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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1980

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## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1980

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

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THE VICTORIOUS PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Huang Xinbo [7806 2450 3134]]



CSO: 4004

## A NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNITED FRONT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 2-8

[Speech by Zhou Enlai at the Third Session of the Third CPPCC National Committee on 18 April 1962; passages within slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Today I wish to talk about the new tasks and developments of the People's Democratic United Front in our country. Our People's Democratic United Front not only has won nationwide victory in the new democratic revolution but has continuously scored victories in the course of socialist transformation. Now it faces the great task of socialist construction. Thus, new tasks are put before this organization, this force called the People's Democratic United Front. It must work to create new developments. I said at the NPC session the day before yesterday that it takes time to understand the development of things. This also holds true for the united front. We learned from the relapses during the period of the new democratic revolution, watching the united front being established, broadened, narrowed and broadened again and finally emerging victorious. In the process of socialist transformation after victory in the revolution, the People's Democratic United Front played its role in mobilizing all forces in society that can be united to take part in the work of socialist transformation. Thus our socialist transformation was able to proceed more smoothly and quickly. Now that we have entered the period of socialist construction, the workload of the People's Democratic United Front becomes much heavier. It has to shoulder new tasks (of course, there still remains the task of socialist transformation) and work to create new developments. In other words, on the basis of scoring great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction, it now has to unite with all forces that can be united and mobilize more factors that can be mobilized to take part in socialist construction and broaden our democratic life. These are our new tasks. We must not think that the only task of our People's Democratic United Front is to carry out socialist transformation. It should assert its role not only in socialist transformation but also in socialist construction. We really must shoulder the task of construction.

In order to practice democratic centralism in a still better way, we must first of all broaden and carry forward democratic life. This is also a task which our People's Democratic United Front must shoulder. Within the People's Democratic United Front we still cannot say that all members and forces that have been mobilized agree with the principles and policies of our party and state. There are people who disagree. On this issue we must make a concrete analysis and deal with each case on its own merits. If a person contradicts Chairman Mao's "six

criteria," takes a hostile stand toward socialist construction and even carries out sabotage, then he is alienating himself from the people. This is not a contradiction among the people themselves and should not be treated as such. To put it more briefly, the "six criteria" mean that one must accept the leadership of the Communist Party, actively serve socialism and willingly remold oneself. Instead of simply permitting people to hold contrary opinions on specific policies while observing the "six criteria," we should welcome them to do so. Opposing views among the people are good for our progress. It is hard to imagine the People's Democratic United Front as a monolithic bloc in which everyone thinks the same and shares the same view on all problems. If our united front is like this, it will cease to develop, reach a stalemate and even slide back. We do not want to see this happen to any organization or group of people, not even to an individual. In the process of thinking we often engender different ideas about the objective reality of everyday life as reflected in our thinking. We may negate things which formerly we have affirmed, and we may find something correct in one way but wrong in another. Only when we have examined every aspect can we grasp the whole. We understand things we did not understand in the past, and our understanding will further deepen as time goes by. This is how a person develops his thinking and a party perfects its policies; it is also how an organization improves its work. Our united front organization must also forge ahead through such a development process. That is why we say that the two types of contradictions discussed by Chairman Mao, particularly the contradictions among the people, will exist for a long time to come. The correct handling of contradictions among the people is the principle which guides democratic life within our united front. Therefore, we ought to affirm the fact that the united front is now confronted with much heavier tasks and has moved on to new developments. At the same time, we should encourage the airing of different ideas within the united front in line with the principles of the "six criteria." By discussing and comparing notes with each other, we can acquire a better understanding and get closer to the truth and thus continuously advance our cause. Viewed from this angle, our current session is some sort of a beginning in that it has reflected this demand for the first time.

In our meetings over the past 20 days and more, 200-plus committee members have spoken, and over 400 motions have been put forth. We cannot say that every one of us has said what he wanted to say; otherwise we would be looking at things too rigidly. We cannot do that. There still are some people who have reservations, who only said a little of what they had on their minds and are waiting to see if the party and government will accept their views. This approach is permissible. It is only natural, considering the fact that they did not have much chance to speak up and make criticisms in the past. They are encouraged to speak up now, but will this lead to something unpleasant? Regarding people who think this way, we should permit them to reserve their opinions and wait until they are ready to speak up. Indeed, we have to wait and see. Among the many motions that have been put forth, some are good, some can be considered and some are not tenable. Will they be adopted by the party and government organs? Will the suggestions made by the motions examination committee be carried out by the organs concerned? I think we need an observation period. Take, for example, the speech delivered by Mr Hu Xiansu yesterday. I had sent a copy of his speech to the Scientific and Technical Commission and asked Vice Premier Nie Rongzhen to look into it. I, too, would like to reserve some of my opinions and see how things go. I must find out if the

commission will truly study the proposal and take action. Therefore, not only do the speakers themselves want to wait and see, but we people who are in charge also want to wait and see. Of course, not all proposals merit prompt action. Some require further deliberation, while others still lack the necessary conditions. However, they must all be studied with great care. This united front of ours must mobilize the most extensive forces to carry forward democracy and take part in construction. This is not the task of the CPPCC alone. All democratic parties, mass organizations, nationalities and sectors must mobilize their people to take part. Only in this way can we mobilize the entire united front. That is why we say this is a beginning. I hope this is a good beginning. Based on this understanding, I would like to discuss with you the following questions:

1. /The question concerning the work of the CPPCC./

From now on the responsibility of the CPPCC will become much heavier. I would say that the CPPCC has done fairly well in the past. The fact that the report on the work of the CPPCC delivered by Vice Chairman Chen Shutong is much richer in content than any previous reports shows that we have made progress in various fields of work. However, we think this is not good enough and want to do even better. First, the CPPCC should make further efforts to organize investigations and study. In order to achieve greater success in our construction we must first of all carry out on-the-spot investigations. Only in this way can we find out about the actual conditions and reflect them truthfully. This is also the only way for us to gather concrete materials and experiences for discussion and study. We should not go down to the lower levels for inspections and visits only when the CPPCC is about to meet. We should do this regularly, say, several times a year. We do not have to go at the same time. In the present stage of readjustment we need to know more about the actual conditions. The CPPCC members should take part in this work. They should go to the cities and the countryside to carry out investigations and study and compare notes afterward. They can exchange views and experiences, whether they are about the work of the Central Committee, the nation or just a locality. In this way we can have vivid examples to discuss at symposiums and public lectures and put forth motions, opinions and suggestions, so that the forces of all quarters can be mobilized. Secondly, instead of laying particular stress on political studies, international activities and the collection of historical accounts of past events, as it did previously, the CPPCC should organize more academic lectures and discussions and make a point of inviting friends from academic circles to take part. During the current session a great deal has been said about this, and the speakers have put forward a good many valuable opinions in this regard. The demands of construction also require us to develop work in this field. For a short while in the past the CPPCC National Committee organized a few academic public lectures, but not enough has been done. In the future the CPPCC should organize more academic lectures and discussions in addition to political studies and the collection of historical accounts of past events. Ours is an organization for political consultation in which different opinions can be put forward at the same time. We do not necessarily have to come to a unanimous conclusion in every debate. We can submit differing views to the parties concerned, such as government organs, scientific research institutions, educational institutions and other academic bodies. The voicing of differing views is a manifestation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." If we have more of these differing views, the executive organs can consider every possibility and settle on the most appropriate program.



## 2. /The responsibility of the Communist Party in the CPPCC./

We all agree that the Communist Party is the leading party. The leadership of the Communist Party means the collective leadership of the party, that is, leadership by the party Central Committee and the party's leading organs at all levels (such as the provincial, municipal and county party committees). The leading role is played chiefly by the party's principles and policies and not by individuals. Everyone is equal. As far as the nature of our work is concerned, we are all public servants. We should exchange opinions on an equal footing. No individual should place himself in a leading position. An individual is in no position to play the leading role when he is divorced from the collective. The opinions of an individual cannot represent the party's policies. Only when they have been adopted as policies can they be considered the opinions of the collective leadership. Therefore, the opinions exchanged between individuals at ordinary times, including my address here today, are only personal views. We cannot say that every part of today's speech has been collectively discussed by the party Central Committee. Of course, portions of it have been discussed, but some are just my own personal opinions and can only serve as suggestions for reference. Therefore, Communist Party members must first get this straight. Within the CPPCC and in our personal contacts there is no such thing as the one who leads and the one who is led. Only the leading organs and the policies can represent leadership. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry forward democratic life and democratic practices, and feelings of estrangement will grow. This spiritual wall between us will hinder the implementation of democratic centralism. Secondly, in order to bring about democracy in daily life, Communist Party members should make more friends outside the party. Since the united front has been broadened and the Communist Party is playing the leading role here, our party members should sum up the opinions outside the party and present them to the party's leading organs. This requires us to make contacts with friends outside the party and to listen to differing views. Communists will also disagree with one another. However, because they work in the same environment and lead the same kind of political life, their opinions are fairly close on the whole. Since what they present are not quite all-sided, we must listen to the opinions of all quarters to get a complete picture. Similarly, if our friends outside the party are unable to hear the opinions of the Communist Party, they, too, cannot think in an all-round way. Therefore, people inside and outside the party should befriend each other. In particular, communists should take the initiative to make more friends outside the party. Every communist should have a few nonparty friends. In addition to our steady friends, we can make new friends who can reflect opinions and dare to state their views. As Vice Premier Chen Yi said yesterday, we need esteemed friends. These friends should have the courage to express differing views and criticize our shortcomings. Once we know them well, they will not only be esteemed friends but will be friends who can give forthright admonitions. We Communist Party members should listen more to differing opinions. Only in this way can we know more about the opinions of all quarters. Differing views are not necessarily correct, but you must listen to and compare them. Of course, of all the differing opinions, those of the broad masses are by far the most important. These include the opinions of the masses who engage in production in communes, factories and other grassroots organizations, as well as the opinions of people in schools. These opinions which come directly from the masses are most valuable. Since we communists have joined the CPPCC, we must pay special attention to acquainting

ourselves with things and people unfamiliar to us. When you are unfamiliar about something, it shows that you are lacking in that respect. You must get in touch with it in order to know what it really is, acquire an intimate understanding of it and benefit from it. Even though that may be opposite or erroneous opinions, you can use them to draw comparisons. If we have the habit of confining ourselves to our small circles, only like to listen to views that are identical with ours while turning a deaf ear to differing opinions and refuse to familiarize ourselves with things foreign to us, the scope of our work will become narrower and narrower. Therefore, we must first require our party members to make more friends. I hope that party members who have come from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous areas to attend this meeting will convey the aforesaid spirit to the party members of their local CPPCC's when they go home. At this meeting some friends have expressed the hope that Communist Party members will make more contacts with nonparty persons. I think this is reasonable. You have the right to make this demand, because this meeting is only held once a year, and this time it has been more than a year since we last met. Now that we have met at last, of course our friends have the right to ask for more opportunities to make contacts, compare notes and hold heart-to-heart talks with Communist Party members.

In short, our party members must admit that there are a lot of things which we do not know and that our knowledge is still very limited. As long as we live we shall always work, study and remold ourselves. Only with this spirit can we make progress. Can we say that all of us have been completely remolded? No, that is not possible. There will always be some dregs, some things which need to be remolded. Only with consciousness can we make progress. In this regard, Communist Party members should set stricter demands on themselves. If everyone is expected to be "strict with oneself and broadminded toward others," then we expect Communist Party members to observe this even more closely. Comrades outside the party should also reprimand us more severely. I think severe reprimanding is a good thing. It is good for the united front. Of course, this should be aimed at improving the conditions of the country and the cause of communism and not at making personal attacks.

### 3. /The responsibility of various democratic parties./

The responsibility shouldered by various democratic parties is by no means lightened. On the contrary, it is enhanced. Many friends attended the Supreme State Conference and discussed the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Chairman Liu said: The responsibility rests with the Communist Party and the party Central Committee; the democratic parties have no, or few, responsibilities. Chairman Mao also shared this opinion. However, many of our friends from democratic parties said: Democratic parties also have some responsibilities. I think this is a good way of putting it--to take things upon oneself. Well, these were things of the past, and we have learned our lessons. In order to do an even better job in the future, we must share our responsibilities and strive for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision. The democratic parties must shoulder the responsibility of supervision. We have submitted a report on this matter and made a preliminary attempt to sum up experience. From now on we must carry out our commonly agreed policies and tasks. In the course of work the democratic parties must carry out supervision and state their views. That is why we say that the responsibility of the democratic parties in socialist transformation and construction is enhanced

rather than lightened. All democratic parties are in the service of socialism. To various parties and their members, serving the cause of communism is a kind of tempering in itself. Among the members of various parties there always are the progressive, the intermediate and the backward, just as there are progressive, intermediate and backward party members. Within their own organizations, various parties must incessantly take serving socialism as their goal and temper their members into people who are true to the socialist cause and egg them on to make progress, so that those in the middle can make progress and shake off their backwardness. On top of the existing members, there will always be new additions to an organization, and a party will grow in size. Among the new recruits there also will always be the progressive, the intermediate and the backward. Therefore, a party must constantly remold its members and act as an impetus for them. Due to the complicated conditions of various classes and strata, we should not regard our socialist transformation as an easy task. For some time in the past we took things too easily. We thought that after the three socialist transformations our society had already achieved ownership by the whole people, or at least collective ownership, as if the socialist transformation would soon be completed. We wanted to convert not only the rural villages but also the cities into people's communes. We wanted to rearrange the streets and alleys and remold their residents. Moreover, some people even thought that we could make the switch from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in no time. These ideas are just not right. In an economically backward, populous, vast and multinational country such as ours, we cannot transform the whole society overnight, even though we have thoroughly carried out the democratic revolution and smoothly brought about socialist transformation. The reason is that our economic level is still relatively low. On the basis of such an economic level, it is impossible to completely transform the superstructure in a short time. Things will always be uneven, and imbalances will always exist. The completion of socialist transformation corresponds with the progress of socialist construction as a whole. If it takes China several decades to achieve modernization, the time it takes to complete the construction of the entire socialist society will be even longer, and then it will be only afterward that we will advance toward a higher stage of communism. We must acquire a more long-term point of view and realize that socialist transformation takes a long time to accomplish. This is not only because of economic reasons but also because we are still under the affliction of old political influence and forces of habit. Although old things which used to play a dominant role have been toppled, old political influence still exists on the strength of old forces of habit. Problems pertaining to ideology and workstyle are even more abundant. This kind of transformation will take an even longer time. Although working people are born with enthusiasm for building socialism, they are also influenced by old habits, thinking and workstyle. This calls for transformation. We must work particularly hard at it, because there are people of various circles and strata in our society. Therefore, various parties must mobilize the sectors they represent to take part in socialist construction and to exert a transformation. They do not necessarily have to represent the same sectors, but if we work on those sectors which are closer to each other, we can promote socialist transformation and enable the whole process to develop more soundly. In other words, we must strive for cooperation among various parties and carry out work according to the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision, not only for the sake of construction but also for the sake of transformation.

#### 4. /The role of trade unions./

Trade unions are mass organizations within the united front. They are the class organization of the workers. As the leading class, the working class not only must educate its members well but must influence other strata. It not only must perfect its own organization but must influence other sectors. In our present readjustment task, we must first of all make some personnel changes within the contingent of workers. In the course of readjustment, the trade unions should do some work on their members. The departments of industry, communications and capital construction and their affiliated organizations, various enterprises and establishments and state farms are within the scope of activity of trade unions. They must do a good job of increasing production and practicing economy. At present, workers still face certain difficulties in their livelihood. How to insure supplies and help the workers solve problems of livelihood is a great responsibility of trade unions. Thus, in addition to tasks assigned by the state, the trade unions now shoulder much heavier and much more complicated responsibilities. They have to do more work than they were required to do in the past. They must work in coordination with the party and the government, because they are principal assistants of the party and are the main force of the united front. They not only must pay attention to solving problems pertaining to the workers' livelihood but must refer these problems to the government. If a poor job has been done in the streamlining of central and local administrative structures, they have the right to point out the problems and play a supervisory role. Of course, they should not set themselves against the government. What they should do is to assist the government in its work. If the government has not done its work well, trade unions may make comments or suggestions. Just as mutual supervision is carried out among different parties, so trade unions and other sectors can also keep an eye on each other. They should regard this as their task, work with one heart and one mind, head in the same direction and do their work well.

#### 5. /The role of the Youth League./

The task of the Youth League is also enhanced. Take students' education, for example. As I said at the NPC session the day before yesterday, some graduates of higher primary schools and junior middle schools may not have a chance to further their studies, because institutions of higher learning and secondary schools will enroll fewer students this year. This is where the Youth League can render a service. It can organize and promote supplemental education in the cities and the countryside, so that the youngsters will not run amuck because they do not have any school to attend. We can also train competent people by helping them study on their own. People do not necessarily have to graduate from regular schools to be able to work in society. Some people who have not gone to college are doing equally well. Many experts among party members of our generation have never been to regular universities. This is the case with our generation. Will everyone finish college or senior middle school in the next generation? Judging from the present economic conditions, I do not think it is possible as yet to expect so much. We may require everyone to at least finish middle school in the future, but right now this is not yet possible. This requires the Youth League to promote self-study. Supplemental education can be sponsored by the government and can be undertaken by individuals. A person may

give lessons to several youngsters in his own home and charge them tuition fees. This is permitted and can supplement the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. We should also permit certain handicraftsmen and writers and artists to take apprentices and provide facilities for them.

Last year we began to recruit soldiers in the cities and scored good results. We intend to continue this practice this year, especially in the big and medium-sized cities. The Youth League should properly publicize this. We advocate that "all true men should join the army and make the country their family." Young people who are brought up by the socialist society and have the right to vote should actively enlist in the armed forces and make this a prevalent practice. Children of cadres, in particular, should set an example and take the lead to join up. After joining the army they should not seek any privileges.

6. /The role of women's organizations./

Women's federations must also shoulder responsibilities in certain fields. For example, they should encourage supplemental education in the neighborhood committees and in the countryside and help mothers encourage their grownup sons to join the armed forces. Sometimes when a cadre's son joins up, his mother is unwilling to be separated from him. Of course, this refers to some isolated cases, but it is still worth mentioning. As I said the day before yesterday, it is necessary to promote birth control in the cities and in the densely populated rural areas. We hope that the women's federations will do some promotion work. They have done this in the past, and their work proved to be effective.

7. /The work of federations of industry and commerce./

The responsibility of federations of industry and commerce is also enhanced. On the one hand, we will continue to pay fixed interest to the industrialists and merchants for another 3 years and discuss the matter again when the time comes. On the other hand, the industrialists and merchants are facing readjustment. Among the industrialists and merchants there are the national bourgeoisie, small owners, upper petty-bourgeoisie as well as peddlers. Some of them can go back to collective or privately run commercial undertakings, some can be absorbed by state-run enterprises and establishments, while others are old enough to retire. Although the government is responsible for their placement, federations of industry and commerce can assist the government in conducting investigations on such matters. As things stand now, I think we should strengthen the industrial and commercial administrative bureaus, not only at the national level but also at the provincial and municipal levels, in order to maintain more extensive contacts with the federations of industry and commerce. Industrialists and merchants should be properly placed. For example, those people who are unfit to go to the countryside and who have their homes in the cities should be allowed to remain in the cities. In this regard, there are quite a lot of problems. Among the industrialists and merchants there also are some who have livelihood problems. The federations of industry and commerce may set aside certain portions from the fixed interest to be used as mutual aid funds. If these are not sufficient, the government may render assistance. I have discussed this with Chen Shutong and agreed that we should work out some specific methods. The federations of industry and commerce should intensify rather than relax their

efforts in assisting the government in such fields of work as remolding the industrialists and merchants, mobilizing them to take part in socialist construction and making arrangements for their livelihood. The amount of work will only increase; it will not decrease.

#### 8. /Cultural, educational and scientific organizations./

This topic has been discussed in most proposals and speeches heard at this current session. It occupies an important position both quantitatively and qualitatively. Comrade Chen Yi answered many questions on this subject in his speech yesterday. I am not going to discuss them further here. In short, to demonstrate our strength in socialist construction we must further strengthen, expand and improve the quality of our cultural, educational and scientific contingents and improve our educational system. For some time in the past we have not paid sufficient attention to work in this field. In the future we must strengthen not only the government system and the systems of education, scientific research and production but also the system of political consultation. We must adapt the development of culture, education and science to the needs of economic construction, pay attention to quality and science and technology instead of just going after quantity as we did in the past and strive to do a really good job of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the fields of culture, education and science--not only in form but also in substance. Take the CPPCC, for example. The majority of its vice chairmen are from cultural and educational circles. Yesterday Comrade Chen Yi pledged his willingness to listen to suggestions on these matters. In addition to Comrade Chen Yi, other comrades who are in charge of scientific, cultural and educational undertakings will also do the same. We hope that more attention will be paid to work in this field.

Comrade Chen Yi thoroughly discussed the question of pulling out the white flag and planting the red flag in thought. How do we pull out the white flag and plant the red flag in thought? To be able to solve ideological problems we must gradually raise the level of our understanding and go through a process of self-study, self-recognition and self-remolding. Comrade Chen Yi said yesterday that the CCP Central Committee was not responsible for the presentation of this question, that it came from the lower levels. I must correct him here. Perhaps he has forgotten. Comrade Zhang Jichun from the Culture and Education Office handed me a note yesterday saying that there was indeed such a remark in a Central Committee document. I did some checking today and found that this was truly the case. The CCP Central Committee should shoulder the responsibility. This remark is very stiffly put and can be explained in many ways. How can we pull out the white flag and plant the red flag in matters of ideology? We can never insert things in this way. Sometimes we tend to be rather casual when we evaluate things or talk about a certain situation. The fact that we do not pay attention to our wording may lead to undesirable consequences. We should admit these kinds of shortcomings and mistakes.

#### 9. /The question of relations between fraternal nationalities./

This question has been discussed in the report on the work of the government. Problems pertaining to national autonomous areas must be solved in accordance

with government procedures after meetings. They can also be discussed by the CPPCC Nationality Group. The NPC Nationality Committee and the Nationality Affairs Commission also intend to hold a joint meeting to discuss the issues. The government will respect the valuable opinions put forward by the representative figures of various fraternal nationalities and do what it has to do after deliberation and study. There are many shortcomings and mistakes in our handling of questions concerning the administrative structure and the nationality cadres. They must be corrected. However, we are not going to discuss them further here.

10. /The question of religion./

Within the CPPCC there is a unit which handles religious affairs. We have made mistakes in this field of work in the past. Some friends from religious circles have brought them up for criticism. Many of their valuable opinions deserve our attention. We have always looked at the question of religious belief too simplistically. We expect everyone to have the Marxist-Leninist understanding of communists and require everyone to embrace the same outlook on life and on the world. This is impossible. Ideology and understanding can only change gradually. Moreover, questions of ideology and understanding are questions among the people. Religious belief has been a long-standing problem. We only hope that patriotic personages of religious circles who love the motherland will be willing to serve socialism and study hard. In this way the fact that they still have religious beliefs will not present an obstacle to the broadening and consolidation of our entire People's Democratic United Front and to our country's socialist construction.

11. /The question of Overseas Chinese./

With the exception of several CPPCC members who come from Hong Kong and Macao and two NPC deputies who come from Hong Kong, all representatives of Overseas Chinese attending the current NPC and CPPCC sessions worked in China. We maintain contacts with Overseas Chinese through the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. Work concerning Overseas Chinese falls into two parts. One part deals with people living abroad; the other part deals with their dependents in China or those who have come back to work or to study. The policies of the party and the state in this regard have been discussed many times. However, we are still facing some problems now. For example, we have to work out how we should take care of the dependents of Overseas Chinese and how to transfer Overseas Chinese cadres now working in the cities to a lower level. Many people have come from cities, and it is best that we help them settle in the cities. Our Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission should pay attention to these problems. The CPPCC Overseas Chinese Affairs Group should also study them.

The CPPCC also covers other aspects of work, but I am not going to enumerate them one by one here.

In short, our CPPCC includes different parties and mass organizations. It is made up of the members of these units, and through them it maintains contacts with various sectors of the nation, the people of the whole country and even Chinese nationals residing abroad. After this session our united front will be broadened and deepened. Our tasks will become heavier. Through the CPPCC, the

government work report approved by the NPC and our principles and tasks have been clearly explained to the broad masses at home. We believe we can achieve the anticipated results. RENMIN RIBAO called on us in yesterday's editorial: "Unite in struggle and strive to win new victories." Now that we have affirmed our achievements, criticized our shortcomings and mistakes and put forward principles and tasks for solving problems, we have greater confidence in our construction and can assuredly overcome the difficulties before us. We are quite sure and confident that we can unite in struggle and strive to win new victories.

CSO: 4004



THE KEY LIES IN CREATING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR PRODUCTION--ON STRENGTHENING AND PERFECTING THE RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 9-11

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] An important task in rural work today is to strengthen and perfect the responsibility system for agricultural production and do a better job of implementing the system of payment according to work. To arouse the rural cadres and commune members in a better way and make them correctly understand and master the policies and do their work effectively, it is an urgent task to clarify this problem and unify our understanding, so that agricultural production will be further developed and the collective economy further consolidated.

We have established a socialist collective economy throughout the country that is an unshakable foundation on which our agriculture can march toward the goal of modernization. However, after the onset of a new economic form, it is insufficient to solve the problem of ownership alone. Productive relations include various links, such as production, distribution, exchange and so forth. The key to handling well the relations among various links and bringing the superiority of the collective economy into full play lies in doing a good job of management and administration. However, due to the interference of the ultraleftist ideological trend and line in our country over long periods of time, management and administration of agricultural production have always been a weak link. This is an important reason why the superiority of the collective economy has not been brought into full play, the productive initiative of peasants has been curbed and the productive forces in the rural areas have made slow progress.

The responsibility system for agricultural production is not a new issue. It emerged along with the cooperative transformation of agriculture. The collectivization of socialist agriculture is characterized by division of labor and cooperation. Agricultural production is the same as industrial production. Without a strict responsibility system for production, it is impossible to carry out production efficiently. Only by establishing a responsibility system for production, so that every commune member has a definite post on the production front and is fully responsible for his work, can we effectively check up on and supervise every link in the process of production. Only thus can we insure the orderly and continued progress of production, examine commune members' production results, implement the principle of distribution according to work, combine commune members' production results with their material interests, combine the

collective interests with those of the individual and enhance commune members' sense of responsibility. The system of "three contracts and one award" (fixed targets for output, labor and cost, with a reward for additional output) in the higher stage of cooperation was established as a result of the requirements of objective conditions. With the application of science and technology to agriculture, the progress made in the modernization of production, the enlarged scope of production and management, as well as the expansion of the division of labor, a stricter demand will be set on the responsibility system for production.

In view of the new situation in our rural areas, the communique of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee stresses that the decisionmaking power of production teams should be respected and that diversified management should be developed in the light of local conditions. The purpose in adopting this principle is to correct the subjective leading method in production and equalitarianism in distribution, so that the broad masses of village cadres and commune members will emancipate their minds, proceed from reality and gradually restore and establish varied forms of responsibility systems for production. These varied forms of responsibility systems can, in brief, be divided into two kinds: First, a short-term labor agreement for field work and compensation is computed in accordance with production quotas; second, a contract for field work and fixed output and compensation is computed in accordance with production output. Various kinds of responsibility systems are suitable for various areas with different productive conditions. Most of these systems have attained the result of increased production. Generally speaking, the responsibility system for production based on output is more effective than that which is not connected with output. In particular, the responsibility system for production of a special line is more efficient than any other forms of responsibility systems. Therefore, it is widely welcomed by commune members.

Various kinds of responsibility systems for production now being implemented in various places should be further strengthened and perfected. What kind of responsibility system is the best? In answering this question we should adhere to the following two principles: First, we should strictly implement the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit; second, implementation of the responsibility system should be based on local conditions, guidance should be provided for different grades and everything should proceed in an orderly way and step by step. Specifically, we should do the following tasks:

First of all, we should select and pursue the responsibility system for production in accordance with local conditions and actual reality. To proceed from reality we should mainly take everything on the basis of the development of productive forces and the collective economy. Agricultural production in our country today relies mainly on manual operations. In a certain sense we still depend on the mercy of heaven. Ours is a country with a vast territory and different natural conditions. The levels of economic, cultural and educational development in various places are unbalanced. Various places differ widely in terms of the cadres' management levels and the masses' ideological consciousness and habits. Conditions vary from province to province. Even within a province, a county, a commune or a production brigade, things are not entirely the same. The responsibility system for production should be in line with the development of productive forces in various places, and varied forms and flexibility should

be allowed. In other words, we should on no account impose uniformity or insist on identity. Practice has repeatedly proved that the method of pushing a kind of responsibility system by coercive administrative means in defiance of actual reality and productive conditions does not work. The method of forbidding other kinds of responsibility systems for production or mechanically copying the experiences of other places will also get us nowhere. In the meantime, these methods will bring about detrimental results. In the past we suffered a great deal in this respect.

Furthermore, the key to judging the applicability of a responsibility system for production lies in whether it is beneficial to production. Any form of responsibility system which is beneficial to encouraging commune members to care for the collective and increasing production, incomes and commodity production should be supported and affirmed. It is difficult for a new concept to be without minor defects or problems. The most important thing for us to do is to guide it positively and expeditiously solve the existing problems so that it will be incessantly perfected.

Now people talk a lot about the fixing of output quotas based on the household. From practical experience we know that those communes and production brigades which have managed the collective economy effectively do not demand the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household. Some communes and production brigades were allowed to follow this practice, but the commune members rejected it. However, in those remote mountain and backward areas where production teams "rely on resold grain to feed the villagers, depend on loans to maintain production and need relief to arrange the commune members' daily life," the masses have long since lost their confidence in the collective economy. They have badly needed the implementation of the policy of fixing output quotas based on the household. Under such circumstances, we should support the masses' demand and let them pursue the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household or contracting production down to the household. This is a necessary measure to maintain close links with the masses, restore and develop production and solve the problem of providing the masses with enough food and clothing. The practice of fixing output quotas based on the household is carried out under the unified leadership of the production teams. This practice is not a diversion from the socialist road and is not at all a capitalist tendency. Of course, implementation of the policy of fixing output quotas based on the household will bring about certain changes in the inner structures of production teams. If we fail to do a good job in this respect, the collective economy will be hampered. Therefore, in places where production has been developed considerably and the collective economy consolidated, the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household is not desirable. In some places where the practice has been followed and the masses have not demanded a change, the status quo should be maintained. Subsequently the authorities concerned should provide the masses with judicious guidance based on their demands and the situation and should further organize them through various transitional stages. Some localities have been economically poor and some communes and production brigades have been poorly run over long periods of time. We should realize that this failure can be attributed to various reasons. To solve this problem we should suit the remedy to the case and adopt a number of measures. We should not restrict our remedial measures to the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household alone.

It is wrong to regard implementation of the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household, under the unified leadership of the production teams, in some remote mountain and backward areas as a sign of retrogression, individual farming or following the capitalist road. It is equally wrong to push the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household through coercive administrative means in defiance of the different productive conditions of different areas. It is also wrong to adopt a laissez-faire attitude toward production teams which follow the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household and to neglect to guide them so that they will change to a better responsibility system for production.

In dealing with the problem of selecting a responsibility system for production we should adhere to the practice of voluntary participation by the masses and democratic decisions. Commune members are masters of the collective economy, and they have the right to select the responsibility system for production which is in keeping with local conditions. We should respect their democratic rights and should on no account adopt a merely political and administrative coercive method and impose uniformity on the masses.

In the past we violated the principle of voluntary participation and neglected the fact that productive forces differ from place to place. We did not take into account the needs and wishes of the masses and adopted stereotyped management methods for agriculture. All this severely dampened the commune members' enthusiasm for production and hampered the development of the productive forces in agriculture. In some localities the collective economy was seriously impaired. This was a bitter lesson drawn from our leadership over agriculture. Lenin said: "Vigorous and creative socialism is created by the masses themselves." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 269) In the past we neglected the necessity of proceeding from reality and consulting the masses and wrongly regarded a certain management method as the only socialist pattern and forced the masses to accept it. In addition, we wrongly regarded other methods as nonsocialist and criticized and corrected them at random. As a result, we made a mess of the whole thing. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, why did people put forward various kinds of responsibility systems for production in the rural areas? It was because, after the repudiation of the ultraleftist line, we have become more practical and realistic. Without the campaign to emancipate the mind, such a vivid and lively situation would not have occurred.

We maintain that commune members and the masses may select any kind of responsibility system they desire. Does this mean that leadership over them is no longer necessary? The answer is no. We should not place the principle of the masses' voluntary participation in opposition to the practice of strengthening leadership. On the contrary, the two should be combined. Small-scale peasant economy has existed in our country for several thousand years, and the influence of small-scale production is very deep. No matter what kind of responsibility system for production we adopt, we should correctly handle the relations among the state, the collective and the individual. We should also incessantly educate the peasants in collectivization, persistence in the socialist orientation and the path of common prosperity. In particular, we should do more socialist educational work with the communes and production brigades which pursue the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household, strengthen our leadership over

them and correctly handle some problems which may occur. For example, collective property (agricultural machinery, farm tools, houses, trees and livestock) should be properly maintained, and obstruction should not be permitted. Some existing collective enterprises should be maintained and effectively run. These communes and production brigades should resolutely carry out their economic commitments to the collective, promote class brotherhood and give special care to the families of martyrs and army men, households enjoying the five guarantees and families having material difficulties. The buying and selling of land as well as exploitation are not allowed, and the organizations of production teams should be maintained. Those communes and production brigades which have managed their collective economy well and established a responsibility system for production may also encounter all sorts of problems. They should also make investigations and studies, sum up their experiences incessantly and gradually improve their work. They should not always remain at the same level. As for those communes and production brigades which lie between the advanced and backward areas, we should strengthen our leadership over them, encourage them to establish various kinds of responsibility systems for production in the light of local conditions, strengthen ideological and educational work and make considerable efforts to run their collective economy well. Our purpose in establishing and perfecting the responsibility system for production is to consolidate the collective economy, whip up a new upsurge in agricultural production, gradually enrich the peasants and realize agricultural modernization. Therefore, in the process of pursuing the responsibility system for agricultural production, any idea or practice of slackening leadership is wrong and runs counter to our purpose.

The situation in our country's rural areas is excellent on the whole. We have begun to make smooth progress in the management and administration of the collective economy. So long as we persist in implementing the line, guiding principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session, study and solve new problems arising on our road of advance and strengthen and perfect the responsibility system for agricultural production, our country's agricultural production will develop faster, the collective economy in the rural areas will be further consolidated and peasants will be gradually enriched.

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## INTRODUCING THIS ISSUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 p 11

[Text] The first article in this issue is "A New Development of the Chinese People's Democratic United Front," an important speech made by Comrade Zhou Enlai on 18 April 1962 at the Third Session of the CPPCC. In this speech he pointed out the new task of the People's Democratic United Front: "On the basis of scoring great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction, it now has to unite with all forces that can be united and mobilize more factors that can be mobilized to take part in socialist construction and broaden our democratic life." The publication of this speech is of practical importance in guiding us to further strengthen and improve the work of the united front, accelerating socialist modernization and promoting the transformation of the leadership system of the party and state.

To help our village cadres and the masses effectively establish a responsibility system for agricultural production and implement the principle of payment according to work, we carry in this issue a commentator's article entitled "The Key Lies in Creating Favorable Conditions for Production" and another article entitled "How To Approach the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household." The commentator's article stresses the necessity for strengthening and perfecting the responsibility system for agricultural production and its principle and guiding thought. The article "How To Approach the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household" discusses the conditions, the nature as well as the advantages and disadvantages of the practice of fixing output quotas for each household and the relationship between the practice of fixing output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of the specialized trades.

In this issue we also publish two articles, "The Patriarchal System in Feudal Society" and "A Discussion of the Question of Honest Officials," which deal with the problem of eliminating the remnant influence of feudalism. "Integrating the New Era and the New Masses" is an article on literature and art written by Comrade Liu Baiyu. In the "Lecture on Science and Technology" we publish "A Talk on Certain Questions on China's Mineral Resources as Seen From the Formation of Mineral Deposits," a speech delivered by our famous scientist Tu Guangchi at a study meeting sponsored by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee.

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## HOW TO APPROACH THE FIXING OF OUTPUT QUOTAS FOR EACH HOUSEHOLD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 12-15, 35

[Article by Yu Guoyao [0151 0948 5069]; passages within slantlines denote bold-face as published]

[Text] The fixing of output quotas for each household has appeared several times in the past 20 years and more frequently since the collectivization of agriculture in China. Since last year it has again reappeared and developed in various parts of the country. What, actually, is the reason for this? What is its effect on the development of the collective economy of China's agriculture? These questions greatly merit thorough inquiry.

### /I. The Conditions Giving Rise to the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

Since the collectivization of agriculture in China, the collective economy of many districts has been more or less consolidated, and a great improvement has taken place in the productive forces of agriculture. Initial changes have appeared in the former extremely backward state of production, and there is also an improvement in the lives of the peasants. The collective economy has already become the unshakable foundation for the advance of Chinese agriculture toward modernization. However, the development of the collective economy is unbalanced, and even now production still has not developed in a handful of places, even with collectivization. The living standard of the peasants in some of the communes and production brigades is even lower than it was before collectivization. The production and livelihood of the peasants in these places are still backward and difficult. There are many reasons which give rise to this kind of condition. Some of the poor and backward places have always suffered from frequent natural calamities. Some have taken the road of modernization "along with the main trend" and not because of voluntariness on the part of the local cadres and masses. Since collectivization they have been unable to give play to the superiority of unified management, and production has never been successfully carried out. Some places have made more rapid development in the initial period of collectivization, but during the switch to the people's commune they have been subverted by "the habit of boasting and exaggerating," "the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" and "the habit of giving arbitrary and impractical directions." The recently developed collective economy quickly collapsed and has not recovered since then. In some places the production brigades are organized on too large a scale. They have gone in for "general work" and "political division of labor"; egalitarianism is seriously affecting

distribution, and many commune members do not get more pay for more work. The abilities of the cadres in charge of the collective economy are very limited, and some do not participate in collective labor. Corruption, embezzlement and the practice of eating and taking more than one is entitled to have also appeared, and all these have seriously dampened the enthusiasm of the masses. Beside that, the influence of vestiges of feudal ideas and the force of habit of small production remains serious in some places. Class contradictions and the private ownership mentality of small production are also causing confusion in the people's thinking, and outstanding problems cannot be solved. In short, because the collective economy for a long time could not be successfully carried out in these communes and production brigades, the masses have lost confidence in the collective. Moreover, the mistakes of "leftist" ideas and the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line in rural work over the years have further aggravated these problems. The fixing of output quotas for each household since collectivization has mostly been carried out spontaneously by the peasants in the aforementioned places. Because the fixing of output quotas for each household has enabled them to cast off the chronic condition of being poor and backward collectives, the latent desire of the commune members to make a success of production and improve their livelihood very naturally is transformed into labor enthusiasm. Although they are still using simple tools and beasts of burden as in the past, because the results of the fruits of labor have a direct bearing on the material interests of each and every household, their labor enthusiasm is heightened, and consequently they are able to rapidly transform the former features of production. This is the reason "all-out work carried out individually is better than disjointed and unwilling work carried out collectively." The outcome of the fixing of output quotas for each household is a marked increase in production. It explains that this form of management is suited to the poor production brigades with backward productive forces and meets their demand for transforming their predicament, solving the problem of food and clothing and developing production. About 10 percent or more of the total number of production brigades in China today are practicing the fixing of output quotas for each household. This is a very small proportion. Its appearance is a reflection of the unbalanced productive forces in the developmental process of the collective economy of agriculture in China.

However, the necessity and rationality of fixing output quotas for each household in some places were never acknowledged in the past. Moreover, it was regarded as "retrogressive" and "a mistake in orientation and road" and was subjected to criticism and correction. Consequently, for a time the fixing of output quotas for each household was "corrected," and the impoverished condition of the commune members in some of the poor production brigades did not change, so when an opportunity appeared they went for it again. Historical facts have explained this truth: only the method of management which can bring prosperity to the peasants will be supported by them. The use of coercive administrative means to forbid the fixing of output quotas for each household after this method has increased production and actually brought benefits to the peasants will naturally be overtly or covertly opposed by them.

Why are some of the comrades afraid of the fixing of output quotas for each household? This is because, in the organization and management of the collective production of agriculture, we have for a long time neglected the unbalanced condition in the development of productive forces and invariably have thought that



the relations of production of agriculture could only go forward but not backward, that the degree of public ownership could only rise but not fall, and that the scale of the production brigade could only get bigger but not smaller. We thought that collectivization meant the centralization of labor and the more people working together, the better. We confused the demarcation between the polarization of production under the condition of private ownership and the disparity in income under the condition of public ownership. The guiding ideology of these mistakes has been growing and developing since the tremendous victory scored in the socialist transformation of China's countryside. In the 10 years of catastrophe the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which called for "cutting off the tail of capitalism" in the countryside, carrying out "the pauper's transition to higher stages of collectivization" and criticizing "the three freedoms and one contract," further confused the people's thinking.

Actually, under the condition of absolute superiority occupied by the socialist collective economy in China's countryside, the fixing of output quotas for each household depends on the socialist economy for its existence. So long as our policy is correct, it will not deviate from the socialist course. As for those communes, production brigades and areas which have been successful in practicing collective economy and which have a higher degree of mechanization and level of development in productive forces, there is objectively no need for the fixing of output quotas for each household, and the masses also do not have such demands.

## /II. The Character of the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

At present the forms for fixing output quotas for each household in the whole country have become varied and more complicated. According to investigations carried out in some areas, the general practice is to implement the "three contracts and one award" method in fixing output quotas on a per capita basis (or man-work ratio) for all or most of the farmland, that is, fixed targets for output, labor and cost with a reward for increased output and a penalty for reduced output. Some areas have required the production teams to carry out unified planning, accounting and distribution, with a reward for the overfulfilling of production. However, facts have proved that many places cannot succeed in achieving unified planning, accounting and distribution, and most have evolved into "large contract work" for each household. Apart from handing in the state purchase quotas to the higher level and providing for the withdrawal and retention of the collective, most of the products are managed by the household. Some of the places call this "guarantee supply to the state, retain enough for the collective and the rest belongs to ourselves."

Views are more divergent on how we should regard the character of this kind of fixing of output quotas for each household. According to the provision of unified planning, accounting and distribution, some people think that it is a form of responsibility system in the collective economy of agriculture. Some think that it is a mere formality and that there has been a return to individual farming. There are also other formulations. How should we actually regard it? After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "In Russia the period of academic debate on the socialist program is over and, I deeply believe, gone forever. Today we can only discuss socialism in the light of experience." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 480) We should also discuss the fixing of output quotas for each household in the light of practical experiences.

As a responsibility system of collective economy, this implies that it should be a system entailing a division of labor, with individual responsibility under collective unified management. Adhering to unified planning, accounting and distribution is naturally a form of responsibility system for the fixing of output quotas for each household. The problem is that many places have not succeeded in doing so, and they have actually changed collective unified management into what is mainly decentralized individual management. Therefore, generalizing the fixing of output quotas for each household as a responsibility system is not in accordance with objective reality.

Why is it that many production teams are unable to adhere to unified planning, accounting and distribution? This is also determined by the backward level of production. Not only are the production teams unable to take out so much money to pay various households for production costs, but after the fixing of output quotas for each household, every household can basically carry out production and decentralize management on its own, enjoys greater independence and no longer needs to share the work and cooperate with others under the unified leadership of the production team. At the same time, because the fixing of output quotas for each family still mainly concerns production to supply the family's needs, there is not much commodity production. Even if part of the output quotas comes under unified distribution, each household often still gets almost the same basic grain ration it is entitled to. Therefore, unified distribution is nothing but book accounting, and there is not much remaining which can be distributed. In the end, the team simply provides for the state requisition and for withdrawal and retention and lets each household distribute the rest on its own. Generally speaking, the peasants who carry out the fixing of output quotas for each household have pinned all their hopes of developing production and improving their livelihood on their own production efforts and conscientious management, and they are also unlikely to ask for adherence to unified planning, accounting and distribution. What is more, the collective unified management of the past had not brought any benefits to the peasants. The peasants themselves said: "We want to increase production and income and to have enough to eat." "We want to break away from the blind commands regarding production given by the upper level, from the heavy burden and from those cadres' seizing the fruits of our labor." These are the objective facts. We must soberly understand this. Otherwise, we will confuse the enthusiasm aroused by taking decentralized individual management as the key factor with the enthusiasm brought into play by the adoption of the system of production responsibility, on the premise of adhering to collective unified management.

To generalize the fixing of output quotas for each household as a form of production responsibility will cause people to one-sidedly exaggerate its advantage and role, and they will not pay enough attention to the new problems brought about by the fixing of output quotas for each household. We must correctly understand that, in the future, only by making an effort to determine how to combine bringing the superiority of the collective into play with arousing the enthusiasm of the individual can we discuss the question of modernizing agriculture and can we genuinely give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the individual on the basis of bringing the superiority of the collective into play.

We should also make a concrete analysis of the question of whether the fixing of output quotas for each household means a return to or sliding toward individual farming. Although the fixing of output quotas for each household has brought a change from collective unified management to taking decentralized individual management as the key factor, it is different from the individual farming practiced before the collectivization of agriculture. The individual farming practiced before the collectivization of agriculture was a kind of extremely fragile, individual small-scale peasant economy established on the basis of private ownership of the means of production. This inevitably gave rise to polarization and was the soil which gave rise to capitalism. After the fixing of output quotas for each household, the peasants are still members of the collective. Although they have mainly adopted decentralized individual management in production, they still cannot sever their ties with the production team. For example, the principal means of production are still owned by the collective, and the commune members are only entitled to their use. They are not allowed to either sell or lease the land. All large domestic animals are owned publicly and raised privately, and young animals are owned on a percentage basis. The hills and forests are still owned by the collective, and apart from the private plots the rest come under collective unified management. Some agricultural projects of the production teams also come under collective unified management and use. Because of this close relationship with socialist public ownership, there can only be disparity in incomes, and this will not result in polarization. This has been determined by the existing socialist political and economic conditions in our country.

### /III. The Advantages and Disadvantages of the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

As agricultural production in China still depends mainly on manual operations and beasts of burden, the enthusiasm of the laborers plays a primary role in deciding whether agriculture can increase production under the present conditions. Because of the interference from "leftist" ideological mistakes and the ultra-leftist line, we never paid any attention to the use of economic means to stimulate the enthusiasm of the commune members but instead relied on "farming for the revolution" and arbitrarily popularized the "general work" method for calculating payment. The enthusiasm of the peasants was seriously dampened, and their zeal for labor lost its momentum. This is one of the more common problems, and it is also the main problem we must solve in order to establish and strengthen the various systems of production responsibility and to improve the method of calculating payment for labor. The solution of this problem is the key link in the development of agricultural production and the further consolidation of the collective economy.

We must see that, although the fixing of output quotas for each household, which takes decentralized individual management as the key factor, has many advantages at present, what it represents is still a level of productive forces distinguished mainly by manual and animal traction farming and basically no different from the productive forces of the small-scale peasant economy. Needless to say, it is not only extremely backward compared with the modern agricultural economy armed with modern technical equipment, but also very backward compared with the better production teams in the existing collective economy of China. Therefore, in

discussing the advantages of the fixing of output quotas for each household, if we do not make an appropriate evaluation of such unique conditions as the chronic impoverishment and backwardness, the masses' loss of confidence in the collective and the long-term inability to make a success of production, we are apt to unconsciously embellish small production. We must also see that the change from collective unified management to decentralized individual management contradicts the development of the collective economy. New problems have already appeared in some places since the fixing of output quotas for each household, and some of the problems are rather serious. They are manifested mainly in the following: damage to public property, which is quite serious in some localities, such as the indiscriminate felling of trees; and serious adverse effects on water conservancy, agricultural machinery, rural education and family planning.

The fixing of output quotas for each household has its advantages as well as disadvantages, and we must accurately weigh them. In places where production is normal and the collective economy has been successfully carried out, because of the definite development in their collective economy, the fixing of output quotas for each household will be detrimental to giving full play to the benefits of their original public assets and to further improving production conditions and developing productive forces. In the future the development of agricultural production and the realization of agricultural mechanization must rely mainly on the unremitting consolidation and strengthening of the collective economy. This is the orientation we must uphold.

At the same time, we must also see that there are many causes contributing to the chronic impoverishment of some areas. Some must readjust their policy, lighten their burden and actively develop a diversified economy. Some must gradually improve production conditions as well as communications, storage and transportation conditions. Some must adjust the scale of the commune and production brigade, streamline the administrative structure and reorganize the leading body. Some must appropriately increase the proportion of private plots and individual economic assistance for the commune members. Therefore, backward areas also cannot merely seek a way out by limiting themselves to the fixing of output quotas for each household. They must proceed from reality and use every means to solve these problems in a practical and realistic manner.

#### /IV. The Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household and the Responsibility System for Production of Specialized Trades/

In the countryside today there is a responsibility system for production entailing a division of labor among specialized trades and payment according to work; it is called, for short, the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. It has appeared at the same time as the fixing of output quotas for each household, but its form of production is completely different in character from that of fixing of output quotas for each household.

Under the principle of upholding the collective unified management and unified distribution of the production team, the responsibility system for production of specialized trades pursues a policy of specialization involving a division of labor based on the different items of production and fixes the work and output quotas (output volume or value) for each group, household and individual (labor).

This responsibility system for production of specialized trades is based on the principle of giving full play to the people's abilities. Labor forces skilled in farming are assigned all the farmland (some are assigned to field management and some to the whole process of production). Labor forces skilled in sideline production are assigned to sideline production, and the "four specialized" concept (specialized team, specialized group, specialized household and specialized individual) is carried out. The production team can unify what should be unified and decentralize what should be decentralized in a manner appropriate to the production process in various kinds of work. A portion of the fixed output quotas is set aside for unified distribution, overfulfillment or underfulfillment of production targets is subjected to reward or punishment, and the form of contract is fixed for 1 year or several years without change. The salient feature of this responsibility system is the simultaneous implementation of collective responsibility and individual responsibility. It is conducive not only to successful agricultural production but also to the development of a diversified economy, and in particular it avoids making the production team a mere figure-head. We can see that at present this is a better form of arousing the enthusiasm of the commune members and developing collective production. It reflects the strengthening and consolidation of the collective economy in China's countryside, and at the same time it will promote the further development of the collective economy.

These two different forms of production--the fixing of output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of specialized trades--are in keeping with the levels of productive forces they represent. This responsibility system for production of specialized trades is inseparable from the diversified economy of the production team and the higher management level of the cadres. By contrast, places with only a single grain crop, without a diversified economy and with a cadre management level which is still very poor cannot talk about adopting the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. This can only be a goal they hope to attain through their efforts. Naturally, there is also no unbridgeable gulf between the fixing of output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. Production teams now implementing the fixing of output quotas for each household should also consider how they could retain the existing property of the collective, pay attention in the future to gradually developing the economic items of the collective, and combine giving play to the superiority of collective unified management with arousing the enthusiasm of the individual.

As for whether the fixing of output quotas for each household will develop toward the responsibility system for production of specialized trades, this can only be determined by uninterrupted practice in the future. The responsibility system for production of specialized trades must also be tested in future practice. From the great quantity of facts we can see that the responsibility system for production of specialized trades has a strong vitality and will probably develop into the leading form of responsibility system. The responsibility system for production of specialized trades is particularly more suitable for production teams whose cash crops, animal husbandry, fishery, forestry and rural handicraft industry are better developed. Therefore, it is necessary for us to affirm and advocate it. However, the past method of setting rigid rules for popularization and adopting measures across the board must not be repeated. Proceeding from actual

conditions, different localities, communes and production brigades and even the same production team must allow diversified forms of management, organizations of labor and methods of payment according to work to exist at the same time. The form of organization and management of production to be adopted by a production team must be discussed and decided upon by the local people in a democratic manner, for it is entirely within the jurisdiction of the collective economy to make its own decisions regarding organization and management. Proceeding from its own material interests, each production team will naturally choose the form which is most conducive to the development of production based on its own actual conditions. In short, the fixing of output quotas for each household exists under specific historical conditions and, in keeping with the law governing the relations of production, must adapt to the character of the productive forces. It will change along with the development of the productive forces.

CSO: 4004

## EXPLORING WAYS TO MODERNIZE ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 16-19

[Article by Wu Jiajun [0702 1367 7486] of the Industrial Economic Research Institute, China Social Sciences College]

[Text] To realize the four modernizations we must strive to grasp modern and scientific management and speed up the modernization of management. Like the four modernizations in our country, which must take their own roads, modern management must also start from the realities of our country and take its own road. This requires us to develop the study of management science, analyze the characteristics of modern enterprise management in the various countries and explore ways to modernize enterprise management to find the one best suited to conditions in our country.

### I

Modern management was formed gradually and developed after a very long historical process. There must be management when there is common labor. However, the practice of management is not management science. Management science was formed gradually following the development of capitalist production.

In the course of development the theory of capitalist enterprise management undergoes different stages. How do we divide its stages of development? At present there is no uniform understanding in theoretical circles at home and abroad. For example, some said that it began with Taylor. Others said that it began before Taylor, with Adam Smith and David Ricardo. However, no matter how divergent the versions, they all deem that the great development of management theory began after Taylor.

Many schools emerged in the decades after Taylor. Some foreigners used the term "tropical forest" to describe the enormous number of schools. We certainly can make a minute division if we study these different schools from the angle of the history of management thought. However, I see no harm in understanding it as two big schools if we start from the angle of application, so that we can draw lessons from other people's experiences. These are the "technological organization school" and the "behavioral school." If we analyze the differences in characteristics between these two big schools, we can see two different approaches to management theory and two different theoretical systems.

The technological organization school stresses the role of control management and expending efforts in technology, organization and system. It stresses the use of technological methods and means to set up scientific and strict management systems and methods so as to speed up and increase production efficiency. This school was formed long ago. The Taylor system embodies the characteristics of the technological organization school in the early stage. Its main content involves the study of the mechanics of operation and the rational use of the hours the workers spend in production. This in fact takes human beings as machines and requires everyone to act passively according to methods stipulated beforehand. Following changes in production, the management theory was further developed on the basis of the Taylor system and extended from the study of the mechanics and level of operation to the study of scientific organization, the adoption of scientific, rational labor, production and enterprise organization, the coordinated organization of supply, production and marketing, and so on. For the past 20 to 30 years, following the development of modern natural sciences, engineering technology and the application of computers in management, the study of operation, the study of production organization and labor organization, and modern technological methods and technological means are combined to form a new "modern organization management science." From the Taylor system up to modern organization management science can be regarded as one big school belonging to the same theoretical system.

The behavioral school stresses man's initiative and the study of management from the angle of sociology and psychology, and it pays attention to developing and stimulating man's inner motive force to speed up and increase production efficiency. This school applies the theories of behavioral science in enterprise management and maintains that people's specific behavior is the result of a specific motive and that a specific motive comes from a specific need and from the desire to satisfy a specific need. Therefore, the behavioral school opposes the rigid regulation of things and stresses the study of people's different needs from the angle of sociology and psychology. Some scholars sum up people's various needs in the five big categories of physiology, safety, social contact, psychology and self-achievement, and they think that these are needs of different classes and different stages. After the first and most basic need is satisfied, its stimulating role will weaken or disappear. People will then show concern for further needs of a higher grade. Therefore, these scholars think that modern enterprise management should study and observe the various needs of staff workers under different conditions and ingeniously guide, unify and integrate the needs of employees with the goal of the enterprise, so that the needs of the employees are satisfied and the goal of the enterprise is attained at the same time. This represents an entirely different train of thought from the technological organization school and can be taken as another theoretical system.

A common characteristic of enterprise management is that of absorbing the strong points of both the technological organization and behavioral schools, stressing scientific organization and strict codes and conventions while also making an effort to study human psychology and stimulate people's initiative. Some countries even integrate technological organization and the theory of behaviorism with their national customs and traditions. By applying these they form a management system with national characteristics. This can be said to be the most basic characteristic of modern management.



Certainly the social nature of socialist enterprise management is different from that of capitalist enterprises. Marx said: Capitalist management, as "supervision and command of labor," "is not only a special function which is the result of the nature of the process of social labor and belongs to this process, but at the same time the function of the process of exploitation of social labor. It is thus determined by the inevitable opposition between the exploiter and the material exploited." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 368) The character of this exploitation and opposition no longer exists in socialist enterprise management. However, the socialist system arose after the proletarian revolution on the foundation of the production force developed by capitalism. Great socialist production determines that there are certain times, hereditary features and common points between socialist enterprise management and capitalist enterprise management. Therefore, the correct understanding of the characteristics of modern management mentioned above is of great significance in exploring ways of modernizing enterprise management and improving the management work of industrial enterprises in our country.

## II

In the past there often was some misunderstanding, because people considered that modern management consisted only of the adoption of such management means as computers. When modern management was mentioned, we thought only of advanced management techniques and complicated analytical techniques and methods; we did not observe modern management from the viewpoint of integrating the technological organization and behavioral schools. This in fact equates management modernization with analysis by computers and regards the application of a large number of imported computers as the basic outlet for modernizing management. This view should be discussed and considered. We know that the computer plays a very important role in the management of modern industrial enterprises, but it is, after all, only a technological means and not the endall in the modernization of enterprise management. Enterprise management organizes, plans, directs, examines, calculates, supervises and regulates production, technology and economic activities in the enterprises. The questions it seeks to answer involve the various aspects of production forces, production relations and the superstructure and are definitely not purely technological questions. Modern enterprise management science is an economic management science formed through the application of the achievements of modern natural sciences and social sciences in modern enterprise management. People normally regard it as a peripheral science which transcends natural sciences and social sciences. Therefore, it is obviously inappropriate to consider the question of management modernization from the angle of technology and the application of computers alone. We can see that even countries with a relatively high level of development of productive forces and advanced industrial technology cannot rely solely on computers in management modernization. In enterprise management in Japan, for example, although computers are widely used, the basic characteristic does not lie in the use of computers but in the concentration of the strong points of various schools of management theory and their ingenious integration with "familial" national traditions and customs to form a unique, effective method for managing modern industrial enterprises. Technical and economic conditions in our country today are limited; we cannot focus our attention on the use of computers. This is not to negate or underestimate the role of modern management means such as computers but is to

realistically start from the actual conditions in our country to modernize management.

Such terminology as behavioral science was not used in enterprise management in our country in the past. However, in practice we stress strict organization, codes and conventions, as well as the stimulation of people's initiative. Since exploitation was abolished under socialist conditions, the basic needs of all workers are the same. Therefore, our superiority in the implementation of a rational organization system and the stimulation of people's initiative is unsurpassed by capitalist enterprises. We have our own theories in this respect and have already accumulated a great deal of excellent experience. In the future we should develop our superiority and continue to map out ways to modernize enterprise management which are suited to the conditions of our country.

How should we start from the actual conditions in our country to modernize enterprise management at present? I think that the several following questions need particular attention:

1. We should utilize and develop the superior tradition of enterprise management work in our country, revive effective methods used in the past and develop them under the new conditions so that they are more systematic.

We cannot ignore traditional experience in modernizing management. We must embrace and develop the strong points of our traditions and properly integrate our fine national and revolutionary traditions with the actual conditions of modern industrial production and management techniques. This is a fundamental question in modernizing enterprise management in our country.

More than half a century has elapsed since we started to run enterprises in our old revolutionary bases. We have accumulated very rich experiences, both positive and negative. Our industrial construction in the past was linked with the building and development of the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases. Therefore, it has fine revolutionary traditions. Since the founding of our country these fine traditions have been further developed. They are integrated with the reality of modern industrial production, and we have acquired further systematic experience in doing a proper job in various management tasks, such as adhering to the various basic management principles of planning, economic calculation and examination, the system of a division of labor, political education and material incentives and the mass line, insisting on party leadership and upholding such systems as that of holding meetings for staff and workers and the responsibility system of factory directors, effectively utilizing the experience of various sectors in the work of supply, marketing and production in enterprises and doing a good job in various basic tasks in industrial enterprises. Owing to the intervention of the "gang of four," these traditional experiences were seriously sabotaged. To raise the level of enterprise management we must first restore order and revive effective methods adopted in the past. Certainly some past experiences will no longer meet the requirements of the development of productive forces. For example, enterprise management was deeply influenced by the supply system, operational habits of small production and the thinking of self-sufficiency in the natural economy. All these should be thoroughly changed. Otherwise, they will hinder the realization of modernized management.

2. We should strengthen management education and start from the present level to raise the technological and operational levels of enterprise leaders and management personnel.

The cultural, technological and working levels of enterprise leaders and management personnel in our country today are relatively low on the whole. The training of management personnel should be put in a very prominent position. In the course of modernizing management we should strengthen the establishment of modern management courses in colleges and speedily train experts who grasp modern management theories, techniques and methods. In the training of currently employed management staff we should infuse them with the knowledge of modern management techniques as far as possible. Otherwise, we cannot meet the requirements of the four modernizations. However, the training of the working cadres must start from reality, follow in proper sequence and make steady progress, and start from familiar questions and make improvements on the basis of summing up our own traditional experiences. If we depart from the actual management foundation and cadre conditions to learn some management techniques and theories which cannot be put into practice for the time being, this will not be of much direct help in improving management work.

Certainly, improving the level of management personnel depends on training. Only through special training will we have a firm foundation so that we can scale new heights. But improvement through practice is more common for the majority of people. Therefore, it is extremely important to set up a responsibility system which will prompt constant improvement in the level of leading cadres and management personnel. After the October Revolution, through the implementation of a responsibility system with "one-man leadership" as the focus, Lenin put the burden of work on leading and management cadres at all levels. The adoption of this system eliminated the chaotic situation in which no one was responsible, as well as trained a great number of management cadres through practice. This quickly settled the problem of backward management. We should also strengthen the system of responsibility of factory directors and strictly implement the various responsibility systems. This should become a constant important factor which prompts the growth of management cadres.

3. We should start from reality and energetically improve management and operation work of the enterprise, and we should not wait passively.

The content of modern management is extremely broad. In addition to correct theoretical guidance, it includes at least three aspects: First, modernization of management organization, which is the use of scientific and rational organizational forms and methods, such as rational enterprise organization, labor organization, organization of the production process, organization of the coordination of supply, production and marketing, and so on. Second, modernization of management methods, which includes the adoption of economic methods and administrative methods. It includes economic and mathematical methods, methods of statistical analysis and systematic analysis and the application of scientific methods in basic management work. It also includes political education, the mass line, use of social and psychological methods, and so on. Third, modernization of management tools, which is the use of computers, automatic control equipment, and so on. If we make comprehensive efforts in these areas, many things can be

done, even though we cannot realize scientific and modernized management under the condition of a widespread use of computers. There are great potentialities in enterprise management in our country today. The foundation work for management is still very weak. There still are many new things which can be learned and utilized in the way of mathematical methods and methods of systematic analysis to carry out stipulated analysis of economic management. Many effective management methods in the past have fallen into disuse. They are waiting to be revived and further developed. All these are problems which need to be resolved in the process of modernizing management. The views that modernized management is within sight but beyond reach and that nothing can be done without computers are incorrect. We believe that as long as we have a well-defined goal of using scientific methods and modernization, seek truth from facts and advance realistically we can definitely modernize enterprise management in our country.

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## INTEGRATING THE NEW ERA AND THE NEW MASSES

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[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]]

[Text] Our country has entered the new era of socialist modernization. The Chinese people face great changes. This new and great era needs a literature and art that are in line with the new economic base; it needs countless excellent artistic works which reflect its countenance and its spirit. The new era and the masses have demanded that writers and artists draw the picture and write the scroll of the era, reflect the heroic labor and struggle of the people in building a modern and powerful country, depict the brilliant images of the builders of the four modernizations and extol people's ideals so as to enhance their morale and push their advance. Such a glorious and arduous mission has unshirkably fallen on our writers and artists. If this mission is to be fulfilled, I think it is imperative to solve the most pressing problem at present: writers and artists must resolutely integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses.

### I

It is only by integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses that writers and artists can adapt themselves ideologically to the changes of the new era.

A great writer of an era is no doubt the ideological pioneer of that era. In integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses, literary and art workers must first of all stand in the forefront of the era with Marxism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, profoundly understand this era through investigations, practice and study and analyze society and history.

In the early days of the war against Japanese aggression, many literary and art workers, with the lofty aspiration to dedicate themselves to the struggle for national liberation, left pavilions in Shanghai under the control of the Kuomintang for the base areas, where they created a number of excellent works to boost the morale of the people and make them confident of winning victory. Thus, they contributed to the war against Japanese aggression. Nevertheless, quite a number of them failed to understand that the areas controlled by the Kuomintang and the base areas represented two different social systems and different eras. They also failed to understand the importance and urgency of

transforming their own world outlook in order to adapt themselves ideologically to the new historical environment. Consequently, they were incompatible with the new era in their thinking and creative activities. This situation was in serious contradiction with the needs of the revolutionary struggle at that time. Referring to this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art": "To arrive at revolutionary base areas means to enter an era unseen for thousands of years in Chinese history, in which the masses of the people become the masters of their own fate. The people around us and the target of propaganda are totally different. The past era has gone forever and will never return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation." Due to the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, the broad masses of literary and art workers integrated themselves with the masses and treated the new era and the new masses with greater understanding and feelings. As a result, the trend of the petty bourgeoisie that existed after the May 4th Movement was reoriented, while the standard of literary and art creation developed into a new historical stage.

Historical experiences merit our attention. Many aspects of the present situation are different from those during the war against Japanese aggression. Yet we are again faced with a similar situation, that is, with a new era and new masses and with the question of how to integrate ourselves with the new era and the new masses.

What is the new era we face today? It is an era in which all of the people are building a modern and powerful country. It is an era in which people are emancipating their minds and are bold in creating new things, which are emerging one after another. It is during this new era that the backward economic and technical situation of our country will be basically changed to drastically increase productivity. At the same time, the relations of production, the superstructure, the economic management system and other types of management also will be changed. With all this, people's thinking eventually will change.

Such changes are epochmaking. In this new era, all endeavors in our country, such as the economy, politics, the military, ideology, morale and social life, are constantly changing. These changes demand that each writer and artist restudy, reunderstand and readapt himself to the new situations. Hence, it is necessary for us to emancipate our minds, persist in dialectic materialism, be practical and realistic, proceed from objective reality, analyze the new situations along the correct ideological line and explore new problems. If we proceed from bookishness and rigidity in our thinking, we will neither be able to make progress nor be able to follow the development of the situations and the era. Eventually we will not be able to create works that are imbued with the spirit of the era.

In integrating themselves ideologically with the new era and the new masses, literary and art workers must fight against two wrong tendencies. One tendency is a rigid or semirigid way of thinking. Some comrades have still failed to completely break with the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Consciously or unconsciously, these comrades regard Marxism-Mao Zedong Thought as rigid and dogmatic. They even regard the line, principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee under the new historical conditions and the

creativity of the masses as "departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy." Or they are not accustomed to this line, principles and policies. Eventually they become "conservative and backward grandmas," as described by Lu Xun. Another wrong tendency is that of seeking bourgeois liberty. These comrades have either been affected by the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" or influenced by bourgeois ideology. They regard the emancipation of ideology as contradictory to the four basic principles and advocate egoism, anarchism and absolute equalitarianism in order to confuse people's thinking, affect stability and unity and hinder the development of the four modernizations. No matter whether it is a rigid or semirigid way of thinking or the liberty of the bourgeoisie, they both represent an extreme ideology that is harmful to the socialist construction of the new era and must therefore be eliminated. Our literary and art workers must simultaneously rid themselves of a rigid or semirigid way of thinking and draw a clear demarcation line with the liberty of the bourgeoisie. Only by so doing will they be able to truly integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses.

## II

The basic way for literary and art workers to integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses is to plunge themselves into the reality of struggle unconditionally, protractedly and wholeheartedly.

The people are the mothers of writers and artists. The artistic life of all progressive literary and art workers exists in their flesh-and-blood relations with the people. Therefore, only by plunging themselves into the current of the great struggles of the masses of the new era and cherishing the feelings of the masses can literary and art workers integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses. Otherwise, their integration is nothing but empty talk. Therefore, it is of real significance to stress the importance of writers and artists placing themselves in the midst of the life and the struggles of the masses. In response to the call of the party Central Committee, a number of literary and art workers recently took an active part in measures to realize the four modernizations, and they made good achievements. On the other hand, quite a number of literary and art workers have still not been able to do so for various reasons. It is urgent now that we reiterate the importance of literary and art workers plunging into the struggles of the masses unconditionally, protractedly and wholeheartedly. The leadership at various levels must create conditions for literary and art workers to leave their studies, families and their own little world and join the masses in the struggles for the realization of the four modernizations.

Literary and art workers will be able to experience the life and struggle of the masses and portray them with passion and enthusiasm only if they consciously take part in the struggles for a long time. Life brings passion and enthusiasm to writers, who in turn portray it with passion and enthusiasm. If a writer lacks passion and enthusiasm toward the people, society and nature around him, he will not be able to find the soul-stirring reality that surrounds him. On the contrary, he will turn a blind eye to it. Why is a writer, who once was able to create works with passion and enthusiasm during a certain period, unable to create works of the same standard in another period? No doubt there might be

many complicated reasons for his failure, but the main reason is that he departs from life itself. A writer must experience life itself. Some people have denied the importance of going deep into life on the pretext of "depicting the life with which the writer is familiar." It is true that a writer must portray life with which he is familiar, but by immersing himself in life he will experience aspects of life unfamiliar to him. What we mean is that he must plunge into the current of the new era. He must on no account skim over the surface of reality, nor must he gain superficial understanding by resorting to cursory observations. On the contrary, he must join the life and the struggles of his era. He must be familiar with life and able to grasp and portray it. When a writer is able to keep advancing and continues to familiarize himself with aspects of life unfamiliar to him, then he will be able to keep his mind fresh and to acquire new sources for his writings. In fact, this has been proved by many outstanding writers. Life is like a boundless ocean: it never stops moving, it is changing all the time. Therefore, a writer must never depart from life and the struggles of the masses for the rest of his life; he must never stop accumulating writing materials from reality in order to broaden his horizon. Only on this basis will he be able to expand. Thus, by developing his objective world to the subjective world and again from the subjective world to the objective, he is in a position to portray life and have soul-stirring influence.

Artistic works mainly depict people. Therefore, people are the main target for writers in understanding and experiencing life and in conducting investigations. They must be familiar with the history of struggles, families, thinking, work, life, feelings, hobbies, characters, psychology and the lives of various figures. They must grasp the characteristic personality of the figures they are to portray, observe the spirit of the new era reflected in these figures and find the profound changes experienced by them in this era. In this way the writers will be able to reflect the face of the era in their works and to become the spokesmen of the era and voice its needs.

### III

The purpose of literary and art workers integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses is to rapidly reflect life and struggle and to make their contribution in building our country into a modern and powerful socialist country.

Literature and art are the mirror of the era. The work of literary and art workers must not be limited to criticizing old things. They must study, depict and create new things. The work focus of the whole party has been strategically shifted. Therefore, it is imperative to encourage writers to use modern construction as the theme of their works and to describe "the new figures and the new world."

In his speech to the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Our literary and art workers must strive even harder for greater achievements in portraying and bringing up the socialist new people. We must portray the pioneers and builders of the four modernizations, so that through these new figures we will be able to arouse the socialist initiative of the broad masses of people and inspire their historical creativeness in realizing the four modernizations. The party and the people have urgently placed their



hopes on the literary and art workers. This is the duty of writers as well as an important topic for the literature and art of the new era. In creating our artistic works we must strive to explore this new topic so as to attain still better achievements.

It has been a glorious tradition of the proletarian literary and art workers to pay much attention to reflecting the life and the struggles of their era, to portray the new images of the era and to promote the development of the revolutionary cause. In his long feature story "Mother," Soviet proletarian writer Maksim Gorkiy lost no time in depicting the heroic images of the proletariat who had just mounted the stage of history. He was the first writer to depict a communist who had grown up during the proletarian revolutionary movement, Pavel and his mother Nilovna as the leading figures to set a good example for the Soviet proletariat. The book was considered "of great benefit" to many workers who had joined the revolution unconsciously. Lenin praised "Mother" and affirmed it as "a timely book." Famous writers of contemporary Chinese literature such as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun paid great attention to depicting the life of their own eras and reflected the urgent needs of the people in timely fashion. Important criteria for judging the talent of writers are whether they are good at reproducing history artistically, at pointing out a correct road for solving urgent social problems and at promoting with their artistic influence the development of the world around them.

"Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was followed by the broad masses of literary and art workers, who broke through the circles of petty bourgeois intellectuals in their ideology and feelings and came to realize that it was their important duty to portray and laud "the new figures and the new world," and they made important achievements in their works. Hence, there was a basic change in the situation of literary and art creation. The themes of literary and art works concentrated on reflecting national struggle, class struggle and labor production. Thus, with new themes and topics, the broad masses of workers, peasants and army men became the masters of literary and art works. It was an epochmaking development in the history of our literature.

We must inherit and develop the good tradition of proletarian literature and art and work hard to portray "the new figures and the new world." Our literature and art must serve to praise the great struggle, lofty spirit and heroic dedication of the broad masses of people and army men in carrying out and defending the four modernizations. Our literature and art must urgently and enthusiastically create vivid and heroic images and criticize feudal, bourgeois and all other nonproletarian ideologies. It must promote the growth of new things and sweep away the decadent obstacles. It must play its powerful role in educating and encouraging people in their struggles. The struggle to restore order in literary and art circles has won a great victory over the past 3 years, and this literary and art garden, with hundreds of flowers, has regained its liveliness and prosperity. New achievements have been made by literary and art works that reflect the construction of the four modernizations. A number of works, such as "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" and "Factory Director Chiao Assumes Office," have been warmly welcomed by the masses. Nevertheless, we have to understand that both the number and the standard of literary and art works reflecting life and realistic struggle and "the new figures and the new world" still far from meet the needs of the new situation.

It is a basic Marxist theory on literature and art that one must work hard to portray the heroes of the proletariat. Ever since its emergence over 100 years ago, Marxism has joined with the heroic and arduous struggles of the working class and people's revolutions, and in this process it has also nurtured generations of outstanding figures who are dedicated to the lofty ideal of communism, created countless heroic achievements and enabled the working class to gradually change from a class in itself to a class for itself. Marxist theory on literature and art demands that literary and art workers vividly reflect the history in which the proletariat developed, from "Cinderella" to "A Man With Unusual Strength," that they create artistic images of the proletariat, which is the gravedigger for the bourgeoisie and the founder of socialist society. In the early days of the maturing of the scientific world of Marxism, Engels, in order to eliminate ideological obstacles of petty bourgeois socialism and open up a road for the dissemination of Marxism among the workers, sarcastically ridiculed the literature of the petty bourgeoisie as shortsighted, low and vulgar. He wanted literature and art to "extol the all-powerful, stubborn and revolutionary proletariat." Following the failure of the French revolution in 1848, Marx summed up the historical experience of this "first big trial of strength between the two antagonistic classes in modern society" and enthusiastically lauded the uprising of the workers as "absolutely courageous and ingenious." He also hoped that literature and art would vividly portray the heroes of the revolution with strong colors similar to those used by Rembrandt. For over 30 years after the revolution, proletarian revolutionary movements were launched one after another with greater momentum. In particular, the Paris Commune, which exercised the first great practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "showed the radiance of the great social revolution that liberates mankind from class society forever." It was for this reason that, in his letter to M. Harkness, Engels criticized "The City Girls" for depicting the working class as pessimistic masses. He said: "The rebellion launched by the working class against the oppression around them and their hard efforts to restore their position as men should have--no matter whether they were carried out consciously or unconsciously--and must have their place in the realm of realism." Gorkiy also said enthusiastically: "We must understand that there is much phenomena around us that should be ridiculed and fought against. But there are more figures who should be praised.... Really, they need to be extolled!" It is thus clear that it has been the stand of Marxism to portray the heroes of the proletariat and to extoll its brighter aspects. It is also a natural demand placed by the people on literature and art and a natural literary and art reflection of the life and struggle of the proletarian revolution.

A good example has boundless power. A good heroic image can lead a whole generation and influence one generation after another. Such power has been proved in the history of literature. A heroic image touches people's feelings of beauty and their very souls, influences their world outlook and enables them to find themselves in comparison with artistic images and to attain power, and thus encourages them to surge ahead. In a critical movement a heroic image encourages people to throw themselves against the embrasure of the enemy's blockhouse, to blast pillboxes and to sacrifice themselves for the sake of communism. In daily life a heroic image leads people to establish a correct outlook on life and death, hardship and happiness and glory and disgrace. It inspires people to love their life and to pursue a magnificent ideal. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and

aid Korea, armyman Huang Jiguang carried with him a comic book about Matrosov, a Soviet hero during the war of defense, as he threw himself against the embrasure of the enemy's blockhouse, while during the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, Huang Jiguang, Dong Chunhui, Qiu Shaoyun and Wan Cheng became heroic images in literary and art works and set examples as fighters dedicated to their country. Are not these facts a good inspiration for us literary and art workers? The reason for stressing the importance of portraying heroic images is that such creation is aimed at encouraging people to carry out the current historically unprecedented causes and the arduous work of realizing the socialist modernization heroically. Of course, writers must be encouraged to portray various figures, because good literary and art works with various figures will be able to educate people. But this does not mean that it is not necessary to stress the importance of depicting the heroic images of the proletariat. The examples set by heroic images cannot be replaced by other images.

The question of portraying heroic images has been a topic of debate in literary and art circles since the founding of new China. With regard to this question, we hold that it is imperative to completely criticize the theory of "basic task" peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their series of ideological fallacies about creating the "No 1 figure," the lofty and talented savior on the model of the "three prominences" they advocated. We also oppose the wrong view which denies the existence of heroic images in reality and opposes the portrayal of "nonheroic deeds" of heroic images. Heroic figures come from actual life. They are historical, realistic and concrete; they are not fabricated. The heroic images we are to portray are the pioneers and builders of revolution and at the same time ordinary laborers; they are fighters with revolutionary ideals, foresight and sagacity and at the same time ordinary people. They have taken root among the masses and serve as examples for the masses. Why should we not portray the great creators of history, since we believe that history is created by people? A heroic image is one of the masses; he is not isolated from them. He does not stand aloof; he exists in mutual relationships with intermediate, backward and negative characters. There is no absolutely perfect man in reality. The "gang of four" forbade people from depicting the shortcomings of heroic figures. The heroic character develops and grows in revolutionary struggle, but each heroic character differs. We must describe the processes by which heroes transform their own subjective world when they are transforming the objective world in various different environments. Such is the reality of the tens of millions of heroes in our life, and it is their living images that bring vigorous impetus for the realization of the four modernizations.

The creators of the literature and art of the new era face a broad road. Let us work with one mind and dedicate ourselves to the early realization of the new era and early integration with the new masses in our efforts to meet a new upsurge of literature and art of the new age!

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## A DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF HONEST OFFICIALS

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[Text] Before the "Great Cultural Revolution" our country's academic circles held heated debates on honest officials, on the nature and role of honest official ideology, on the conditions giving rise to this thinking and its significance in actual life. On the whole, three opinions were reflected at that time. The first opinion held that honest officials were liberators of those who were oppressed, humiliated and wronged and that they bravely struggled against the forces of evil and hence deserved to be emulated and publicized. The second opinion held that there was no difference between honest and corrupt officials in nature. The third opinion held that honest officials were positive characters but were subject to class limitations. A healthy development of this debate would help us draw a clear demarcation line theoretically between feudalism and Marxism. However, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan later took advantage of this debate to carry out political persecution. They put the labels of agents of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism on those comrades who praised honest officials as positive characters and dealt merciless blows at them.

Political persecution could silence people but could not solve any academic problem. It was entirely correct for our party to politically rehabilitate the persecuted comrades after the downfall of the "gang of four." However, political rehabilitation and theoretical correctness are two different matters. Numerous articles discussing the question of honest officials have been published in newspapers and other publications over the past 3 years. Some make an in-depth analysis of honest officials and the honest official ideology and put forward some convincing opinions. Others carry opinions which are open to discussion. For example, some comrades hold that the theory of honest officials is a component of the Marxist theory on the appraisal of historical personages. Other comrades suggest rehabilitating honest officials. In the arena of literature and art, plays about honest officials are highly praised. What deserves particular attention is that some images of "modern honest officials" have appeared in some newly created literary and artistic works and that leading cadres who carry out the party's correct line are called honest officials. Some newspapers and magazines have carried commentators' articles calling on judicial workers to emulate Bao Zheng and Hai Rui, who were honest officials in ancient China. Many articles also discuss the practical significance of honest officials.

We do not share these views.

Should the expression "honest official" be regarded as a scientific concept in appraising historical personages? What is the background to the emergence of an honest official? What is the nature of the honest official ideology? How should we estimate the influence of this thinking on our actual life? We would like to express the following views.

#### I. The Expression "Honest Official" Should Not Be Regarded as a Scientific Concept in Appraising Historical Personages

In the past people used the expression "honest official" to praise some feudal officials. In the literary and art field this was reflected in plays about honest officials and novels about complicated lawsuits. But should we continue to use the expression "honest official" to appraise historical personages? We do not think so.

One of the main reasons why people regard honest officials as positive characters is that they were free from corruption. In the past there were indeed some officials who were involved in little or no corruption. However, it is worth noting that these officials collected great amounts of taxes for their governments. For example, in the last years of the Northern Song Dynasty, Han Jinqing, chief of a prefecture, was described in some historical records as an honest official who "was fair and unbiased in selecting candidates for official posts and never distorted facts to suit his private ends." However, he was the one who "was promoted to be minister of justice because he excelled over other officials in collecting taxes." ("Biographies of Upright and Benevolent Officials" in "History of the Song Dynasty") During the Yuan Dynasty, Lin Xingzu "was known as an honest and benevolent official." During his tenure of office as chief of Daozhou Prefecture he "called off construction of unnecessary projects, gave alms to the poverty-stricken people, assigned less corvee labor to the people and reduced the amount of taxes to be collected from them. As a result, the prefecture was in great order." He was an honest official all right. However, "in a provincial grading of service of officials in terms of taxes collected, the chief of Daozhou Prefecture ranked first." ("Biographies of Good Officials" in "History of the Yuan Dynasty") These officials had clean personal records but at the same time were able to collect huge amounts of taxes for the state. Is the expression "honest official" enough to show their complicated nature? The rulers of the past also favored honest officials and condemned the corrupt ones. However, they held that there were things more important than honesty and corruption. What the Kangxi Emperor of the Qing Dynasty said affords food for thought: "A good official is one who takes no ill-gotten gains and serves his country heart and soul. There are officials who are men of moral integrity but are incompetent in their work. They just act according to instructions from their superiors but are continually unable to fulfill their tasks. What good are these officials to the state?" ("Imperial Instructions of Shengzu, Emperor Ren of Qing Dynasty," Vol 46) This shows that one's ability to serve the ruling class was a matter of primary importance. Today, when we appraise a feudal official, we should first consider the part he played in historical development and social reform. For example, during the Ming Dynasty, Zhang Juzheng "became more biased once he held sway. He demoted or promoted officials as he pleased. Many of his assistants accepted

bribes." ("Biography of Zhang Juzheng" in "History of the Ming Dynasty") He was not an honest official. However, we should not confine our scope to this aspect and deny the role he played in conducting political, economic and military reforms. We do not mean that honesty should not be affirmed. We should see that honesty did not exist by itself but was connected with other problems during feudal times. We cannot clearly explain the question of the nature of an official simply by considering whether he was corrupt or not.

The second reason why people regard honest officials as positive characters is that these officials "executed the laws impartially." In our opinion, we should not draw such a simple conclusion on this question. Laws were not applied equally to all during feudal times. An important role played by feudal laws was to protect the feudal hierarchy. For example, Shang Yang made laws for the purpose of "clearly specifying different orders and ranks and requiring officials to build their estates and make robes for their families according to their orders and ranks." ("Biography of Shang Yang" in "Records of the Historian") Feudal laws were characteristic of the rules aimed at distinguishing between different orders and ranks. Since all were not equal before the law during feudal times, how can we use the expression "executing the laws impartially" to describe the functions of and the role played by the executors of the law?

Viewed from another angle, feudal society existed at a time when the emperors had supreme dictatorial power which overrode the law. During the Western Han Dynasty, Du Zhou often sent others to jail on the emperor's instructions. Asked why he did not uphold the law, he said: "Where do the laws come from? Some emperors made laws. Other emperors later made other laws. We should apply the laws that are currently valid. Why should we cling to the ancient laws?" ("Biography of Du Zhou" in "Annals of the Han Dynasty") His words reflected the actual relationship between the emperor's will and the law. In the history of Chinese law, imperial decrees and instructions were above the law. This situation was more serious after the Song Dynasty. Since there were no laws applicable to all, how could they be executed impartially? Therefore, the expression "executing the laws impartially" cannot correctly reflect the nature of honest officials who executed the laws.

Another piece of evidence showing that honest officials were positive characters is that they pleaded for the people and took good care of the people.

Among the honest officials cited by the people, Bao Zheng and Hai Rui did plead for the people. However, this was one side of the question, because they pleaded for the people in order to prevent people who were victims of famine from rising in rebellion. The other side of the question was that there were facts showing that the honest officials also asked the emperors for permission to kill some people. For example, when "bandits" arose in swarms in Jizhou and Yunzhou prefectures of Jingdong Province, Dezhou and Bozhou prefectures in Hebei Province and Suzhou and Bozhou prefectures in Huainan Province, Bao Zheng forwarded a memorial to the emperor saying that "the bandits in all these areas must be wiped out so as to remove the cause of future trouble." ("Collection of Bao Zheng's Works," Vol 5) Like Bao Zheng, Hai Rui pleaded for the people and also asked the emperor for permission to kill some people.

Some people said that honest officials sometimes played a role, which corrupt officials could not play, in suppressing and cheating the peasants. This view was not ungrounded. Zhang Gang, one of the "eight outstanding officials" during the reign of Emperor Shun of the Eastern Han Dynasty, shocked the imperial court by forwarding to the emperor a memorial accusing Liang Ji, the emperor's in-law who was commander in chief of the army, of the evil he had done. He was doubtlessly an honest official. However, when Zhang Ying led tens of thousands of people in Guangling Prefecture to rise in rebellion, "killing some leading local officials and creating havoc in the area of Yangzhou and Xuzhou for more than 10 years, and when the government army could not suppress them," it was this Zhang Gang who personally "visited Zhang Ying in his camp," "telling him about the emperor's intention to pardon him" and "showing concern for the welfare of his men." Coupling threats with promises, he succeeded in "enlightening Zhang Ying" and making him surrender. ("Biography of Zhang Gang" in "Annals of the Later Han") He suppressed the peasants' uprising without resorting to force. Yang Xinmin of the Ming Dynasty and Yu Chenglong and Liu Qing of the Qing Dynasty were honest officials who were actually more sinister than Zhang Gang. They deceived and killed the leaders of peasant uprisings.

Is it justifiable to say that these sanguinary facts were a result of the honest officials' "pleading for the people"? The honest officials only pleaded for the docile people who had not yet been enlightened and were longing for the government's pity. However, they did not plead for the revolutionary people but asked for the emperor's permission to wipe them out or to suppress them. So they were assigned two different tasks. Why should we hide their wrongdoing and praise their good deeds?

Yet another piece of evidence showing that honest officials were positive characters is that they attacked the bullies and corrupt officials.

We do not entirely object to this view. However, this view also reflects one side of the question. The other side of the question is that the honest officials also protected the bullies. Shen Shihang of the Ming Dynasty said: "Good officials of the past also wanted to attack the bullies. But they had to consider the matter carefully and strike a blow in good time. This can be likened to trussing up a tiger, an attempt which should not be taken lightly. If a bully has not committed an unpardonable crime, his case should be settled by making a compromise. This is a way to save the face of the local gentry." ("Square and Honest Officials," Vol 97 of "Notes on Information Acquired by Xi Yuan") Hai Rui also said: "In handling a dispute it is better to sacrifice the interests of the ordinary people than those of the local gentry so as to preserve the general interest." ("Collection of Hai Rui's Works," p 117) That was to say, the honest officials attacked the bullies to a certain extent but were not deadly enemies of the bullies. Marx said: "Hypocritical liberalism is often expressed in this way: When forced to make concessions, it sacrifices its tool--man--and preserves the essence of the matter--the existing system. Thus, it diverts public attention." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 5) During the times of feudal autocracy, before hypocritical liberalism came into being and when the public was more stupid and feeble, honest officials could easily preserve the essence of a matter by punishing one or two bullies or corrupt officials. For this reason, those who unanalytically praise honest officials for attacking bullies and

ridding the people of a scourge are far from getting to the heart of the matter.

For the above reasons, we object to use of the expression "honest official," a concept which cannot reflect the essence of the question, to praise some feudal officials. In our opinion, a scientific concept for appraising historical personages can be obtained only by considering what the historical conditions were, the social status they held and the role they played in resolving concrete contradictions. Those who were called honest officials should be appraised according to the historical environments in which they lived and the nature and magnitude of their contributions.

## II. The Soil Engendering Honest Officials and the Feudal, Autocratic Nature of the Honest Official Ideology

By saying that the expression "honest official" is not a scientific concept in appraising historical personages, we do not mean that there were no officials worthy of the name of "honest official" and that previously the honest official ideology did not exist. The distinctions between "honest" and "corrupt" officials and between "good" and "bad" officials came into being along with the appointment of officials. Books and records of the times before the Qin Dynasty carried different expressions to describe officials, such as "law-abiding officials," "law-bending officials," "good officials" and "wicked officials," and different expressions to describe a ruler's ministers, such as "docile ministers," "flattering ministers," "loyal ministers," "usurping ministers," "traitorous ministers," "remonstrative ministers," "argumentative ministers," "censorious ministers," "meritorious ministers" and "virtuous ministers." After the Han Dynasty the expressions "honest," "honest and upright" and "clean" were used frequently to praise officials. For example, Dong Xuan, Diwu Lun and Zhou Ju of the Later Han Dynasty, Wei Shu, He Xun, Hu Wei and his son of the Jin Dynasty, Fan Xiu of the epoch of the Southern Dynasties and Li Huaiyuan of the Tang Dynasty were known for their honesty and uprightness. Honest officials proliferated after the Song Dynasty.

What we now need to study profoundly is: What kind of soil engendered people like the honest officials? What was the nature of the honest official ideology? How should this idea be appraised?

The honest officials, as the term suggests, were a group of officials. They were not rare in each of the past dynasties. This would suggest that the emergence of honest officials was not fortuitous but was determined by necessity. What was the necessity? Some comrades formerly tried to determine the root causes for the honest officials by going into the contradiction between the "legal rights" and "customary rights" of the feudal landlord class. They showed sound judgment in their explanations. (Xing Yu: "On 'Honest Officials,'" carried by RENMIN RIBAO 29 May 1964) However, these root causes have to be further traced from the economic relations and the functions of a feudal country.

To maintain and strengthen their rule, the exploiting classes must give the people under their rule the minimum conditions of subsistence. Expressed in terms of the Marxist theory of political economics, these conditions mean giving the laborers



the necessary products of their labor. Xun Zi said: "The king can be likened to a boat; the people can be likened to water." ("King's Decrees" in "Xun Zi") If the ruling class allows the laborers to have the necessary conditions for their subsistence, the boat will not capsize in the water. Otherwise, waves will arise from the water to sink the boat. Political tactics and lulling the people's thinking are not the fundamental means of maintaining a balanced relationship between the water and the boat and of preventing the boat from capsizing. The basic requirements for maintaining this situation are that the laborers must retain the necessary products of their labor and that the ruling class must limit its exploitation to the surplus products of the laborers or a little more than that. This relationship between the boat and the water can be called the safety mark for the boat (the exploiting class) and the subsistence mark for the water (the exploited people). However, the exploiters are insatiably avaricious. They are never satisfied with grabbing the surplus products of the laborers. They even want to deprive the laborers of the necessary products of their labor and adopt the policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Thus, the laborers' living standard sinks below the subsistence mark. When the "water" becomes turbulent, the "boat" is no longer safe and may even capsize.

However, not all rulers are fools and recklessly adopt the policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. To safeguard the long-term interests of the exploiting class as a whole, some exploiters come forward to probe the question of how to maintain the balance between the boat and the water. In their own words, they want to create a situation in which "the ruler is content with his position and the people live and work in peace." Ancient Chinese statesmen and political thinkers might have been unaware of the necessary labor and surplus labor and their political meanings. But this objective fact forced them to probe this major problem which affected the existence of the ruling class and to balance both sides. Confucius said: "When there is sufficient food and sufficient military equipment, the people will have confidence in their government." ("Yan Yuan" in "Analects of Confucius") "To rule a country there must be reverent attention to business, sincerity in handling business, economy in expenditure, love for the people and employment of the people at the proper seasons." ("Xue Er" in "Analects of Confucius") "Economy should be practiced in funeral affairs." ("11th Year of Duke Ai" in "Zuo's Commentary") "Kindness helps the ruler employ the services of the people." ("Yang He" in "Analects of Confucius") He talked about how to maintain the balance between antagonistic classes. Mo Zi pointed out that the ruler should practice economy, be cautious in inflicting punishments on the people, feed the people who are hungry, give clothes to those who are cold and allow those who have worked hard to rest. Then there will be "harmony between the ruler and the people." ("Practicing Economy in Funeral Affairs, Part 2" in "Mo Zi") This question was pointed out more incisively in "Government and Social Order" by Guan Zi: "The earth's resources are exhaustible and people feel fatigued from hard work, but the ruler is insatiably avaricious. If the exhaustible and the fatigued are to feed the insatiably avaricious ruler without limits, the ruler and the people will be hostile to each other.... A country, though small, enjoys peace if its ruler takes from the people and employs them within certain limits. Whereas, a country, however large, will face danger if its ruler takes from the people and exploits them without limits." The "limits" mentioned here mean the demarcation between the amounts of surplus labor and necessary labor. Xun Zi advocated "making the country rich" and stressed "making the people well off." He held that if a country sought to enrich itself at the

expense of its people it would be in great danger when it really became rich. Similar statements were made by people of various dynasties. They were not fantasies but reflected a certain rule predominant in people's minds. This rule meant the line between necessary labor and surplus labor. It was the basis on which honest officials came into being. Historical study shows that most of the words and deeds of the honest officials reflected their attempts to balance this line of material gain.

The existence of honest officials was geared to the functions of a feudal country. To protect the rule of the landlord class, a feudal country relied mainly on violence. However, the landlords had learned from experience that excessive violence and exploitation were the root causes of disaster. After summing up historical experience and lessons, they came to the conclusion that a government crumbled when it lost the people's support. Some farsighted people of the ruling class pointed out that to consolidate its political power the ruling class should not only be "fierce" but also be "lenient" and should combine fierceness with leniency. "Leniency" meant carrying out the policies and measures needed to mitigate class contradictions. The honest officials were the officials who came forward to perform the duty of mitigators for the state.

Another question which deserves to be pointed out is that the reputation of honest officials was, to a large degree, the result of propaganda carried out by the feudal ruling class. Generally the honest officials were unworthy of the title. A saying goes: "After serving 3 years at his post, a prefecture chief lines his pockets with 100,000 liang of silver." The Kangxi Emperor also said: "In judging whether an official is honest we should consider only the major aspects of his behavior. Zhang Penghe is an honest official. He was impeached when he was governor of Yanzhou Province. Zhang Bohang is also an honest official. He has published many books. A pretty sum of money is needed to publish a book. Where did he get this money? I do not want to go into these matters. The officials in charge of salt production in areas north and south of the Huai River sent gifts to their superiors. I am not unaware of that. I do not want to go into that matter either." ("Imperial Instructions of Shengzu, Emperor Ren of Qing Dynasty," Vol 46) Why did he "not go into the matter"? Because these unclean "honest officials" were very useful propaganda. They were described as representatives of mankind. This created an illusion among the suffering people: the administrative system is flawless. The question lies with man. People will not be wronged and bullied when there are "good officials" or "honest officials." This kind of propaganda transcending classes was more prominent after the Song Dynasty.

The honest officials during and before the Sui and Tang dynasties, such as Ximen Bao, Zhuge Liang and Wei Zheng, were known for their benevolence in handling administrative affairs. After the Song Dynasty, however, in drawing the political physiognomy and artistic features of the honest officials, people usually played up their fairness in executing the laws, their unselfishness in handling lawsuits, their lack of fear of the powerful and influential families and their willingness to plead for the people and redress unjust verdicts. Propaganda about the honest officials was carried to extremes, so much so that their stories became legends and their achievements in handling administrative affairs were neglected. Take the plays about Bao Zheng, for example. We have gone through more than 20 plays and novels about Bao Zheng, ranging from "Dream of the

Butterfly" by Guan Hanqing to "Two Butterflies" of the Qing Dynasty. Most of them tell about the judgment of lawsuits. One noteworthy point is that, with the exception of a few which talk about human relationships, most of these plays and novels give accounts of how Bao Zheng dealt with ghosts and deities. This shows that, as far as the artistic image is concerned, Bao Zheng was a supernatural being rather than an honest official, a man who had become a deity. This shift in the focus of propaganda demonstrates an important point, that is: After the Song Dynasty the ruling class publicized honest officials chiefly for the purpose of covering up the nature of its administrative system and disseminating a viewpoint that transcended class.

We do not deny that the peasants who worked as slaves under the feudal autocracy also trusted the honest officials and had high expectations of having their wrongs righted and their grievances redressed and of seeking their means of subsistence. Can this be taken as the basic origin of the honest official ideology? No. In our opinion, the peasants' trust in honest officials and the publicity about honest officials by the feudal landlord class are two different matters. The publicity about honest officials by the feudal landlord class was geared to the strengthening of its rule and was therefore an action which it took consciously. The peasants' trust in honest officials was a result of their being fettered by the feudal relations of production and poisoned by the landlord class and was therefore an expression of feebleness and inability. Peasant uprisings broke out on hundreds of occasions in our country. There were occasions when different groups of peasants joined forces. Generally the peasants lived within the framework of the natural economy, where they worked in scattered groups and supported themselves according to the feudal relations of production. This simple production was very weak in nature and could easily be trampled upon and destroyed by the ruling class. Although the policies and measures adopted by the honest officials were aimed at insuring the safety of the ruling class, they brought the peasants from the verge of death to the subsistence level, so that the peasants were satisfied with them to a certain degree. Therefore, the honest officials were praised by the landlords and the peasants. The landlords praised them for their contributions to settling political crises. The peasants praised them because they obtained through them the conditions of subsistence, although as slaves. These two kinds of praise were different in essence.

During feudal times the overstuffed bureaucratic apparatus, the draconian criminal laws and the massive army tightly fettered the peasants. Corrupt officials ran wild, and the bureaucrats protected one another, giving the peasants no choice. The images of honest officials loomed large in the minds of the peasants. This only showed that the peasants' hope for honest officials was a result of their being fettered by the feudal relations of production. It reflected the peasants' inability to master their fate under feudal economic and political oppression and was an unusual behavior of the peasants, who submitted themselves to the feudal public order.

During feudal times, because of the great difference in the possession of land and wealth, the peasants naturally cherished equalitarian ideas and opposed unequal distribution. The class-transcending honest official ideology was acceptable to the peasants because it tallied with their equalitarian ideas to a certain degree.

In our opinion, the honest official ideology was actually not an idea cherished by the peasants but a special expression of feudal, autocratic thinking. This is seen clearly in the plays about honest officials. The plays about Bao Zheng and Hai Rui have the same clearcut theme, describing the high-handedness of the corrupt officials and the dignity of the honest officials, underscored by the inability of the people, who were nobodies. Take, for example, "The Case of the Chalk Circle," a play of the Yuan Dynasty. When Zhang Haitang, the heroine, was wronged and jailed, she sang in despair: "I cry and cry, but heaven is too high above to hear me. How I look forward to the coming of an honest official." When she was released and came to Kaifeng, the capital, she chanced to meet Bao Zheng. Thanks to Bao Zheng's prestige and wisdom, her case was redressed. The moral of this play was: Just as an ass can only choose between a stick and a bundle of hay, one who is wronged can only choose between an honest and a corrupt official and there is no other way out for him.

Another expression of the close link between the honest official ideology and feudal autocracy was the honest officials' pleading for the people who placed their hopes in honest officials. The plays about honest officials might differ from one another in portraying the achievements of the honest officials in their work, but they invariably ended with the description of the people's obedience and gratefulness to the honest officials. The honest officials might have made great achievements in their work, but they never exceeded the limits of the feudal social order. The reason why Bao Zheng pleaded for the people was very simple: "The people are the foundation of the country. Revenues come from them, and the safety of the country lies with them." So he had to plead for them. ("Collection of Bao Zheng's Works," Vol 7) Hai Rui pleaded for the people because he opposed the policy of "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs." ("Collection of Hai Rui's Works," p 53) He Liangjun, Hai Rui's contemporary, explained the question very clearly: "Hai Rui did this for the people. Serving the people means serving the emperor." ("Notes by Si Yu Zhai," Vol 13) The purpose in giving publicity to the honest officials who pleaded for the people was to get the people to follow the government's instructions. Throughout feudal society, which lasted more than 2,000 years, no official who acted "against the will of the people" was called an honest official.

Pleading for the people reflected the fact that the people's fate was not in their own hands and that they could do nothing about their fate. The peasants begged for leniency, benevolence and sympathy from the honest officials, just as slaves begged for the same from their owners. The honest officials were "great" because they gave the peasants what they begged for. The honest officials' pleading for the people explained this principle: The people place their hopes in one man; one man can save the people; there is a savior in the world. This was exactly a portrayal of the tragic fate of the peasants. How can we condone the honest official ideology as cherished by peasants who could not master their own fate, could not envisage their own future and could only place their hopes in a "savior"? How can we regard it as a progressive idea? How can we take this outmoded idea--which is diametrically opposed to Marxism--as a Marxist viewpoint?

### III. Propagation of the Honest Official Ideology Has a Negative Effect

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," many comrades have written articles supporting honest officials and the honest official ideology. They hold that honest officials like Bao Zheng and Hai Rui are lacking in our socialist political arena. They call on cadres of the party and the state to prove themselves modern Bao Zhengs and Hai Ruis. In our opinion, they have misunderstood our actual life. It is true that the 10 years of catastrophe created by the "gang of four" brought about seriously unhealthy tendencies in our society. How are we to overcome these unhealthy tendencies? Should we hope for the emergence of one or two honest officials like Bao Zheng and Hai Rui, instead of applying the party's correct policies to gradually improve the socialist system? Bao Zheng and Hai Rui did some good deeds, but they were insignificant when compared with the hardships the peasants and other working people suffered under feudal oppression. During the times of feudal autocracy the rulers treated human life as if it were not worth a straw, and political, economic and cultural persecution could be found everywhere. Historical records show that the emperors killed millions upon millions of innocent people as they wished. Who would take an interest in this matter? Who would care to rehabilitate these people? This shows that there is a wide gap between the oppressed people's needs and the harsh reality. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," has our party not redressed millions of cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed? Which of the honest officials can be compared with it? Therefore, it is inappropriate either to expect our party to act like an honest official or to portray the party's leadership as honest officials.

The idea of becoming an honest official is also absurd theoretically. It is incompatible with the socialist thought which guides us and runs counter to our efforts to develop socialist democracy, to exercise collective leadership, to perfect the legal system and to emancipate the mind. It does not propagate the people's emancipation and strength, does not encourage the people to take their fate into their own hands and, in particular, does not say that the people are their own masters under the socialist system. Instead, it spreads blind faith in heroes and "saviors." Gone forever are the times when officials made decisions for the people. Why do we cherish the memory of the honest officials of feudal times? Of course, socialism is not anarchism. It needs "officials." But these "officials" must be elected democratically by us people and really speak for the people. They are servants of the people. Once an "official" goes against the interests of the people, the people have the right to dismiss him. They will not tolerate him or hope for the coming of an honest official as the people of feudal times did. During the socialist period the people are the real masters of the house. Therefore, any attempt to lead the people to place their hope in the coming of an honest official who will plead for them is incompatible with the spirit of our times.

Why should some comrades today keep praising honest officials and the honest official ideology? In our opinion, this situation is inseparable from the conditions of our country. In our country, feudal society was predominant for a long period of time, and the socialist society was born out of the historical conditions of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Here we will not go into the economic conditions caused by the underdevelopment of the productive forces. Take

the influence of traditions alone, for example. Many things characteristic of feudal autocracy inevitably exist in varying degrees in all spheres of social life. Under given conditions they may spread unchecked and create a disaster. They find expression in such things as life tenure of office, patriarchal behavior, rule by the voice of one man alone, the privilege mentality, nepotism, bureaucracy and modern fetishes. Poisoned by these feudal things, we have often failed to distinguish between feudalism, capitalism and socialism. We have sometimes mistaken some feudalist ideas as correct and erroneous things as scientific and publicized them. The modern fetishes which we have been upholding over the past few years are strong evidence of this. In our opinion, taking the honest official ideology as a progressive, correct idea is also an example.

Some people may say: You should see how people love to see the plays about honest officials and how they long for the emergence of a greater number of honest officials in real life! Yes, we have noticed this fact. However, can this be taken as evidence of the real significance of the honest official ideology? No. On the contrary, we hold that the vestiges of feudalism still have widespread influence over the people and that the task of wiping out the pernicious influence of feudalism is still very heavy. We should work hard to completely wipe out these historical vestiges. It is entirely justifiable to eliminate the idea of entrusting fate to the hands of an honest official. First, an ideology similar to that of the honest official ideology of feudal China also existed during the Middle Ages in the West. However, this ideology is no longer prominent or prevalent in capitalist countries where the revolution has been carried out thoroughly. Why, may we ask, is the proletariat incapable of achieving what the bourgeoisie has achieved? Second, we have Marxist thinking as our guide. A basic Marxist viewpoint is that the people are makers of history. It is impermissible to adopt the method of setting off the greatness of an individual by putting it in bold relief against the stupidity, backwardness and inability of the masses. Is there any reason why we should not wipe out this idea of letting the honest officials make history? Is there no useful weapon in the arsenal of Marxist theories so that we have to seek help from the honest official ideology? We should know that we will be in a really deplorable state if we just sit and wait for a hero to come and save mankind.

In our opinion, when we stage an old play about an honest official, if we do not induce the people to see the root causes, limitations and dangers of this historical phenomenon and to negate this play by elevating it to a higher theoretical plane, and if we just confine ourselves to this feudal thinking and simply call for rehabilitating the honest officials, our theoretical work will lose its fighting power. News has it that "County Chief Tang Examines the Imperial Mandate," a Henan opera, has aroused the interest of the audience. Tang Cheng, the county chief, has this motto for himself as an official: "If I do not speak for the people, I had better be a potatomonger." Although he thought that he "spoke for the people," he did not put an insurmountable barrier between an official and a potatomonger. He deserves praise for cherishing this idea despite the predominance of autocratic thinking. However, his motto has not gone beyond the bounds of autocracy and therefore should not be regarded as a democratic idea. Only when his motto is changed to read "If I do not serve the people, I must go home and be a potatomonger" will it approach our principle. Of course, we are not asking him to change his motto. We just take this as an example to distinguish between the honest official ideology and socialist democratic thinking.

In conclusion, we want to say that we do not mean to oppose plays about honest officials. As a historical legacy, plays about honest officials which have positive meaning may be staged at any time, just as plays about ghosts and deities which have positive meaning are staged today. People may appreciate a play according to the characteristics of the time in which they live and according to their level of understanding. We simply say that, theoretically, the expression "honest official" is not a scientific concept to be adopted in appraising historical personages, the honest official ideology is not a progressive ideology and publicizing this ideology in real life has a negative effect.

CSO: 4004

## THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN FEUDAL SOCIETY

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[Article by Zheng Changgan [6774 2490 3227]]

[Text] The patriarchal system permeated the entire feudal society. Its characteristic features were: Members of the feudal ruling class, from the emperor down to the bureaucrats, used their power to allow their relatives and members of the same clan to enjoy special political and economic privileges, mainly in the forms of conferring titles of nobility, appointment as officials, award of property and exemption from taxes and corvee. These privileges were often hereditary. The various dynasties formulated a series of institutions to protect these privileges. The patriarchal system had a history of several thousand years in our country. Precisely because it had a long history, it has become an obstinate, traditional force of habit with far-reaching influence. Although we have abolished the feudal system of land ownership and overthrown the landlord class, and although the patriarchal system no longer exists as a political system, the concept of clan and relationships deriving from this system still exert their influence in many aspects.

### I

In our country a relatively comprehensive patriarchal system was developed during the Western Zhou Dynasty. After Wu Wang Keshang and the Duke of Zhou had conquered the east, they occupied vast territories in the east. The rulers of the Zhou Dynasty believed that only their relatives were reliable forces in maintaining the rule of the Zhou Dynasty. Therefore, they continuously conferred titles of nobility on their sons and younger brothers so that they could build vassal states in the east, rule the inhabitants of the newly occupied territories and join in efforts to protect the Zhou court. This was called "establishing feudal princes to shield the imperial court." ("The Fourth Year of Duke Ding" in "Zuo Commentary") According to incomplete statistics, vassal states established during the early period of the Zhou Dynasty numbered 71, 53 of which were ruled by nobles of the Ji clan. Xun Zi said: All descendants of the Zhou Dynasty, unless they were insane or idiots, became prominent princes. ("Chapter on the Effects of Confucianism" in "Works of Xun Zi") These princes, in turn, appointed their sons and younger brothers as high ministers or ministers and granted them "property allotments," land or slaves. The titles of nobility were hereditary, and the rule of primogeniture was applied in inheritance. Other sons and younger brothers could also obtain high positions and property through the system of



"grants." Therefore, the patriarchal system, termed the system of "being intimate with those who are one's close relatives," "respecting those who are revered" and "honoring those who are noble," was actually a system which regulated the inheritance and distribution of positions, power and property among the nobility. Its purpose was to maintain the special privileges of the nobility.

After the Period of the Warring States, the traditional system of clans and nobility declined. However, the patriarchal system was not abolished, because the rising aristocracy and nobility also needed it as a means to safeguard their political status and power. Liu Bang originated from a peasant family. After he became emperor, he believed that the territory he had conquered belonged to the Liu family. Therefore, he appointed many of his sons and nephews as princes to partake of this family property, and he even declared that people with a different surname could not become a prince. His purpose was none other than to use this as a means of consolidating the political power of his clan. Subsequently, this system remained basically unchanged throughout the Wei Jin Dynasty, the Northern and Southern dynasties, and the Sui, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

Zhu Yuanzhang originated from a peasant family. After he became emperor, he also thought that the empire was the property of the Zhu family. He appointed his sons as princes of the first order. The princes enjoyed not only great economic special privileges, but also great political and military power within their domains. Although the princes were prohibited from interfering in administration after the establishment of the Chengzu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, their special privileges continued. For instance, the position of the prince of the first order was hereditary and based on the rule of primogeniture. Other sons and descendants were appointed as princes of the second order and to various positions of nobility, such as Zhenguo Jiangjun, Fuguo Jiangjun, Fengguo Jiangjun, Zhenguo Zhongwei, Fufuo Zhongwei and Fengguo Zhongwei. They received extremely high salaries. During the early Ming Dynasty, princes of the first order were granted not only farmland but also "grazing land." They grabbed thousands of qing of land from civilians. After the middle of the Ming Dynasty, grants to princes of the first order grew even more. For example, the son of the Shizong Emperor, Prince Jing, and the son of the Shenzong Emperor, Prince Fu, were given up to 40,000 qing of land. ("History of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 120) Aside from land grants, they were also given "rice grants." From the prince of the first order to the Fengguo Zhongwei, each were given 10,000 to 200 dan of rice each year.

The Qing Dynasty continued to enforce the patriarchal system. Descendants of the nobility were appointed as princes of the first and the second order, Beile, Beizi.... They enjoyed even greater privileges. When the Empress Dowager Cixi signed the humiliating treaty of 1900 between China and the eight-power allied forces, she shamelessly remarked: "I would rather give to foreigners than to domestic servants." She indeed looked at China as the private property of the family of the Qing emperor.

From the Zhou to the Qing Dynasty, the feudal rulers appointed civil and military officials and most of their in-laws as princes and made their positions hereditary in order to consolidate their "family rule." This was an extension of the patriarchal system. The system of appointing princes during the Western Zhou

Dynasty was not limited to the clan of the emperor. It was extended to nobles of other clans. Members of the Jiang clan, who became the in-laws of the Ji clan and formed a military alliance with it, were appointed as princes of the states of Qi, Lu, Shen, Xu and others. During the early Zhou Dynasty, those who rendered meritorious military service were also appointed as ministers. For example, the Han, Zhao and Wei clans of the state of Jin did not belong to the same clan as the prince of Jin.

The appointment of in-laws as princes was most widespread during the Western and Eastern Han dynasties, and the damage brought about by in-laws of the emperor was worst during that period. During the early Western Han Dynasty, there was the autocracy of the Lu clan. By the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Wang Mang usurped the power of the emperor. Beginning with the reign of the Hedi Emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the entire Eastern Han Dynasty was characterized by autocratic rule alternating between the in-laws of the emperor and the eunuchs.

From the Wei Jin Dynasty to the early Tang Dynasty, the nobilities and prominent families in power gave great prominence to the feudal patriarchal system. During the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, both the political status and privileges of the royal family, the in-laws and officials who were appointed for meritorious service were weakened, but these were strengthened again during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Although there was no problem of in-laws wreaking havoc during the Ming Dynasty, there were a great number of people who were conferred titles of nobility. They occupied lands and enjoyed great privileges. The Taizu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty executed a number of officials who had been appointed because of meritorious service, but those who remained, such as the duke of Wei, Xu Da, the duke of Zheng, Chang Yuchun, the duke of Xin, Tang He, the duke of Wei, Deng Yu, the Chengyi earl, Liu Ji, and the Xiping marquis, Mu Ying (although they rose and fell) all enjoyed hereditary titles of nobility until the fall of the Ming Dynasty. During the Ming Dynasty, even the positions of middle- and low-ranking military officers, from commandant to petty officers like Qiansui or Baisui, were hereditary. This system was changed only in the latter part of the Ming Dynasty.

## II

After our country was unified during the Qin and Han dynasties, a political system which combined autocracy and bureaucratism was enforced over a very long period of time. It was not enough to rely on a handful of nobles for the unified dynasty to rule a vast territory with a large population. A large number of bureaucrats at various levels were also necessary. Therefore, the patriarchal system inevitably permeated a bureaucratic system. The most important evidence of this was that when an official reached a certain rank his consanguineous relatives, such as father, grandfather, mother, wife and children, could enjoy the same privileges as he could. Two situations were possible:

First, the appointment of sons. During the Han Dynasty, an official who reached the rank wherein he received 2,000 dan of rice or more as salary could recommend one son as senior secretary. During the Tang Dynasty, sons or younger brothers of an official with a rank higher than third grade could be recommended to attend the Imperial Academy of Learning, not long after which they could fill vacancies

in the bureaucracy. The system of "benefiting the son" was even more rampant during the Song Dynasty. High officials in power not only could help their sons and grandsons to become officials, but could even do so for their relatives and their hangers-on. They could recommend as many as eight or nine people at one time. Regulations during the Ming Dynasty provided that officials of a rank higher than seventh grade could help their sons and grandsons to become officials. "Officials of the full first grade could name their sons as officials of the full fifth grade." Those of second grade could name their sons as sixth-grade officials, and so on and so forth. Grandsons could be recommended for positions one grade lower than sons. ("Informal Talks on the Early Years of the State" in "The Yehuo Compilations on the Wanli Years") Later, because there were too many officials, this system was restricted. Sons were usually recommended to be "government scholars" or secretaries of the council, not long after which they could fill official vacancies. During the Qing Dynasty, officials stationed in the capital of Manchu or Han descent who had reached the rank of fourth grade and officials in the localities who had reached the rank of third grade could send one son to the Imperial Academy of Learning as "honorary students." After passing an examination they could also become officials. The Imperial Academy of Learning, the Imperial College and the Imperial Academy during the Tang, Song and Ming dynasties became schools for descendants of nobles and bureaucrats. Actually, they were preparatory classes for bureaucrats. Even if descendants of bureaucrats did not become officials through the influence of their parents, they were still "noble sons" and "young lords." Their status was definitely different from that of the ordinary civilian. Some capitalized on the influence of their fathers to commit all kinds of outrages, while local officials usually protected their fellow officials and shut their eyes to such evildoings.

Second, after officials rose to a certain rank they could request "conferments or grants" for their fathers, grandfathers, mothers and wives. This practice started during the Tang and Song dynasties and was most widely engaged in during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Fathers and grandfathers could be conferred the title of high minister or senior board secretary, and mothers and wives could be conferred the title of lady of the first rank or lady, depending on the rank of the official in question. Although these were only honorary titles, they indicated the special status, position and privileges of the titleholders. This was what was meant by the saying "mothers rose in status because of their sons," "wives rose in status because of their husbands" and sons became noble when their fathers held a high position. Indeed, the situation was such that when one person became an official his relatives rose in position with him. Some high-ranking bureaucrats also built ancestral halls and composed clan genealogical registers to "glorify their ancestors."

Furthermore, nobles and bureaucrats and their consanguineous relatives--fathers, grandfathers, mothers, wives, sons and grandsons--had the special legal privilege of commutation of prison sentence or even exemption from penalty. The "law of the Tang Dynasty" included the so-called "eight grounds of privilege": When officials above the fifth rank committed a crime punishable by death, the emperor was the one to pass judgment. Penalties for officials of the sixth and seventh rank who had committed crimes punishable by exile could be commuted by one degree. This privilege of officials above the fifth rank also "extended to their grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters, wives, sons and grandsons."

If these relatives committed crimes less serious than those punishable by exile, their penalty could be commuted by one degree. Even concubines of officials above the fifth rank enjoyed the privilege of atoning for a crime less serious than one punishable by exile. ("Explanations of the Laws of Tang," Vol 22) During the Song Dynasty, "the legal system followed that of Tang, and it could be changed any time." It also followed the spirit of "penalty must not apply to the gentry" begun during the Zhou Dynasty. When "descendants of the royal family committed a crime," they were only to be "reprimanded as a sign of humiliation," and penalties were not to be applied. When high officials committed crimes, there were usually only investigations, and they were not punished. Furthermore, both incumbent and retired officials were only punished by dismissals or "returned to civilian life" at most and were never sentenced. Even if their crimes were punishable by exile, they were "exempted from flogging and tattooing on the forehead." ("Chronicle of Criminal Laws" in "History of the Song Dynasty") Members of the "eight banners" during the Qing Dynasty enjoyed even greater privileges. When a bannerman violated the law, he was not imprisoned in department and district jails but was put in "vacant quarters of the imperial clan court" or the "detention halls of the department of the imperial household." ("Qing Hui Dian") The severity of punishment also varied depending on the person. One rule said that "prisoners guilty of serious crimes must be tattooed. Bannermen are to be tattooed on the arm, while ordinary people are to be tattooed on the face." "Bannermen are punished by wearing a cangue for 1 month and receiving 100 lashes, while ordinary people are punished by being flogged 100 times and exiled to a distance of 3,000 li for engaging in illegal trade." ("Qing Tong Dian") This was because the eight banners of Manchuria had traditional clan relations with the emperor.

### III

What we have just discussed above was the political manifestations of the patriarchal system. On the other hand, the patriarchal system also penetrated various aspects of social life. Therefore, it had quite a broad social base.

The prominent families and nobilities were very keen on status and social position in order to maintain their special political and social positions. Even the marriage of their children had to be between families of equal social position. After the Eastern Han Dynasty, prominent noble families occupied a greatly superior political position. They not only oppressed the peasants but also bullied landlords of ordinary families. For instance, because he came from an "obscure family" and "his ancestors were not of exemplary origin," famous Eastern Han thinker Wang Chong was discriminated against and even ridiculed during his "career as an official." He greatly resented this and sharply criticized the practice. He said: "No bird is born a phoenix, no beast is by origin a unicorn." "The rich might not always be wise, the poor might not always be ignorant." Those who were low in position and status might not be so because they were wanting in ability. During his lifetime he made friends regardless of their "lowly" social status, as long as their behavior was noble and unconventionally graceful. ("Chapter on Self-Discipline" in "Lun Heng") Thus, we can see that the reactionary theory of blood lineage could stifle many really talented people.

Prominent families and nobilities during the Eastern Jin Dynasty and the Northern and Southern dynasties were even more despotic. They claimed that they were of noble descent, composed clan registers and discriminated against the "poor families" and "obscure clans." "Even those people who came from obscure families and worked hard to gain an important position in government dared not compare themselves with those from the prominent families." ("Random Notes on the 22 Books of History") Yuan Can looked down on the Xiaowu Emperor of the Song Dynasty. He once "ridiculed him for coming from an obscure family." ("The Biography of Yuan Can" in "History of the Song Period") During the Song period of the Southern dynasties, Xiao Daocheng was appointed as Sanqi imperial assistant, Zhonglingjun commander in chief and Zhenjun general and conferred the title of duke. His position was indeed very high. Yet when he wrote to people like Yuan Can he referred to himself as "your subordinate, an ordinary person." Later he became the first emperor of the Qi period of the Southern dynasties. In his last will and testament he still said: "I was originally from an obscure family. I never thought that I could reach a position as high as that which I am occupying." ("History of the Qi Period" in "Imperial Chronicles") Ji Sengzhen, a favorite official of the Wudi Emperor of Liang, asked to be among the ranks of the gentry. The emperor answered that Jiang Xiao and Xie Yue were the people who could decide this. Ji went to see Jiang. Jiang refused to sit with him. ("Biography of Jiang Xiao" in "History of the Southern Dynasties") Hou Jing led a great army to go over to the side of Liang during the Southern dynasties. He wanted to marry women from the Wang and Xie clans. The Wudi Emperor answered: "The Wang and Xie clans are of too high a status. They are not your equals. I can inquire about families below the status of the Zhu and the Zhang clans." ("Biography of Hou Jing" in "History of the Southern Dynasties") The Wang and Xie families were descendants of Wang Dao (an official credited with the founding of the Eastern Jin Dynasty) and Xie An (who was the commander in the battle of Feishui River). They were first-class prominent families south of the Yangtze River at that time. Hou Jing was not equal to them.

The Northern dynasties also attached great importance to prominent families and nobilities. Families of equal social position were required in marriage. This practice continued until the Tang Dynasty. Seven clans and 10 families composed of the Li clan of Longxi, the Wang clan of Taiyuan, the Zheng clan of Xingyang, the Lu clan of Fanyang, the Cui clan of Qinghe and the Li clan of Zhaojun inter-married for a long period of time. All six daughters of Prime Minister Li Linfu married descendants of noble families. During the Tang Dynasty, Yuan Zhen wrote the "Hui Zhen Ji" (the title was changed to "Xi Xiang Ji" or "Story of the West Chamber" during the Yuan Dynasty). In that story, Cui Yingying's mother reneges on the marriage plans for her daughter because the Cui family was a prominent clan in the north at that time and she did not want to marry her daughter off to a poor scholar. This resulted in the ill-fated lovers' being unable to get married. After the Song Dynasty, this tendency died down to a certain degree, yet it became rampant again during the Ming and Qing dynasties. This resulted in many tragedies due to forced or unhappy marriages.

Since the Han Dynasty, the practice of several generations living under one roof and members of a clan living together had been on the rise. The concepts of "rank and position," "family lineage" and "having common ancestors" were given more and more importance. Within one family or clan, patriarchal relations were

maintained. This type of patriarchal family extended the patriarchal system to every aspect of relationships within the clan. This became the deep-rooted foundation of feudal rule which was carried on until the modern period. Since the Song Dynasty, this patriarchal system had been advocated by the idealist Confucian philosophers and was greatly developed. A patriarchal ideological framework embodying the powers of the clan developed. The husband and the gods merged with political power. Idealist Confucian philosopher Zhang Zai of the Northern Song Dynasty advocated "the formulation of a law of the imperial clan" "in order to restrain the hearts of the people, bring the clans under control and popularize good customs." ("Complete Works of Zhang Zi" in "Ancestral Laws") Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Wang Yangming and others all advocated similar things.

Patriarchal families were all subjected to the strict restrictions of the patriarchal mode of relationships within the clan. The clans usually had common properties. These properties were actually controlled, monopolized or even usurped by the powerful bureaucrats and landlords in the clan. Clan elders often used clan rules and family regulations to oppress peasants of the same clan and bully the "obscure families" (or "miscellaneous clans") in the same or neighboring village. They relied on their power to bully orphans and widows in the clan or to grab property, engage in trading of women or arrange marriages. They even had the power to execute members of the clan who violated clan rules, and this power was protected by the feudal rulers. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: The four authorities—clan, political, religious and masculine—are "the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants." ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") This patriarchal structure of clan relations had an impeding influence on social progress.

From the above discussion it is clear that the patriarchal system and concept in feudal society was the system wherein inheritance of privileges was perpetuated in accordance with the closeness of consanguineous relationships; wherein social position was extremely important in contracting marriage; wherein the evil tendency by those in high places to exert influence on those beneath them was rampant and people in high places supported each other; and wherein political power and influence was used by officials to protect each other. The result was nepotism in appointing officials and the stifling of many really talented people. It also led to increasing corruption in feudal politics. Families of nobles and bureaucrats inevitably used their power to enforce despotic rule in their villages and to oppress the ordinary people, plunging the people into great misery. It had an extremely grave effect on the politics and society in our country for thousands of years. Its pernicious influence has not been eliminated. People must be concerned with this problem and strive to overcome it.

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## ON THE DECADENCE OF CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

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[Article by Qiu Qihua [0092 2796 5478]]

[Text] In his treatise "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin pointed out that imperialism was decayed and rotten capitalism. The subsequent development of capitalism proved that Lenin was entirely correct. However, after World War II and in the 1950's and 1960's, production and technology in the principal capitalist countries progressed rapidly. Economists among capitalist circles then claimed that Lenin's diagnosis of the decadence of imperialism was a thing of the past. Even certain comrades among us were likewise skeptical and thought that contemporary capitalism was "decaying but not yet rotten." In my opinion, this view was not justified.

The decadence of imperialism which Lenin mentioned encompassed many aspects. Stagnation in production and in technological development was but one of its maladies. Since people are now paying attention to this problem, this article is intended to study it seriously and to comment on other related problems as well.

The reason for this skepticism on the part of certain of our comrades is that they misinterpreted the decadence of capitalism as meaning that capitalism could not develop rapidly. Hence, when capitalism appeared to be developing rapidly, they were naturally inclined to negate its decadence. Unfortunately, this interpretation did not correspond to Lenin's original ideas. When Lenin discussed the decadent tendency of imperialism, he clearly pointed out: "It is erroneous to believe that this tendency toward decadence rules out the possibility of the rapid development of capitalism. No! In the period of imperialism, individual industrial departments, individual capital classes and strata and individual nations displayed, in varying degrees and on different occasions, one kind of tendency or another. In the main, the development of capitalism was much faster than before." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 842) Only in having a thorough understanding of Lenin's dialectics and overcoming the absolute metaphysical viewpoint on this problem can we avoid being confused by this temporary phenomenon of capitalism's rapid development, and only then can we truly understand the decadence of contemporary capitalism. For this reason, I believe that we should correctly grasp the following two theories of historical materialism:

First, in the contradictory but unified composition of production relations and the productive forces, the productive forces are the principal part of the contradiction and play the decisive role. They are the most revolutionary and most active factor in production. They are forever developing. Due to many factors, the development of production and technology tends to accelerate. These factors are: Man's increasing accumulation of knowledge and knowhow in the course of production struggles and scientific experimentation and his increasingly penetrating understanding of the laws of nature and nature's development; the material tactics employed by man in his production struggles and in scientific experimentation, which are increasing in kind, quantity and efficiency; the increasing possibility of more and more accumulation due to the expanded scale of production and the rise in the productivity rate of labor, and so forth. The full development of such a tendency may perhaps be hindered by the production relations of monopolistic capitalism but cannot be eliminated altogether. It is erroneous to believe that, if production relations are suited to productive labor, then production and technology can develop and that, if they are not, production and technology cannot develop.

Second, on the question of the reaction of production relations to the productive forces, they must be supported by a dialectical viewpoint. Actually, it is not in accordance with reality to hold the viewpoint that, when capitalism is ascendant, production relations and the productive forces are completely suited to each other and that, when capitalism is on the wane, production relations and the productive forces are completely unsuited to each other. The real situation is that in a capitalist society production relations and the development of the productive forces may or may not be suited to each other. Hence, the reaction of production relations to the productive forces assumes a dual character, namely, to promote the development of the productive forces and also to impede their development. However, when capitalism is ascendant, production relations are suited to the development of the productive forces and play a major role in their development. On the other hand, when capitalism is on the wane, production relations are not suited to the development of the productive forces and likewise play a major role in hindering their development. For example, when capitalism is in the ascendant, free competition stimulates technological advancement. On the other hand, it is possible that, because of the capitalists' desire to safeguard technological secrets, the further progress of technology is impeded. The basic contradictions within capitalism at the time may not have been as serious as in the later stages, but they are already acute enough to cause the eruption of the economic crisis of overproduction. In the meantime, when capitalism is on the wane, while monopoly may cause the stagnation and decadence of production and technology, simultaneously it may promote their development. Lenin pointed out: "Monopoly can never rule out completely or for a prolonged period competition in the world market.... Obviously, the adoption of improved technology may lower production costs and increase profits, and this possibility is a factor which accelerates various changes." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 818) Lenin further pointed out: "Large banking corporations with vast amounts of capital funds can also employ hitherto inconceivable tactics to promote the advancement of technology." (Ibid., p 766) It can thus be seen that Lenin saw the dual character of the reaction of production relations to the productive forces. While emphatically pointing out the main role of production relations in impeding the productive forces in the imperialist period, at the same time he pointed out



the role of production relations in promoting the development of the productive forces.

An understanding of the above two theories of historical materialism helps in the analysis of the two trends of development in production and technology found in advanced capitalist nations after World War II. It helps to reveal the nature of the stagnation and decadence of capitalism against the background of the rapid development of capitalism.

The rapid increase in capitalist production over a certain period after World War II was indivisible from the scientific and technological revolution in the history of capitalism's development which took place during the period. The revolution was comprehensive in character. It comprised the entire front of natural science and the various domains of production technology and thus brought about enormous changes in the position of labor tools, laboring objects and man in the process of materialized production. In addition, this scientific and technological revolution assumed more and more the role of direct productive power, and the interval between scientific and technological invention and its practical application in production was greatly shortened. These special characteristics of the scientific and technological revolution made possible the rapid increase in production. As a matter of fact, after the war the speed of production development in the principal capitalist nations was still low compared with the vast potential provided by the scientific and technological revolution. It can thus be imagined that, if the special trend of the stagnation and decadence of imperialism were not prevalent, the speed of production development certainly would have been much faster.

After World War II, monopolistic capitalism developed to the stage of national monopolistic capitalism. As a matter of fact, national monopolistic capitalism is one stage of monopolistic capitalism, or rather, is part of the whole but has eroded in character. In this stage the production relations of monopolistic capitalism, which in effect grew out of the joining together of the monopoly capital of both the state and private individuals of the capitalist class, played a dominant role in the various phases of social and economic life in the advanced capitalist nations, and the adjustments and interferences in the economy exercised by the capitalist states, which were built on an economic foundation of national monopolistic capitalism, permeated to the various sectors of capitalist production as well as the various departments of the national economy and the various kinds of economic component units of the capitalist social structure (including the monopolistic sectors and nonmonopolistic sectors). This partial change in character of the production relations of monopolistic capitalism engendered twofold effects on productive labor. On the one hand, it symbolized the further socialization of capital relations, which provided room, though extremely limited, for the further development of productive power. On the other hand, it not only could not solve the basic contradictions of capitalism and other contradictions which capitalism had kept under control, but also further intensified these contradictions in the course of development and thereby aggravated the trend of stagnation and decadence of imperialism.

The chief manifestations of the promotional function which state monopolistic capitalist production relations exerted on productive power within a defined

period and defined area are as follows: The state's massive participation in scientific research, which promoted the development of science and technology; the state's interference in the economy, which makes possible the expansion of the capital accumulations of the society; the state's direct investments in newly established departments and in so-called "basic measures" which greatly promote economic growth; competition in the world market of monopolistic structures of various countries with the support of their respective governments, which provided vital force to pushing forward the progress of production and technology; the state's readjustment of the economy, including the "anticrisis" measures, strict adherence to planning and plans, militarization of the national economy, and so on and so forth. All the above stimulate the growth of the economy and to a certain degree ease the contradiction between production and consumption. In turn, they alleviate the market problems of capitalism and, within a stated period, reduce the severity of the periodic economic crises caused by overproduction, thereby enabling production to attain a more rapid growth within a stated period.

It was precisely the factors of the third scientific and technological revolution and the limited promotional role exercised in a limited period and within a limited sphere by national monopolistic capitalism that brought about the situation of rapid growth in production for a stated period in the principal capitalist nations after World War II. However, we must not allow this phenomenon to blind our eyes or to prevent us from perceiving that this type of production relations in national monopolistic capitalism fundamentally impedes the development of productive power and aggravates the trend of stagnation and decadence of production and technology under capitalism. Let us turn to the following:

1. Not only did the stagnation trend in technology caused by monopoly continue to exist, but there also appeared new special characteristics, namely, simultaneous with the progress in science and technology made by the relevant departments of arms production, science and technology in civilian production departments remained in a state of stagnation. Stalin once pointed out: "When new technology shows a sign of massive profits, capitalism salutes and embraces it; but when new technology no longer indicates such huge profits, capitalism will turn against it." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 569) Chasing after the maximum amount of profits impedes the extensive application of new technology in production. For example, for a rather prolonged period after World War II, because the advanced capitalist countries had managed to obtain petroleum supplies at a cheap price, scientific and technological research work on the development of coal resources and other energy resources fell behind. Certain technologies, though already invented, could not be extensively applied (take, for example, the peaceful use of atomic energy). In particular, under national monopolistic capitalism, the development of scientific research and the adoption of new technology were both connected with the large monopolistic organizations which had close relationships with the state and whose objective was to pursue the maximum amount of profits from monopoly. Such large monopolistic organs belonged mainly to the so-called military-industrial complex. It can thus be concluded that capitalist nations would customarily grant large amounts of scientific research funds to those departments related to arms production which could bring to the military-industrial complex large amounts of profits from monopoly. They would organize huge amounts of manpower and material resources

to help these departments to conduct their scientific research work and would, without compensation, turn over the results of the research to them for their use and adoption. They would also formulate various kinds of systems providing preferential treatment to these departments to use the new technology. By contrast, as for the scientific research work of those civilian production departments which could not produce especially large amounts of monopoly profits or which could not make use of the new technology, the state would give little or no support at all. I may cite the example of the United States to explain my point, because the United States has now become the center of scientific and technological development of the capitalist world, and although individual nations in individual sectors of research may have surpassed the United States, generally speaking the United States still occupies the leading position, and its scientific and technological development has immense effects on the entire capitalist world. In the United States, of the gross state appropriations for scientific research and invention, the proportion used on military objectives (including the Defense Department, Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration) was 91.6 percent in the 1954-1959 period and 75 percent in the 1966-1971 period. In the six departments related to arms production (including the manufacture of airplanes, guided missiles, electronic and communications equipment) the federal government was responsible for 58 percent of the total amount of funds expended on scientific research, discoveries and inventions during the period 1958-1969. During World War II the U.S. Government instituted a 5-year accelerated depreciation system applicable to military industrial departments. The system remained in force even after the end of the war and continued in effect until 1959. It insured that the monopolistic organs could rapidly renew their fixed assets, could put to use new technological achievements in timely fashion and thereby reaped huge profits. On the other hand, the investments of the U.S. Government in scientific research work conducted by civilian production departments were insignificant compared with its investments in munitions production departments. During the 1958-1969 period the government was responsible for but 6 percent of the total spent on scientific research and discovery work by seven civilian industrial departments (including petroleum extraction and processing, primary metals, food products, textiles and paper manufacture). As a result of the weak support from the government and impediments to the adoption of new technology, in which case priority was given to the monopolist group, in many of the civilian industrial departments in the United States the technological equipment became antiquated. Naturally, this is not meant to say that in these departments science and technology basically did not develop. What is meant is that their development was far behind the realm of possibility viewed from the progress of modern science and technology. It can be imagined that, if the expenditures devoted to scientific research in the arms production departments had been spent on the civilian production departments, the development of science and technology in general would certainly have been much faster than is the case today. But the interests of the military-industrial complex, which are closely related to those of the state, have impeded the scientific and technological progress of the civilian production departments. This is an important indication of national monopolistic capitalism's aggravating the trend of stagnation in production and technology.

2. The trend toward stagnating production had been in evidence all along. It was found while the tendency toward rapid development had the upper hand, but

since the trend toward speedy development could not last long, the stagnation trend ultimately gained the upper hand. Past experiences have verified the following: Even during the period from the end of World War II to the 1970's, when the tendency toward rapid development was evident, there were frequent eruptions of economic crises of overproduction among the principal capitalist states, and between 1973 and 1975 the most serious economic crisis of the capitalist world erupted. After this crisis the economies of the advanced capitalist states entered a period of either stagnation or a very slow pace of development. From 1973 to 1978 the average annual GNP growth rate of the advanced capitalist states was only 2.2 percent, or only one half of that in the 1960's. During the same period the annual growth rate of industrial output was only 1.3 percent; the unemployment rate increased by 100 percent compared with the 1960's, and the number of unemployed people rose to 17 million; there was a huge surplus of productive power, the equipment utilization rate was only 80 to 85 percent, and the equipment utilization rate in certain important departments (iron and steel, shipbuilding, petrochemical industry and textiles) was even much lower. This type of economic stagnation was in reality one form of slow depression. We may recall that between 1929 and 1933 the capitalist world experienced a particularly large economic crisis, followed by a prolonged period of depression. On the surface the situation in the 1970's was not as serious as that in the 1930's. However, in reality it was much more serious. This was because in the 1930's the economic crisis developed under conditions of a general type of monopoly capitalism, whereas the crisis and stagnation in the 1970's developed under conditions of national monopoly capitalism. The actual nature of the interference in the economy by capitalist nations was in the artificial use of national power to expand the market capacity or to depress production and thus to ease the sharp contradiction between production and the market. The mechanism whereby the state's adjustment measures kept the economic crisis from disrupting the productive power and thus forcefully eased the contradiction between production and the market increased the accumulation of the contradictions of production capacity exceeding the market capacity. This in turn created the conditions for the eruption of an economic crisis of even greater magnitude. Even after the crisis subsided, because of the massive surplus of productive power, the inability of the enterprises to operate at full capacity, and the insufficiency of fixed capital investments, production could not but become stagnant. The eruption of the serious economic crisis in 1973-1975 and the subsequent long-term business stagnation proved the bankruptcy of the state's measures to regulate the economy as well as the bankruptcy of the tenets of "Keynesianism." It also proved that under a capitalist production pattern the state's readjustment of the economy could not prevent the occurrence of serious economic crises and could not keep production from becoming stagnant. This inefficacy of the state's readjustment measures illustrates the aggravation of the decadence of capitalism under conditions of national monopoly capitalism.

3. Under conditions of national monopoly capitalism, certain phenomena never seen before took shape. These phenomena further illustrated the aggravation of the trend of stagnation and decadence already in existence under monopoly capitalism:

First, the steady and serious rise in commodity prices. The crises and stagnation of the 1970's developed under conditions of a steep rise in commodity prices. The rise in commodity prices differed from a rise of a short-term

duration which had occurred in individual periods in history and in individual nations. It was the result of the adoption by the states of the "currency inflation policy" of "Keynesianism" as an anticrisis measure. It had two special features never seen before, namely, regularity and huge magnitude (steep rise; increase reaching two-digit figures). The occurrence of this type of commodity inflation not only exposed the aggravation of capitalism's decadence but, since it was interwoven with the economic crisis and stagnation, also created a state of "sustained inflation" which rendered it all the more difficult for the state to break out of the crisis and stagnation. This was because these two forms of economic malady kept each other in check. Thus, in order to shake off the crisis and stagnation, it was necessary to carry out the policy of inflation as a stimulus to the economy. This further intensified the rise in commodity prices. Conversely, in order to check the rise in commodity prices, it was necessary to pursue a policy of retrenchment. This aggravated the state of stagnation and incited a new economic crisis. The appearance of "sustained inflation" is an obvious sign of the aggravation of the decadence of capitalism.

Second, a serious state of loan economy. The crises and stagnation in the 1970's developed under conditions of a loan economy. In the past, capitalist nations had never taken the floating of government loans as a long-term or regular financial measure, although corporations or individuals might resort to loans to a limited extent as a method of meeting urgent financial or livelihood needs. But under the conditions of national monopoly capitalism, raising loans either for the state or for the individual was an anticrisis measure. Both the federal government and individual states in the United States resorted to the floating of loans, while private companies also frequently borrowed money from the banks. At the same time, due to the prevalence of the practice of consumer credit and loans, the amount of consumer debt kept increasing. By the end of 1978 the total amount of public and private debt in the United States had reached \$3.9 trillion. Compared with the \$558 billion at the end of 1953, this represented a sixfold increase. Spending borrowed money is tantamount to expending future purchasing power in advance. Although it may temporarily expand current purchasing power and thus alleviate a crisis, it reduces future purchasing power and in this way deepens the contradiction between production and the market in future months or years and may ultimately bring about an economic crisis of even greater magnitude.

It can thus be seen that under conditions of national monopoly capitalism the trend toward stagnation and decadent production not only is not weakened but is deepened.

The decadence of contemporary capitalism is certainly not manifested only by the trend toward stagnation and decadence in production and technology. It is also shown in other directions, as follows:

First, the parasitic character of capitalism has deepened. In his book "Das Kapital," Marx pointed out: "With stock companies making their appearance, capitalists who hold executive functions become pure and simple managers, namely, controllers of others' money, whereas owners of capital become pure and simple owners only, namely, pure and simple money capitalists.... In this way the ownership of capital is completely separated from its functions in actual

reproduction, just as the functions in the hands of managers are completely separated from the ownership of capital." "A new category of financial aristocrats is thus born--a species of parasites, promoters, founders and so-called directors." ("Das Kapital," Vol 3, pp 493-494, 496) Monopoly capital enterprises today are generally managed by agents. Noting this stage of development, some economists among the capitalist class have made the statement that at the present moment the power of control over the enterprises is no longer in the hands of the capitalists but rather in the hands of a "technical structural stratum," that is to say, managers, researchers and technicians who possess specialized technical knowhow. They seemed to imply that the aim of capitalist production was no longer to seek the maximum amount of profits. In reality, this precisely revealed that big capital owners were completely divorced from the production process and had become parasitic financial aristocrats.

Second, the phenomenon of social labor being expended extravagantly is becoming more serious daily. First of all, the national economy is militarized. On the one hand, this meets the needs of the policy of aggression and the war policy. On the other, it is an important part of the measures of governments of the capitalist class, under conditions of monopoly capitalism, to keep in check the eruption of economic crises and to stimulate the economy. It is also one of their tactics to reap high profits from monopoly. The large amounts of manpower, material power and financial power thrown into arms production are all constituent portions of the labor of society, but the great proportion of the products which in their production have consumed much labor of the society do not enter into the reproduction process but are expended extravagantly.

Next, after World War II, advanced capitalist nations evolved the so-called "high-consumption" economy. "High consumption" was a slogan used by monopoly capitalists to confuse people's minds and to increase the sale of their goods so as to reap high profits from monopoly. In reality, "high consumption" represents an enormously extravagant use of the labor of society. This point has been admitted even by economists of the capitalist class of the United States. For example, Hansen said: "A massive portion of our production resources is wasted on needs which man artificially created. Motor vehicles with a body weight of 2 tons or more and equipped with engines of 3,300 horsepower [as published] are the standard transportation means of the individual--a typical situation seen on any American highway. This wastes not only materials and manpower but also important and limited energy resources. We are not turning out durable, high-quality products which are valued more and more with the passage of time. Instead, we are producing certain goods which we ourselves will not like and will reject before long--since the kaleidoscopic changes in taste of the society will soon condemn such articles as being out of date." (A. H. Hansen: "Economic Problems in the Sixth Decade of the 20th Century") This passage fully portrays the serious waste of labor of society in countries like the United States.

Next, in the contemporary national economies of advanced capitalist countries the ratio occupied by material production departments of industry and agriculture has declined, whereas the ratio occupied by nonproductive departments has increased heavily. Among the rising and expanding nonproductive departments, some may be considered essential to social reproduction and to the people's livelihood, but a rather large number are of the parasitic type, such as private

detective agencies, security guards, publishers of "yellow" papers and magazines, "recreational" trades of a questionable type, and so on. Manpower, material power and financial power expended on parasitic trades are useless and harmful to purposes of social reproduction and to the people's livelihood. Obviously they are a waste of the labor of society. At the same time, government bureaucratic organs are occupying an increasing amount of labor power. For example, the ratio of American Government personnel in the gross number of personnel under employment rose from one-twenty-fifth in the early part of the century to one-sixth at present. A rather large portion of this labor power represents an extravagant use of society's labor.

Third, the extent of the social crisis is deepening. The trend toward stagnation and decadence in the economy is further reflected in the upper stratum of the society and is manifested in decaying ideologies and cultural life. A serious social crisis is thus in the making. For example, in the United States and certain other advanced capitalist countries, gambling is prevalent, many people are drug addicts, crimes continue to increase, social morals are in very bad shape, spiritual life is lacking, religious and superstitious beliefs are rampant, and so on and so forth. Reports of this kind are constantly found in the papers, and we shall not enumerate them here.

Some economists of the capitalist class have already noted that the trend toward stagnation and decadence of contemporary capitalism is unavoidable, but due to their own capitalist stand they are unable to find a way out. The noted American economist Samuelson, in his dissertation entitled "World Economy at the End of This Century," submitted to the world conference of economists in August this year, had the following to say: "Sustained inflation is the inherent special characteristic of a mixed economy." By "mixed economy" I take him to mean, in substance, what we call "national monopoly capitalist economy." And what is the solution offered? In Samuelson's opinion, fascism would offer a solution. But he did not think fascism was a good thing. His dream was to make national monopoly capitalism perform better; that is to say, "while simultaneously maintaining the efficiency of the market mechanism, to retain and promote the humane character of a mixed economy." He then followed up with the admission that this would be utopia. However, he still claimed that "to seek in a rational way the achievement of this objective would be challenging to economists of this era." Clearly the logic behind his exposition was somewhat confusing. First, he admitted that it would be utopia and then suggested pursuing it. This kind of self-contradictory argumentation precisely illustrated the feelings of capitalist economists, who, facing the daily deepening decadence of capitalism, with its special feature of "sustained inflation," were unable to find a way out.

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## A TALK ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF CHINA'S MINERAL RESOURCES

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[Lecture on science and technology by Tu Guangchi [3205 0342 3589]]

[Text] Mineral deposits is a term referring to mineral resources in the earth's crust that can be utilized by the national economy. They are an important material base for the development of social production.

In this article we analyze the conditions of China's natural resources and the existing problems with the formation of mineral deposits and the characteristics of the geological development in China. We also put forward some proposals concerning the development of the mineral resources industry in our country.

### 1. The Formation of Mineral Deposits and Their Dispersion in Time and Space

Mineral deposits are a component part of the earth. Mineral products are composed of minerals, and minerals are composed of elements. The earth and celestial bodies of the solar system are composed of more than 100 elements of the same type. The elements of the solar system were formed about 5 to 5.8 billion years ago, and the earth and various celestial bodies of the solar system emerged about 4.6 billion years ago. The earth is divided into three layers. The thin crust of the outer layer, called the earth's crust, has a thickness ranging from several to 70 kilometers and has an average thickness of 33 kilometers. The large, thick layer in the middle, called the earth's mantle, has a thickness of about 2,900 kilometers. The inner layer is called the nucleus, and its radius is 3,470 kilometers. The earth's crust is made up mainly of basalt, granite and silt, and the earth's nucleus is composed mainly of metals such as iron and nickel. The composition of the earth's nucleus is a mixture of the compositions of the earth's crust and mantle. Apart from silicon, oxygen and aluminum, the content of iron, magnesium and nickel in the earth's nucleus is remarkably greater than that in the earth's crust.

In the primeval formation stage, the earth was a chaos which was not divided into layers as it is today. With the passage of time, heavy matter gradually sank and light matter floated to the top. It was after a long period of segregation that the earth's nucleus, mantle and crust took shape. According to our present knowledge, the earth's crust took shape about 3.8 billion years ago, although it was thin at that time. Over time the earth's crust became thicker and thicker.



Just at the time of or a little later than the initial formation of the solid earth's crust, the hydrosphere and aerosphere took shape, although the earth's atmosphere at that time was different from the present one. At that time the atmosphere contained a large amount of carbon dioxide, nitrogen, and so forth as a result of the eruption of volcanos but a meager amount of oxygen, which accounted for only several ten-thousandths of a part of the entire contents of the atmosphere. It was after the emergence of organisms as a result of photosynthesis that the amount of oxygen in the atmosphere gradually increased.

The term mineral deposits means that the amount of useful matter (metals and nonmetals) the deposits contain greatly exceeds that of the surrounding rocks and meets the requirements for utilization in industry and agriculture. Any stone we pick up at random may contain several thousandths or several hundredths of a part of iron, but it cannot be called iron ore. A stone can be called iron ore only when the iron it contains exceeds 30 percent. Therefore, the formation of a mineral is determined by geological elements which cause the content of metals or nonmetals to reach a certain percentage.

Mineral deposits are comprehensive products which resulted from varied geological activity over the past several million, several 10 million or several 100 million years. Some mineral beds were formed on the surface layer of the earth. In other words, metals and nonmetals which made up the minerals concentrated in the hydrosphere, aerosphere and biosphere of the outer layer were gradually turned into minerals. These kind of minerals are called exogenous mineral deposits and include oil, natural gas, coal, bauxite and salt as well as fairly large portions of iron, manganese, phosphorus, and so forth.

Some exogenous mineral deposits which are concentrated in low-lying catchpits are called sedimentary deposits. Sedimentary mineral deposits have comparatively pure sources, and their sedimentary segregation is carried out in accordance with gravity, solubility or particle size, so that some metals and nonmetals can be enriched tenfold or a hundredfold and become valuable mineral deposits. A considerable number of salt, iron and manganese mines were formed in such a way, such as China's Zigong salt mine, the Xuanlong iron mine, the Xiangtan manganese mine, and so forth. Another kind of exogenous mineral deposits is produced by weathering, and these deposits originally were general rocks or blowouts. After they were exposed to the earth's surface, some of their unstable and useless matter was gradually removed due to the protracted exposure to wind, rain and sun. However, some other stable and valuable metals, instead of being washed away, were enriched and turned into minerals. Some major rich iron and manganese mines in the world are deposits produced by weathering.

In the process of formation of some exogenous mineral deposits such as coal and oil, organisms played an important role. As for other exogenous mineral deposits, the enrichment was probably due to the metabolism of organisms. For example, some people believe that the formation of a considerable number of striped iron ores formed 2.5 billion years ago had something to do with iron bacteria. Other people think that the formation of a large number of manganese nodules on the seabed was also connected with organisms.

Some mineral deposits were formed inside the earth. The enrichment of metallogenetic elements is connected with the partial melting, crystallization and segregation of the earth's crust and mantle. These mineral deposits are called endogenetic deposits. For instance, the vanadium-titanium-magnet-bearing iron mine in Panzhihua originated from magma as a result of the partial melting of the inner part of the earth's crust and the upper part of the mantle. When magma became cool and crystallized, metal minerals which contained iron, titanium, vanadium, copper, cobalt and nickel sank because of their heavy gravity and were concentrated into minerals. Sometimes the partial melting, cooling and crystallization of the earth's crust can generate granite. The remaining fluid will be turned into wolfram, tin, niobium, tantalum and other light volatile flux and deposited in the cracks on the surface and around the granite. The well-known arterial wolfram mine in southern Jiangxi was formed in such a way. When the amount of volatile flux (water, fluorine and carbon dioxide) was excessive and the external conditions were stable, some large crystal pegmatite deposits were formed. Mineral deposits of lithium, beryllium, niobium, tantalum and muscovite in Altay, Xinjiang, are examples of pegmatite deposits. Some other endogenic mines were formed as a result of the melting of magma and the reaction of the remaining fluid on the adjoining rocks of the contact zones, such as the iron mine in Daye and the tin mine in Gejiu.

The formation process of some mineral deposits was more complicated, including both the endogenic process and epigenetic action. This resulted in mineral deposits of various origins. The first kind of these mineral deposits is called sedimentary metamorphic deposits. They were exogenous mineral deposits formed on the surface of the earth and were subsequently buried due to the movement of the earth's crust. They eventually became metamorphic mineral deposits under high temperature and pressure. Owing to recrystallization, they were turned into a new mineral association and structure. Striped magnetite deposits (Anshan-type iron mine) are sedimentary metamorphic deposits. The second kind includes some mineral deposits which were transformed (endogenic process) to a certain degree after sedimentation (epigenetic action), such as lead and zinc mines in Fankou, Guangdong Province. The third kind was originally exogenous sedimentary deposits which were repeatedly expanded because of endogenic magnetic assimilation, such as the Baiyun Ebo rare earth iron mine in Nei Monggol and the Ganshan manganese mine in Hunan. Some are epigenetic deposits, such as the Guanmenshan lead and zinc mine. A number of mineral deposits of various origins are eutaxic deposits. In other words, they are controlled by strata.

Exogenous mineral deposits and endogenic mineral deposits as well as mineral deposits of various origins basically account for the formation of mineral deposits and their enrichment forms. Now I would like to talk briefly about the origins of minerals.

Some sedimentary minerals accumulated in catchpits were formed due to protracted weathering and movement of the continent. Metallogenetic matters in the depths of the earth were moved to the surface of the earth and became mineral products because of vulcanism and the cracking of the earth's crust. Some metallogenetic matter, such as the elements of the chromium and platinum families, of diamonds, and so forth, probably originated in the earth's upper mantle. In addition, sedimentary strata might also produce major sedimentary matter.

The earth is evolving and so are mineral deposits. Different geological periods are marked by different geological characteristics. A number of mineral products were produced in certain specified periods but were rarely seen in other periods.

The so-called striped black iron deposits, such as those in China's Anshan, Benxi and eastern parts of Hebei Province, can be found throughout the world. They had already emerged about 3.8 billion years ago. Iron was probably brought to the surface of the earth from the depths after fierce vulcanism. Apart from iron mines, vulcanism also generated gold mines, which produce gold for us. Gold and iron were the earliest mineral products formed on the earth. They were already important mineral products even 2.5 to 3.8 billion years ago. Generally speaking, during the early period of the evolution of the earth the mineralization was comparatively simple.

About 2.2 billion years ago, sedimentary deposits which contained both gold and uranium emerged in Africa, Canada and some other areas. Gold and uranium were found in silicarenite. What was interesting was that mineral products of uranium and pyrite sulfides were in fragmental shapes. These minerals were very unstable on the surface of the earth and could easily be oxygenated and destroyed. However, they were moved a long way and buried in catchpits, because at that time oxygen in the atmosphere was subnormal. Due to the fact that the amount of oxygen in the atmosphere gradually increased, no such mineral deposits could be found in the subsequent geological periods. As time went on, mineralization became more and more complicated because of the thickening of the earth's crust, the repetition of magmatism, vulcanism, sedimentation and metamorphism, the growing amount of ionizing oxygen in the atmosphere and the existence and considerable reproduction of organisms.

For example, the number of striped black iron deposits dropped considerably, and they were replaced by red iron ores which contain more oxygen. About 2 billion years ago, oolitic sedimentary red iron deposits were found in China's Longxuan and in South Africa. About 1.6 to 1.7 billion years ago, copper ores in dolomite--Dongchuan-type copper ores--emerged in the eastern part of China's Yunnan Province and in Zaire. About 600 to 700 million years ago, large phosphorus mines were formed in China and the Soviet Union. Some of China's major bauxite mines took shape about 250 to 300 million years ago. Most of China's key salt mines were generated about 300 million years ago.

The above-mentioned examples explain the evolution of sedimentary deposits and sedimentary metamorphic deposits in geological history. Endogenic mineral deposits also evolved, although their evolution was not as marked as that of exogenous mineral deposits. For instance, wolfram and tin mines which are closely connected with granite were formed about 200 million years ago throughout the world, and 200 million years is only one-twenty-third of the age of the earth.

The evolution of mineral deposits shows that the dispersion of mineral deposits is uneven in terms of time and space, because the textures of the earth's crust and mantle are themselves uneven. As a result, the dispersion of minerals is not at all even. For instance, iron deposits are dispersed mainly in the southern part of Liaoning, the eastern part of Hebei and the western part of Sichuan, but

they are rarely found in the northwest and southern part of China. Wolfram and tin deposits are dispersed mainly in Hunan, Jiangxi, Guangdong, Guangxi and Yunnan provinces, but they are rarely found in north of the Changjiang River. Sedimentary phosphorus deposits are dispersed mainly in Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan, Hubei and north China, but they are rarely found in the northeast. It is safe to say that not a single mineral is evenly dispersed. Although the Soviet Union, whose land area is much larger than that of China, is rich in coal, iron, oil and natural gas resources, its wolfram, tin and antimony deposits are meager.

## 2. A General Survey of China's Mineral Resources

### (1) China Is Rich in Mineral Resources

After the liberation we achieved marked success in geological work. Deposits of 132 kinds of minerals have been verified to date. Ours is one of the few countries in the world which is abundant in a great variety of minerals and which has considerable deposits. We should be able to say that China is a country which is rich in mineral resources.

The reserves of more than 50 kinds of metals in China have been verified, with the deposits of wolfram, antimony, zinc, rare earths, lithium, and so forth ranking first in the world. The deposits of wolfram metals in China are more than three times greater than the total reserves of various countries in the world. The reserves of rare earths in China's Baiyun Ebo rare earth mines are four times larger than the total reserves of various countries in the world. China's deposits of antimony make up 44 percent of the world's total reserves, and its deposits of copper, tin, lead, iron, molybdenum, mercury, manganese, nickel, and so forth also rank first in the world.

The deposits of more than 70 kinds of nonmetal minerals have been verified, with the reserves of troilite, magnesite and boron ranking first and the reserves of phosphorus ranking second in the world.

### (2) We Should Adopt an Attitude of Dividing One Into Two To Deal With China's Mineral Resources

While recognizing the fact that China is a country rich in mineral resources, we should realize that there are some existing problems in our natural resources, and certain problems are very serious.

First, a fairly large number of our minerals are lean ores, and only a few of them are rich ores. China claims to have more than 40 billion tons of iron reserves, which are second only to those of the Soviet Union and Brazil. However, a larger number of our iron ores are lean ores with 30 percent tenor, and only a few of them are high-grade ores with 50 percent tenor. In addition, rich ores in our country are widely scattered, which is detrimental to their exploitation.

Such is also the case with our manganese ores, although their deposits rank third in the world.

The conditions of our copper ores are almost the same.

China's bauxite deposits rank fifth in the world, but they are mainly liquid bauxite, which contains a low percentage of aluminum and silicon and is difficult to smelt.

Second, China has a considerable number of associated minerals. Minerals in China are usually associated ones. In other words, several kinds of minerals are mixed together in ore bodies. It is a good thing to have associated minerals. However, they are difficult to sort out and smelt. For example, although China's reserve of vanadium leads the world, yet only 9 percent of its vanadium mines contain primarily vanadium, and the rest contain vanadium mixed in with other minerals. As a result, the recovery rate is very low.

Third, at present some minerals are relatively scarce in China.

Generally speaking, China is rich in mineral resources. However, some problems exist in the estimation of our mineral deposits and the percentage of rich ores. Calculating on a per capita basis, we find out that our mineral resources are not sufficient because ours is a populous nation.

### 3. A Discussion on Several Questions Concerning China's Mineral Resources

China's deposits of wolfram, tin, rare earths, lead, zinc, niobium, mercury, antimony, and so forth rank first or second in the world, but we have an extreme lack of rich iron resources. In the meantime, some other mineral resources are insufficient. This situation is attributable to various factors.

(1) First of all, we should admit that, although we have exerted considerable efforts in geological prospecting work since the liberation, more work has to be done in the eastern area, and there are a number of gaps in the western area. Only half of our geological map with a scale of 1:200,000—a basic and indispensable map for geological prospecting work—has been completed to date. The level of geological research in our country is not high enough, and a number of basic projects and comprehensive analyses must be speedily carried out. Some new technologies and methods must be imported and popularized. With the enhancement of the level of our geological research and geological prospecting work, I believe that we will discover more mineral resources. In a few years we might have a sufficient or even abundant supply of minerals which are now rare.

(2) As I mentioned above, the dispersion of natural resources in our country is uneven. This is also the case with diamond and chromite deposits. Take diamonds as an example. At present the industrially significant diamond deposits have only been found in some central and southern African countries such as South Africa and Zaire and in Soviet Siberia, but they have not been discovered in the whole of Europe, South and North America and Australia. The dispersion of chromite deposits also is not even. They are found mainly in South Africa, the Soviet Urals and the so-called Mediterranean areas (Albania, Turkey, Pakistan, China's Xizang, and so forth) but are rarely discovered in other areas. These two examples do not mean that diamond and chromite deposits cannot be or are rarely found in China because of their uneven spatial dispersion. Actually, they have been found in China, although their reserves are meager. More efforts

should be exerted in this work. Some favorable geological conditions and areas beneficial to the formation of diamond and chromite deposits exist in China. For instance, the rifts of Tanlu are beneficial to the formation of diamond deposits, and some suture line areas in Xizang and in the western part of Sichuan are beneficial to the formation of chromite deposits.

(3) China's characteristics of geological development determine the time and spatial dispersion of its mineral resources and affect to a great extent the reserves of various minerals.

Why does the southern part of China abound in nonferrous metals and rare metals?

The southeastern part of China is located in the western Pacific. About 80 to 190 million years ago, acute magmatism of granite occurred in this area, which brought a considerable number of wolfram, tin, molybdenum and tantalum deposits to south China, Thailand and Malaysia. Most certified rich wolfram and tin deposits in the world are located in these countries.

Describing a stubborn person, we often say that he has a granite-like skull. Actually, granite is very active. It has brought us a large number of minerals, such as wolfram, tin, molybdenum and tantalum, as well as some amounts of lead and zinc. In China, most lead and zinc are produced in eutaxic deposits. A number of carbonate-rich areas in China (northern part of Guangdong, western part of Hunan, Guizhou and Yunnan) are abundant in eutaxic deposits. The world's largest eutaxic antimony deposits and some large-scale eutaxic lead and zinc as well as mercury deposits developed in carbonate strata at different times in south China, the southeast and the Qing Ling area.

It was because of the increasing amount of granite in the late geological historical period and eutaxic carbonate deposits in the strata that the six provinces in south China--Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei and Guangdong--are rich in wolfram, tin, antimony, zinc, mercury and lead, with their reserves ranking first or second in the world.

Why does China lack rich iron resources?

We believe that this problem is connected with the characteristics of the geological development in China.

From the experience of various countries, we know that the richest iron deposits are the so-called residuum-type iron ores. This type of iron ore is characterized by enormous quantity, few impurities and broad scale.

Judging from the considerable experience of the Soviet Union, India, Australia, Brazil, the United States and other countries, where large-scale residuum-type rich iron deposits can be found, we know that this kind of rich iron ore was produced by protracted weathering and the removal of impurities. In most cases, primary lean iron ores were produced from nonmetamorphic or slightly metamorphic thick silicate iron which emerged in enormous quantities about 1.8 to 2.5 billion years ago. These are the material bases for the formation of residuum-type iron ores. Such material bases are poor in China. In south China we have not yet

discovered strata which were surely formed about 1.8 to 2.5 billion years ago. Although we have discovered this kind of strata in north China, their emerged parts are not large enough, and the reserves of lean iron ore are thin and meager. Under such poor material conditions, large-scale residuum-type iron deposits could not be formed even if weathering and preserving conditions were good. Most of China's lean iron ores were formed about 2.5 billion years ago. They were deeply metamorphical and stubborn and had a strong capability to resist weathering. It was difficult for them to become rich iron ores in the later period.

This is the main reason why residuum-type iron deposits are rarely found in China. Obviously, it will not be possible to discover more large-scale residuum-type rich iron deposits in east China. However, some of the so-called skarn-type and migmatite-type rich iron ores, as well as sedimentary rich iron ores, possibly can be found, but their deposits are generally comparatively small.

What are the prospects for China's gold, uranium and potassium salt deposits?

Compared with diamond and chromite deposits, the dispersion of gold, uranium and potassium salt deposits is more even. Many countries produce gold, and a large number of uranium reserves have been discovered in Canada, the United States, South Africa, Australia and France. Potassium salt deposits have been excavated in a number of countries (Canada, the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, France, Israel, Laos and so forth).

These three kinds of minerals are good prospects in China as seen from our geological conditions. Ancient metamorphic rocks and volcanic rocks of the Mesozoic and Cenozoic periods greatly developed in China, in addition to a considerable number of ancient alluvial gold mines. All these are favorable conditions for our exploration of gold mines.

China also has very good prospects for the mineralization of uranium deposits. We have various types of uranium and desirable conditions for the formation of uranium deposits. Prospects for uranium deposits of volcanic rock type are also very bright in China. Granite-type uranium usually grows together with granite-type wolfram, tin, niobium and tantalum on a large scale. We have a large number of granites in south China, and wolfram, tin and tantalum deposits are highly developed there. Therefore, the prospect for the development of granite-type uranium deposits is also good. We have not yet made a breakthrough in the exploration of malmstone-type uranium, but some progress can be noted in this respect, because red beds are abundant in China. In addition, prospects for the exploration of uranium of the carbonate, siliceous-rock and mudstone types are also good.

China is rich in sodium salt (halite) deposits. Normally, after further volatilization and concentration of the basins where halite is present, sodium salt deposits will be formed. Therefore, China is not lacking in good prospects for the exploration of sodium salt.

Objectively speaking, we will encounter certain difficulties in our efforts in the exploration of gold, uranium and sodium salt. No marked indications of sodium salt can be found in the earth's crust. Apart from that, it is very

active and can be easily undermined. Certain technological means should be applied to explore impalpable gold deposits.

In a word, China has favorable prospects for the exploration of gold, uranium and sodium salt as seen from its geological conditions. However, we have only truly strengthened our efforts in gold exploration since the smashing of the "gang of four." In addition, we also lack studies of the problems, such as the auriferous possibility of other minerals, the existence of forms of gold ore, and so forth.

With regard to the problem of the exploration of sodium salt, we should review the world history of the exploration of sodium salt deposits. There is an experience which merits our attention. In other words, several key sodium salt deposits were discovered in the process of exploring for minerals other than potassium. For example, a sodium salt deposit in France with a reserve of 500 million tons was discovered in the process of exploring for coal. In the 1960's a colossal sodium salt mine was discovered in Canada in the process of a general installation of oil rigs. Under certain geological conditions the intergrowth of coal, oil, gas and salt in the natural world is possible. However, in China, due to the harmful influence of one-track minds, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry dealt only with oil and gas, whereas the minister of coal industry only looked after the coal mines. In the process of installing drilling rigs, they never cared about the possibility of discovering sodium salt. The departments in charge of the exploration of potassium concentrated on the affairs of potassium alone. In this way we got very little for all our efforts, and our endeavors in the exploration of potassium were adversely affected.

We believe that, after proper measures have been taken to deal with the matters of system and coordination, our work for the exploration of uranium, gold and sodium salt will be improved.

In accordance with the analysis mentioned above, we also believe that China (south China in particular) has bright prospects for the discovery of nonferrous and rare metal resources as well as rare earth metal and nonmetallic resources. At present we should especially do a good job of solving the problem of utilization and popularization. China has favorable geological conditions for the development of gold, uranium and sodium salt deposits. However, the possibility of discovering large-scale residuum-type rich iron ores in east China is comparatively small.

What are the general trends for the development of mineral resources in the world? To put it in a nutshell, the present trends in development are richer variety (more than 150 kinds), lower requirements on tenor, larger types and higher levels of comprehensive use. In addition, the utilization of seabed resources has been put on the agenda. Therefore, there is no need for us to adopt a pessimistic attitude. However, we should also realize that we need more and more mineral resources as the four modernizations develop and that we have not yet adopted effective measures to stop the waste of mineral resources. Within a certain period of time we shall lack some mineral resources. Therefore, we should not only save natural resources but also stockpile necessary amounts of some strategic materials for which complete plans have not been worked out.



#### 4. Some Proposals for the Development of China's Mineral Industry

To accelerate the four modernizations, we should decide our mineral resource policies and measures in light of the practical conditions of China's mineral resources and the existing problems. The key lies in acting according to natural laws rather than according to administrative decrees.

##### (1) Strengthening Comprehensive Exploration, Comprehensive Assessment, Comprehensive Exploitation and Comprehensive Utilization

A number of minerals are subject to geological conditions, and some minerals grow together. This objective reality demands that we carry out comprehensive exploration and assessment. However, we have too many specialized mineral exploration departments. Apart from the Ministry of Geology, which carries out comprehensive exploration work, other related ministries have set up specialized mineral exploration teams. The Ministry of Petroleum Industry is in charge of the exploration of oil and gas; the Ministry of Chemical Industry explores for phosphorus, sulphur and salt; the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry explores for ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the Ministry of Coal Industry explores for coal, and so forth. Recently the state has established specialized gold prospecting teams and departments. In the natural world minerals are an entirety, but we artificially separate mineral prospecting and assessment teams. Although this division of labor may, for a short while, bring us benefits in the exploration of specific minerals, it may not necessarily be a reasonable measure in the long run. This practice replaces natural law with administrative means and objectively encourages the tendencies of concentrating on one thing only and brings us difficulties, unnecessary repetition and waste in terms of manpower, material and financial resources. It is worth dealing with conscientiously.

We also face a number of problems in the comprehensive exploration of minerals. Some mining operations only exploit minerals designated by the higher authorities, but they pay no attention to other coexisting minerals. Some metallurgical mines only exploit lead and zinc ores but never care about the coexisting chemical industrial materials such as troilite and so forth. Some coal mines ignore deposits of clay minerals and siderite in hanging and bottom walls. Some mines even pursue the practice of exploiting the richer, thicker and larger deposits and abandon the poorer, thinner and smaller ones. All these have brought us a severe waste and sabotage of mineral resources.

Another existing problem in the comprehensive use of minerals is our substandard technology for the selection and refinement of minerals. Some mines subjectively do not pay sufficient attention to technical problems and do not want to take the trouble to do so. The key to making a mine produce varied minerals and to making the best use of everything lies in comprehensive utilization.

##### (2) Enacting a Mineral Resources Law To Truly Insure the Protection of Mineral Resources

Unlike agricultural, forestry and biological resources, mineral resources cannot be reproduced. This fact determines that our policies for mineral resources should be characterized by paying more attention to unified planning and an

all-encompassing arrangement as compared with our policies for agricultural, forestry and biological resources. In addition, our policies for mineral resources should also be characterized by careful calculations and strict budgeting, giving full play to strong points and avoiding the weak ones, and by serious planning.

However, at present the work of protecting mineral resources in China has not been put on the agenda. It seems that not a single department has been assigned to take on the task. There are many departments which are engaged in mineral exploitation, but not a single department is in charge of the protection of mineral resources. Apart from the above-mentioned problems in comprehensive exploration and utilization, bad practices of randomly exploiting and excavating minerals still exist. Even precious blue asbestos was randomly excavated, as if it were ordinary asbestos. Numerous cavities are being bored by local people around a state-run mine; this actually hampers the rational exploitation of the mine. The work of protecting mineral resources brooks no delay. There should be a department in the central government which is in charge of the protection, exploitation and utilization of mineral resources. This department should also coordinate the work of various industrial departments and enact and enforce mineral resources law. In the meantime, we should strengthen the division of labor and coordination among various departments and establish and perfect mineral resources protection organizations in the various ministries and provinces concerned.

### (3) Giving Full Play to Strong Points and Establishing China's Metals (Non-ferrous Metals, Rare Metals and Rare Earth Metals) Industries and Nonmetallic Industries

The reserves of some nonferrous metals, rare metals, rare earth metals and non-metals in China rank first in the world. This is the state of China's mineral resources. We should strengthen research on this subject and the work of geological exploration and mine exploitation, as well as the selection and utilization of minerals and so forth so that favorable conditions can truly be formed.

As for the iron and steel industry, due to the fact that China lacks rich iron deposits and has a considerable number of lean iron deposits, our emphasis should be placed on internal development and the utilization of lean iron deposits. We should strengthen our research on exploitation, selection and smelting operations so that we can speedily solve the problem of utilizing lean iron deposits.

### (4) Establishing Regional Mineral Bases

In accordance with the practical conditions in which the dispersion of mineral resources is uneven, we should pursue the principle of promoting strong points and avoiding the weak ones, bring the geological strong points of certain areas into full play, form favorable conditions and balance them with other parts of the country. For example, we may establish rare metal and nonferrous metal bases in south China and phosphorus bases in Hubei and Guizhou. We should not defy practical geological conditions and emphasize that every province should be self-sufficient in mineral resources. With regard to the exploration of mineral

resources, joint operations between provinces and municipalities can be carried out to rapidly form favorable conditions and promote the practice of helping supply each other's needs.

(5) Actively Carrying Out Fundamental Work and Comprehensive Studies on Mineral Resources

From a long-term point of view, this is the key to the settlement of the problem of establishing mineral resource bases. It is worth learning from the way Western Europe and Japan strengthen their fundamental work and comprehensive studies and from their experience in increasing their efficiency in mineral exploration work. These are countries with limited territory, highly developed industry and technology and a high level of geological research. People generally thought that it was impossible for them to discover new mineral deposits. However, in the past 10 years or so, France has discovered a considerable number of uranium and wolfram deposits, Austria has discovered large wolfram deposits and Japan has discovered a number of nonferrous metal deposits. All of these were the result of careful fundamental work and comprehensive analyses. Their methods are also suitable for a poor country such as ours.

(6) Truly and Conscientiously Readjusting the System of Mineral General Survey and Exploration

According to our existing system, the Ministry of Geology and some other industrial departments, such as the ministries of metallurgical industry, petroleum industry, coal industry, chemical industry, and so forth, have their own geological survey and prospecting teams. They are eager to engage in exploration work, because in so doing they can easily attract state investment. They vie with each other in exploring mineral bases. As a result, fundamental geological survey and general investigation work have been neglected. We propose that the Ministry of Geology strengthen its geological survey and general investigation work and its geological research. As for the exploration of mineral resources, we suggest that some transdepartmental and transregional geological exploration corporations be set up in accordance with geological laws rather than according to the administrative system. In this way we will not only strengthen fundamental geological work and general survey and exploration but also avoid unnecessary repetition, waste and futile efforts.

Ours is a country with a vast territory and a relatively low level of geological work. As long as we strengthen the work mentioned above and properly readjust our system and policies, the prospects for China's mineral resources will be bright.

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## WE CANNOT 'LIVE ON SENIORITY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 p 49

[Random talks on ideology by Su Yonggong [5685 3057 7230]]

[Text] The idea of "living on seniority" is still prevalent among some comrades. They wrongly think that they have excellent qualifications and records of service as well as rich experience. They are satisfied with just doing a passable job and reluctant to acquire new knowledge and master new skills. They are resting on their laurels. Some other comrades even wrongly believe that they have excellent qualifications and records of service and that "even if their contributions to the revolution were discounted, they had done hard work." As a result, they think they are entitled to enjoy privileges. They abuse their authority, defraud the public to enhance themselves and pursue unhealthy practices. They judge people only by their seniority. People with seniority and status are always regarded by them as having excellent working ability and rich experience and of being able to exercise control over everything. They are qualified to shoulder heavy tasks or occupy important positions. Junior people with meager experience are always regarded as tender carrying poles which cannot be used to carry heavy loads, even if they have real ability and learning. When they are used, various restrictions are imposed on them so that they cannot "jump" daringly, and it is difficult for them to spread their wings and "fly." All this has greatly hampered the implementation of the party's line and policy for cadres in the new period, the practice of boldly discovering and utilizing talented personnel and accelerating the four modernizations.

We should make a specific analysis of seniority and experience. Generally speaking, those people with seniority and records of service have been doing revolutionary work for a long period of time and have accumulated rich experience. This is a good thing. However, if they capitalize on this, rest on their past achievements and never think of making further progress, they will negate the good they have done. Although the accumulation of knowledge has something to do with a rise in seniority, the two are not in direct proportion. The incessant development of practice promotes the growth of people's understanding. Some past experiences are not necessarily applicable to the new situation at present. Therefore, we should keep on studying and making progress. Our cadres made contributions to the party and the people, and they are, of course, respected and esteemed by the masses. However, past achievements can only mark their past contributions, not the new ones. The more they are esteemed and respected, the more modest and self-effacing they should be. They learn and accept more new

things, increasingly enrich their knowledge and enhance their ability. If they indulge in self-exaltation and complacency and refuse to make progress, they inevitably will lack knowledge and working ability and eventually will be cast aside by the new situation.

Why is it so difficult to eliminate the idea of "living on seniority"? It is because feudal ideology is still deeply rooted in our country, and its pernicious influence is still doing mischief. "A New History of the Tang Dynasty" said: "During the first 18 years of the rule of the Tang Dynasty, Pei Tingguang, adviser to the emperor and director of the civil personnel department, made stipulations concerning seniority and qualifications. The concept of wise and inefficient officials was based on seniority and qualifications. The promotion of officials had to be decided by the higher authorities in accordance with their tenure of office. Any selection and promotion of officials which went beyond the stipulations concerned was not allowed." These stipulations meant that the rank and authority of officials was determined by their seniority and qualifications, not by their talent and ability. At that time the so-called qualifications meant the differences in rank and seniority. The fact that we still lopsidedly emphasize the order of seniority and arrange people's posts according to their seniority is partly due to the influence of feudalism. This is a very abnormal thing. Normally, in a socialist country such as ours, the assignment of leading posts should be based on the candidate's moral character and ability. However, in actual practice things are usually just the opposite. A number of leading posts have been assigned to people on grounds of seniority, regardless of their working ability and ideological level. As long as one has been in office for many years and has been promoted to a certain level, one is entitled to a corresponding leading position, no matter what. As a result, a leading position is wrongly regarded to represent a person's seniority, and some comrades pride themselves on such and wrongly regard "living on seniority" as both natural and right.

The key to a conscientious reform of our present cadre system lies in improving our system for the selection, recruitment, appointment and removal, examination, impeachment and rotation of cadres. In addition, we should educate those comrades who "live on seniority" with antifeudal ideas, so they will understand that on the road of socialist modernization it is objectionable to retain the remnants of feudal ideology. No comrade is allowed to rest on his laurels with his seniority and qualifications and be intoxicated with self-satisfaction. They should adopt a new attitude and keep forging ahead.

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A GOOD LOGISTIC WORKER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Zhong Zhenlin [6945 2182 2651]]



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END

