemy of unity and is the root cause

of corrupt party tendencies. We must resolutely oppose and criticize such factionalist words as "your people, his people" and "I am correct, you are wrong." We must give advice and conduct well-meaning criticism to help those who are indulging in the factionalism of comrades. We must adopt resolute measures to reshuffle those who do not consider the overall situation, do not stress unity but stick to factionalism and refuse to mend their ways. Factionalism still finds its market in some units. Although it is not open, it is still conducted secretly. In ordinary times we cannot notice its existence. However, during the discussions of cadres' promotions, assignments and grades, factionalism is apparent. Some cadres even violate party discipline. They arbitrarily reveal what they have discussed within the party committee, show dissension among people and sabotage unity. Therefore, we should not underestimate the pernicious influence of factionalism. Leading cadres must take the lead in opposing factionalism, because it is impossible to advocate factionalism in any unit without the support of the leading cadres there. Leading cadres must understand that factionalism is incompatible with the proletarian party spirit. We communists are open, aboveboard and selfless. We believe that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its final emancipation. Such revolutionary consciousness and the historical tasks of communists determine that we must proceed from the overall situation of revolution, unite all forces that can be united and advance toward the common goal under all circumstances. On the contrary, if we advocate factionalism, organize secret groups, become intimate with some people and indifferent to others, plot intrigues against one another and counteract one another's efforts, we will be reflecting the guild mentality of the exploiting classes and serving the interests of a few people or cliques. Leading cadres at all levels must make a clear break with factionalism. They must consider the overall situation and stress unity, rather than quibble over historical problems, give thought to personal gains and losses, strive for superiority or be swayed by personal feelings.

To stress unity leading cadres at all levels must be democratic. This is a revolutionary work style which communists must adopt. We must humbly and attentively listen to the masses' opinions, not only their flattery but also their criticism. We must let every person to have his say and boldly allow him to raise his opinions and suggestions, so that we can mobilize everyone's enthusiasm and establish leading groups that are united and have healthy tendencies. However, it is also wrong if we have only democracy but no centralism. Without centralism, people cannot have united will and action. They will do whatever they like. When there is no unity and the forces are weakened, plans and methods cannot be carried out, no matter how good they are, and democracy will lose its significance. Therefore, in inner-party political life, leading cadres at all levels must play an exemplary role in observing the principle of democratic centralism. This is also a key to unity.

To stress unity we must also unfold constructive ideological struggle and oppose liberalism. When conflicts among our comrades emerge we must handle them through open and frank discussions. When problems arise from work we must be bold in shouldering the responsibilities and conduct self-criticism, instead of stressing objective difficulties or striving for personal fame and putting the blame on someone else. When we unfold criticism we must seek truth from facts and point out the mistakes as they are. We must neither reduce nor tolerate the mistakes and shortcomings, nor exaggerate and criticize them from the higher plane of principle. The most important things in a party committee are forgiveness, support and friendship. All comrades must stress the interests of the party and the building of our army. They must be strict with themselves and lenient toward others. They must adhere to principles on major issues and adhere to ethics on minor issues. They must help and be considerate to one another in order to create an atmosphere characterized by loyalty to the party and unity in times of difficulty.

Third, they should carry forward the spirit of plain living and hard struggle. We must wholeheartedly serve the people and be their good servants. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" clearly stipulate: "Leading cadres at all levels are the servants of the people. They have only the duty to serve the people diligently and conscientiously and no right to seek privileges either politically or with respect to living conditions." Another criterion to judge whether leading cadres meet the requirements of party members is whether they hold power for public interests or for their own interests and whether or not they use public office for private gain. To serve the people is not empty talk. We must always think about the masses, go deep into them, understand their hardships and sufferings and wholeheartedly work for their interests. As army cadres we have to undertake arduous tasks, because the party has placed a regiment, a division or an army under our leadership. We must consciously seek pressure and shoulder heavy burdens, earnestly and diligently study and work and frequently use our brains to solve problems. We must fulfill our duties and build our army with one heart and one mind. Old comrades also have an important duty. They have to select talented people and promote them to leading posts. They must also pass on experiences, set an example and help new cadres develop their talent and improve their ideological level and working ability in practice. Old comrades must retire; this is a law of nature. However, we must not regard retirement as a withdrawal from the revolutionary ranks. As long as we live we must fight for socialism and communism.

To be qualified party members we must play an exemplary role in our daily life, rather than seek special privilege. Whatever their ranks, all party members are servants of the people. Some comrades do not understand the harm in seeking special privilege and regard it as something trivial. Others think that they deserve some comforts in their old age because they fought in the wars when they were young. To them, the seeking of privileges is nothing serious. These views are really wrong.

Some people equate leading posts with comforts and think that leaders are superior and entitled to seek special privileges. This is actually an expression of the "special privilege" mentality of the feudal class and is incompatible with the nature of our party. The seeking of privileges by some cadres is one of the problems which most concern and disgust the masses. When cadres seek special privileges they are bound to become divorced from the masses. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out that the privilege seeking of senior cadres had adversely affected their relatives and children. Since the implementation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and the measures adopted by the Central Committee to oppose privilege seeking, the situation has improved. However, this problem has not been completely solved. We must also note that some of the children of our cadres perform poorly, and some have even committed crimes. This has something to do with privilege seeking by our cadres and their indulgent attitude toward their children. This problem should cause alarm, because it impairs the prestige not only of our cadres but also of our party.

Fourth, they should study diligently and become both Red and expert. To achieve the four modernizations we are faced with a difficult problem. We need a large number of professional scientists and technicians, and our current cadres' professional knowledge cannot meet the needs of the four modernizations. Whether a leader can play a leading role depends on his political and ideological level and professional proficiency rather than on his rank. A leading position is only a responsibility which alone cannot give people any wisdom or ability. Only by studying and practicing arduously can we upgrade our proficiency. There is a similar problem in the army. Many leading cadres experienced the war years, and some even commanded battles in those years. However, modern wars differ greatly from wars in the years of "millet and rifle." It is no longer possible to copy past experiences today when there are combined operations by various arms and services. Our air forces have the experiences of fighting in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and of defending our territorial airspace. These experiences are very precious and useful. Nevertheless, the guiding principles and methods of fighting and the strategy and tactics of air forces have changed due to the improvement of science and technology, of the functions of airplanes, of fire control systems and of electronic equipment. If we do not study conscientiously, we will not be able to lead the army well but will suffer great losses in war. One important requirement for party members is to take the lead in studying politics, military affairs, science and professional knowledge in order to become professionals and experts in their own trades. Leading cadres must have a high level of consciousness and a sense of urgency to study. They must exert some pressure on themselves. Study is not a personal problem but a requirement of modernization. Without genuine talent, one will be neither a competent leader nor a good example of a party member.

III. To be qualified party members, leading cadres must firmly foster the communist outlook on life and devote their lives to the great cause of communism.

It is necessary to educate party members to foster a communist outlook on life. An important problem we have to solve now is to educate party members to combine lofty ideals with the spirit of doing practical work, to properly handle the relationship between personal interests and the party's interests and between long-term interests and short-term interests. Before entering the party, each comrade has solemnly sworn to fight for communism all his life and to sacrifice his personal interests, even his life when necessary, for the party's interests. This is the communist outlook on life. However, during the 10 years of turmoil, because of the wanton sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people seldom talked about the communist outlook on life. Many party members who joined the party during this period did not know much about the party's nature, tasks and basic principles and were not ideologically prepared to sacrifice everything and fight for communism. A number of old party members who joined the party many years ago have also relaxed the strict demands they made upon themselves and have gradually forgotten the solemn pledge they made when they entered the party. Why are some comrades able to stand the test of life and death but unable to resist material temptation? Why are some comrades able to stand the test of difficulties and setbacks but become muddleheaded and cocky when the revolution progresses smoothly? Why did some comrades bravely stand the cruel persecution of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" but make unreasonable demands on the party after they had been redressed? Why did some comrades wholeheartedly think of revolution before the founding of the PRC but think less about revolution and more about their own prospects, families, children and pleasures in daily life after the founding of the PRC? Why do some comrades recoil in fear rather than boldly step forward to fight against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds? Why are they concerned only about their personal interests and not about the interests of the party and people? Why do some comrades say that their highest goal is to realize communism, but when they meet with difficulties and setbacks they think "it is too difficult to build socialism," "it is too far away to achieve communism," and their faith in the four modernizations wavers. The basic reason for these problems is that these comrades have not fostered a firm communist outlook on life, which is the ideological basis of qualified party members. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out that the most enjoyable task of communists is to realize communism and that "every member should gladly and solemnly resolve to shoulder the task of realizing communism, a task greater and more arduous than any in human history." ("How To Be a Good Communist") After entering the party our leading cadres must make unremitting efforts to fulfill their pledge and dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism. They must continue to improve their communist mentality, foster lofty morals and values and act according to the following teaching of Comrade Mao Zedong: "Be noble-minded and pure men, men of moral

integrity and above vulgar interests, men who are of value to the people." ("In Memory of Norman Bethune") They must have integrity so that "neither riches can corrupt them, neither poverty nor lowly conditions can make them swerve from principle, neither threats nor force can bend them." They must be able to stand the test under all circumstances.

To be qualified party members we must carry forward the party's fine tradition of being as good as our word, starting from the present moment and from ourselves, doing practical work and stressing actions. In his "Letter to W. Bracke," Karl Marx said: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 3) We judge whether a party member is qualified or not by his deeds rather than by his words, and by his practice rather than by his pledge. Engaging in empty talk and refusing to do practical work run counter to the party's work style and party spirit. Leading cadres must measure themselves by the standards of a communist and by the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." They must earnestly and conscientiously practice what they preach. Party committees must hold regular meetings on problems of daily life and for heart-to-heart talks and must carry out small-scale rectification movements at the right time. Leading cadres must often conduct criticism and self-criticism and consciously subject themselves to supervision by the masses. They must get themselves moving, drop pretentious airs, be willing pupils and go deep into the masses. They must sincerely and attentively listen to the voice of the masses, humbly subject themselves to the criticism of the masses, continuously correct their mistakes and always maintain the political color of communists.

As Comrade Zhou Enlai suggested, leading cadres at all levels must follow the example of the old proletarian revolutionaries and never feel too old to learn and to transform. They must be really qualified party members worthy of our great times.

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COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS' LOFTY IDEALS AND ACTUAL DEEDS

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[Article by Zhong Can [6988 3605]]

[Text] The achievement of communism is the lofty ideal of Communist Party members. From the first day they enter the party, each Communist Party member must resolve to struggle as long as he lives for the realization of communism. This is the most basic qualification for every party member. If we wavers in this idea, he cannot be a communist.

"We must have noble ideals and not be shortsighted." We must not be "influenced by the individualist ideas of 'material benefit' and 'satisfaction' in society." These were the last words of an outstanding communist member, Lu Shicai. This concise but comprehensive statement hits right at the ills of the times and is very touching. At present there are actually some people, including some Communist Party members, who have doubts and waver in their faith in socialism and communism. They say that "building socialism is too difficult; achieving communism is too far away." "Noble ideals are worthless; only material benefit is real." They do not try to think of ways to do their own jobs well but only think of money. Therefore, strengthening the education of party members in revolutionary ideals and the philosophy of life has become very important.

Communism is the most progressive, most perfect social system in human history. It is the greatest and noblest goal of the proletarian revolution. The communist pledge to struggle for the realization of communism is not due to a moment's enthusiasm nor to baseless imagination, but is based on a scientific conviction that has come about after a thorough understanding of the law of development of human society. Marx and Engels used the principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to bring to light the law of development of human society. They pointed out that capitalist society is the last of the class societies in human history based on private ownership. It is bound to be replaced by socialism, and the whole of humanity will finally enter the stage of communist society. Such is the irresistible objective law of the development of human history. The experience of the international

communist movement over the past 100 years or so and the practice of socialist revolution and construction in our country show that the Marxist theory of scientific socialism is an indisputable truth.

One important reason why some people have doubts and waver in their faith in socialism and communism is that they lack an understanding of the nature of the outward prosperity of major capitalist countries during the past few years and have not made a thorough and concrete analysis of the setbacks suffered by socialism in its progress. They are not able to distinguish between the capitalist system and the socialist system and are not able to tell the difference between scientific socialism and the sham socialism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and between the socialist system and the shortcomings and errors found in our work and the imperfections of the operative systems (such as the cadre system, system of wages and others). Thus, some ideological confusion has occurred. Undoubtedly, the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system. It enforces the system of public ownership of the means of production, as it does not have the contradiction between private appropriation and socialized production. It carries out the principle of distribution according to work, so the accumulation of capital, wage labor and exploitation do not exist. It engages in a planned economy, so the anarchic conditions in production which are characteristic of capitalism do not exist. Marxism teaches us that the most important criterion for judging the superiority of a social system is whether it enhances or obstructs the development of productive forces. In our country, because we implemented these basic systems of socialism, the rate of development of the productive forces has been generally high despite some difficulties. The national output of grain in 1978 grew by 1.9 times compared with 1949, while cotton production grew by 3.9 times. The growth rate of industrial production from 1952--the year when industry was put back on its feet--to 1978 averaged 11.2 percent each year. On the other hand, in major capitalist countries like the United States, Britain, France and West Germany the average annual growth rate of industrial production was only around 5 to 6 percent from the 1950's to the 1970's, termed the period of rapid economic development. Even Japan, with the highest growth rate, never exceeded 12 percent. Then why did our economic development suffer several setbacks, and why was the superiority of the socialist system not fully demonstrated? The superiority of the socialist system only provides for the possibility of developing a planned and proportional economy at a rapid pace. But possibility is not the same as reality. If we do not work in line with objective laws, indulge in subjective speculation and divorce ourselves from reality, not only will the superiority of the socialist system not be demonstrated, but this could even bring about the stagnation and retrogression of the national economy. After the founding of the PRC, particularly after the late 1950's, the main reason why we suffered setbacks for a time was that we did not abide by the objective law of socialism in guiding our work. For example, we did not shift the focus of our work in time with economic construction; we stirred up the "wind

of exaggeration" and the "wind of communism" and engaged in "issuing arbitrary orders"; we improperly launched one political movement after another and enabled Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to seize the opportunity to create 10 years of turmoil and bring the national economy to the brink of collapse. These shortcomings and errors in our subjective orientation were not due to faults inherent in the socialist system but were the results of undermining the socialist system and its superiority. We cannot indiscriminately attribute to the socialist system problems which are not inherent in it. Undeniably, in the past there has been economic development in the capitalist countries due to the competition between monopoly capital and the scientific and technological revolution. But the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system have not been resolved. On the contrary, as its economy develops, the decadence and parasitism of the capitalist system worsen considerably. Although socialism is still new and imperfect and inevitably carries with it some marks of the old society, it conforms to the orientation of historical development. It has shown tremendous vitality and is advancing continuously. It will surely win over capitalism in the end. Our comrades must learn to make use of the Marxist standpoint, point of view and method to look at problems comprehensively and dialectically and must not be dazzled by transient, superficial and partial phenomena.

A communist must not be full of vigor only when the cause of revolution is advancing smoothly and become pessimistic and frustrated once it suffers a setback. We must not just believe in socialism when its superiority is demonstrated and then start to have doubts and waver when this superiority is undermined. The most valuable thing in the character of a communism is that he not only is full of confidence when the situation is good but, more importantly, has undying faith in the eventual triumph of the communist cause when there are difficulties and setbacks and even when there are failures. In the past several decades, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and numerous outstanding party members set brilliant examples for us in holding fast to their revolutionary ideals during the time of the low tide of the revolution and when the struggle was extremely arduous, even when they were thrown into prison and faced the gallows of the enemy. When standing before the gallows of the enemy, Li Dazhao, a forerunner of the proletarian revolution, made these awe-inspiring remarks: You can hang me, but you cannot hang the great communism. Then he calmly and gallantly walked forward to face his death. In the enemy's prison cell Fang Zhimin rigorously wrote this forceful pledge: "The enemy can only chop off our heads, but they can never shake our beliefs! The ideology we believe in is a universal truth! We are very willing to sacrifice ourselves for communism and shed blood for the soviet!" ("Anthology of Poetry by Revolutionary Martyrs") During the years of the revolutionary war we did not have doubts and did not waver in our faith in the communist ideal and the revolutionary cause. Today, in the new Long March toward the four modernizations, we should all the more have the following conviction: The magnificent goal of achieving the four modernizations

must be attained and can surely be attained. Of course, to basically change the backwardness of our country's economy, culture, and science and technology and achieve socialist modernization in less than a quarter century's time is a more arduous and more complicated great undertaking than overthrowing the "three big mountains." Not only are we facing many difficulties and problems at present, but inevitably there will be many problems, and even some setbacks, in the future. However, Communist Party members must be able to stand the test of difficulties and setbacks. If we lose confidence in the four modernizations and waver in our faith in communism as soon as there is a setback, are we not essentially the same as those who, before the establishment of the PRC, joined the party only during the high tide of the revolution and dropped out as soon as the situation became bad?

When looking into the prospects for the great future of our socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We can and must scorn all the difficulties we encounter in this world, however immense they may be, and regard them as beneath contempt. Such is our optimism." ("Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China") In times of difficulty our comrades must see our achievements and see the brighter side. We must heighten our courage to surmount the difficulties. At present the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not been totally eliminated, while bourgeois ideology, the decadent lifestyle of the bourgeois class and the bourgeois liberal trend of thought have taken advantage of this time to come in. As a result, the tendency toward coveting "material benefits" has grown considerably in our society. Under such conditions, a party member must not only stand firm on his communist convictions and maintain a clear mind and the correct orientation, but must try to exert influence and conduct propaganda among the masses by acting as a vanguard and a model, in order to guide the masses to cultivate a strong confidence in the cause of socialism and communism.

The lofty ideal of fighting for communism is the source of strength which encourages communists to struggle hard to overcome difficulties. The realization of this lofty ideal, in turn, depends on down-to-earth hard work. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "We Communist Party members must have the highest goals in our struggle and the highest ideals. At the same time, we must have a practical spirit and do real, practical work. Such are the characteristics which distinguish us as communists." ("How To Be a Good Communist") If we do not have noble ideals, we will be short-sighted, mediocre and unambitious. If we only fight for communism in words but not in deeds and do not integrate that ideal with practical work, then this ideal cannot be realized, no matter how good it is. If we want to fight for the cause of communism, we must wholeheartedly plunge into the great struggle to build the four modernizations right now. The achievement of socialist modernization is to create conditions for the transition to communism. It is advancing to the great goal of the future. Whether or not we can achieve the four modernizations by the end of the

century bears upon the future and fate of our country and nation. The way to build Chinese-style modernization cannot be found in any "books." We must have the revolutionary spirit of the war years and the endurance and perseverance we had during the ascent of snowcapped mountains and the crossing of the grassland in boldly experimenting and innovating. Right now, some people complain that the development of the productive forces in our country is slow and that the superiority of the socialist system has not been brought into full play. However, they do not do their own jobs well to contribute their share in achieving the four modernizations. This attitude is obviously wrong. The four modernizations can only be achieved if we work for it and not if we cry out for it or wait for it. Each one of us must start from himself, start from now and start from little things. As Lenin said: "To achieve big things we must start with little ones." ("From the Destruction of the Ancient Social System to the Creation of the New," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 475) The achievement of socialist modernization in our country concerns all of us. Communist Party members have even more unshirkable responsibilities. If each one of us makes more contributions in his job with a revolutionary and death-defying spirit, then our lofty ideal will be attained more quickly.

Communist Party members are advanced elements among the masses. In the new Long March to build and defend the four modernizations, if party members lead, the masses will be full of vigor; if the party members set examples in working hard, the masses will be more confident. How well the party members work directly affects the masses' confidence and enthusiasm in working for the four modernizations. If the leading cadres of the party at all levels set good examples, the influence and effect will even be greater. Today the test of whether a party member has lofty revolutionary ideals is not what he says but how he performs in the drive for the four modernizations. We advocate being as good as one's words, integrating theory and practice and unifying thought and action. We are against the bad practices of empty words or talking socialism but doing capitalism, divorcing theory from practice and acting in a way which is not in keeping with one's words. Every Communist Party member must make a self-assessment as to whether he has lofty revolutionary ideals and whether he is working in a down-to-earth manner for the revolutionary ideals.

In their practical fight for the noble ideal, Communist Party members must properly handle the questions of the relative importance of public and private interests and the interests of the individual and the organization. They must handle well questions relating to their own personal interests, such as the relationship between making contributions and receiving compensation and between personal wishes and the needs of the party. Should we be selfless and impartial and wholeheartedly devote ourselves to working for the public interest, or should we be selfish and calculating? We must give a clearcut answer to this question. At present some comrades are very choosy about work. They refuse to accept

some task given to them and disobey orders for job transfers. They want easy work and high pay, and they would like to work in the choice areas where life is comfortable. This situation is incompatible with the glorious name of a Communist Party member. Party discipline does not allow the development of such tendencies. The cause of the party is a collective undertaking. It is like a huge machine which requires a unified command and a tightly knit organization to be able to function normally. A party member must be like a screw which can perform its functions wherever it is placed. If we give priority to personal wishes and disregard the needs of the party and the revolutionary cause, will the party organization still have any fighting power? The party allows personal wishes and takes them into consideration as much as possible. But it cannot always follow the wishes of all party members, because it bases its decisions primarily on the requirements of the revolution and the cause of construction. If the personal wishes of party members run counter to the needs of the party, they should forego these wishes. During the years of the revolutionary war, when the party wanted to conduct armed struggle, numerous Communist Party members took up arms, studied military tactics and went to the battlefield. After the founding of the PRC, socialist construction was started. Many comrades who had no experience whatsoever in economic work shifted to the construction front. They conscientiously merged their personal wishes with the needs of the party. They were able to work in the city and the countryside and go anywhere they were assigned. They epitomized the principle of party spirit to a high degree. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" explicitly stipulate: "Each and every Communist Party member and party cadre must handle their personal affairs in accordance with the principle that the party's interests are above all else. They must conscientiously obey the party organizations' decisions in their work assignments, transfers and other arrangements. If they consider their work assignment improper, they may express their views. But when party organizations have considered their views and reach a final decision, they must obey it." We must conscientiously use the "guiding principles" to guide our own actions. No matter what kind of position we occupy, we must have the communist attitude toward labor, be bold in taking up a heavy workload and assuming responsibility and always maintain a high spirit and vigor.

On the question of the relationship between making contributions and taking compensation, Communist Party members must have the communist style. Some comrades always feel that they have given the party a great deal but have received too little from the party, and thus they have come out on the short end. They use their small work achievements as a lever to ask for things from the party. They fight for higher positions, wages and bonuses. When they cannot get them, they cry or even take the erroneous attitude of "working according to the compensation." This kind of mental disposition is absolutely incompatible with the lofty ideals and character of a communist. If you have worked hard, it is reasonable for the state and the people to give you certain compensations. This is

also needed for one to stay alive. Party leadership at all levels must be concerned with the material life of the masses. However, party members must not take compensation as the goal of their aspirations. We must make more contributions for the revolution and not be led by the nose by money. Lu Xun once compared himself to a cow. He said: "The cow eats grass but gives milk and blood." Party members must learn from Lu Xun's spirit of willingly serving the people, take pride in making more contributions rather than being concerned about receiving compensation and be ashamed of receiving more compensation than one's contributions deserve. We have many good party members and cadres who have made many contributions for the revolution but ask very little from the people.

The former deputy minister of national defense and commander of the armored forces, Comrade Xu Guangda, made outstanding contributions during the period of the revolutionary war. When he was promoted to the rank of senior general, he became so anxious that he could not sleep. He felt that he had only made a small contribution to the revolution and that the people had given him too great an honor. He wrote to the Military Commission and Chairman Mao several times requesting a demotion. During rank reclassification in 1954 he could have been classified as fourth class according to the rules. However, he asked for a lower classification. The leadership had to classify him as fifth class to satisfy his request. What a noble communist style! In the war of counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, the broad masses of Communist Party members among the border defense forces feared neither hardship nor death. They unhesitatingly went through fire and water and set many examples by their heroic deeds. They wrote a new and glorious page in the history of our army with their blood and lives. They deserve to be called the most lovable people of the new period. If we talk about working conditions, the environment they were in was harsher than that of any job in peacetime. If we talk about compensation, many of them received only a few yuan as a monthly allowance. But to safeguard the borders and defend the four modernizations, and for the great ideal of communism, they were prepared to die the cruelest death and to sacrifice their youthful lives. This fully epitomizes the noble character and breadth of vision of a communist! Those who are overly concerned about working conditions and covet a comfortable life, those who work only a little when the compensation is small and do not work at all when there will be no compensation, and those who go wherever there is "material benefit" seem very puny compared with the revolutionaries of the older generations and the heroes. Lenin once pointed out: "Money is the reason for working. That is the moral of the capitalist world." ("Report to the Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 105) We Communist Party members must absolutely not be overly concerned about some so-called immediate "material benefit," forget principles when faced with benefits or betray our lofty ideal.

The train of history is flying fast. On the great soil of our motherland, the glorious but arduous task of achieving the four modernizations

has been placed by history on our shoulders. Communist Party members must have the great goal of communism in their hearts and bravely take up the great duty placed on us by history. They must be undaunted by setbacks and courageously surge forward. Under the leadership of the party, they must be vanguards and models in the new Long March toward the four modernizations and by their actual deeds write a new chapter in history which will be worthy of this great epoch.

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ON BRINGING THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP INTO PLAY

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[Article by Li Guangyuan [2621 0342 6678]; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface]

[Text] The central issue of the superiority of the socialist system is the fact that socialist public ownership is superior to capitalist private ownership. Why is socialist public ownership superior to capitalist private ownership? In what respects is it superior? How is the superiority of socialist public ownership in China being realized? And how can we bring the superiority into full play? This article will discuss some superficial views in answer to these questions.

I

The fact that Marxism holds that socialist public ownership is superior to capitalist private ownership is not based on certain abstract moral concepts which transcend history, but on the fact that, as soon as the contradictions between socialized mass production and capitalist private ownership develop to a certain point, there will be an objective need to replace capitalist private ownership with socialist public ownership in order to create production relations suited to the socialization of production and liberate the productive forces from the capitalist production relations for an even faster development. Of course, exactly when this kind of replacement will occur is still subject to many other social and historical conditions and is not determined solely by the level of the productive forces. Nevertheless, it will occur sooner or later. The history of mankind has demonstrated that production relations must meet the needs of the development of the productive forces. This is an objective law which no force on earth can ever resist.

In what sense does socialist public ownership liberate the productive forces in society? First, socialist public ownership eliminates the bourgeoisie's domination of production and their exploitation of the workers. As a result, the socialized means of production are returned to the hands of the united direct producers, and the workers have changed

from wage slaves to be the common masters of production. The aim of production is no longer to multiply the surplus value for the capitalists, but to satisfy the needs of the workers. The waste of social labor caused by the parasitic consumption of the exploiting class ceases to exist, as does the confinement imposed by the capitalist relations on the workers' need for purchasing power (the value of labor). For the first time labor becomes the yardstick for the distribution of the fruits of labor. What production faces is a "market" which has objectively boundless possibilities for development. Second, socialist public ownership allows the united workers to consciously organize social production in a planned manner so as to suit the proportionate relations objectively required for socialized mass production and to avoid the waste and sabotage caused by the anarchist situation throughout capitalist social production. In a word, /under the conscious guidance of society, production under socialist public ownership can achieve a sustained and rapid increase in a planned and proportionate manner for the sake of the growing needs of the workers./ It is different from the capitalist economy, where the development of production inevitably leads to cyclical economic crises and even wars of aggression, plunder and a redistribution of the spheres of influence due to a scramble for markets.

Socialism is a brandnew social system. At any rate, people are still studying and exploring the law of motion of the socialist economy. However, we can see from China's practice of socialist construction in the past 30 years that, despite many complications, the superiority of this new system is beyond question.

II

Semicolonial and semifeudal old China had a very backward economy. However, it was a link in the overall chain of the capital imperialist world economy. International and domestic historical conditions determined that old China could not possibly have a capitalist stage. It could therefore only establish a socialist society through a transition from the new democratic revolution to socialist revolution. Hence, after the proletariat gained control of political power, they established socialist public ownership in a country where the level of the productive forces was very low. In this case, was China's socialist public ownership developed to meet the needs of the development of the productive forces, and has it been playing the role of liberating the productive forces and promoting their development? The answers are affirmative.

In old China, socialized mass production was controlled mainly by bureaucratic monopoly capital and foreign monopoly capital. The two components of capital controlled the lifeblood of the national economy and carried out ruthless exploitation, pillage and oppression against the Chinese people, seriously hindering the development of the productive forces. Therefore, once the two components were owned by a state which was led by the proletariat, and as they changed their internal and external

relations in accordance with the principle of socialist public ownership, the productive forces were immediately greatly liberated.

The degree of socialization of production in China's national capitalist economy was relatively low, and there still was ample room for development in the sphere of capitalist production relations. At the same time, the national capitalist economy also fettered and restricted the development of the productive forces. The point was particularly outstanding when contrasted with the socialist state economy. Let us take as an example a most developed branch of the national capitalist industry--the textile industry. In 1952 the labor productivity of private enterprises amounted to only about 76 percent of that of the state enterprises, and in 1955 the figure even dropped to 57 percent. It was the objective basis for the transformation of the national capitalist economy into the socialist economy. Because of the dual effects of national capitalism and the dualism of the national bourgeoisie, our party adopted different policies for national capital and bureaucratic capital. Our party adopted the policies of utilizing, restricting and transforming the national capital and, through the steps of gradually transforming state capitalism, transformed this part of capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership. This process of transformation was in keeping with China's national conditions and has obviously liberated the productive forces and promoted their development.

In China's rural areas after the land reform, individual peasants' private ownership was in keeping with the situation of the productive forces, which were characterized by individual labor and animal power. However, the individual economy was subjected to very great limitations, and its spontaneous development tended toward capitalism. Being part of the entire national economy, the individual economy and its spontaneous tendency were in acute contradiction with the large socialist industries, which were developing rapidly at that time and were playing a guiding and decisive role. China's agricultural collectivization met the objective need of solving this contradiction. It followed a gradual advancement of proceeding from low to high which was suited to the situation of the rural productive forces, adapting the degree and scope of socialist public ownership to the development of the socialization of production. It thus played the role of promoting the development of the productive forces.

For these and other reasons to be discussed below, China's industry achieved a sustained rapid growth during the 3-year period of national economic restoration and the period of the First Five-Year Plan. During the First Five-Year Plan China's total industrial output value achieved an average annual growth of 18 percent. The growth figure was not only beyond comparison with old China but also far exceeded the industrial growth rates of the United States and Britain in the same period (which were, respectively, 2.8 and 4.1 percent). Postwar Japan achieved the most rapid industrial development among the developed capitalist

countries. Its growth rate was also highest during the 1950's, attaining the highest figure of an average annual growth of 16.7 percent. (During the 1960's, that is, from 1961 to 1970, the average annual growth was 13.6 percent, and during the 1970's, from 1971 to 1978, the average annual growth was 3.7 percent.) However, this highest figure was still lower than China's industrial growth rate during its First Five-Year Plan.

During the First Five-Year Plan China's agriculture achieved an average annual growth of 4.5 percent, also surpassing the average annual agricultural growth rates of the United States, Britain and Japan in the 1950's (which were, respectively, 1.7, 2.6 and 3.3 percent).

China went through a comparatively smooth process in the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production. However, it was exactly because of the comparatively smooth process that we later became less prudent and put forth various impatient and pressing demands. At one time we even took raising the level of public ownership as a panacea for promoting the development of the productive forces and strove to artificially raise the degree and expand the scope of public ownership beyond the requirement of the development of the productive forces and the permitted limits. It seemed as though the larger the scope the better and the more public ownership the better. Hence, people stirred up the "communist wind," engaged in "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources," appropriated the fruits of labor of the collective economy without paying anything, abolished the right of self-management of the collective economy and negated the rights and interests of the commune members as masters of the collective economy. As a result, they destroyed our productive forces. During China's Second Five-Year Plan (from 1958 to 1962), agricultural production dropped at an average annual rate of 4.3 percent, and the average annual rate of industrial growth also decreased by 3.8 percent. The CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong discovered and corrected this erroneous tendency and proposed that the people's commune for a long time implement the system of "three-level ownership by the commune, the brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit." As a result, socialist public ownership in the rural areas once again returned to the track which was suited to the development of the productive forces, and agricultural production was therefore once again rapidly restored and developed. Over the 3-year period from 1963 to 1965 agricultural production achieved an average annual increase of 11.1 percent, and industrial production achieved an average annual increase of 17.9 percent.

/China's successful experience in transforming private ownership into socialist public ownership and the later complications not only incontrovertibly demonstrated in both the positive and negative aspects the superiority of socialist public ownership, but also taught us a very valuable lesson: only under the condition whereby the establishment and development of socialist public ownership is suited to the socialization

of production is it possible for socialist public ownership to play the role of liberating and promoting the productive forces and bring its superiority into play./ The view which is detached from the situation of the productive forces and which holds that public ownership is better than private ownership under any circumstances and that the higher the degree and the larger the scope of public ownership the better is but a misunderstanding of the superiority of socialist public ownership.

However, this view, which had once caused China's economy to suffer serious setbacks, was not thoroughly solved in theory and ideology at that time. Later, during the 10 years of disruption, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" again made use of people's misunderstanding. Under the demagogic slogan that the more public ownership the more revolutionary people were, they pushed forward everywhere the ultraleftist line and once again brought calamity to the national economy. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee has carried out a large amount of work to correct the past mistakes in this respect. In the past 3 years many more vivid facts have demonstrated this plain truth: /the degree and scope of public ownership must be suited to the development of the socialization of production./ For instance, in the rural areas the measures reiterating that the system of three-level ownership by the commune, the brigade and the production team with the production team as the basic accounting unit will remain unchanged for a long time. Respecting the right of self-management of production teams, overcoming the tendency to "make a premature transition effort," adopting measures suitable to local situations in pushing forward various systems of production responsibility, as well as implementing the party's policies regarding private plots, commune members' household sideline production and the rural trade fairs--all are in keeping with the current situation of China's productive forces, and all have scored conspicuous achievements. A situation has appeared in the countryside in which the commune members are all joyous and happy, and all trades are developing in great prosperity. In the urban areas, on the other hand, some light industries, handicraft industries, service industries and collective enterprises which have a comparatively low degree of socialization were discriminated against and restricted in their development simply because they did not have an adequate degree of "public ownership" and a sufficiently "large scale," and their resources were frequently "appropriated and transferred." Yet they have demonstrated their indomitable vitality and achieved new development in recent years. In places where the proper rights of collective ownership are respected, the collective enterprises' labor productivity, rates of profits from capital and flexibility in meeting the needs of the market have often surpassed some state enterprises in the same trades. Moreover, they have also played a unique and irreplaceable role in providing employment opportunities, making people's livelihood convenient and serving large industries and exports. The small handicraft industries and some service industries and commercial enterprises operated by individual workers and which did not exploit other people and were permitted by the constitution were for a long time

ignored and were almost completely chopped away. In recent years, however, they have been restored and have developed within the scope of what is permitted by party policies. As a necessary supplement to the socialist public ownership economy, they have played the role of rectifying omissions and deficiencies and are welcomed by the masses.

/Historical experience has demonstrated that the coexistence of ownership by all the people, collective ownership and a little supplementary private ownership is suited to a big country like China, in which the degree of socialization of production is in an unbalanced state./ Maintaining stability in our systems of ownership is beneficial to promoting the development of the productive forces. To do an even better job in displaying the superiority of socialist public ownership, it is necessary /to make the management system of our national economy better meet the demand of the socialization of production on the basis of maintaining stability in the systems of ownership and to adopt various integrated ways to organize and promote the socialization of production./ The restructuring of our current economic system, upon which we have now embarked, will surely be a very significant step in resolving this issue.

III

The bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes have ceased to exist in China, and the workers no longer suffer their exploitation and domination and have become the masters of the means of production. The aim of production has also changed: in the past it was the intention of the exploiters to get rich and make a fortune, but now it is the intention of the workers to satisfy their own (the whole group and the individual's) growing needs. Practice over the past 30 years has taught us that the elimination of the exploiting class and along with it the elimination of the great waste of social labor caused by the parasitic consumption by the exploiting class can be achieved relatively easily. In fact, we have already achieved that. We have also successfully transformed most of those people among the exploiting class who are capable of doing labor into workers who earn their own living. Nevertheless, /an even more complicated and bigger issue is how to make all the workers the de facto masters of socialist public ownership and not just in name only./ Only when the workers actually see that the aim of production is to satisfy their own needs, truly assume an attitude of masters in treating the means of production, labor and products and also regard doing a good job in promoting socialist production as their own proper duty is it possible to liberate the great enthusiasm and strength and the boundless intelligence and wisdom of the workers and to bring into full play the superiority of socialist public ownership. Otherwise, if the situation is different--for example, if the workers in a certain enterprise are actually not in a superior position or do not regard themselves as the masters, but on the contrary regard the publicly owned means of production as something which belongs to "others" and even treat the enterprise as though it is one of those enterprises of the capitalists and the government in the old

days--then it will be hard to say that such an enterprise will achieve any development more beneficial to promoting production than the capitalist enterprises.

As a matter of principle, the true masters of our socialist public ownership are the united workers and no one else. The masters of state ownership are the united workers throughout the country, and the masters of collective ownership are the united workers throughout the collective. Well, if this is the case, why is it still necessary to pose the question of the workers actually becoming the masters of socialist public ownership? It is in fact a question necessitated by practice. The tortuous road we traversed in the past 30 years has demonstrated that, in terms of the state and the collective, the question of /how to make the powers and interests which belong in principle to the workers actually belong to them,/ or to put it in another way, /how and through what kind of organizational structures, processes and methods the united workers can actually master and exercise their power to control the means of production in order to acquire and share the benefits of developing production/ is a very complicated issue. For instance, one very important question is how to /integrate democracy with centralism/ and how to /integrate the workers' individual, partial and overall interests./ Here both political and economic problems are involved, covering the system, policies and plans. In sum, we have been basically successful in solving these problems. This is the fundamental reason that our economy of socialist public ownership has manifested its superiority to a definite degree despite two serious setbacks. However, there are also positive and negative experiences which we must sum up. In the first 8 years immediately after liberation, democratic life in the party and state was comparatively normal. Through democratic reform the state enterprises abolished the feudal and capitalist management system which oppressed the workers, established the democratic system in which the working class managed the enterprises and gradually pursued an even better system (for example, the system of the congress of staff and workers which once played a very good role). The agricultural production cooperatives and the handicraft industry cooperatives also gradually formulated a democratic management system in which the commune members were the masters of their own affairs. The principle of to each according to his work, which integrated the workers' individual and overall interests, was generally implemented. With the development of production, the workers' living standards were also conspicuously improved. For instance, during the First Five-Year Plan the average wage for each of the staff members and workers in China increased by 42.8 percent, and the average income of peasants increased by 27.9 percent. Because of these situations, and together with the party's work in promoting ideological education, the workers' consciousness of being the masters of their own affairs was constantly enhanced. It was also a fundamental reason why the development of production was comparatively rapid during that period and the manifestation of the superiority of socialist public ownership was comparatively conspicuous. Later, however, the class struggle was expanded, democratic life in the

party and state was sabotaged and things like stirring up the communist wind, issuing confused orders, the proneness to boasting and exaggeration, caring only about production targets and ignoring the people's livelihood, and so on, which neglected and even obliterated the workers' democratic rights and economic interests in being the masters of their own affairs, occurred continuously. These resulted in not only a serious dislocation in the national economy, but also a serious impediment in the workers' enthusiasm for being the masters of their own affairs, and hence an abnormal situation of stagnation and even decreased production. The correction of these erroneous tendencies brought about a rapid restoration and development in industrial and agricultural production during the period from 1963 to 1965. During the Great Cultural Revolution, however, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed the above-mentioned erroneous tendencies to the extreme. They pushed a feudal fascist dictatorship and a sham socialism of general poverty and completely obliterated the workers' democratic rights and economic interests. What they really wanted to do was to turn the workers from masters into slaves and fundamentally destroy socialist public ownership. These inevitably devastated industrial and agricultural production. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" the party and state have done much effective work to restore and develop the workers' democratic rights and economic interests in being the masters of their own affairs. For instance, they have reversed the incorrect verdicts on unjust, trumped-up and incorrect cases, put socialist democracy and the legal system on a sound basis, respected the production teams' right of self-management, rectified and improved the democratic management of enterprises, restored and improved the wage and bonus systems which manifest the principle of to each according to his work, readjusted the proportion between capital accumulation and consumption, vigorously solved problems regarding the masses' livelihood, and so on. These things have brought about rapid restoration and development in industrial and agricultural production in the past few years. The fundamental reason why the problems were solved was that we have implemented socialist public ownership; the working people are now masters of the means of production and hence masters of the state. Of course, it is not true that all problems have been solved. Nevertheless, the orientation is clear: /we shall make the workers the de facto masters of socialist public ownership and not just in name only. We shall make their democratic rights and economic interests continue to develop along with the development of production and constantly enhance the workers' enthusiasm for being the masters of their own affairs--this is a guiding thought for improving the political system, readjusting the economic configuration, restructuring the economic system and doing a good job in formulating plans for economic development, and it is also a fundamental condition for doing an even better job in bringing socialist public ownership into play./

IV

Owing to the fact that China implemented socialist public ownership, the economic lifeline is controlled by the state of the working people. It can therefore formulate plans for the entire national economy and, following a unified target and plan for the sake of the people's interests, organize and coordinate the economic activities of all places, all departments and all production units. It is therefore objectively possible to insure that socialist production will rapidly develop to scale. Nevertheless, facts have demonstrated that socialist public ownership itself cannot insure that the plans formulated by people will always correctly manifest the needs of society and its members and always be in keeping with the proportionate relations required by socialized production. Therefore, whether the plans are correct and to what extent they are correct constitute a decisive condition for determining whether the superiority of socialist public ownership will be brought into play and to what extent it will be brought into play. The ups and downs in China's economy over the past 30 years were all related to this issue. Whenever the plans were relatively in keeping with the actual situation, production increased (for example, during the First Five-Year Plan and during the period from 1963 to 1965). On the contrary, whenever the plans were detached from the actual situation or when the principle of the planned economy was sabotaged, production decreased (for example, toward the end of the 1950's and later during the serious interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"). At present we are vigorously readjusting the proportionate relations, which were seriously dislocated in past years. When a good job is done in this matter, the superiority of the planned economy of socialist public ownership will certainly be even more fully manifested than it is at present.

The interests of the united workers are unanimous. However, it is a kind of unanimity which embodies both the integrated and contradictory interests of the whole (state and society), the part (local authorities, departments and enterprises) and the individual. Social production is a whole. However, it is a whole which comprises scores of thousands of economic units and links with totally different situations and functions which are connected through very complicated divisions of labor, cooperation and supply, production and marketing relations. The socialist society has still maintained to a definite extent the role of commodity production and the law of value in regulating production and product flow. Therefore, to make the plans correctly manifest in a timely way the workers' interests and the changing situations of social production, it is necessary to /properly integrate the aspect of strengthening the centralization and unification of plans with the aspect of permitting appropriate diversification and flexibility./ Whether it is proper or not is determined by many specific conditions, including the degree of socialization of production, the specific form of public ownership and the types of products. Negating the aspect of unification and centralization will mean negating the planning of a socialist economy. However,

if we think that the superiority of the socialist planned economy lies simply in the unification and centralization of everything and that the more complete, detailed, exact and inflexible the state plans are the better, this will also be a misunderstanding. Practice has demonstrated that excessive unification and centralization will impede the enthusiasm and initiative of the production units and workers and will cause a dislocation between production and need. This is, in fact, a significant reason why our economic efficiencies are often very low and waste is very serious. At present we are trying to expand the enterprises' right of self-management and to integrate regulation by planning with regulation by market forces. Our intention is to overcome the shortcoming of our excessive centralization and unification and find a form which will integrate centralization and unification with diversification and flexibility. This is intended to strengthen rather than impede the planning of the economy of socialist public ownership, make our plans even better manifest the objective proportions between the workers' interests and production and allow the superiority of socialist public ownership to be displayed in an even better way.

V

Our party and state have led and organized the masses in spontaneously establishing and developing China's socialist public ownership and in bringing its superiority into play. [The three things mentioned above--namely, to suit the degree and scope of public ownership to the socialization of production, to make all workers the de facto masters in treating socialist production and to make the planning of the national economy be in keeping with the requirement of the law of the socialist economy--all depend on the strong, effective and correct leadership of the party and state.

A fundamental feature in which socialist public ownership is different from private ownership is that it cannot attain spontaneous development. Private ownership splits the society into different classes and individuals with conflicting interests. It is not possible for the society to have unified will, and the objective law of social development plays a role behind scores of thousands of independent and even conflicting wills and amid situations unknown to and uncontrolled by people. All individuals are consciously pursuing their own respective objectives. The development of the whole society is blind and spontaneous, without any unified objective. Since socialist public ownership is a common system of ownership of the united workers with unanimous interests, it can only develop and display its role under the conscious leadership and organization of a social force which represents and concentrates the workers' interests and will. /The party and state have led the workers in consciously making use of the role of the objective law and stimulating the development of production for the sake of a unified objective--this is, in fact, the feature and merit of an economy of socialist public ownership./ In the past 30 years we have depended upon this

feature and merit in scoring all achievements and overcoming all difficulties. However, this poses a very big problem: If the party and state made a serious mistake, then its ramifications would not be limited to the individual production units and departments, but would adversely affect the whole national economy. The setbacks suffered by China's economy toward the end of the 1950's and during the Great Cultural Revolution were actually of this same nature. However, if we therefore conceive that we may eliminate or impede the leadership of the party and state over the economy, that will be an even more fatal mistake. This is because such a concept is at odds with the above-mentioned fundamental feature of an economy of socialist public ownership. /The setbacks and lessons merely taught us that the leadership of the party and state over the economy must be a scientific leadership and that it must be based upon a correct understanding of the objective law./ This is a fundamental condition for actually bringing into full play the superiority of socialist public ownership.

Then does this mean that, when boiled down, the question of bringing the superiority of socialist public ownership into play is determined by politics and leadership? Not at all. For politics, what plays the ultimate decisive role is economics; and judging from the relations between the leadership and the masses, what plays the ultimate decisive role is the masses. Since it is an objective law of social and economic development that socialist public ownership will replace and is superior to capitalist private ownership, socialist public ownership will always open up a road for itself despite the complications it will have to experience. /All lines, principles, policies and plans which violate the objective law and the masses' interests will ultimately be negated by history, and these erroneous things could never negate the objective superiority of socialist public ownership./ China's practice over the past 30 years has indisputably demonstrated this point. The victories of the party, the people and the principle of scientific socialism, as well as the collapse of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their sham socialism, have also irrefutably demonstrated this point.

Under the leadership of the party, the people of China have followed the only way in history and established and developed the advanced socialist public ownership in China, this vast and yet poor country. This is indeed a great achievement. A summary of the experiences of victory and failure has enabled us to be even more confident about the future. The superiority of the socialist system is beyond doubt. To bring its superiority into play it is necessary that the masses work in full cooperation and with unity of purpose and persistently launch a hard struggle under the correct leadership of the party. Develop the four modernizations with one heart and one mind--this is a scientific conclusion we reach by summing up our 30 years of historical experience.

SOCIALISM AND COMPETITION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 18-20

[Article by Hu Zuyuan [5170 4371 3293]]

[Text]

I

Is there competition in a socialist economy? Should competition be protected? This is a new problem which has presented itself in our everyday life, and theoretical circles and economic circles are now beginning to discuss it. Here I would like to present some of my own views.

A socialist economy is a planned economy based on socialized production and public ownership of the means of production; it is also a commodity economy. The productive units under the public ownership of socialism are the relatively independent commodity producers, and all the products they produce are commodities; the law of value still plays the role of adjusting the production and circulation of such commodities. For this reason, it is necessary to combine plan adjustment with market adjustment, so that, under the premise of an insistence on planned economy, attention may be paid to the utilization of the roles of the law of value and the market and development of the socialist economy may be promoted.

Under the conditions of commodity production, the role of the law of value is inseparable from competition. Because the value of a commodity is determined by the period of labor required in society, every commodity producer, in order to put himself in an advantageous position, always tries his best to keep the individual period of labor for the production of his own commodity below the period of labor required in society; this leads to a relationship of competition. The law of value itself plays its role precisely in the course of such competition.

Under the capitalist system, competition constitutes the main promotive force for the development of production. The law of competition in capitalism is in essence a law of mutual deception, of the strong

swallowing up the weak. Said Stalin: The capitalist principle of competition is "the failure and death of some people and the triumph and rule of some other people." ("Mass Emulation and the Surge of Labor Enthusiasm," "Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 195) However, we should also see that competition actually promotes the development of the capitalist economy. The fact that Japan's postwar economic development has been relatively faster is closely related to the emphasis it has placed on the liberalization of competition. Monopoly by no means eliminates competition; to a considerable extent, as a matter of fact, the tendency of stagnation and corruption caused by monopoly is offset only by competition.

Under the socialist system, competition within a certain limit still constitutes an economic momentum that gives full play to the role of the law of value, promotes the development of production, improves the quality of products and reduces the cost of production. In the past we refused to acknowledge the existence of competition under the socialist system, thinking that it was purely a capitalist thing. Such a view did not necessarily correspond to reality. Practice proves that taking competition as a taboo is not beneficial to the management of socialist enterprises and to a certain extent even hampers the development of productive forces.

Some comrades, basing themselves on conclusions once reached by Marx and Engels, think that competition does not exist under the socialist system. Actually, the premise of the conclusions once reached by Marx and Engels meant a socialist society in which the commodity economy would no longer exist. Such a socialist society has not yet emerged today. Our socialism is built on the basis of a semifeudal and semicolonial society in which the commodity economy has not been very well developed; our division of labor and coordination are not yet worked out very well, and the level of socialization of our production is relatively low. In order to build a modern socialist power we must still energetically develop our commodity economy. Under these circumstances, we must fully make use of the role of the law of value to realize the goals of our national economic plan; hence, competition is bound to play its role objectively, too. Allowing the enterprises to compete in the socialist market under the guidance and control of the state plan would have the results of their labor directly tested and appraised by the consumers and thereby produce an external pressure which prompts the enterprises to improve the quality of their products and reduce the cost of their production.

In a word, competition and the law of value are both products of the commodity economy; an inseparable relationship exists between the two. So long as the commodity economy does not disappear from people's economic life, competition as the law of movement in such a commodity economy is bound to exist and inevitably plays its role.

II

Speaking of competition, people are apt to connect it with the anarchical state and the exclusion of small-scale production by large-scale production in capitalism. But there are essential distinctions between competition under the socialist system and competition under the capitalist system:

First of all, in terms of character, competition under the socialist system is built on the basis of socialist public ownership of the means of production, under which the fundamental interests of the various enterprises participating in this kind of competition are entirely consistent; because what it reflects is a relationship of socialist enterprises promoting one another, it therefore becomes a lever for the development of the socialist economy. Competition under the capitalist system, on the other hand, is built on the basis of capitalist private ownership of the means of production; the fundamental interests of the various enterprises participating in this kind of competition are extremely inconsistent, and antagonistic conflict exists among them. Because what this kind of competition reflects is a relationship of capitalist enterprises swallowing and annexing one another, it therefore constitutes a weapon by which big capital plunders small capital.

Secondly, in terms of goal, competition under the socialist system aims at the raising of labor productivity, improvement of quality and reduction of costs with a view to constantly raising the level of the people's livelihood; at the same time it adjusts the contradiction between production and demand and solves the contradiction of dislocation between supply, production and consumption in economic construction. This kind of competition accords entirely with the requirement of the basic economic laws of socialism and the law of our national economy developing in a planned and proportionate way. Competition under the capitalist system, on the other hand, aims at exacting even more surplus value and is characterized by a state of anarchy in production and management; it not only reflects the requirement of the law of a state of anarchy in production but is bound to bring about distorted development in the national economy and thereby further accentuate the exploitation of the laboring people.

Thirdly, in terms of extent, competition under the socialist system is a limited competition; it is mainly a competition unfolded within various departments of the socialist economy or between enterprises producing the same kind of products in order to compare quality, compare waste, compare costs and compare results. Competition under the capitalist system, on the other hand, encompasses all economic realms and is unlimited.

Fourthly, in terms of method, competition under the socialist system is a competition of mutual encouragement and mutual elevation; it does not

allow one to build his own development on the basis of the obstruction of other people's elevation, and it relies mainly on the tapping of potential resources, renovation and transformation within an enterprise in order to improve labor productivity. Competition under the capitalist system, on the other hand, is a struggle in which each pulls down the other and each damages the other in order to benefit himself; relying on monopolist techniques, opportunism and doubledealing, swaggering and bluffing and other extremely unethical means, the capitalists single-mindedly seek to build their own interests on the basis of damaging the interests of others and to do their best to create, through all kinds of devices, the conditions for their opponents' collapse. A small number of monopolist capitalists even take advantage of their reactionary political power to savagely attack and strangle their rivals in competition.

Fifthly, in terms of outcome, competition under the socialist system is a competition whereby the backward seek to catch up with the advanced, and the advanced seek to become even more advanced; it is built on the basis of comparison, learning, catching up, helping and surpassing in order to encourage the less advanced to catch up with and surpass the level of the more advanced; it is an external momentum prompting the enterprises to raise their labor productivity and also is an effective means of improving the livelihood and welfare of the employees and workers. Although its outcome is shown in such a difference as the profits of this enterprise being greater than the profits of that enterprise, thereby creating differences in income between employees and workers of different enterprises, no polarization between poor and rich will occur. This is fundamentally different from the life-and-death struggle after the fashion of "big fish eating up small fish" in capitalist society.

To sum up, competition under the socialist system is a competition under the guidance of state planning, a competition to promote association; it is different both from capitalist competition and from competition in the economy of small commodity production, and it is socialist competition of a special form. Because of such a difference, the role of competition is also changed.

What is the purpose of promoting socialist competition today?

First, we would be able to mobilize even better the enthusiasm, creativity and active spirit of the leaders and laborers of our socialist enterprises, to constantly improve our production techniques, to energetically adopt new techniques and new crafts, to constantly improve the management of enterprises, raise our labor productivity, improve the quality of our products, and increase the varieties of such products, and to constantly create new products of high quality and low price in order to meet the needs of consumers and consumer households even better.

Second, the enterprises would be prompted to strictly practice economic accounting, continuously reduce various kinds of waste and increase their profits.

Third, the planned economy and the market economy would be united even more closely, and the enterprises would be prompted to actively arrange their production and management activities in accordance with the needs of society in order to guarantee correspondence between production and consumption and the smooth circulation of goods. This is because competition can sensitively reflect the contradiction between production and demand, if any, and thereby provide a reliable basis for the readjustment of production and management plans.

Fourth, the socialist enterprises would be prompted to develop emulation among themselves in order to encourage the advanced, prod the backward and expose the gap between the advanced enterprises and the backward enterprises in time, so as to make the advanced more advanced and the backward not backward any further; otherwise, the latter would be subject to elimination. In the course of competition, an eventuality like this may also occur: some enterprises earn more profits and therefore continue to expand and develop; some enterprises earn less profits or suffer losses, and their production therefore shrinks or they even have to stop their production, change their production, close down or merge. But under the socialist system these enterprises will not go bankrupt, nor will the workers lose their jobs.

Fifth, the various localities would be enabled to give full play to their respective superiorities, to make full use of their assets and to avoid the consequence of their liabilities. The natural conditions of our provinces and municipalities are different, and their economic structures are also different; they each have their assets and their liabilities, and it is only proper that they make full use of their assets and avoid the consequence of their liabilities. In the past we stressed the point that a province and a municipality constituted a system by itself, one-sidedly seeking a high rate of self-sufficiency in local products; in reality, we encouraged these localities to abandon their respective assets and accommodate their liabilities. Today everybody supports such localities' giving full play to their respective superiorities. To really give full play to such superiorities we should put products of high quality and low cost on sale throughout the country, and other provinces and municipalities should not be allowed to adopt a "protective policy" to restrict them at random. Developing this kind of competition is beneficial not only to the realization of the superiorities of the respective localities but also to their association in coordinated efforts.

Will some defects show up in the course of competition--defects such as a devious working style, putting up a front, detracting from others in order to benefit oneself, a corrupting effect on the cadres, etc.? These may very well prove unavoidable. We cannot expect everything to

function with all benefits and no defects. We can only appraise the benefits and the defects and seek thereby to secure the former and avoid the latter; we cannot forgo eating just because of the possibility of choking. To have competition develop in a healthy way we must strengthen legislative and judicial work in the economic field; we must pay attention to planning and guidance and conduct relevant ideological and political education, so that the enterprises will treat competition correctly.

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SUMMARIZE EXPERIENCE, EXPLORE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LAWS--ON COMRADE XUE MUQIAO'S 'A STUDY OF CHINA'S SOCIALIST ECONOMIC PROBLEMS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 21-23

[Article by Sun Liancheng [1327 6647 2052] and Lin Pu [2651 0944]]

[Text] Comrade Xue Muqiao's new work "A Study of China's Socialist Economic Problems" (hereafter cited simply as "Study") was recently published by the People's Publishing House. This is a work in economics which fairly systematically summarizes our 30 years of experience in socialist revolution and construction.

Comrade Xue Muqiao has engaged in economic work for a long time; he has a rather rich experience in practical work. The problems studied in this book are the very practical problems and theoretical problems the author has encountered in his long period of work. The author clearly indicates in the "Introduction" that this book does not seek to establish any complete system, but attempts simply to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in the exploration of our historical experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction and to study a series of major economic problems which are not yet solved or not yet entirely solved so as to deepen our perception of the law of movement in the socialist economy. That is to say, it attempts to explore the laws of development of our socialist economy by summarizing our experience in practice.

I

As a book, "Study" starts from China's reality and explores the laws of development of the socialist economy.

Our socialist revolution and construction have provided a rich practice and successful experience. Starting from reality, the author comprehensively analyzes the process of evolution of the production relations since the founding of our state and its impact on the development of our productive forces. The author points out that, since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our party has adopted different policies

toward bureaucratic capital and national capital. Toward bureaucratic capital the policy of confiscation was practiced. Toward national capital the policy of utilization, limitation and gradual transformation was adopted. Toward the individual peasants the form of gradual transition was adopted to positively guide them to embark upon the road of agricultural collectivization. Practice has proved that the principle and policy of socialist transformation of the ownership of our means of production have been correct. This large-scale, extremely profound social evolution, involving several hundred million people, was carried out with little social upheaval. We not only avoided a reduction in our productive power and energetically promoted the development of our entire national economy, but also accumulated rich experience in carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. This is a great victory of our party in its conscious application of the law that, in the carrying out of socialist transformation, production relations must adapt to the character of the productive forces.

But the development of things proved to be tortuous. The author points out that we were relatively cautious during the several years when agricultural cooperativization first got started; our steps were relatively stable. But in 1956 we advanced much faster; from that year on the rate of increase in agricultural production slowed down, and the number of cattle was reduced somewhat; but there was still no great trouble in the overall view. In 1958 our agricultural cooperatives were further expanded into rural people's communes, and our steps were thus hastened. Some regions were so anxious to pass through the transition to having communes as their uniform units of production and distribution that individual counties also set up "all-county united communes" and demanded uniform distribution throughout their respective counties; this in reality simply eliminated collective ownership. Because of such "one equalization and two adjustments," the blowing of the "communist wind" and blind commands, which damaged the production enthusiasm of the vast ranks of basic-level cadres and peasants, plus other causes, agricultural production decreased by wide margins for 3 consecutive years beginning in 1959. The party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong very quickly discerned these problems and hence repeatedly criticized and rectified the "leftist" errors; not until 1961, when the "Work Regulations for Rural People's Communes (Draft)" were formulated, with the definition of a three-level collective ownership with the production team as its basic accounting unit, were the above-mentioned errors rectified. Production relations in the countryside became stabilized, and agricultural production once more made a quick recovery and developed. The author profoundly points out: "Practice proves that objective economic laws cannot be violated; their violation is bound to incur punishment. The problem which appeared in 1958 consisted mainly in the fact that we exaggerated the effects of a change of ownership and production relations and overlooked the law that production relations must adapt to the development of productive forces."

On the relationship between accumulation and consumption, this book also offers some very good views. On the basis of 30 years of positive and negative experiences and lessons in our country, the author suggests several principles which must be followed in the treatment of the relationship between accumulation and consumption: First, it is necessary to satisfy the current needs of the people's livelihood, or at least to guarantee the original level of the people's livelihood, and to have the people's livelihood raised as much as possible along with the development of production. Second, on the basis of our present condition of having a large population, a weak foundation and a backward economy, it is best to have the accumulation rate generally kept under about 25 percent or at most not above 30 percent. Third, on the use of accumulation funds, to preclude partiality an appropriate ratio must be maintained between material production departments and non-material production departments, among heavy industry, light industry and agriculture in the material production departments, among employee housing construction, public services, cultural, educational and sanitation services and other various welfare services in the non-material production departments, etc. The author points out: "The rate of our production increase should be higher than that of the capitalist countries, and the rate of improvement of our people's livelihood should also be faster than that of the capitalist countries. During the first 8 years after the founding of new China we indeed achieved this. But during the 20 ensuing years we failed to do so. This was not because the socialist system was not superior, but because we violated objective laws of economic development in certain aspects, so that the superiority of socialism was not given full play."

II

The book "Study" undertakes to explore the question of the path of socialist modernization in the Chinese style.

The author points out: "Ours is a country with a population of more than 970 million people. We are building socialism, not on the ruins of developed capitalism, but on the ruins of a semicolon and semifeudalism, and now we want to realize the four modernizations on the basis of a large population and a weak foundation. This is a great cause never attempted by our predecessors. For this reason it is necessary to solve well the question of what method to apply in carrying out our construction and what path to follow." In this regard the author suggests three opinions.

First, the author points out: The socialism conceived by Marx and Engels was built on the ruins of developed capitalism; for this reason, two public ownership systems would no longer exist in the socialist stage, and both commodities and money would have been eliminated. Later, Lenin advanced Marxism, taking Russia as an originally medium-developed capitalist state. Building socialism in such a state is much harder and much

more complicated than doing so in a developed capitalist state wherein industrialization is already accomplished and small-farm economy does not occupy an important position; in such a case it is necessary to adopt a series of special methods of transition. China before liberation was even more backward than Russia before the revolution. At the same time, because we entered the socialist revolution by way of a democratic revolution--that is to say, we were building socialism on the ruins of a semicolony and semifeudalism--this determined the process that in building socialism we needed even more to pass through a special transitional stage and to adopt a series of special methods of transition. If we should bypass this special transitional stage or seek to apply certain principles pertaining to the lower stage of communism in a hardfisted way, we would be committing the leftist error of being too eager to get over with the transition.

Second, the author points out: "Agriculture is the foundation of our national economy; if we fail to lay a solid foundation, no edifice can be built. In the years of the revolutionary wars, Comrade Mao Zedong proceeded from China's actual situation and proposed the strategic principle for conducting China's revolutionary wars, i.e., by first establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside, encircling the cities from the countryside and ultimately seizing the cities themselves. In the process of our socialist modernization the question of the peasants is still a question of primary importance; agriculture must be placed in such a position of primary importance." For over 20 years our agricultural production has been developing at a very slow pace; the people's livelihood, especially the peasants' livelihood, is still very hard. The author points out: "In a country such as ours, if we fail to arrange the peasants' livelihood well and to make it possible for them to live in security and contentment in the countryside, the stability and unity of the entire nation may very well become affected; under such circumstances it would be very hard to proceed with our socialist modernization."

Third, the author points out: Our socialist modernization should adopt the principle of simultaneously promoting large-scale, medium-scale and small-scale enterprises and mechanization, semimechanization and manual labor. We must create certain enterprises which can adopt the world's most advanced technology in order to lay a foundation for raising the scientific and technological level of the entire national economy. At the same time we should go all out to develop local enterprises, commune and production team enterprises, and urban cooperatives responsible for their own gains and losses which would not contest with the large-scale industries for raw materials and power. Even in the case of advanced technology from foreign countries, we should also consider whether it is necessary to import that which exemplifies only the highest degree of automation or whether we should not also import items of lower degrees of automation. All these opinions are worthy of our further reflection.

III

The book "Study" summarizes the experiences and lessons in our economic construction in the past 30 years and offers some very good opinions on the work of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving our national economy currently in progress.

Speaking of the solution to the problem of labor and employment, the author points out: In the early postliberation days, industrial and agricultural production suffered a decline and large numbers of people became unemployed in the nation's countryside and urban areas because of the war devastation. Our party proceeded to carry out land reform in the countryside to enable each peasant to share some land, so that he could live in security and contentment. In the cities, apart from a small number of state-operated enterprises and establishments which were arranged, the two methods of self-help by way of production and work-in-place-of-relief were adopted in most cases. That is to say, unemployed people were encouraged and assisted to organize various production groups and to assume responsibility for their own gains and losses; some of the unemployed people were absorbed into the work force engaged in the construction of various public works (such as roads, irrigation works, etc.) and were paid a relatively low wage. Along with the development of production after 2 or 3 years' effort, we succeeded in basically solving that very serious problem of unemployment. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, because we adopted the policy of paying a low wage and employing as many as possible, and because our production also developed very rapidly, the phenomenon of unemployment basically disappeared. However, problems appeared after the completion of the socialist transformation. Because the approach adopted was that of the state taking over everything, and because those waiting for jobs were not allowed to find their own means of employment, production avenues became narrower and narrower, so that the serious problem of a population waiting for employment is with us again today. The author points out: "It apparently does not correspond to the actual situation to say that even when new China was first founded we proved to have the ability to solve our employment problem but that somehow we find ourselves helpless in this regard today." How are we really going to solve this problem of labor and employment? The author suggests: "From the long-range view it is necessary to carry out planned birth control in order to control the inappropriate growth of our population. From the current view it is necessary to open up new avenues of employment for people in the cities and in the countryside. We should promote all enterprises so long as they are beneficial to the development of production, can increase people's income and provide amenities in people's lives, and we should not impose arbitrary limitations."

As regards comprehensive balance, the author stresses that "achieving a comprehensive balance is our primary task as planning workers. When we expand the autonomy of localities and especially of enterprises, we must

at the same time grasp tightly the uniform arrangement of the financial and material resources of the whole country and guarantee a balance between production and needs. The fundamental task of a comprehensive balance is to correctly arrange the relationship between state construction and people's livelihood (accumulation and consumption), the relationships among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry which reflect the former relationship, and the proportional relations within these departments." "Concretely speaking, the thing to be done first is to grasp financial balance, credit loan balance; the next is to grasp the balance in the total amounts of supply and demand (total output value of social products). After our international economic connections are expanded, we must further add a foreign exchange balance or, namely, a balance in our international income and expenditure." The book also discusses these four kinds of balance in detail.

As regards the reform of the management system in our national economy, the author is of the opinion that the key to reforming the management system in our national economy is to expand not only the autonomy of the localities but, even more importantly, the autonomy of the enterprises. "If, after the autonomy of the enterprises is expanded, they fail to produce according to state plans and thereby destroy the balance between supply and demand, what methods should be adopted to control them?" The author suggests: "The first is a taxation policy: those whose production needs to be limited should be constrained by an increase in their taxes, and those whose production needs to be encouraged should have their taxes reduced or exempted. The second is a price policy: those whose production needs to be limited should have the price of their products reduced, and those whose production needs to be encouraged should have the price of their products raised. The third is a materials supply policy: to those enterprises which need to be developed, the supply of raw materials, fuel and electric power should be fully guaranteed; to those enterprises which need to be limited or even eliminated, such supply should be controlled or even canceled. The fourth is an investment policy: in those trades or enterprises which need to be developed, the investment should be increased; in those which need to be limited, it should be reduced or even denied. The fifth is a credit loan policy: to those trades or enterprises which need to be developed, the bank should grant more loans and reduce interest rates; to those which need to be limited, the bank should grant fewer or no loans."

Although we affirm this work of Comrade Xue Muqiao, this is not the same as saying that it is perfect and flawless or that we agree with all the views expressed by the author. Some of its suggested programs also await the further test of practice, and some theoretical questions also await further discussion by theoretical circles. But in the study of economic laws by proceeding from actual realities Comrade Xue Muqiao has set a good example. We hope that more works of this kind will come off the press.

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WHERE IS PEOPLE'S UNDERSTANDING LIKELY TO GO WRONG?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 24-28

[Article by Huang Hongji [7806 3163 1015]]

[Text] People often joyously talk about their successes and despondently recount their failures. They do not understand that success, correctness, truth and so on are not bestowed from heaven but come from the womb of error and failure. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: Error is often the precursor of what is correct. This remark profoundly explains to us that what is erroneous and what is correct can transform themselves into each other in the process of cognition and practice. However, this transformation is by no means unconditional. One of the principal requirements is that we must be good at summing up historical experiences and incessantly enhance our cognitive ability.

We all know that, due to the limitation of subjective and objective conditions, no one (not even outstanding persons who stand in the vanguard of our times) can avoid making mistakes in the process of knowing and changing the world. As Lenin pointed out: "A man is not wise because he makes no mistakes. There are no such men nor can there be. A wise man is one whose mistakes are not very serious and who knows how to correct them easily and quickly." ("Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 192) In the history of human knowledge, many people have conscientiously probed into this question to draw lessons from mistakes. To every revolutionary, correctly summing up the experiences and lessons of revolution and construction is a solemn issue that cannot be evaded. Of course, the reasons we make mistakes in work are also very complicated. They have their roots in understanding as well as in society and in history. In this article I will attempt to make a preliminary probe into the question of where we are likely to go wrong in the process of cognition.

The process of man's cognition can be divided into two stages, namely, the stage from practice to knowledge and the stage from knowledge to practice. As far as the stage from practice to knowledge is concerned, where are we likely to go wrong?

In this regard, the most common mistakes of cognition are those caused by alien addition. Knowledge is the reflection of the subjective on the objective. To reflect things correctly and to make the subjective and the objective coincide, we must keep to one major premise, that is, proceed from objective reality and understand and reflect things in their true colors. Engels pointed out: The materialist outlook on nature means "the simple conception of nature just as it is, without alien addition." ("Dialectics of Nature," "Selected Works of Engels," Vol 3, p 527) "Without alien addition" is actually an elementary requirement of the materialist theory of reflection. However, since the process of man's cognition is an active process of reflection, there is the possibility that people might impose something subjective on objective reality. In man's cognition of things, rarely can we find a case in which absolutely no subjective wish is involved. The thing is, we must not take these subjective ingredients as the starting point of study or impose them on objective reality.

True, mistakes caused by alien addition frequently crop up when we are trying to grasp the phenomenon of things in the stage of perceptual knowledge, but they can be found in far greater numbers in the process of the development of thoughts in the stage of rational knowledge. Commenting on the characteristics of the process of the development of thoughts, Lenin pointed out: This process "is not a simple, immediate act, a dead mirroring, but one which is complex, split into two, zigzag-like, which includes in it the possibility of the flight of fantasy from life." ("Philosophical Notebooks," p 421) Since the process of the development of thoughts is split into two, there can be two possible results: through abstraction, we can "reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely." (Ibid., p 181) However, we can also drift further and further away from objective reality and draw a completely wrong conclusion. Take, for example, the lessons we learned from our economic work in 1958. High in spirit and strong in morale, the broad masses gave full play to their socialist enthusiasm under the leadership of the party at that time. It is absolutely necessary for us to recognize the tremendous role played by subjective initiative. However, some comrades became self-satisfied and substituted subjective desires for objective reality. They put forward such slogans as "Output of the land is proportional to the people's audacity" and "There is nothing we cannot do, only things we have not thought about." Thus, they slipped from mistakes caused by alien addition into the quagmire of voluntarism. Commenting on a similar situation in the Soviet Union, Stalin sharply pointed out: "Dizzy with the unusual success of the Soviet system, they begin to think that the Soviet Government is 'omnipotent' and will find everything 'easily accomplished.' They think that the Soviet Government can do away with scientific laws and formulate new ones." ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," "Selected Works of Stalin," Part II, p 545) Thus, the fundamental guarantee for fewer or no mistakes in the process of cognition is to reflect things in their true colors.

Mistakes caused by one-sidedness also crop up repeatedly. Understanding things in their true colors, which I have discussed in the foregoing passages, is the minimum requirement for upholding the materialist theory of knowledge. However, this is no easy job. Objective things are complicated and interrelated. There are many reasons for problems cropping up--the twist of a certain event, the development of a process or the formation of a stage. Sometimes many causes lead to the same result; sometimes the same cause leads to different results. If we cut apart the complicated relations in the process of the development of things and stand them against each other, we inevitably will make the mistake of one-sidedness. Therefore, "in order to truly understand a thing we must grasp and study all its aspects, links and 'intermediaries.'" We will not be able to fulfill this completely. However, the requirement of an all-round approach can prevent us from making mistakes and becoming rigid." ("More on the Role and Function of the Trade Union Under the New Economic Policy," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453) Only by understanding things in their relations with others can we reflect their complete picture, essence and law of development. However, this is only one side of the question. Another side of the question is that, in the long process of knowing the world, man can only understand a part, an aspect and a stage of a specific thing (process) at a given time. Therefore, our mistake does not stem from the fact that we can only grasp a portion of a thing at a certain stage. It is because we regard this kind of fragmentary knowledge as all-round and allow such knowledge to solidify and ossify. Common mistakes of this sort include: seeing the part but not the whole, seeing the secondary aspect but not the main trend, seeing the positive but not the negative side, seeing the existing state of affairs but not the process, and so on.

Mistakes caused by one-sidedness are not only manifested in the tendency to attend to one thing and lose sight of another and to take the part as the whole; they are also manifested in the method of thinking in terms of absolutes and extremes. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, idealism spread unchecked and metaphysics was rampant. Many people were long accustomed to "thinking in terms of absolutely incompatible opposites." To these comrades, this is this and that is that, and this can never be transformed into that. To them, right is right and wrong is wrong and there is no link whatsoever between the two. This kind of one-sided and absolute method of thinking is manifested in our actual work. For example, whenever we stressed giving play to man's subjective initiative, we overlooked the subjective and objective conditions and the restriction of objective laws on man. Whenever we stressed the interrupted revolution, we incessantly changed the relations of production to the neglect of the theory of the development of revolution by stages and the stability of production relations and policies. Whenever we stressed the role of struggle in the development of things, we overlooked the role played by identity, stability, coalition and unity in this process. Whenever we stressed the absolute nature of imbalances, we overlooked the proportions between various sectors of the national

economy. Whenever we stressed self-reliance, we overlooked learning from the advanced technology of other countries. Whenever we stressed the importance of political work, we overlooked the need to show concern for the material benefits of the masses, and so on. This one-sided and extremist method of thinking has produced serious consequences. At present, what merits attention is that in trying to set things right we must act according to dialectics, use all-sidedness to combat one-sidedness and guard against leaping from one extreme to the other. Experience past and present tells us that going to extremes will get us nowhere.

The process of man's cognition is also a deepening process from phenomenon to essence, from a not so profound essence to a more profound essence. One of our common mistakes in understanding is that we tend to see only the superficial phenomenon of things and are even misled by their false appearance. There are two aspects to everything--its appearance and its essence. These two aspects are interrelated. That is why we can see through the appearance to get at the essence. However, they are also contradictory. That is why seeing the appearance of things does not mean understanding their essence. It is not easy to see through the appearance to get at the essence. The appearance of objective things is full of variations: there are true and false appearances, universal phenomena, particular phenomena, steady phenomena, transient phenomena, and so on. If we rashly jump to conclusion before conscientiously analyzing the vast numbers of phenomena or regard local and secondary phenomena as the whole or principal aspect of things, we will not be able to grasp the essence of things. What is worse, we will even misunderstand their essence. For example, in the early 1960's we came to understand the mistakes we had made in the preceding stage in violating objective economic laws and magnifying class struggle. We even took measures to rectify our mistakes. However, due to our "leftist" tendencies in the general appraisal of class conditions, we failed to solve the problems at their roots. When the Cultural Revolution broke out, we were not only unable to prevent the recurrence of similar mistakes but carried things to a more serious extent. To correct mistakes we must grasp the essence and what is fundamental. Only in this way can we more sharply discern the nature and root of mistakes, be more determined to correct the mistakes and take more effective measures. The danger of being misled by false appearance is even more self-evident. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and company "never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long live' and never showed up without a copy of quotations in hand" to cover up their essential qualities as counterrevolutionary careerists. Many people were fooled by them and made mistakes. This is a typical case in point. It has been repeatedly proven by facts that without alien addition the degree of harmony of the subjective and the objective depends to a fairly large extent on the profundity of our understanding of the essence of things. Many of the mistakes that stemmed from the disharmony between the subjective and the objective are closely related to our failure to grasp the essence of things.

The above is a general analysis of how subjectivity, one-sidedness and appearances can lead to disharmony between the subjective and the objective in the process from practice to knowledge. As far as knowledge is concerned, subjectivity, one-sidedness and appearances are interrelated, permeating and interacting on each other, while one-sidedness and appearances are, in the final analysis, traceable to subjectivity. The reason is that an objective thing has two aspects of a contradiction in it. One-sidedness is seeing one side and overlooking the other; things that are varied and changeable are put in fixed and rigid terms. Objective things are dictated by their internal laws. Judging things by appearances means that we do not study these laws but content ourselves with some superficial and false phenomena. It can be seen that one-sidedness and appearances are incompatible with objective realities and are subjectivist.

Subjectivity, one-sidedness and appearances are at the root of knowledge stemming from erroneous thinking. But by "erring" we generally mean erring not only ideologically but in action or practice. When people take an erroneous way of thinking as a guide and use it as a basis for the transformation of the objective world, erroneous action follows. This will naturally lead to setbacks and failures in practice. If erroneous action arises from erroneous thinking, it is of course not necessary to study the detail of this erroneous process of development, since the major premise itself is wrong. What is worth studying is where we are likely to err in the process of making the leap from rational knowledge to practice.

At this stage there are many areas where we are likely to err. They may be summed up chiefly as a separation between general and individual character and between absoluteness and relativity. The problem of integration between individual and general character and between absoluteness and relativity is also a relatively complicated problem. So-called general character means common qualities abstracted from concrete things. But these abstractions may be scientific or unscientific, just as the conclusions reached may be correct or incorrect. If an unscientific abstraction is used as a guide, an error naturally will occur. Even if knowledge acquired after being thought through and refined is the common essence of things and a universal truth, it involves another process of "integration" when reapplied in practice. In real life, phenomena are more numerous than intrinsic qualities, and individual character is more complicated than general character. Things are also changing and are not fixed and invariable. If general character is separated from individual character and absoluteness from relativity, and if general principles are not used as a guide in concretely analyzing and handling such problems as differences in location, time and conditions and are instead reduced to dogma and followed mechanically, the inevitable result will be heading in the wrong direction due to the negation of the varied and changeable nature of things.

If we just stress general character and pay no attention to individual character, the varied and concrete nature of things naturally will be negated. Various things in the world manifest themselves in different forms. To understand these things we cannot depart from the guidance of general character. But general character in its role can only guide an analysis of concrete things and is no substitute for the analysis of concrete things. General character can only cover individual character in general. Only through a concrete analysis of individual character can a concrete conclusion be drawn. Therefore, we must not think that by grasping general character we will be able to understand various things. To think so is an illusion divorced from reality. If we depart from a concrete analysis of concrete things and use different approaches for different contradictions, we will come to grief in doing everything. Take, for example, the implementation of the guideline calling for agriculture as the foundation. This guideline, based on historical experiences in international and domestic economic construction, is of a general character. But due to the varied and complicated nature of things we must make a concrete analysis of concrete problems and solve them in a concrete way. Similarly, given agriculture as the foundation, we must realize that different areas have different features. Mountainous areas and plains and northern and southern areas, with their differences in soil, temperature, rainfall and sunshine, involve different demands and approaches. When grain is taken as the key link we must also act in light of the different conditions of different areas and energetically develop diverse economic undertakings with regional features in mind. If we take sweeping and uniform measures and make no distinction between north and south, east and west, we naturally will be guilty of giving blind commands. Lenin solemnly pointed out: "Replacing concrete things with abstract concepts is the chief and most dangerous mistake in revolution." ("The Slogan," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 113) In this respect, we have suffered immensely in recent years.

If we just stress the absoluteness of knowledge and negate the relativity of knowledge, we naturally will end up negating the variability of things and their process of development and putting what is transient on a permanent basis. Everything develops as a process and is always in the process of endless development. Man's practice and his capacity for knowledge in a given period are limited. Therefore, with the development of things and the deepening of practice, accepted truths repeatedly tested in practice must also be continuously enriched, supplemented and developed. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Every process, whether in the realm of nature or of society, progresses and develops by reason of its internal contradiction and struggle, and the movement of human knowledge should also progress and develop along with it." ("On Practice") If objective conditions progress while our thinking remains in an ossified or semiossified state, we naturally will overstress the absoluteness of truth, negate its relativity and magnify knowledge as an eternal universal truth. We may just see the positive side of the criterion of practice and not its negative side and treat an accepted truth tested in practice

as something fixed, invariable and axiomatic and refuse to do any more research. Anyone who adheres to this metaphysical viewpoint in his approach to things, practice and the scope of a given truth in its application will head from the negation of the development and relativity of truths toward a separation between the subjective and the objective and toward metaphysics. Take class struggle in the socialist period, for example. Before the elimination of the remnants of the exploiting class, class struggle existed. But at the different stages of socialist development, class struggle was further marked with different conditions. Before the transformation of the ownership of the means of production was accomplished, with the exploiting class still existing as a whole class, class struggle of course was large in scope and tempestuous. But since the transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been basically completed, with the exploiting class no longer existing as a whole class, class struggle has generally no longer assumed widespread and tempestuous proportions. This demonstrates the variability and relativity of the content and form of class struggle in socialist society. We made mistakes in the matter of class struggle, because we saw only the absoluteness of class struggle in a given period of time and not the relativity of class struggle, and we magnified the scope of this truth in its application, regardless of location and time factors. Class struggle was allowed to assert itself in all matters anywhere and at any time. Lenin aptly said: "If 'overstressed'...and magnified and carried beyond the scope within which it can actually be applied, any truth can be brought to an absurd stage and, under the circumstances, even reduced to something absurd." He also said: "Given one more small step, a seemingly small step in the same direction, a truth will be turned into a mistake." ("Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 217, 257) Since a truth is not allowed even a small step in the same direction, how can it be carried to excess in its scope? Disregarding the limits of a truth, freely magnifying its scope in application and turning it into a mistake is where the tragedy involving many followers of truths lies. This is also where our mistakes often take place.

Here we can clearly see that objective realities are changing ceaselessly and that social practice is developing continuously. Unity between the subjective and the objective established in this process is relative. Unity between the subjective and the objective is being continuously broken and reestablished. An accepted truth is being continuously tested, enriched and developed. The way is thus being continuously paved for accepting truths. Therefore, unity between the subjective and the objective, as advocated by dialectical materialists, varies with different historical periods in content and form and is a concrete and historical unity. Failure to understand or to completely understand such concrete and historical unity between the subjective and the objective and between knowledge and practice is another main reason why people often make mistakes as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned.

A summing-up of the lessons from these pitfalls in the process of cognition shows that we must correctly handle the relations between the development of subjective initiative and respect for objective laws. Marxists have always attached great importance to the development of subjective initiative in the process of cognition, because in our eyes cognition itself is a process of conscious activity and a process of continuous development toward the objective world in its depth and breadth. But subjective initiative is by no means freedom to carry out a subjective wish. It is subject to respect for objective laws. Generally speaking, respecting objective laws means two things: correctly reflecting objective laws and acting according to objective laws. The former is the main task at the stage from practice to knowledge, and the latter is the main task at the stage from knowledge to practice. In the practice of socialist revolution and construction, so long as we are good at organically combining the role of subjective initiative with respect for objective laws, we can direct spectacular shows full of sound and color on the stage, as objective conditions permit. One-sidedly stressing either of them is a mistake of mechanically adhering to materialism or a mistake of taking willpower as everything. Of these two cases of one-sidedness, we should especially pay attention to the latter, as our experience over many years tells us.

The road we have traversed in the past 30 years has been a very tortuous one. But no matter what twists and turns it takes, we have, after all, carved out a path for advance. We have indeed made many mistakes and even serious ones. But all these represent just an interlude in the long span of history. Some of our very serious mistakes do not seem so bad in light of the great victories we have scored. Moreover, we have corrected all these mistakes under the leadership of the party! History has long proved and will continue to prove that our party is a party which is well versed in materialist dialectics and good at firmly steering the ship through tossing seas. It is also one which is adept at summing up historical experiences and learning from its "own bitter experiences." "A healthy party will surely rid itself of its residue with the passage of time." ("Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 34, p 264) With the residue removed, the mistakes corrected and the lessons summed up, what is wrong will turn into a correct guide, and failure will turn into spiritual wealth or a source of wisdom. "Failure is the mother of success." This motto, shining with the glow of dialectics, is the crystallization of the pain and pleasure of many explorers and of the wisdom and thinking of many pioneers. Let us draw on one failure after another to build a ladder to success. Let us scale the heights of Chinese-style socialist modernization and scale still greater heights!

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ADOPT A CORRECT ATTITUDE TOWARD DESTRUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 29-33

[Article by Wu Bingyuan [0702 4426 0339]]

[Text] The rationale of giving prominence to destruction and construction based on destruction in the relationship between destruction and construction is one-sided and wrong. Proceeding from their counter-revolutionary need to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk took advantage of this concept and pushed it to the limit. Shouting the slogan of "great destruction and great construction," they destroyed as revisionism correct revolutionary things, established as Marxism-Leninism erroneous reactionary things and seriously damaged the cause of socialism in China. To make a success of socialist modernization, bring order out of chaos and carry out radical reform, it is imperative that we adopt a correct attitude toward the question of destruction and construction.

Indeed, all things in the world must go through the process of destroying the old and establishing the new, with the new superseding the old and continuously developing. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe. The transformation of one thing into another, through leaps of different forms in accordance with its essence and external conditions--this is the process of the new superseding the old." ("On Contradiction") Therefore, the process of the contradictory movement of the supersession of the old by the new and the replacement of old things by new ones is the developmental process of things from a lower to a higher level. However, not all destruction is progressive and revolutionary. If new things or revolutionary undertakings are destroyed, that will be reactionary or counterrevolutionary. Again, revolution is also not merely the destruction of old things and old systems. What is even more important is construction. We must establish new things and new systems. We must make a success of the cause of the revolution. Only by carrying out work in accordance with the objective law governing the development of things, giving judicious guidance according to the situation, and destroying what should be destroyed and establishing what should be

established can we push forward social historical advance. Conversely, if we violate the objective law governing the development of things, destroy what should not be destroyed and establish what should not be established, we will hamper the process of social historical development.

Generally speaking, our main task during the revolutionary period was to overthrow the old world and destroy old things. However, there **must** also be construction in the process of this kind of destruction. Without construction, we also could not have properly fulfilled the task of destruction. For example, our main task during the period of the democratic revolution was to destroy the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing on the backs of the Chinese people. At the same time, we had to build our revolutionary Communist Party, the People's Army and the revolutionary base areas and establish revolutionary thinking and work style. Without this construction it would have been very difficult to achieve the purpose of revolutionary destruction. Moreover, in the period of socialist construction our main task was to build a prosperous, rich and strong socialist country. However, there must also be destruction in this kind of construction. Without unremittingly destroying and getting rid of decadent, reactionary or backward things and without carrying out reform, it would also be very difficult to build the new world of socialism and communism. Evidently, under the two conditions described above, we must correctly settle the question of dialectically combining destruction with construction.

The so-called "great destruction and great construction" practiced by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk during the Great Cultural Revolution was not destroying the old and establishing the new, but a perverted action diametrically opposed to the objective law governing the development of things. To realize their sinister goal of usurping party and state power, they attempted to replace our revolutionary Communist Party with a feudal fascist-type party. They described our people's government as the "old government," tried to make "dynastic changes" and vainly hoped to change China into a feudal fascist dictatorship state. They smashed such instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat as public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts and caused reactionary forces to become unbridled and rampant and criminal activities to increase daily. They attacked and persecuted the cadres and people and fostered such counterrevolutionaries of their own kind as Zhang Tiesheng. Obviously, what they destroyed were not the old things but revolutionary and progressive things and proletarian and Marxist things. On the contrary, what they established were also not new things but reactionary and decadent old things and feudal, capitalist and revisionist things. The "great destruction and great construction" they practiced was nothing but counterrevolutionary sabotage activities totally unrelated to the Marxist dialectical standpoint concerning destruction and construction.

What is Marxist destruction and construction?

Let us first take destruction. The destruction Marxism talks about is the dialectical negation of old things. When the development of a thing has already lost its inevitability and active role, we should destroy and negate it to create conditions and make way for the production and development of new things. When a thing still retains its inevitability of development and active role, we should not then destroy or negate it. When we entered the socialist period, the dictatorship of the proletariat had just been set up, and socialist economic and cultural construction was being developed. Only by constantly destroying and getting rid of the vestiges of feudalism, the private ownership of capitalism and the superstructure that did not conform to socialism could destruction be in keeping with the law governing the development of things and could the change be positive and revolutionary. However, some of our comrades did not proceed from objective reality but from subjective imagination. Instead of studying objective laws, they became divorced from the conditions and possibilities of objective reality, destroyed some of the things which should not have been destroyed and established some of the things which should not have been established and caused our socialist construction to rise and fall. Later, during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frenziedly pushed an ultraleftist line and fallaciously called for making a "pauper's transition" and cutting off "the tail of capitalism" in a vain attempt to abolish the system of three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team with the production team as the basic accounting unit. With a single stroke they chopped off household sideline production, private plots and rural trade fairs, which supplemented the socialist economy, and also negated the socialist system of more pay for more work. Facts have proven that this line seriously interfered with and disrupted the socialist economic development of our country. Apart from the ulterior motive of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the emergence of the above problems among some of our cadres was caused by their use of the idealist standpoint and method to negate things which should not have been negated at the present stage and which still play an active role. Therefore, our party now has no alternative but to redress and restore some of the things which have been destroyed.

Objective things differ in thousands of ways, and the forms and methods of negating various things are also different. Engels said: "The kind of negation is here determined, first, by the general, and second, by the particular nature of the process." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 182) This means that, because of the struggle of internal contradictions, all things inevitably will bring about their own negation; this is a universal truth. However, because of the particularity of contradictions in various things, the forms of negation of various things in the world of nature and in human society are all different. In human society, antagonistic contradictory things and nonantagonistic contradictory things also have their own different

forms of negation. The former generally adopt an antagonistic and more violent form of struggle, whereas the latter always adopt a non-antagonistic and milder form of struggle. We generally must adopt such forms and methods as overthrow, arrest, punishment by law and compulsory reform to settle with such decadent reactionaries as Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As regards the backward, obsolete, conservative and erroneous things among the people, we generally adopt such forms and methods as criticism, education, persuasion and help to overcome them. After the basic completion of socialist reform in China, the large-scale stormy type of mass struggle of the revolutionary period has basically come to an end, and the host of contradictions that remain in Chinese society are nonantagonistic contradictions among the people. In these conditions, to regard the many nonantagonistic contradictions among the people as antagonistic contradictions or contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and to adopt the stormy type of struggle, magnify it into class struggle and carry out struggle wrongly inevitably will damage the cause of socialism. We should properly bear in mind the lesson of this experience.

In the destruction of the old and negation of old things, negation definitely should not be carried out metaphysically and can only be based on materialist dialectics. Metaphysics regards the negation of old things wholly as things externally imposed on people and not as inevitable laws and tendencies inherent in things themselves. Metaphysics regards negation and affirmation in terms of the absolute to affirm or negate everything and holds that there is no objective relationship between new and old things. For example, if a revolutionary comrade makes a mistake, it regards him as always making mistakes and having not a single redeeming feature. If some units became advanced collectives, it henceforth regards them as good in everything, without the slightest shortcoming and always advanced in every respect, and will not allow others to make any constructive criticism. Obviously, this kind of metaphysical standpoint of negating and affirming is not conducive to the development of the cause of socialism.

In destroying the old and negating old things based on materialist dialectics, we must adopt the method of "developing what is useful or healthy and discarding what is not." This means that we must discard things that are irrational and get rid of the dross in old things, retain things that are rational and further develop their rational features and create new contents. Take the reform of some of our old rules and regulations, for example. When we discover after careful investigation and study that some of the rules and regulations are already outmoded and no longer suitable and have become obstacles to further raising the enthusiasm of the masses and developing the productive forces, we naturally must reform or abolish them. However, we definitely cannot rashly or simplistically negate them totally. We must proceed cautiously to genuinely destroy and get rid of the irrational portion and retain the rational portion. We must draw up new

rules and regulations, try them out and then popularize them. Only in this way will the work of destroying the old and establishing the new be conducive to the development of the cause of socialism.

Some people feel that, since the communist revolution must make the most radical break with traditional private ownership and the private ownership mentality, practicing socialism and communism means eliminating and casting aside everything in capitalist society. This view is also a sign of the influence of ultraleftist thinking. Although in practicing socialism and communism we must make use of necessary ways and means to gradually destroy and get rid of private ownership and private ownership mentality and establish communist public ownership and communist ideas, this does not mean that we must negate everything in capitalist society. We must preserve and carry forward all the useful things created by the working people in capitalist society or jointly created by mankind. First, the proletariat must take full advantage of the scientific and technical achievements created by capitalist society and also develop them. Only in this way can we smoothly establish and develop this great new thing of socialism. Simplistically and roughly negating everything is a sign of "left" infantilism. China formerly was a semifeudal and semicolonial society, capitalism was not yet fully developed, the science and technology left to us from the old society were of a low level and our foundation was very weak. In carrying out socialist construction we should of course pay more attention to taking full advantage of the legacy of our old society. However, to speed up the development of China's socialist construction we must also pay special attention to actively and conscientiously learning from and drawing on all the good things in foreign countries. However, because of the long period of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk, many of our comrades did not pay much attention to some of the specialists, scientists and technicians trained in the schools of the old society. For a long time they looked upon these intellectuals who served socialism as bourgeois intellectuals and held their scientific and technical work and their achievements in contempt. They also regarded the science and technology they studied abroad as the "worship of foreign things and fawning on foreigners" and a "slavish comprador philosophy" in order to criticize and oppose them. This seriously hampered the development of socialist construction in China.

We must adhere to the materialist dialectical standpoint of negation, correctly handle the heritage of our nation and the science and culture from foreign countries and properly deal with the relationship between carrying forward and reforming. We not only must oppose affirming all the revivalism of the past, but also must oppose negating all the nihilism of the past. We not only must oppose the slavishness of believing that everything foreign is good and placing blind faith in foreigners, but also must oppose the exclusion of isolationism and parochial arrogance. Lu Xun criticized nihilism and exclusionism as early as the 1930's. In his article "The Taking-it Theory" he used the

materialist dialectical standpoint to profoundly point out that we should first "take" and "possess" these domestic and foreign historical and cultural legacies and carefully select, digest and "polish" them before we can create a new culture. Comrade Mao Zedong always pointed out that we should respect our own history and must not lop it off. He said: "We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") As for the method of critically taking over the cultural legacy, we must "separate and discard its feudal dross and absorb its democratic essence." He held that we definitely cannot refuse to take over and borrow from ancient peoples and foreigners for fear that this might be feudal or bourgeois, but we also cannot uncritically and dogmatically transplant or imitate them. Our purpose in critically accepting Chinese and foreign culture is to promote the new culture of China. The viewpoint of "make the past serve the present," "make foreign things serve China" and "weed out the old to let new things emerge" pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong is Marxist policy aimed at developing culture and science in China and is of important guiding significance in realizing the four socialist modernizations in our country.

Let us now take the question of construction. The purpose of destroying the old is to establish the new. Our purpose in overthrowing old things and the old system is to establish and develop new things and a new system. First, the new things and new systems we want to establish absolutely cannot be carried out by relying on the subjective imagination of the people but must strictly follow the law of objective development based on actual needs and possibilities and carried out under possible objective conditions; otherwise they will not succeed. During the Great Leap Forward of 1958, because we broke away from actual objective conditions, we immediately put the accounting unit at the commune and production brigade level, set up public messhalls everywhere to enjoy a big pot of steamed rice and got ready to make the transition to communism in 3 to 4 years. Consequently, this caused great damage to the cause of socialist construction, and we eventually had to turn back. Second, establishing the new cannot be separated from the original foundations of the old, and we cannot "start all over again." For example, during the liberation war we only smashed the state machine of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, but we did not destroy the factories, mines and railroads. Moreover, we adopted the policy of carrying out construction on the original foundations and placed the stress on protecting the machinery, materials, buildings and structures. We even preserved the original systems of the factories and enterprises and used the original personnel. This was conducive to building the new order, and we gradually transformed and built up the cities and factories. Our present modernization of the factories and enterprises also cannot be separated from the original foundations. Moreover, we must take full advantage of the original plant premises, equipment and other conditions and bring in new technology and equipment to carry out reforms and innovations.

Naturally, old decadent things must be destroyed. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Only by destroying the old and the rotten can we build the new and the solid." ("New-Democratic Constitutional Government") If we had not destroyed the domination of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China and carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry and private industry and commerce, we could not have built socialism. However, this absolutely does not mean that construction has been carried out when the old things themselves have been destroyed. Can we say that by overthrowing the three great mountains and accomplishing the three major transformations we have succeeded in building socialism? Obviously we cannot. Our criticism of old ideas and things is a kind of destruction. Although we paid attention to using reason in the criticism we carried out, and although some of this was constructive, generally speaking criticism or destruction does not amount to construction. We cannot assume that we only have to criticize erroneous ideas and methods and overcome the backward phenomena in actual work but do not need to carry out direct propaganda and education among the masses, instill socialist ideas, foster and set up advanced models or sum up and popularize advanced experience. Merely criticizing or destroying cannot completely achieve the goal of establishing. When we destroy the old and establish the new and replace the old with the new, if new things are not established it will also be impossible to really bring about the complete destruction of old things. After the proletariat seizes power with armed force through violent revolution, if it does not make the greatest effort to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, carry out socialist construction and develop productive forces, it will be very difficult to prevent the bourgeois from restoring capitalism. Is it possible that this fact is not known to everyone?

Establishing the new and establishing and developing new things and systems naturally is also a process of struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Obstructions to the establishment and growth of new things come, first, from the sabotage and interference of reactionaries or reactionary forces; second, from the resistance of the conservative force of habit; and third, from some people who temporarily still do not fully understand the new things and will also find fault with the new things and not support them. That is why, in order to establish and develop the new things and new systems, we must expose the backward, decadent or reactionary nature of the old things and old systems, get rid of the old ideas reflecting the old things and old systems and give publicity to the inevitability and superiority of the new things and new systems. We must energetically foster the new things and new systems, so that they can withstand the assaults of violent storms and grow up healthy and strong. Since the founding of the People's Republic,

every new thing and new system in various sectors of our socialist economy and culture experienced difficulties and setbacks before it could be established and developed. In the socialist modernization we are carrying out at present, we must reform the existing relations of production and certain parts of the superstructure which hinder the modernization in China and remove all the old forces of habit which are unfavorable to realizing the four modernizations. With regard to the work of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy in recent years, including the reform of the economic system and the reorganization of enterprise management, we will experience all kinds of resistance. We must remove all these obstacles. This requires us to carry out arduous and painstaking work, continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and also pay attention to overcoming the conservative mentality of following the beaten track.

We must see that establishing and developing new things and creating a new world is an extremely arduous task. To build socialism we must energetically develop the socialist productive forces, develop science and culture and establish a high degree of material and spiritual civilization. This is a great undertaking, unparalleled in the historical development of mankind, and will be more complicated and difficult than overthrowing the reactionary ruling class. Socialist economics, politics, culture and education are all new things. The way to establish and develop these new things makes it necessary for us to thoroughly study the characteristics of the new things and to correctly understand the laws governing their development in the course of practice, so that we can help and foster them, help them to grow smoothly and become strong and properly bring their positive role into play. Particularly in the course of establishing and developing the new socialist things in our country, we have suffered some setbacks because of certain mistakes in our work. We must conscientiously sum up the lessons of this experience, learn from them and study ways to correctly push forward the development of the new socialist things. To uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must be good at study and continue to enrich and develop them in practice. Only in this way can we promote the prosperity of the cause of socialism in China and effectively build a socialist and communist new world.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We are not only good at destroying the old world but also good at building the new." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") The general line and task of our party at the present stage call for uniting with people of various nationalities throughout the country, bringing all positive factors into play, working with one heart and mind, going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a strong and modern socialist country. Under the guidance of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao

Zedong Thought and based on the demands of the party's general line, we communists and revolutionaries must break down fetishes and superstitions, emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, hold fast to practice as the sole criterion of truth, proceed from objective reality and from the fundamental interests of the masses, rely on the wisdom and strength of the masses, have the courage to practice and explore, give full play to the spirit of creativity, correctly do a good job of destroying and establishing and make due contributions to the cause of China's socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

STARTING WITH THE FEET AND THE SHOES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 34-35

[Article by Liu Zijiu [0491 1311 0036]]

[Text] This special column just started by RED FLAG is for the purpose of discussing methods of thinking and of work. Following its intent, I wish to present my view on the issues to be discussed in this special column by means of the familiar feet and shoes.

There are two sayings on the subject of feet and shoes: One is "a good wife makes shoes that fit," and the other is "cutting the feet to fit the shoes." The former means that the shoes made by a good wife for her husband are neither too long nor too short, neither too wide nor too narrow, fitting the feet perfectly. It implies both starting from the practical and seeking the truth from the facts, and feeling concerned for another. Naturally, the other person referred to here is someone of a special relationship, not just anyone. The implication of the second saying is completely different. When making the shoes the shoemaker pays no attention to the size of the feet of the wearer but makes the shoes arbitrarily and subjectively, without concern for the wearer. He then forces another to wear them. When they do not fit he whittles the feet of the wearer with a knife to make them fit and conform to the subjectively made shoes. As a result, the wearer, with his tendons and bones cut and his blood dripping, suffers intolerable pain. In other words, those suffering from subjectivism often commit bureaucratic commandist errors in their method of work. The two different situations reflected in the two sayings are constantly encountered in our daily work.

Nowadays wives seldom make shoes for their husbands. Most shoes are mass-produced in factories according to definite sizes and sold in retail departments. Very few shoes are made to order according to the length and width of the feet of the wearers. Then how do the shoes which are not made to order conform to the fundamental principle of starting from the practical conditions and seeking the truth from the facts and fit the wearer perfectly? The most common way of solving this problem is for the factory to make shoes of different lengths and widths

and different varieties and for the retail department to give the purchasers the freedom to try them on, so that the purchasers are all satisfied. In terms of the purchasers, this method conforms to the principle of starting from the practical conditions and seeking the truth from the facts.

The methods of thinking, of work and of leading have similarities with the making and selling of shoes. Today our leading party, government, military and civilian organs rarely conduct special investigations and studies of individual persons and instances and make individual decisions, resolutions and instructions. Though most of them have special topical headings, in terms of the party, the army, the people and the nation as a whole, such resolutions, decisions and instructions are general in nature. Naturally, such general things are concentrated from many special things. Here two different categories must be distinguished: One category consists of systems and regulations of a compulsory nature, such as prohibitions against giving dinners and gifts, utilizing one's power of office for private gain, pursuing factional activities and forming small cliques, which must be firmly followed under any situation. The other category includes resolutions, decisions and instructions in the nature of guidance. When formulating documents of the latter category, the leading organs must, on the foundation of full investigations and studies, consider the different situations and refrain from making them too rigid and too absolute. When they are implemented in practical work, though there cannot be the freedom of choice enjoyed by the shoe purchasers, i.e., the freedom of implementing them or not implementing them, they must be enforced according to the principle of adjusting to the time, the place and the matter in hand. They must not be enforced arbitrarily and uniformly regardless of the concrete time, place and conditions, because things in the universe are both complicated and developing, changing constantly. The method of the "incoming and outgoing mailroom" is completely in violation of the principle of starting from the practical conditions, linking theory with reality and seeking the truth from the facts.

This concludes my discussion of the issue with the illustration of feet and shoes.

In addition, I wish to bring up an issue connected with feet and shoes. It is not an issue in the methods of thinking and of work, but one connected with the ethics and qualities of the leading cadres. Some leading cadres do not feel sincerely happy with those who have criticized them, nor do they take the attitude of correcting the mistakes if they have made any and guarding against them if they have not. On the contrary, they harbor a grudge, seek opportunities to retaliate, and force those who have criticized them to wear small shoes. This practice is incompatible with the ethics and qualities of leading communist cadres. Such a tendency is not to be encouraged but must be firmly opposed and eradicated.

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PROMOTE RESPECT FOR TEACHERS AND RAISE THEIR POSITION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 36-40

[Article by Li Fuquan [2621 1133 0356]]

[Text] To hasten the training of talents and raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation, in order to answer the needs of the four modernizations construction, we are now confronted with a momentous strategic task, i.e., the task of the entire party and entire people to give serious attention to education and to learning. To accomplish this task we must work arduously in many aspects, and developing the habit of respecting teachers and raising their position constitutes one of the important links.

After smashing the "gang of four," the educational front of Hubei, by means of extensive and intensive criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" "two assessments," removed the spiritual shackles on the broad ranks of teachers. This produced a powerful reverberation in society and had a tremendous impact on correcting the erroneous understanding of teachers. Party committees and governments at all levels redressed the unjust, false and wrong cases involving university and middle and elementary school teachers. The province convened a mass meeting on education and cited a group of advanced units, teachers and workers. Universities and colleges promoted a group of professors, associate professors and lecturers, and middle and elementary schools approved the first group of special-grade teachers. In addition, a number of measures were adopted to improve the teachers' working and living conditions, with special attention given to gradually solving the management and remuneration problems of teachers of schools run by the local people. Today, whether in the schools or in society, the trend of respecting teachers is beginning to form, and the position of teachers has improved somewhat. The broad ranks of teachers enjoy ease of mind and work actively, toiling to improve the quality of education and the level of teaching, and a flourishing prospect has appeared on the educational front. However, the phenomenon of despising teachers still exists in society, and the position of teachers is still not high. In student recruitment work in recent years, many young people have been unwilling to take the

examinations for admission to teachers colleges. Therefore, correctly understanding the significance of the work of teachers, eradicating the many prejudices in people's thinking and vigorously developing the trend of respecting teachers remain an important issue which cannot be overlooked.

We know that education, as a social activity, emerged in the early history of mankind. To survive and develop, man must pass on to the next generation the knowledge and experience accumulated over the years. With the development of production and the emergence of a division of social labor, educational activity also gradually became independent, and schools and teachers devoted exclusively to education appeared. One may say that the teaching profession, right from the beginning, was linked with social progress and man's civilization. Historically, people have used many fine words and phrases to extol and express their respect and devotion for teachers. However, comparatively speaking, the proletariat and its political party pay greater attention to education and have raised respect for teachers to a new height. After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out emphatically: "We must raise the people's teachers to an unprecedented lofty position which is not found or possible in a bourgeois society. This is a truth which requires no proof." He also said: "If we do not raise the position of the people's teachers, we cannot discuss culture, neither proletarian nor bourgeois culture." ("Excerpts of Diary," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, pp 419, 418) As early as during the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "To wipe out national and feudal oppression and to build a new democratic state, we need large groups of people's educators and teachers...." ("On the Coalition Government") In 1957, after the basic completion of the socialist reform of China's economic front, he pointed out: "To build socialism, the worker class must have its own technical cadres and its own professors, teachers, scientists, reporters, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians. This calls for a gigantic contingent which cannot be formed with only a few people." ("The Situation in the Summer of 1957") Such proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De earnestly practiced what they preached, respecting and showing concern for the teachers and establishing models for us.

Today our country is in a new historical era, and the emphasis of the party's work has shifted to the modernization construction. The position and role of education are noticeably pronounced. Developing the trend of respecting teachers and raising their position are therefore more important and more urgent than ever before. Teachers are the spreaders of scientific and cultural knowledge, or one may say that they are the developers of the "intellectual resource." Knowledge does not come with birth. The academic accomplishments of anyone cannot be severed from the teacher's enlightenment, inducement and guidance. A gigantic potential of wisdom exists in China's longstanding culture and its large population. If our education develops even more rapidly and the

revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad ranks of teachers rises even higher, a new era filled with talent will certainly emerge. The masses say: "Socialism is paradise; education and science are the bridges." With their diligent labor the broad ranks of teachers are playing the role of bridges in spreading scientific knowledge and training all kinds of talent. At the same time, they are the engineers of man's soul. The quality of their work is directly linked, not only with the growth of the younger generation, but also with the general mood of society and the standard of civilization. Han Yu, our thinker and writer of the Tang dynasty, said: "The absence of principle is due to the absence of teachers." "Teacher" and "principle" are linked. If we do not "respect" the proletarian "teachers," how can we "revere" the Marxist-Leninist "principles"? This principle is not hard to understand. The work of teachers concerns the prosperity or decline of the nation and the success or failure of the four modernizations construction. It affects the entire nation and influences mankind. In this sense, if we do not respect teachers, it is the same as not respecting our cause and our future.

Developing the trend of respecting teachers and raising their position, basically speaking, is determined by the role of their work. Such a role is objective and cannot be assigned arbitrarily. As shown by our experience since the founding of the nation three decades ago, whenever we acted according to the laws of education, fully developed the teachers' guiding effect in teaching and education and enabled them to have ease of mind, the quality of education was high and the atmosphere of society good; whenever we violated the laws of education, issued confused orders, obliterated and suppressed the teachers' guiding effect and deprived them of their ease of mind, the quality of education became relatively poor, and the atmosphere of society was also affected. During the 10 years of calamity, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly sabotaged the party's policy toward intellectuals, vilified and slandered teachers, called them "bourgeois intellectuals" and "foul old-nine's," denounced "the dignity of teaching" and ruthlessly attacked and persecuted teachers. This resulted in the deterioration of the quality of education and harmed an entire generation. Instead of finding knowledge honorable, many people in society felt that "studying is useless," and they even thought that the greater the knowledge the fouler it was. Today it will require a great effort on our part to eliminate this evil consequence, reverse the social trend and overcome the shortage of talent. This painful lesson must never be forgotten.

Then why does the erroneous disrespect of teachers still exist today?

The disrespect some people show for teachers is connected with their failure to take the standpoint of the worker class, which represents the most progressive production force, and with their conservative and narrow view of the small producer when observing issues. They feel that education is unessential, that production and living will continue without

science and culture and that education does not have much to do with developing production and improving living. Such obsolete and backward views make it impossible for them to recognize or understand the tremendous effect of education and science on production. Some individuals even consider education a consumer undertaking and discriminate against it, arbitrarily reducing and shifting funds earmarked for education and transferring teachers to other posts. Today, with the rapid development of science and technology, one important means of developing production is to improve the quality of the laborers and enable them to master more knowledge and skills. After World War II many countries made large investments in education, and the rate of increase in educational investments exceeded that of the gross national product and the national income. The reason was that raising man's ability and improving the scientific level were more effective than simply increasing the "material capital" for the rapid development of production. The economy of Japan and West Germany was in an extremely difficult situation. One of the important reasons they occupied the leading positions in industrial development in the world after 30 years of effort was their serious attention to education. For us to realize the four modernizations, science and technology are the key, and the development of science and technology is premised on education. If we do not improve education and train talent, neither the independence of science and technology nor that of the economy is possible. The communique of the 5th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee pointed out: "The great practice of the people of all nationalities in the country of marching toward the four modernizations today poses for our party a series of momentous issues which urgently require solution. These include a long-range plan for the development of the national economy, an economic system compatible with the needs of such development and a compatible educational plan and system." One of the three momentous issues enumerated here is education. It is unprecedented in our party history for the party Central Committee to elevate educational work to such a height. If, in such a situation, some of our comrades still despise education and thereby scorn the teachers, this is most improper.

Some people do not respect teachers because they fail to correctly analyze and assess the conditions of the teaching ranks. Superficially they express verbal support for the party Central Committee's scientific thesis that intellectuals are part of the worker class and the strength on which the party relies, but they have not understood it ideologically. They constantly measure our teachers with such outmoded ideas as "undesirable family background" and "complicated social relations," and they fail to recognize the fundamental changes in the teaching ranks since the founding of the nation or the manifestations of the teachers themselves. Others fail to understand the Marxist principle that class division can only be based on people's economic positions, or the fact that teachers have long since become proletarians performing mental labor. Instead, they still erroneously take the world philosophy as the basis for determining the class attributes of teachers. Some even

consider the teachers' knowledge, perception and active minds as "complex thinking, hard to control," and thus reject the teachers. In short, the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line still haunts their minds, and they still regard the broad ranks of teachers as "foul old-nine's." This is contrary to the demands of the four modernizations and incompatible with practical conditions. What are the practical conditions of our teachers today? More than 95 percent of them were trained by our party itself under the socialist system. The overwhelming majority of them are children of laboring people. Even when it comes to the old intellectuals from the old society, after the party's long education the overwhelming majority have a brandnew ideology, support the party and the socialist system, perform their work diligently and earnestly and, together with the broad ranks of middle-aged and young teachers, have cultivated generation after generation of socialist new persons for the motherland, making important contributions to the party and the people. Though the broad ranks of teachers encountered false accusations, attacks and persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the overwhelming majority of the comrades, in the complex struggles and difficult environment, did not lose their confidence in the party and the socialist system but consistently remained at their posts, "voicing no complaint and suffering in silence" and "dedicating themselves to the children." After the collapse of the "gang of four," many old and middle-aged teachers, instead of alienating themselves from the party as a result of their unfortunate encounters, rallied around it with deep feelings, and some even joined the party ranks. With their actions they have proved that they are a part of the worker class and the strength on which the party can rely. They completely deserve the respect of the entire society.

Some people do not respect teachers because they cannot correctly regard and understand the teachers' labor. They feel that the labor of the teachers, especially elementary school teachers, is relatively simple and light. Some say: "Elementary school teachers spend their day babysitting, counting a few numbers and teaching a few characters. Isn't it very easy?" Others say: "Teachers carry no load on their shoulders and backs and are not exposed to the wind and rain. Isn't it pleasant?" Obviously, such views are wrong. The teacher's labor is a sort of complex and arduous mental work. To become a qualified people's teacher one must undergo special training and master broad and profound scientific and cultural knowledge. In the teachers' own words, "to give the students one cup of water, one must have a bucketful." Furthermore, with the development of the teaching content, teachers must constantly study anew and replenish their own reserve. In terms of the teaching process, teachers, to teach the students successfully, must conscientiously make preparations, give lectures, answer questions, comment on and correct homework, tutor the students and launch teaching and scientific research. All such activities require them to concentrate their energy, rack their brains and develop a high degree of subjective initiative. The objectives of the teachers' labor are living beings. The thinking, morals, qualities, temperament and receptiveness of the students differ in

thousands of ways. Teachers must master and apply their knowledge in pedagogy, psychology, teaching methods and physiology, familiarize themselves with the individual characteristics of the different students, follow the laws of education and teach according to the aptitudes of the students. Here, not only the abilities of sensitive observation, judgment and organization to control the overall situation are required, but also the artistic skills to make the difficult easy and to impart the serious in the pleasant, as well as the work style of going deep into the students and their homes and constantly investigating and studying. Just think: how can the skill of training and educating people possibly be simpler than general production technology? In addition, rising early and retiring late, teachers, especially those of middle and elementary schools, expend a tremendous amount of physical as well as mental energy. Therefore, it is most unfair to say that their complex and arduous labor is simple and light, as if the excuse to scorn them could be found here.

Some people in society look down on teachers simply because of their low pay. This idea is even more erroneous. That the wages of teachers, especially those of middle and elementary schools, are too low is a fact. But this is irrational. Lenin once said that to raise the teachers' position "the most important thing is to improve their material living conditions." The party and the state have paid attention to this problem and are in the course of adopting measures to solve it gradually. With the solution of the practical problems, some ideological problems may change, but this absolutely does not mean that the erroneous ideas no longer require criticism. To the proletariat the type of work performed by an individual is a result of the division of labor in society, and as long as one can contribute to mankind and promote the progress of society, any occupation is noble. Only those who are entirely selfless, dedicate themselves to their own profession and make great contributions to mankind, even though their remuneration is temporarily low, deserve respect. If money alone is used as the yardstick to measure the position and the value of a profession and to determine the attitude of admiration or contempt, this will be a sort of bourgeois individualist ideology. Such an ideology is a kind of corrosion to the individual and a scourge to the collective. Our broad ranks of teachers, especially those of middle and elementary schools, consider the overall situation, understand the cardinal principles, are sympathetic to the difficulties of the state and loyal to the party's educational enterprise, and dedicate their entire energy to the future of the motherland, "serving the children willingly." Do they not deserve the greatest respect of the party and the people?

Developing the trend of respecting teachers and raising their position hinges on leaders at all levels. We must elevate respecting teachers to the height of realizing the four modernizations; we must never regard it as a "triviality." Leading cadres must serve as examples in respecting teachers, befriend them and listen carefully to their views

and appeals. They must respect the teachers' labor and support their work. The party's leadership of educational work is realized via the party organizations at various levels, especially those of the schools, and by fully activating the positive effect of the teachers. Trusting and relying on the broad ranks of teachers and making them the true masters of the schools constitute the important content of strengthening and improving the party's leadership of educational work. The view which places respecting teachers and developing their positive effect in opposition to the party leadership is an erroneous, metaphysical view.

The sharp criticisms expressed today by many teachers of certain leading comrades who loudly advocate respecting teachers while failing to solve many practical problems which can be solved deserve our attention. In accordance with the spirit of the recent directive of the Central Secretariat on educational work, we in Hubei must still conscientiously perform a large amount of practical work. We must, for instance, perform the work of redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases involving the teachers and rehabilitating them. We must actively develop party members among the teachers and promptly recruit qualified ones into the party. Those with outstanding achievements in their work must be given prompt recognition and encouragement. We must "know them well and assign them positions commensurate with their abilities," make use of their good points and boldly promote to leadership posts those who follow the socialist path and possess rich educational experiences and those in the prime of their lives. We must actively create conditions and, within the limits of our power, help them improve their working and living conditions and solve some of their practical difficulties. The housing problem, the problem of long separation of a married couple, etc. must be placed on the daily agenda and appropriately solved one by one. Schools must perform all kinds of rear-service work and serve the teachers heart and soul. As regards those problems which, due to the limitations of conditions, temporarily cannot be solved, they must be patiently explained to the teachers. As shown by the experiences of many places and schools, while concern for the teachers' well-being is no doubt an important way to activate their enthusiasm, it definitely is not the only way. Even under comparatively arduous conditions, as long as the leading cadres serve as examples, place strict requirements on themselves, perform their work thoroughly and painstakingly and bring the party's warmth to the heart of each and every teacher, teachers will be satisfied and will share the worries of the nation. We must exhort students to obey the teachers' instructions, to set their goal on the "three-goods" and to study diligently for the four modernizations. We must urge parents to coordinate closely with the schools, make strict demands on their own children and actively support the work of the teachers. Not only the educational units and the schools, but all fronts and all branches of industry must feel concern for the teachers. We must adopt effective measures to protect the legitimate rights and interests of teachers and solemnly criticize the various kinds of erroneous ideas and practices

which discriminate against teachers. As regards such criminal acts as beating up and bodily injuring teachers, we must handle them strictly in accordance with law and discipline; we must not take a laissez-faire attitude.

Naturally, developing the trend of respecting teachers and raising their position cannot be separated from the efforts of the teachers themselves. Party and government units must actively create the conditions and enthusiastically help them to constantly improve their ideological level and professional ability, so that they will fully understand the momentous significance of education, devote themselves to their work, respect their own profession, dedicate themselves to our future masters and win the people's respect with outstanding achievements.

We deeply believe that the day of the great development of the social trend of respecting the teachers and cherishing the students will be the time when our younger generation grows and matures under the salutary influence of education and the fervor of the entire nation to learn science and culture rises to a great height.

6080

CSO: 4004

STRIVE TO PUBLISH MORE GOOD BOOKS THAT SUIT THE NEEDS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 pp 41-44

[Article by Cong Li [1783 3810]]

[Text] With our country entering this new historical period of the four modernizations, millions of people are earnestly looking for high-quality spiritual food, pinning their hopes on the workers on the publication front for a solution to their thirst for a great number of new, better-quality books.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, cadres and workers on the book publication front have done a fine job and scored great successes in eliminating chaos and restoring order, in emancipating their minds and in lifting restrictions on book publication. As the party is shifting the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization, its Central Committee has adopted a publication policy and laid down tasks for the new period, thus further boosting the morale of the entire book publication front. Consequently, the book shortages caused by Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" practice of cultural autocracy have been alleviated. In recent years efforts have been made to diversify the categories of books published. A good selection of subject matter has widened the range of books to be published. In 1979 the publication front turned out more copies of books than in any previous year since the PRC's founding, books with improved quality. Meanwhile, a number of relatively influential publications which suit the popular needs have begun to appear on the market. Some of them have even made their appearance on the international market. This is the mainstream of our book publication front during the past several years.

Of course we must also pay attention to problems that exist in book publication. The main problem is that some categories of books now being published remain far from sufficient to satisfy the popular demands for variety and quantity. So far, books on ideology, politics, theory, moral education, science, technology and culture that cater to the great majority of readers still cannot be supplied in adequate numbers. The

same is true of books that suit the tastes of rural readers. The quality of certain kinds of books still cannot meet the desired standards. Furthermore, we have published old editions in large quantities, books which merit no further printing or whose circulation should be reduced or whose reprinting should be postponed indefinitely. We have also even published a large quantity of valueless, exotic foreign literary works. Some individual published works contain unhealthy ideas and have therefore had a bad effect on society. Although these kinds of books occupy an unimportant place in our book market and do not constitute the mainstream of our book publication business, and although the copies in circulation account for only a small percentage of our total book sales, they still present a problem that merits our great attention. We must carry forward our achievements, pay attention to problems, improve work efficiency and persevere in implementing the party's publication policy. Only in this way can we achieve greater, faster and better results in book publication.

In his speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the PRC's founding, Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out: "While building a high-level material civilization we must raise the educational, scientific, cultural and health levels of our nation as a whole, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and moral qualities, develop a decent and colorful cultural life and build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization. This constitutes an important objective of our socialist modernization and is essential to the realization of the four modernizations."

Book publication is part of the superstructure. Books reflect comprehensive achievements in the ideological, scientific, cultural and other fields. The socialist book publishing enterprise is our party's important stronghold in the ideological field. The books we publish must fully reflect the brilliant accomplishments of the socialist spiritual civilization. Book publication involves a wide range of subjects of interest, including politics, economics, education, culture and art, science and technology, morality and many other categories of reading material. For this reason, its influence is far reaching, and its task is very difficult and indispensable to the country and people.

To meet our current needs we must do a still better job of book publishing and increase the printing of good books that take into account the needs of national construction and the general public. While doing so, what should we emphasize and pay attention to? In answer to this question I want to present the following initial propositions:

First, publishers should regard serving the people and socialism as their noble task.

We must rapidly develop the socialist economy and strive to build China into a powerful socialist country. The people of all nationalities throughout the country should work together to achieve this grand

objective of fundamental interest to the nation. As part of the superstructure, the book publication front must strive to better serve the people and socialism in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies. By serving the people we mean serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, who account for the great majority of our population; by serving socialism during the current period of history we mean mainly serving the four modernizations. Publishers should regard this as their lofty task and a matter of principle they should stand for.

Our publishers should serve the people and socialism and should regard this as a guiding principle which should be adhered to by every link in the book publishing process. At present we must seriously consider solving the problem of how to produce books catering to the peasants in the vast countryside. Enlivening the cultural life there is essential to our overall drive to develop rural China, to dominate the rural ideological and cultural positions with proletarian thought and to modernize agriculture. Book publication departments should adopt feasible and effective measures to conscientiously carry this drive to a successful conclusion.

We must serve the people and socialism in every conceivable way. While doing so, we must take a firm and clearcut stand and adhere to the four basic principles. Workers on the book publication front must have a clear understanding of politics, distinguish right from wrong, conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies and always bear in mind their obligations to society. They must conscientiously study and investigate problems, keep in close touch with the masses in order to get a clear understanding of their demands and humbly listen to all forms of criticism from all walks of life. Only in this way can they uphold what is right and correct mistakes in the service of the people and socialism and do a good job of book publishing under the centralized leadership of the party.

Second, we must continue to emancipate our minds and strive to enliven the socialist book publishing activity.

To adapt our publications to the new needs we must further emancipate our minds. Fundamentally, emancipation of the mind means perseverance in seeking truth from facts, taking actual needs into account and integrating theory with practice. The remarkable achievements on the book publication front in recent years should be attributed to the successful efforts to criticize the ultraleft line, break through "forbidden zones" and smash ideological shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and overcome ossified and semi-ossified ideas. The development of the objective situation has continued to place new demands on us. In the days ahead we must continue to emancipate our minds, open our minds to fresh ideas, study new situations and sum up new experiences as a basis for resolving new problems. Only thus can we score greater successes in book publishing.

The call for emancipation of the mind in no way contradicts the call for adherence to the four basic principles. What we call emancipation of the mind is a process which takes place under the leadership of the party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It advances along the socialist course toward the goal that the proletariat strives to achieve. Only in this way can we gain knowledge in accordance with the objective law governing the development of things. If we depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist road and the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the party, we will deprive ourselves of a basis for emancipating our minds and for successfully developing the socialist book publishing enterprise. Consequently, bourgeois ideas and all forms of nonproletarian ideologies harmful to the party and people will prevail over our book publishing front.

To diversify the variety of books and to gear publications to better serve the needs of the people and socialism, we must resolutely and conscientiously implement the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, making foreign things serve China and the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring forth the new. In addition, we must widely rally creative writers of different shades behind the drive to develop and make science and art flourish in our country. All book publishing units must actively support writers in their creative academic and artistic activities, attach importance to all valuable cultural and artistic legacies, both Chinese and Western, and compile and produce books in all categories in a well-planned and well-organized way. But this does not mean that we are receptive to all books without selection and analysis. In translating and publishing foreign works, no matter whether they are classic or modern, we must make sure that they will be useful to our country and people and will benefit socialism. In publishing classic Chinese works we must make conscientious efforts to select the best and discard the rubbish in order to make the past serve the present. Books already published in China and foreign countries are too numerous to enumerate. They must be scientifically and realistically analyzed and carefully screened before any decision is made regarding their printing. Works which contain good material of relatively high artistic or academic and educational value to the people should be selected for publication. Limited printing and circulation of books of specific reference value to researchers, books which contain no politically harmful material, should also be permitted. Works of dubious value to our country should be more carefully analyzed and screened before they can be published.

At present we must concentrate on publishing books on modern drama, including those that reflect the current revolutionary struggles of practical significance. During the new Long March toward the four modernizations, heart-stirring dramas involving inventions and creations have unfolded one after another. Our theorists, scientists, artists and workers on the book publishing front must foster lofty ideals and aim

high, dare to think and dare to act, keep in close touch with the masses and integrate theory with practice in struggle. Only in this way can they produce works capable of reflecting the great spirit and brilliant achievements of our time and play a role in scaling three peaks of the socialist spiritual civilization--ideological theory, science and technology, and literature and art.

Third, we must persistently pay close attention to the quality of books and their effect on society.

The first step in improving the quality of books is to concentrate our attention on their content. We must produce books that are really in great demand, books with themes that suit the tastes of the readers. In short, we must produce books that really meet their needs and benefit them. We must concentrate on doing a good job of propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and use it to arm the cadres, the masses and especially the younger generation with modern scientific and cultural knowledge. To heal the serious "hidden wounds" caused by the "gang of four," we must publish a great variety of popular and easily understood, interesting books on politics and theory which reflect a correct viewpoint and which can help the people foster a correct world outlook, master a correct methodology, raise their political, ideological and theoretical levels and increase their ability to survey and analyze problems. Books which contain scientific and cultural information and achievements can help readers widen their horizons and enrich their knowledge. There also are books in various other categories which can enrich the people's spiritual and cultural life, stimulate their revolutionary spirit, inspire their thoughts, instill in them noble human qualities, expose them to communist codes of ethics and help them combat and resist the erosion and influence of bourgeois ideas and all other nonproletarian ideologies. Although the books we have published differ in content and the publishing process varies from one publishing house to the other, we must bear in mind a basic purpose which is common to all. In other words, whatever we do will be compatible with the long-range objective that our party and people are striving to achieve and will enhance the development of national construction. In evaluating the quality of books to be published we must give first consideration to those which emphasize Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the need for stability and unity in which modernization can be carried out, books which will help to enrich the spiritual life of the masses, to foster a new socialist personality and to raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation. Works of vulgar interest should be banned.

Another step in improving the quality of books is to concentrate our attention on works of artistic value--their structure and sequence, their language and style, and their design, format and artwork, all of which must be constantly improved. We must strive to produce books which will delight the readers with their ideas, art, knowledge and interesting stories and which will be easily accepted by them. A book

is a product of mental labor. Whether it will become popular with the general public depends on its quality. We must pay constant attention to quality and should not allow crude and slipshod works to be published. The reason for this is that works of poor quality are not only harmful to the people and socialism but also a waste of human and material resources. More important, they may have a detrimental effect on readers for generations to come. Comrades involved in the publishing process, which includes editing, printing and distribution, must display a high sense of responsibility to the revolutionary cause, serve the readers wholeheartedly and constantly sharpen their professional skills. They must appropriately increase the variety of books and their circulation while improving the quality of their products. At present the book publishing front faces shortages of paper and printing equipment. In these circumstances, careful calculation, tight budgeting and reasonable arrangements are necessary to utilize the limited resources to the best advantage.

Even after the shortages of paper and printing facilities are alleviated, this front will still have to constantly stress the need for improving the quality of its products. Furthermore, efforts must be made to replenish the major printing equipment in order to increase the quantity and improve the quality of books to be published. The need for improving the quality of books and the need for monitoring their effect on society should be emphasized simultaneously. In evaluating the effect of a book on society, we must pay primary attention to its political repercussions, because this involves a problem of where the readers will go under its influence. For example, a book may have a positive or a negative effect on stability and unity, and it may lead a reader to become apathetic and dejected and do nothing or it may lead him to move forward and play an active role in building his country. If the effect of a book on society is not monitored, this may create a problem more serious than that caused by its poor quality. Editorial and publication departments must exercise great care in this field, concentrate their attention on monitoring the effect a book may have on society and do everything possible to produce more good books. We must strive to produce books which will help the people increase their political consciousness and raise their scientific and cultural levels; books which will educate youths in communist moral qualities and induce the readers to blaze a new trail in defiance of hardships and to work hard; books which will inspire the broad masses to march confidently toward the goal of the four modernizations rather than take a negative and passive attitude toward everything.

In addition to improving quality, every publication unit should pay attention to economic accounting and strengthen and improve its management. It is wrong to squander money without taking into account production costs. It is also wrong to run the business merely from the economic point of view without taking into account the effect its books may have on society. Practices that blindly emphasize the "bestsellers" and production statistics are unwise.

Strengthening and improving the party's leadership is the key to success in book publication. The party usually provides leadership in terms of political and ideological lines and principle and policy. It must bring into full play the role of all publishing units, including local and specialized publishing houses, and encourage and support them to accelerate the development of our country's publishing enterprise as a whole. Any problems concerning orientation and principle should be handled firmly and successfully. Problems of an ideological nature should be tackled with care and a sympathetic attitude. These are problems which can be discussed and criticized in a rational way. In dealing with these problems we should implement the "principle of three don'ts"--don't seize on people's faults, don't put labels on people and don't wield the big stick; we must stick to this principle and should take a serious and conscientious rather than a violent attitude toward these problems. We must constantly inspect the work of the publication departments, help them plan their publication projects on the basis of investigations and research and solve some relatively important problems. We must adopt effective measures to train editors and publishers and concentrate our efforts on selecting outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals and appointing them to the publishing and editorial staff. We must create the necessary conditions which will enable workers on the book publishing front to raise their political and professional levels and improve their standards of living. Only in this way can we bring their initiative and creative power into full play. We must systematically encourage book reviews with the aim of encouraging writers to constantly raise their political and theoretical levels and to hone their professional skills and of acquainting readers with various categories of works which differ in content and format. In addition, we must concern ourselves with the capital construction of the publishing units, help alleviate the shortages of paper and change the backwardness of our printing equipment.

Our party has consistently attached importance to book publication. Before the nationwide liberation many of our comrades risked the danger of war and White terror to publish and make available to readers a large quantity of revolutionary books. In October 1949, following the PRC's founding, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De presented their respective inscriptions in their own handwriting to the first national publication work conference of the Xinhua bookstores, calling on us to "conscientiously do a good job of book publication" and "to strengthen leadership and strive to make progress." Today, as the people of all nationalities throughout the country strive to work together to accomplish the socialist modernization, we must redouble our efforts to further expand our book publishing business and to get more good books off the press.

9574

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THE SOVIET UNION STEPS UP ECONOMIC PREPARATION FOR WAR

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[Article by Mei Wenbin [2734 2429 1755], Lin Shuiyuan [2651 3055 3293] and Chen Yunqing [7115 0061 0615]]

[Text] Just as the people of the world were stepping into the 1980's, Soviet social imperialism flagrantly staged an armed invasion of Afghanistan and set the precedent of directly sending troops to occupy a Third World country. This incident has further exposed the Soviets' wild ambition to dominate the world and has more clearly proven that the Soviet Union is the most dangerous source of world war today. People of foresight in the West have anxiously pointed out that the Soviet Union is now "poised on the fringe of the Middle East, menacing the oil supply vital to the world," and is "ruthlessly pushing toward the goal of dominating the whole world."

It is not without reason that Soviet social imperialism is so overbearing and is so rabidly resorting to force in the world. Engels pointed out: "The triumph of force is based on the production of arms, and this in turn on production in general--therefore, on 'economic power,' on the 'economic situation' and on the material means which that force has at its disposal." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 206) The gradual escalation of Soviet social imperialist external aggression and expansion is the inevitable outcome of its active war preparations and the vicious inflation of its military power over the years and is inseparable from the rapid growth of the economic power that it could use for war.

The Soviet Union has increased its real economic strength by forcibly reducing consumption and increasing accumulation. By pushing this kind of policy, the Soviet Union has more than tripled total social output value over the last 20 years from 304 billion rubles in 1960 to 1 trillion rubles in 1979.

At the same time, because it was frequently buffeted by crises, the U.S. economy went up and down. From the 1950's to the 1970's the rate of

economic development in both the Soviet Union and the United States showed a tendency to decline. Because of differences in the rate of decline, an important change took place in the balance of real economic strength between the two countries. In 1950 Soviet industrial output value was only about 30 percent of that of the United States; by 1965 it had increased to 62 percent, and by 1978 it reached over 80 percent. In the same period, Soviet national income rose from about 31 percent of that of the United States to about 59 and 67 percent, respectively.

According to the data issued by the Soviet Union, it now has more than 20 industrial products with outputs higher than those of the United States. For example, in 1979 Soviet steel production reached 149 million tons, or 21 percent higher than the United States; oil production reached 586 million tons, or 38.9 percent higher than the United States; coal production was 719 million tons, or 2.1 percent higher than the United States; cement production was 123 million tons, or 74.4 percent higher than the United States.

Although the Soviet economy has developed faster than the United States, there are also serious shortcomings. First, because the Soviet economic development has been achieved on the basis of the compulsory reduction of consumption, artificially high accumulation and the unilateral development of heavy industry, this has caused a serious imbalance in the national economy, and agriculture and the consumer goods industry has long remained backward. In 1977 the sown area in the Soviet Union was higher than that in the United States by 75.4 percent, but grain output was only about 71.9 percent of that of the United States. Based on a per capita average, Soviet grain production was only about 60.2 percent of that of the United States. As for consumer goods, Soviet production of radios, television sets and washing machines, respectively, in 1976 was only about 47.3 percent, 60.7 percent and 66.6 percent of that of the United States.

Second, because Soviet economic development depends mainly on the intensive form of management (or on increasing capital and adding labor power), low productivity, poor product quality and backward civilian technology have become the chronic malady of the Soviet economy. In 1976 the labor productivity of the whole Soviet national economy was only 60 percent of that of the United States, of which industrial labor productivity was only 55 percent and agricultural labor productivity only 20 to 25 percent of that of the United States. In the production of some newly emerging industrial departments, the Soviet Union lags far behind the United States. For example, Soviet plastic production in 1976 was only a quarter of what the United States produced, synthetic fiber production was a third of that of the United States and electronic computer production was a tenth of that of the United States.

In short, although there has been greater growth in the real economic strength of the Soviet Union since its degeneration into a social

imperialist country, judging from the present economic situation as a whole, it still cannot catch up with the United States. What the Soviet Union mainly relies upon for its external expansion, however, is not so much its real economic strength in general, but the economic power it can use for war. The Soviet Union has many conditions that are more favorable than those of the United States in this regard.

I. Place the Stress on Strengthening Economic Power for War Under Monopolistic Conditions

As everybody knows, the economic power a country can use for war is determined not merely by the actual strength of a country as a whole but also by the degree of control the state holds over the economy. Therefore, the ruling clique of any country attempting to start a war must naturally go all out to strengthen monopoly domination over the economy. On the eve of World War II, for the sake of preparing for war, Nazi Germany first carried out a highly centralized monopolistic domination of the economy. In 1933 Nazi Germany promulgated a decision on cartelization and a stock law stipulating that companies capitalized at less than M100,000 must be dissolved and prohibiting the formation of new companies capitalized at less than M500,000. This greatly strengthened the monopolies' domination of the economy, enabled monopoly organizations to control about 70 percent of industry and placed almost all of the most important heavy industry departments in the hands of several major companies. In 1934, based on the regulations of "The Organic Structural Law of the German Economy," economic groups were set up for the industrial, commercial, banking, insurance, power and handicraft empires to further strengthen state monopoly control over the economy. Because of this highly centralized monopoly, Nazi Germany greatly speeded up the placement of the national economy on a war footing and the militarization of the state machinery. It not only strengthened the economic power that could be used for war, but also quickly built up a war economy system.

The degree of monopoly of the Soviet social imperialist economy cannot be copied by any capitalist-imperialist country; this has enabled the Soviet Union to easily strengthen the economic and military power it can use for war.

First, the Soviet Union has always unilaterally developed heavy industry and emphasized the development of the military industry and the economic departments closely related to the military industry. For many years the Soviet Union has placed more than 85 percent of its industrial investment in heavy industry. This proportion is even higher than the figure for Nazi Germany in 1939 (in 1939 Germany only invested 81 percent of its total industrial investment in heavy industry). In heavy industry the Soviet Union also put its principal investment in the development of arms production and closely related departments. For example, Soviet investment in the four departments of machine building,

petroleum, chemicals and steel accounted for half of its total industrial investment, of which the machine building department alone accounted for 24.3 percent, or more than triple that for light industry and the food industry combined. With this kind of investment policy, the rate of development of the Soviet military industry and its related departments greatly exceeded that of other industries. Compared with 1950, total Soviet industrial production in 1977 showed an elevenfold increase, but the machine building industry showed a twenty-sevenfold increase. During the same period, however, the difference in the rate of development between the machine building industry and industry as a whole in the United States was not so great; the former was 3.5 times and the latter 3 times. The difference in investment policy resulted in different industrial structures. The ratio of capital goods production in the Soviet Union has increased steadily and reached 74 percent in 1977, while the ratio of capital goods production in the United States on the whole remained at between 62 to 67 percent. This means that, although Soviet industrial production in general is only about 80 percent of that of the United States, its production of capital goods is already catching up with the United States. Moreover, in the Soviet production of capital goods, departments related to the arms industry occupied a prominent position. For example, the production of a department of the machine building industry alone accounted for a quarter of all industrial production. According to Western analysts, one-third of the machine building industry, one-fifth of the metallurgical industry and one-sixth of the chemical industry and energy industry in the Soviet Union are for military use. The abnormal development of military-related heavy industry departments in the Soviet Union remedied its relative shortcomings in real economic strength.

Second, although the national income of the Soviet Union is only about 60 percent of that of the United States, it is able to channel more than 60 percent of the national income into the state budget. This proportion is twice as high as in the United States; therefore, it has more financial revenues at its disposal than does the United States. This enabled the Soviet Union to increase its military spending to the maximum. From 1961 to 1975 real Soviet military spending increased more than three times at an average rate of more than 8 percent a year. This rate of increase is almost double that of the United States. In 1960 real Soviet military expenditure was only \$30 billion. By 1978 this had risen to over \$125 billion, or over 20 percent more than the United States in the same year, and ranked first in the world. Present Soviet military spending has reached as high as one-fifth of the national income and one-third of its financial expenditures. The ratio occupied by Soviet military expenditure in the national economy not only exceeded that of the United States during its wars of aggression against Korea and Vietnam, but also exceeded that of Nazi Germany and Japan during the period of increased preparation for war prior to World War II. The Soviet Union is able to maintain such a huge military machine because of this colossal military expenditure.

Third, the high degree of state monopoly over the economy is conducive not only to placing the production capacity and funds of the whole country at the disposal of military needs, but also to concentrating scientific and technological forces and new scientific and technical developments on military objectives and on modernizing the whole military machine. According to Western reckoning, Soviet military scientific research expenses generally accounted for 80 to 90 percent of all scientific research expenses. The Soviet Union has also concentrated large numbers of the most outstanding scientists and technicians in military departments to serve its military objective.

II. High Degree of Centralization of Power Accelerated the Formation of the Economic System for War Preparation

The high degree of centralization of the Soviet economic and political system is conducive not only to strengthening as much as possible the economic power it can use for war at a certain economic level, but also to organizing, transferring and mobilizing this economic power to suit the needs of war and accelerating the formation of an economic system for war. In recent years the Soviet Union has economically stepped up its preparation for a total war and has in fact already set up an economic system that is prepared for war.

First, for the sake of enabling the whole national economy to better adjust to the needs of war in the event of an outbreak of war, the Soviet Union not only has energetically developed the arms industry and related heavy industry, but also has made proper preparations to gear many of the civilian industries to military production projects whenever necessary. In transportation, the huge Soviet merchant fleet has been placed under the direct control of the navy, and its personnel can be exchanged with those of the navy. A very large portion of the naval budget is spent on the merchant fleet, and ships are designed as auxiliary vessels for the fleet, with cargo holds for carrying tanks, artillery and guided missiles. Soviet civilian transport planes can also be used directly for military objectives. In the early part of 1978 the Soviet Union supplied more than 120,000 tons of military materials to Ethiopia and several African countries. This transportation task was carried out by Soviet merchant ships and civilian transport planes.

Second, for the sake of adjusting to the needs of war, the Soviet Union in recent years has energetically readjusted the distribution of its productive forces. In view of the economic and military strategic importance of its eastern region, the Soviet Union in its 10th Five-Year Plan has deployed almost all of its large-scale construction projects there and set up several self-contained regional production complexes suited to preparation for war. At the same time, the Soviet Union has also built several arms production districts, decentralized the placement of its military industry and set up specialized dual-purpose and multi-purpose factories.

Third, for the sake of preparing support for a large-scale war, the Soviet Union has stockpiled an enormous amount of strategic materials. In recent years the Soviet Union has built large underground granaries on the outskirts of scores of major cities in preparation for war and stockpiled an enormous amount of grain. The Soviet Union has also purchased large quantities of such strategic materials as natural rubber, lead, zinc, cobalt, aluminum, copper and wolfram to increase arms production and strategic stockpiles.

Fourth, for the sake of strengthening the mobility of the whole war machine in wartime, the Soviet Union has also attached great importance to the development of communications and transportation of military significance. In recent years the Soviet Union has widened and deepened the canal linking the Bering Sea and the Baltic Sea so that this canal, which could shorten the sea route between them by 4,000 kilometers, can accommodate warships up to the 5,200-ton class. It has also repaired and built a strategic highway from the Soviet Union to its forward positions in Eastern Europe and widened the railway gauge there, so that in the event of war this will greatly increase its capability to attack Western Europe. Apart from this, it is building a "second Trans-Siberian Railroad" (its main trunk line is called the (Biysk) Railroad), which has been proclaimed "the project of the century." When completed, it will more than double the military transportation capacity between the European part of the Soviet Union and its eastern region. The present electrification of the railroad from the Soviet-Iranian border to Tabriz in Iran is also of important strategic significance.

III. Take Advantage of the Development of Foreign Economic Relations To Strengthen Preparation for War

Since the latter part of the 1960's the Soviet Union has gone all out to practice "resources diplomacy," opened up the market to the West and used every means to entice the West to "cooperate" with it under the guise of "East-West cooperation."

From 1964 to 1970 the Soviet Union obtained a total of \$3.8 billion in long-term loans from Britain, France and Italy. In the 1970's Soviet loans from the West increased sharply; from 1971 to 1977 they totaled \$24 billion. The huge loans obtained from the West were used mainly for the purchase of advanced technology, machinery and complete sets of equipment. In 1978 the machinery and equipment reached 4.77 billion rubles and accounted for 44.4 percent of the total amount of goods imported from the West. With cooperation from the West, the Soviet Union has built and reconstructed many key projects. In the last 10 years the Soviet Union has also signed more than 200 technical cooperation agreements with scientific research organs and companies of the Western countries and cooperated on more than 600 scientific research projects. Many of the advanced technologies obtained are used directly for military purposes. For example, the diesel engines produced in the

automobile plants built with direct assistance from the West are installed in military vehicles. The weather forecasting equipment purchased from the United States is used to improve the efficiency of spy satellites. The computers imported from the United States are used for the experimental development of inertial guidance systems of ballistic missiles, and some are even directly used in the air defense command system of the Warsaw Pact. The 164 sets of sophisticated microbearing grinders purchased from the United States greatly reduced the time required by the Soviet Union for the experimental development of MIRV's.

Apart from importing machinery, equipment and technology, the Soviet Union has also imported an enormous amount of grain from the West through foreign trade. From 1970 to 1978 the Soviet Union imported nearly 110 million tons of grain at a cost of almost 10 billion rubles. This was not only for the sake of solving a pressing grain shortage but also for increasing its strategic stockpile.

To strengthen its real economic and military strength for external aggression and expansion, the Soviet Union has also used the development of economic relations with some Third World countries and regions to increase the plundering of their resources.

Southern Africa has extremely rich mineral resources, and quite a few of them are vital strategic materials. According to the appraisal of the West, if the Soviet Union controls southern Africa, it will possess 90 percent of the world's reserves of uranium and platinum, 85 percent of the gold, 80 percent of the vanadium and 96 percent of the chromium. The all-out effort of the Soviet Union in recent years to step up infiltration and expansion in southern Africa is an attempt to put the rich resources of southern Africa under its control in order to throw a stranglehold on the important supply base of industrial raw materials for the United States and Western Europe and weaken the effective strength of its opponents for hegemony.

Another glaring manifestation of the Soviet contention for the resources of the Third World is its meddling in Middle East oil. In recent years there has been a sharp decrease in the rate of growth of oil production in the Soviet Union. Moreover, there has been a rapid increase in the consumption of oil. The development of this situation not only will affect its domestic oil supply but also will jeopardize its supply of oil to the East European countries and weaken its control over them. At the same time, because 40 percent of the hard currency now earned by the Soviet Union is obtained from the export of oil to the West, if this income is lost, it will have difficulty finding funds to import Western equipment and technology. Therefore, the Soviet Union has become increasingly active in its attempt to gain control over the Gulf area and to encroach on the oil of the Middle East. Not long ago, Brezhnev made a special reference to the security of the oil supply passage of the Persian Gulf. Following up, TASS also released an article explaining

Brezhnev's proposal and said that "as a potential buyer of Middle East oil" the Soviet Union has the same rights of access as other countries to the source of oil. An important objective of the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan is to control the Gulf area and threaten its opponents for hegemony.

The wild ambition of Soviet social imperialism has kept growing, along with the inflation of its real economic and military strength. In the early part of the 1960's, when its wings were not fully fledged, it could only seek parity with the United States and therefore advocated Soviet-U.S. cooperation to "dominate the world." Following the Caribbean crisis, it even had to submit to the United States and shamefully withdrew the missiles it sent to Cuba. Today, Soviet social imperialism is instead attempting to dominate the world. The dispatch of Cuban mercenaries to invade Africa, the support given the Vietnamese authorities to control Laos and occupy Kampuchea by force, and even the direct use of its own troops to invade and occupy Afghanistan are a series of important steps to realize this presumptuous plan. It can be predicted that, following the unremitting expansion of its economic power, and particularly the economic power it can use for war, it will henceforth certainly further resort to force of arms and carry out more unbridled and adventurous external expansion in the world. People of various countries are heightening their vigilance and also adopting necessary countermeasures against this.

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WE MUST NOT GIVE UP EATING FOR FEAR OF BEING CHOKED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 80 p 49

[Article by Wu Daomei [0702 5019 6670] of the Wuhu Municipal Yuejing Rubber Plant]

[Text] Although one of our new systems remains to be improved, it is gaining strength.

Our economic management system is being reformed or restructured with the aim of expanding enterprise autonomy and strengthening coordination between production plans and marketing. Although, like a new sprout breaking through the ground, this reform, a part of the four modernizations, remains in a fledgling stage, it is bound to grow in strength. Even at this early stage our improved economic management system has already demonstrated its prowess and usefulness. Under this system the potential of enterprises has been tapped to untie the rope that once shackled the people's initiative; as masters of various enterprises, cadres and workers have strengthened their sense of responsibility and urgency in their quest for the professional skills and knowledge essential to the endeavor to raise the level of enterprise management; the entire economic life has regained strength as a result of an effort to strengthen ties between various economic links. Consequently, the people have broadened their vision of the four modernizations. In short, like a flourishing flower, the reform of the economic management system is now in full bloom on the march toward the four modernizations.

Now let me get to the point. Because the reform of the economic management system is a new project, problems, loopholes and mistakes cannot be avoided. No alarm should be sounded over these problems, which will normally crop up in the course of any reform. This does not mean that something is wrong with the reform itself. Under the guidance of the party Central Committee's political and ideological line, the people can make efforts to completely overcome all kinds of obstacles to the reform during the march toward the four modernizations.

However, the following facts should be noted:

First, confronted with these reform-related problems, some people have failed to study them with a positive attitude and have failed to take effective measures and to find ways to solve them. Their attitude is to ignore and not to touch these problems. Doing so, however, means circumventing contradictions. Second, those with ossified and semi-ossified ideas are still committed to the old systems and cherish the old customs. They have reacted to small problems that have surfaced through the reform with an alarming attitude, including shaking their heads in disagreement and heaving a loud sigh in front of others. They have kept on nitpicking and criticizing everything related to the reform while fooling around and doing nothing. Third, many other people have blamed all faults on the reform itself, alleging that the "reform has messed everything up" and "has followed a revisionist course." For this reason, they have disavowed their commitment to the reform.

This response reminds me of the phrase "Give up eating for fear of being choked." "The order to ban eating on the basis of a report that someone has been choked to death by food is ridiculous." ("Spring and Autumn" by Lu Buwei [0712 0008 7279]) Nothing is more absurd than the suggestion that people must stop eating because someone has been choked by food. Problems are certain to arise from any reform. The restructuring of the economic management system is no exception. If we call it quits at this moment, wash our hands and let everything return to the status quo, how can we accomplish the four modernizations? Lu Xun once said: "The assertion about maintaining the status quo is always available and is endorsed by many people. Yet it has been unable to make any headway, because the status quo can never be maintained. It could not be maintained in ancient times, nor can it be maintained today. If it could, the world eons from now would be as unchanged as prehistoric society." If everyone quits eating for fear of being choked, and if everyone retreats from problems that have surfaced through the reform, how can we reach the goal of the four modernizations? Reform stimulates progress; the maintenance of the status quo means retrogression. To achieve the grand objective of the four modernizations we must continue to achieve successes in restructuring the economic management system, further emancipate our minds, keep the engine running, carry out investigations and studies, sum up experiences and confidently bring the reform to a successful conclusion. Under no circumstances should we turn the clock back. Those dedicated to the reform for the sake of the four modernizations must continue to firmly, unswervingly and consistently carry on the reform in defiance of any obstacles and difficulties.

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END

