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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 November 1980

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## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 November 1980

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

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PEOPLE'S HERO LIU ZHIDAN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Li Xiqin [2621 5045 0530]]



CSO: 4004

## INTRODUCING THIS ISSUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 p 1

[Text] In the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy, readjustment is the key. In "Readjustment Is Still the Key," RED FLAG's commentator emphasizes the need to enhance our understanding and change the serious disproportions between various economic sectors. He also stresses the need to put right the relationship between readjustment and restructuring and points out the central tasks and focal points for readjustment at present. In "A Preliminary Probe Into the Specialization of Commune Members' Household Sideline Production," Comrade Zhan Wu and others demonstrate, with the help of numerous facts about the rural areas of Gansu Province, that specialization of household sideline production has a great future as a form of labor organization. Yang Fengchun's "We Should Persist in Keeping to a Minimum Publicity Given to Individuals" discusses the basic Marxist concept that history is created by the masses. It says that this is necessary for carrying forward socialist democracy and should begin with the party. Wang Jue's "Boldly Select Outstanding Persons From Among Intellectuals" says that the "reasons" people give for looking down upon knowledge and upon intellectuals are untenable and also harmful to the implementation of the party's policies. In their survey report on rural Ningxia, Xing Yan and Sun Shijie tell us how the cadres and masses distinguish genuine from sham socialism in practice in connection with the aim of socialist production, the principle of to each according to his work and the need to proceed from reality in practicing socialism.

CSO: 4004

## READJUSTMENT IS STILL THE KEY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 2-4

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] In the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, the key is readjustment. For more than a year, outstanding results have been achieved in the work of readjusting the national economy. Generally speaking, the economic situation this year is good. Although agriculture has been struck by disasters, owing to the implementation of the various economic policies of the party in the countryside and the higher enthusiasm of the peasants, there can still be an increase in the gross output value of agriculture. Preliminary estimates have shown that industrial production is likely to increase by 7 percent this year compared with last year, with a more than 16-percent increase expected for light industry.

However, this is only the beginning of the readjustment. The task henceforth will still be very arduous and pressing. This is because many serious imbalances of the past have not yet been readjusted, and now some new problems have also appeared. In the first place, the problem of the overextended capital construction front has basically still not been solved. Some large and medium projects that do not possess the necessary conditions for construction have not been discontinued, self-financed projects have exceeded their targets and blind construction and redundant construction exist universally. Second, although there has been an increase in light and textile industries, because of the lack of unified planning, large quantities of raw materials, fuel and power have been consumed by small enterprises with poor production conditions, enterprises with advanced technical equipment are not getting enough and product quantity and quality cannot satisfy the needs of domestic and foreign markets. Lastly, the backwardness of energy development in recent years has been a constant, serious obstacle to the development of industrial and agricultural production, and it will also be difficult to increase energy production next year. The aforementioned conditions indicate that if readjustment is not firmly grasped the serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy can further worsen, the phenomenon of deficits in state financial revenues and expenditures will become aggravated and there will be increased problems in various sectors, thus affecting economic stability and political stability and unity.

At present we must deepen our understanding of the necessity of readjustment and further grasp this work properly.

Readjustment means changing the serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy. Only by maintaining a proper balance can we have a stable rate of development. However, some comrades think more in terms of speed than of harmonious proportion. Therefore, they are invariably inefficient and indecisive in grasping readjustment. Consequently, what should come down has not come down, and what should go up has not gone up. These comrades do not understand that the proportionate development of the national economy is an objective economic law. Under socialized production the interdependence, restrictions and proportionate cooperation between departments of production and links of reproduction are conditions for the normal progress of social production. Any serious imbalance in proportion will cause stagnation and disorder in social production. There must be a certain speed for the development of the national economy, but it is established on the basis of the proportionate development of the national economy. If we depart from the proportionate development of the national economy and think of giving isolated prominence to individual departments and products to set the pace for the high-speed development of the national economy, we can never succeed. For this will only lead to imbalance in the national economy. In this case, haste will result in waste. Did we not learn a painful historical lesson from "taking steel as the key link" in 1958? Whether drawing up long-range plans or directing current work, we must carry out work within our means and firmly grasp this link of readjustment. We should resolutely cancel what should be canceled and must not force ourselves to do things we cannot accomplish. The existing conditions in China at present and for a time to come can only permit us to strive for and maintain a medium rate of development, and we absolutely cannot repeat the mistake of blindly seeking high speed which is beyond the national means. Because the imbalances accumulated over the years are more serious than expected, it is even more necessary for us to see the arduousness and protractedness of the task of readjustment. We must be resolute, exert great efforts and be prepared to spend more time in readjusting the imbalanced proportion. Only by making a success of readjustment work can we have a sustained, effective and solid rate of development.

What should be the relationship between readjustment and reform? Practice has proved that readjustment is the basis of reform. Reform must be conducive to readjustment and promote the smooth progress of readjustment. If we do not carry out essential reform and give greater power to the localities and enterprises to make their own decisions, but instead impose rigid controls on them, we will be unable to bring the enthusiasm of the people into play, invigorate the economy and develop production. This will not do the readjustment any good. However, if we do not make readjustment succeed and solve the serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy, then the structure will also run into difficulty. Some of the enterprises where greater decision-making power has been tested have encountered such problems as insufficient work, insufficient raw materials and fuel and inability to dispose of surplus labor. The major cause of this is the proportional imbalance of the national economy. To carry out readjustment under this serious imbalance, the strengthening of macroeconomic guidance is very important. Without correct planned guidance and effective measures, microeconomic activity will lose essential control, and one-sided activity will appear. This can even lead to more serious proportional imbalance and result in some economic chaos.



In the current readjustment of the national economy, we must energetically grasp the following work well:

The key task is to shorten the overextended capital construction front. Over-extension of the capital construction front is the major cause of the imbalance. In more than a year of readjustment, the shortcoming is that we have not retreated enough. Now is the time to make a resolute retreat. Some comrades are happy to start projects but are unhappy to discontinue them. They invariably closely link increased reproduction, high speed and increased scale of capital construction and fail to see the danger posed by excessive large-scale capital construction to the national economy. Capital construction is no doubt an important path to increasing production, but to play this role it must conform to social needs, the goal of social production and objective economic laws. The scale of capital construction must correspond to the financial and material resources of the state, including the amount of financial and capital resources the state can afford for capital construction, and there must be a steady supply of raw materials, building materials, fuel, power and transportation capacity after the project has been completed. Some of the projects at present do not conform to these criteria. Some are "rough and complex projects," and some cannot be put on line upon completion. Such capital construction projects which do not conform to social needs and which have exceeded the scale of capital construction the state can support not only cannot accelerate the speed of national economic development but instead have pushed aside existing production, the people's livelihood and cultural and educational undertakings. They have disorganized economic life and held back national economic development. How can such projects not be discontinued? Proceeding from the overall situation, we should preserve projects which must be preserved. Projects without conditions for improvement should be discontinued without the slightest hesitation. Viewed in isolation, the discontinuation of projects may be regarded as a "loss," but judging from the situation as a whole it is a "gain." Today's retreat is for the sake of making a better advance in the future.

We must grasp light and textile industries as the focal point. For a long time, guided by the mentality of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, we have placed light and textile industries in a secondary position, elbowed them aside in various sectors and shortened their fronts. Light and textile industries require little investment. Their construction period is short, they consume less energy and employ a large labor force, and their products directly satisfy the people's needs. However, to enable light and textile industries to have enough materials and work under the prevailing scarcity of capital, fuel and labor and to extend their fronts, we must shorten some of the long fronts. Some departments that have produced excessive stocks still want to increase production. Some small enterprises with high power consumption and depletion and which are operating permanently at a loss have still not been closed down. The main problem of light and textile industries at present is not one of increasing productivity but obsolete plant and equipment, insufficient energy and raw materials and inability to improve product quality and variety. In light of such problems, we should satisfy the needs of light and textile industries to replace and upgrade their equipment by supplying them with capital and materials. We should appropriately reduce the production of products requiring more energy and supply the energy saved to light and textile industries. We should adopt various means

to guarantee the supply of raw materials needed by light and textile industries with advanced technical facilities and the light and textile industries concentrated in such cities as Shanghai, Tianjin and Beijing as well as various provincial capitals.

The scale of industrial production must correspond to the supply of energy. In the readjustment we must heighten our understanding of the importance of solving the energy problem. Our policy is: Attach equal importance to development and to practicing economy. Recently we have given priority to practicing economy in carrying out technical and structural reforms centered on energy saving in the national economy. From January to September this year, under the condition of basically no increase in primary energy, industrial output value increased by 11.7 percent compared with the corresponding period last year. To implement the energy saving policy we must first gradually set up an energy-efficient type of industrial and product structure. Of every 100 million yuan of energy consumed, heavy industry consumes about five times that of light industry. By increasing the ratio of light industrial production we can save a great deal of energy. We must improve mechanical and electrical products centered on energy saving and replace equipment that consumes a great deal of energy. We must improve technology and increase the utilization efficiency of energy. At the same time we must implement a correct distribution policy and give priority to high-quality marketable products requiring less energy.

We must attach great importance to gradually improving the life of the people. The object of socialist production is to keep on improving the material and cultural life of the people. An important hallmark of readjustment work is whether or not there has been any improvement in the standard of living of the people. In making economic plans we must grasp this vital point of gradually improving the standard of living of the people on the basis of developing production. When the people see the superiority of socialism in the improvement in their standard of living, they will more ardently love socialism and actively throw themselves into socialist construction. There are many ways of improving the life of the people. What we must pay particular attention to at present is stabilizing prices. Whether prices are stable or not has an important bearing on the life of the people. First, commodity prices which account for the absolute majority of commodity turnover of the whole society must be basically stable. Second, the standard of living of medium- and low-income people, who make up 80 to 90 percent of the population, must be guaranteed. At present the prices of some commodities have been indiscriminately increased, and many commodities are sold at negotiated prices. There is also no restriction on negotiated prices. The masses are complaining, and we must conscientiously solve this problem. There can be no violation of the pricing policy of the state, and any adjustment of commodity prices must be approved by the departments concerned.

To more successfully carry out readjustment we must strengthen the guidance of state planning, so that planned regulation and market regulation, economic means and administrative means can be better integrated. At present greater authority has been handed to the localities and enterprises, and they have more money in their hands. The money of the localities goes back to the localities, and the money of the enterprises goes back to the enterprises. According to the provisions of the policy, they have the power to use this money. Generally speaking,

this money should be used mainly for replacing equipment, technical innovation and research and development of new products, or for solving certain urgent problems that have accumulated over a long period in the lives of the people and for production safety. It should not be used blindly on new projects and redundant construction. The state must provide planned guidance and have concrete programs and effective measures regarding what should be carried out, what basically cannot be carried out and what cannot be carried out within 1 or 2 years. The enterprises and localities must subordinate themselves to the overall situation and planned guidance. Only in this way can we cut down on things in excessive supply and make up for things in short supply and promote the harmonious development of the national economy. At the same time we must also strengthen the role of economic legislation and economic levers, improve the taxation system, draw up factory laws, put a stop to blind construction of plants, restrict the development of backward enterprises and encourage the development of advanced enterprises. Our guiding thought is: In the concrete activity of the enterprise we must resolutely and unswervingly enliven the enterprise and the economy. On questions determining the overall situation of the state we must strengthen the guidance and administrative management of state planning. Only in this way can desired results be achieved in readjustment work.

CSO: 4004

A PRELIMINARY PROBE INTO THE SPECIALIZATION OF COMMUNE MEMBERS' HOUSEHOLD SIDELINE PRODUCTION--INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ON SPECIALIZED HOUSEHOLDS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF GANSU PROVINCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 5-9

[Article by Zhan Wu [6124 2976], Lin Xianjin [2651 4382 5855] and Huang Yi [7806 3015]]

[Text] With the rural economic policy gradually becoming practical and broadened, the economy in the rural villages of Gansu Province is becoming activated. The four specialized production responsibility systems (specialized team, unit, household and person), now in extensive use, has animated the socialist production enthusiasm of the commune masses and enabled the collective economy to attain a certain degree of recovery and development. At the same time, commune members' household sideline production has made its appearance. Now a group of specialized households or jointly operated households engaging in specialized sideline production has likewise appeared. Their scale of operation, labor productivity rate, commodity production rate and income level have all advanced a big step forward compared with former household sideline production. Actual practice has proved that this development is beneficial to the specialization and commercialization of household sideline production. It is a form of labor organization with good prospects for future development.

1. Emergence of Specialized Sideline Production Households

In the suburbs of Lanzhou Municipality there are about 1,300 households which have developed from commune members' sideline production households into specialized households or jointly operated households; they constitute about 0.6 percent of the rural households in the entire suburbs. At the Linxia County seat there are over 200 specialized households raising dairy cows, less than 1 percent of the total number of households. Yet, although their number is small, they have good prospects for future development. The activities they engage in include raising chickens, ducks, pigs, oxen, goats, rabbits and bees; planting melons, watermelons, lilies, hotbed chives, fruit trees, medicinal herbs and flowers; breeding good strains, knitting, tending kilns, processing farm products and running catering trades in rural villages and service trades. As for the participants in these kinds of labor, some of the households have all their members or the majority of their members take part in collective farming while some individual members take part in specialized production; other families have their members participating in collective farming while some individual members take part in sideline production in their spare time.

The development of specialization of commune members' sideline production, comparatively speaking, has been fraught with problems. When the "gang of four" ran amuck, commune members' household sideline production was criticized and banned on the pretext that it was a capitalist tail. After the crushing of the "gang of four," order was restored, and particularly after the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee, household sideline production was speedily restored and developed. The emergence in Xigu District of Lanzhou Municipality of the specialized Gao Xuelan chicken farm, known to contain several hundred chickens, signifies that specialization of household sideline production has reached a new stage of development. Among the cadres and the masses, everybody talked about this development. In June this year, GANSU RIBAO devoted a special column to discussing the topic of whether this method of chicken farming by the Gao Xuelan household was correct or not. The discussions had the effect of further liberating people's thoughts and promoted the development of commune members' household sideline production in the direction of specialization. As a matter of fact, the specialization of household sideline production is a natural trend in the development of the productive forces and is also an important result of a practical rural economic policy. That these specialized households dare to demonstrate their proficiency in a particular field and dare to stand out conspicuously is a lively indication of their trust in the party's policy.

## 2. Important Functions of Specialized Household Sideline Production

(1) Promotes the commodity economy and improves the supply of subsidiary food products to the market. Take the case of eggs, for example. Lanzhou Municipality annually requires 8.15 million jin of eggs, but the municipality itself can supply only 0.8 million jin, or only 9.8 percent; the balance has to be procured from other localities. This meant that the residents could not constantly have fresh eggs for their table. Besides, it caused the commerce department to suffer a deficit of 1.45 million yuan annually. The municipality tried several times to mobilize the communes and production brigades to start collective chicken farms, but without success. Plans were made to start modern chicken farms, but they were all shelved because of difficulties in such matters as raising funds and procuring the necessary equipment, personnel and chicken feed. The relevant departments tried to solve the problem by imposing a compulsory egg levy on the communes, and some commune members had to buy eggs from state-operated stores in order to fulfill their assigned delivery quotas. This, however, increased their financial burden. In the spring of 1978 a female commune member by the name of Gao Xuelan, who had been prevented from participating in collective labor because of illness, utilized a 20-square-meter vacant lot to build a chicken farm. The farm raised 330 chickens this year, and by June over 1,600 jin of eggs had been produced, of which more than 95 percent were supplied to the market. In addition, 552 jin were sold to the state, overfulfilling the brigade's delivery quota by 72 jin. It is estimated that if the municipality had in operation 500 chicken-farming specialized units or households of the Gao Xuelan type, then the egg requirements of all the large restaurants and the entire city's catering trade could be met. Moreover, if there were 2,000 to 3,000 such households or units, then even without investments from the state or from the collectives the egg supply problems of the entire city could be solved. Furthermore, the annual deficit of 1.45 million yuan could be wiped out. On this basis, if this measure were to be extended to cover other lines such as vegetables, melons, milk products and so on, then the entire

system of supply of subsidiary food products to the market would be vastly improved.

(2) Provides a venue for giving jobs to the surplus labor force and for helping financially distressed households. At present the suburbs of cities and towns in Gansu Province face the serious problem of a shortage of cultivated land but an increase in population and in the surplus labor force. In the Xigu District of Lanzhou Municipality the cultivated land per capita has decreased from 2.3 mu in the early years after liberation to only 0.66 mu at present. One-third of the 27,000-strong labor force in the district is superfluous or without employment. Finding no way to provide jobs for all of them, enterprises of the communes and production brigades there had to resort to the passive measure of placing a limit on the number of people going to work in the enterprises every day and making the workers take turns going to work. But with the development of specialization of household sideline production, suitable employment can be provided for this labor force. For example, the Linxia County seat has started over 200 dairy cow specialized households, and, on the basis of one dairy cow providing livelihood subsistence for a group of 6 to 7 mouths, this has solved the livelihood problem of 1,200 people. Originally, in many of these cities and towns the members of distressed households had nothing to do and had to depend on relief from the state. Some of them frequently caused trouble, thus disrupting general stability and unity. Now every day they supply 6,000 to 7,000 jin of fresh milk to the market, thus helping to solve the milk drinking problem of the 80,000 residents at the Linxia County seat. This is indeed killing two birds with one stone! Again, take the case of brigade member Liu Laifu from Zhong Tan Commune in Tianshui County. Liu's household consisted of three members. The two older ones were both over 70. Formerly they depended on relief from the state. The year before last they turned to chicken farming. Last year the number of hens and chickens on their farm exceeded 200. The sale of eggs and chickens netted them over 500 yuan. In addition, they received 22 yuan from the sale of fowl manure. Thus, all at once they were no longer beset by poverty. Instead, they had food to eat and clothes to wear and could afford to buy bicycles, wristwatches and household furniture.

(3) Makes it possible to achieve to a certain extent the principle of making maximum use of land resources and human talent and to raise the labor productivity rate, commodity production rate and the level of income, enriching first of all a portion of the commune members. In the past the "gang of four" prohibited the development of household sideline production and banned business activities spanning more than one trade. This meant that the people could not display their talents. Now commune members are encouraged to promote household sideline production. People proficient in an art or trade can fully display their talent in their respective specialized field. For example, He Conglian of the Xintan 4th brigade from Chen Ping Commune in Xigu District made use of a small pond next to her house to raise 310 ducks. Similarly, Xu Yonglu of the Wu Quan production brigade from Cheng Guan Commune in Cheng Guan District built a simplified hothouse on a 30-square-meter piece of vacant land behind his house. There he planted flowers for sale. His annual income from this source amounted to over 1,000 yuan.

In general, in specialized households, special commodities which require high technology, though mostly calling for manual labor, in most cases are produced by workers who are aged, weak in physique or ill, but because these people have experience and special skills their products usually surpass those of an average rural worker in quantity and quality. Hence, these people are able to raise the labor productivity rate and increase their income. It has been found that the net receipts of some specialized households raising dairy cows are equivalent to three to eight times the average receipts of an ordinary laborer in the same team or brigade. Mi Jicai, member of the Mi Jiaping production team from Xiguoyuan Commune in Qilihe District, raised horses and sheep on his home farm and in addition planted 3.2 mu of lilies. Last year the lilies alone earned him an income of 4,500 yuan, which was equivalent to nine times the income received by other members of the family taking part in rural collective labor in the locality. Ma Yanchuang, member of the Kai Feng production team from Shuguang Commune in Zhen Yuan County raised 50 hives of bees last year and earned an income of 5,000 yuan. His household was thus "overflowing" and earned the attention and respect of the entire production team.

(4) Provides new motive force for the development of science and technology. In the past the practice of "everybody eating from a common pot" was practiced in the distribution of earnings from agricultural production. Egalitarianism was in force. It mattered little whether one's work was good or bad. Both technology and talent lay idle, and youths had no mind to learn new technology. Of the 26-strong labor force in a farm production team in the suburbs of Lanzhou Municipality, not a single person could handle a seed plow. Certain vegetable and melon teams wanted to carry out the "special quota responsibility system," but nobody dared assume the responsibility, because they were aware that their technology was not up to standard. Now there is a silent slogan which says that "if you want to become rich, learn technology." In the Cheng Guan District of Lanzhou Municipality, Xu Benyu, an expert hand in melon planting, made good use of his experience and expertise and managed to produce melons that were more numerous, sweeter and quicker to ripen and hence were marketed sooner than melons produced by his counterparts. His melons yielded him an income of 1,800 yuan per mu. More recently a youngster trying to learn Xu's planting technique planted melons in a lot nearby and succeeded in netting 800 yuan from the sale of melons produced on half a mu of farmland. Gao Xuelan was reputed to have a scientific methodology for management and chicken farming. It was claimed that her methodology was able to extend a hen's egg-laying period by 2 months, as well as to lower the mortality rate of chickens and lower production costs. Additionally, she knew the technique of preventing chicken plague. Now many people are learning chicken-farming technology from Gao Xuelan. Wang Zhongyi, a retired cadre from lower Xiyuan in Qilihe District, knew the technique of hatching chickens. At first he did not dare plunge headlong into the project, but now he has acquired an electric chicken incubator at a cost of 1,000 yuan. The machine can hatch about 20,000 chickens a year.

(5) Helps promote the collective economy. This is shown principally in the following: 1) An increase in the source of fertilizer supply for collective farming as a result of the cattle and fowl specialized households collectively turning in their cattle and fowl manure; 2) help to the collectives in fulfilling their egg levy quota fixed by the state, thus easing the burden of the

collectives; 3) solution of the problem of finding jobs for the surplus labor force and needy households, thus easing the financial burden of the collectives. In addition, the high income of the specialized households and their pleasant service demeanor promote the growth of the collective economy.

### 3. Guidelines for Specialization of Household Sideline Production

The guideline adopted by Gansu Province vis-a-vis specialization of household sideline production embraces such words as encouragement, support, guidance and control. Encouragement and support refer principally to making the policy practical and broad, so that, with the public ownership system accorded absolute superiority, household sideline production and the specialized households may be allowed to fully display their subsidiary and supplementary role. Only on condition that there is no exploitation of other people's labor, no speculation or lawbreaking activities and no damage done to the collective group should the growth of specialized households be encouraged and supported. Violations of these principles should be met with firm education and control in order to achieve a healthy development.

In extending encouragement and support to the endeavor to promote the growth of specialized households, we should not neglect the household sideline production which is already widely dispersed among the many households of the commune members. At the same time, we should not allow the specialized households always to eat "special meals" or make them lose their initiative for competition. To achieve this end, we should accomplish the following three objectives well:

(1) Adjusting relations between specialized households and the collective economy. We should help the specialized households and the production teams to which they belong to build up, voluntarily, economic relations that are reciprocally beneficial. We must rationalize and make more complete all the relevant concrete measures (such as fixing the level of grain per person in the specialized households, determining the worth of the manure delivered, determining whether the workpoint system should be employed and whether the households should take part in the workpoint system in the distribution of earnings or simply pay a management fee, and determining how the households should contribute to the public accumulation fund). They must be helped to rectify any irrationality. This will be beneficial to the joint development of specialized households and the collective economy.

(2) Fixing the relationship between the specialization of household sideline production and the socialization of production. The specialization of household sideline production is a special form of concentrating production of a commodity nature. Without the support of corresponding specialized economic structures of a socialized nature, it can hardly develop to any great extent. Take chicken farming, for example. If the number of specialized households and specialized units has increased and the scale of operation has enlarged, then the services of economic organs supplying chicken feed and chicks and providing plague prevention and insurance cover will be needed. Leading cadres in Gansu Province are of the opinion that, based on past experience and taking chicken feed as an example, we should not use the simple old administrative method of forming state-operated chicken feed companies controlled vertically from above. Instead, we



should form cooperatives (or a certain form of jointly operated enterprises) to produce and supply chicken feed, keep independent accounts and be responsible for their own profit or loss. The contracts are signed by the units supplying the goods and the households concerned, and goods are generally delivered to the door of the households. Units handling chicken feed can expand their activities to include such other fields as plague prevention, purchase of eggs and chickens, transport and processing. This type of work may be handled by a single unit or jointly by several units. They should unite with the commercial departments to provide services for the producers and consumers. In this way the labor productivity rate can be raised greatly, production costs lowered and income increased. Only if specialization of household sideline production and socialization are brought together and help each other to progress can the wholesale modernization of agriculture be promoted.

(3) Effecting liaison between production, supply and marketing. Since a specialized household engages in commodity production, there must be liaison between production, supply and marketing. In carrying out specialized production of various commodity items it is essential to start from practicability. Due note must be taken of one's own superior points in manpower, technology and resources to determine the key points of development. At the same time, a study must be made of how to meet market needs in order to prevent the products from becoming poorly marketable. Hence, efforts must be made to gradually set up an economic forecast system. State enterprises should do their utmost to support the specialized households in such matters as supply and marketing. Products of specialized households should be allowed to flow into the realm of circulation, so that there is direct contact between production and marketing and so that production, supply and marketing can be linked.

#### 4. Future Development Prospects for Specialization of Household Sideline Production

What is the future for the development of specialization of household sideline production? The answer is that it must follow the road of socialist agricultural modernization. The Gansu Provincial CCP Committee is quite right in linking the work of probing the road to the development of specialized households with that of socialist agricultural modernization.

Agricultural modernization requires the development of state-operated and collectively owned mechanized farms and cattle ranches. It also requires the development of modernized specialized households or their jointly operated counterparts. It is groundless to take the viewpoint, without looking into the actual conditions, that only through large-scale operations can agricultural modernization be achieved. In our country, under the conditions of the absolute supremacy of an economy which advocates the public ownership system, it will be beneficial to agricultural modernization if we can allow commune members' household sideline production and specialized households to fully assert their supplementary role. This also will be in accordance with objective economic laws. Which production item should be handled by which economic component and how it should be handled should also depend on the concrete conditions. The commune members and specialized households should be allowed to freely display their wares and, by means of competition, gradually achieve improvement in the course of development.

The development of specialization of household sideline production requires the backing of science and technology. Take the case of the Gao Xuelan chicken farm: It has already adopted a procedure of scientific methodology for feeding, plague prevention and management. Now the owner hopes to acquire a cheap and small vegetable-cutting machine in order to reduce labor intensity and raise labor efficiency. It is entirely possible that, once production is developed and earnings increase, she will in turn demand an even newer type of scientific technology. By that time a number of specialized households may have broken through the barrier of unitary operation and, on the basis of reciprocal benefits, combined with each other spontaneously and voluntarily. A combination or union of this kind will further raise the degree of modernization, and joint enterprises may emerge with an even higher degree of specialization. This will be a road leading to agricultural modernization.

The concrete forms of the transition from specialized households to joint organizations are many and varied. Judging from the presently emerging state of certain such joint organizations, there are generally the following forms:

(1) Cooperation and joining together of specialized households and state economic units. For example, the Gaolan County seed company has signed a supply and marketing agreement with the commune members according to which the private lots of the commune members are converted into bases for nurturing good seeds. The company believes that marketing good seeds in this way has the following advantages: 1) Quality is good. The grain seeds delivered by the commune members are even and well distributed, are unmixed with foreign matter, have a high degree of purity and are better than those from production teams or scientific research stations. 2) Production costs are low. The cost of wheat seed No 2147 from Fujian Province was 0.26 yuan per jin, whereas seed of the same strain from the commune members cost only 0.24 yuan per jin. 3) Local seeds are more suitable to local conditions than seeds from outside. 4) This arrangement is beneficial to popularization of rural scientific techniques and knowledge. Additionally, this measure increases the income of the commune members. This form of cooperation and joint operation is beneficial to both the state and the commune members.

(2) Joint operation of households. One form is the joining together of specialized production. For example, in the Zhang Jiaping production brigade of Shili Commune in Min County there are many households that know the technique of tending kilns. This spring the commune members raised funds and, joining together on a voluntary basis, set up 46 joint brick-and-tile kilns. Each kiln was generally run by three to four households (meaning three or four strong labor force units). They had the kilns running during the slack farming season but attended to the farms during the busy season. Each kiln was run independently. They turned over their collective accumulations to the brigade and paid taxes on the products to the state. This single item alone increased the average annual income of the brigade members by over 100 yuan each. Another form is the banding together of sales and marketing. For example, when the milking goats in Heshui County increased in number, many localities banded together to sell fresh milk.

(3) Joint operation of collectives and commune members. One form is to have public property operated by private households or by individuals. For example,

many production teams turned over their orchards, melon patches and cattle to be taken care of wholly by households or individuals skilled in the respective fields. This enables the collectives to double their income, while those doing the management work are well compensated. Another form is for the public to handle privately owned property. For example, in some localities the number of privately owned goats had increased in number. The households concerned then banded together and turned the goats over to the production team, which in turn assigned personnel to take charge of grazing and herding. This actually was public herding of privately owned cattle. The manure belongs to the team.

The common special points of these economic joint units are as follows: One of them is that they arise out of actual needs to promote production. They have the beneficial effects of increasing production and income. The second feature is that the parties concerned act on the principle of self-motivation and mutual benefit; the combinations are not the result of administrative directives from above. The third feature is that they represent the banding together of various kinds of economic components and various kinds of economic patterns. This form of combination has vitality.

#### 5. Several Problems of Understanding Concerning the Specialization of Household Sideline Production

Some people have questioned whether encouraging and supporting specialized households means encouraging the commune members to turn away from collective production and turn exclusively to sideline production. This depends on how one looks at the character of specialized households. In Gansu Province, individual management generally takes three different forms: One of them is that the production materials belong to the individual who labors and does the management work. For example, former petty merchants, petty dealers and individual craftsmen belong to this type. Provided they depend on earnings from proper labor, do not exploit other people and do not engage in speculation or unlawful activities, their setup is perfectly legal and comprises an economic component permitted to exist under our country's socialist system. The second kind comprises those people under a collective economy who contract for a job and take full responsibility for output quotas. The production materials are publicly owned but contracted to individuals to feed or manage. Although this is a form of individual labor, the members concerned are responsible to the collectives; hence, they are different from those who worked on their own prior to cooperativization. The third type comprises commune members' household sideline production. This economy is supplementary to the collective economy. As for specialized households in sideline production, they are of the same nature as commune members' household sideline production, being also supplementary to the collective economy, but they are specialized and commercialized to a higher degree--in fact, a higher form of supplementary economy. All components of the individual economy are related to the powerful socialist economy. Hence, in principle they are different from the components of a capitalist economy. According to what we learned, these people engage in specialized work by virtue of their own physical power and special talents and take part in their work under the unified plan of the collectives. They still retain their status as commune members and partake of grain from the production team, and all their other family members are participants in collective farm labor and in collective distribution. Although the household members of

specialized households do not participate in collective farm labor, they deliver manure to the collectives, perform assigned tasks and participate in collective distribution. In general, they are related in various forms to the collective economy. They have a definite economic responsibility to the collectives and do not separate themselves from the collective economy or work on their own.

Some people may feel this concern: If all the commune members become members of specialized households, what will happen to collective production? This kind of concern stems principally from a misunderstanding of the conditions under which specialized households arise and from the misconception that any commune member can become a member of a specialized household. In reality, the reason why a group of specialized households has appeared in Gansu Province is that the province possesses the following conditions: The first is that products of the state-operated economy and collective economy in the province can hardly meet the demand. This forces household sideline production to develop in the direction of specialization and commercialization. The second is that in many localities and in the communes and brigades there is an abundant surplus of farm labor power which calls for opening wide the road to production. The third is that certain production items are exactly suited to the realm of specialized households. The fourth reason is that certain commune members are advanced in age, weak in physique or stricken by illness; they are generally not suited to collective farm labor yet possess special techniques and talents for undertaking sideline production. The fifth reason is that all these forms are permitted by and have the blessing of party policy. If we turn to the fourth reason above, we may find that not many commune members have these qualifications. According to our investigation of the Chen Ping Commune, reputed to have little cultivated land but a surplus of labor power, at present there are only 10 specialized households in the entire commune. This is less than 1 percent of the total number of households. It is estimated that at best it will never exceed 10 percent of the total number of households. Hence, there is no possibility of all the commune members becoming specialized households or of the emergence of a situation whereby nobody takes part in collective production. Moreover, judging from the present trend of development of agricultural modernization, the enforcement of various kinds of production responsibility systems and the daily increasing adoption of machines to replace manual labor will increasingly aggravate the situation of a growing surplus of rural labor power, which must be diverted to the various specialized fields of endeavor such as forestry, animal husbandry, rural sideline production, fishery, industry, commerce and the service trades. What should be a matter of concern is not that nobody will take part in farm production but that many persons will have no work.

Some people have noticed the growing affluence of many specialized households, which have prospered until they are "overflowing." They have come to doubt whether we depend principally on the collectives to gain affluence or on the development of specialized households. Such doubts stem from a misunderstanding of the dialectical relationship between development of the collective economy and development of the specialized households. It makes the two appear to be opposed to each other. Ours is a socialist state. We must, under the conditions of the absolute supremacy of an economy featuring the public ownership system, allow the various economic component parts to fully assert their role. The collective economy is the principal part, while household sideline production and specialized

households are supplementary to it. This can hardly be questioned. Summing up, it can be seen that at present specialized households comprise less than 1 percent of the total number of households of commune members and are not expected to exceed 10 percent in the future. Although we might earnestly and actively encourage and support these specialized households to become affluent, the proportion they occupy in the gross output value and in the gross income represents a minor role and cannot change the overall situation of depending on the collective economy to become affluent. The crux of the problem lies in what method the collective economy depends on to become affluent. To gain more wealth and affluence, the collective economy must depend on improving its own management and control and not on restricting the growth of specialized households. What is a matter of concern now is that in some localities, due to poor management, the collective economy cannot compete with specialized households and as a result fails in its efforts to become affluent. If it does not abandon its method of "eating from a common pot" or of practicing egalitarianism, the chances are that not only will it fail to get rich but it may also collapse altogether. For example, take the case of chicken farming. A chicken farm run by Liu Quan Commune in Xi Gu District had 155 young chickens early in 1978. Egg production was 400 jin, and receipts were 360 yuan. However, the cost of the feed and compensation paid to the workers amounted to 688 yuan. A net loss of 328 yuan was thus incurred. By the end of the year some of the chickens had been stolen, some had died, and only some 10 birds remained. These were sold at 1.5 yuan each, and the farm had to close its doors. The problem can be clearly understood if a comparison is made with the performance of the Gao Xuelan chicken farm.

Therefore, we should not, just because we want to depend principally on the collective economy to get on the road to wealth and affluence, overlook the important function of specialized households in sideline production to attain the same objective. Moreover, we should not hamper their enthusiasm for socialist production. Gansu Province is a particularly badly hit disaster area because of the rampages of the "gang of four." Natural disasters have frequently occurred in the province. Its collective economy is in a very weak state. Last year, for the province as a whole, the average distribution from the collectives was only 56 yuan per person; 49.6 percent of the recipients comprised persons in the bottom-grade accounting units with an average distribution of less than 40 yuan. In 44.8 percent of the counties in the entire province the per capita grain for consumption was below 300 jin. For this reason it is important and urgent to encourage the commune members to develop household sideline production and to support the specialized households. At the same time we should note that development of specialized households helps to dispel any fears on the part of the commune members with regard to becoming rich. As a matter of fact, when one household is found to be "overflowing" with affluence, a large number of other households are encouraged to follow suit. Chen Fude of Chen Zhuang production brigade from Chen Yuan Commune in Cheng County raised four mules. As soon as the commune's party committee ruled that this was beneficial to the state, to the collective and to the individual, six other households followed suit and raised mules. Liu Fulai, member of a household on relief, raised 200 chickens. This influenced commune members of 4 other households to raise over 100 chickens each. Obviously, if it makes us "see red" when these specialized households become affluent, and if we refute the policy of encouraging and supporting commune members to promote household sideline production, then we are blocking the road to the specialization and socialization of agriculture.

## UNDERSTANDING SOCIALISM THROUGH PRACTICE--A SURVEY REPORT ON RURAL NINGXIA

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[Article by Xing Yan [6717 7159] and Sun Shijie [1327 1102 0267]]

[Text] In the 20 or so days between late September and mid-October we did a survey in five counties in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, namely, Helan, Lingwu, Yanchi, Guyuan and Zhongning.

The natural features of these five counties consist of fertile plains drained by the Huanghe, the Liupan Mountain section of the loess plateau and a semibarren grassland. These represent different relief features of the Ningxia region. Although some areas here have suffered grave natural disasters, the whole autonomous region in general has had a good year. Grain production in many counties on the plain and in the mountains has set a new record. The cadres and masses explained this delightful phenomenon with these words: "Good policy from the authorities, help from heaven and the people's own effort."

In our visit to Ningxia we had a chance to talk to some members of the party committee of the autonomous region and responsible comrades of county CCP committees. We also talked to Hui and Han commune members and cadres, including peasants, herdsmen, school graduates, teachers of schools run by the local people, imams and Chinese wolfberry farmers. These people, with different backgrounds and jobs, talked with us about rural socialist construction. They aired their views freely, fully reflecting the new spirit of daring to speak out and enthusiastically thinking about problems. They praised the party's victory in the countryside in the early 1950's and were worried about our mistakes in practicing collectivization of agriculture. They blamed Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for wrecking rural construction with ultraleftism and were delighted with the new turn of events in the countryside in recent years.

What impressed us most in this survey was that the masses are gradually and correctly understanding socialism through practice.

### The Struggle Between "Rich" and "Poor" Calls for Deep Thought

In our contacts with the cadres and masses, a question always came up: Does socialism make us rich or poor? Socialism was introduced in our country 30 years ago, yet this question still exists. It seems frustrating. However, we realized the real meaning of this question after careful investigation and thought.

"The riches of the Huanghe lie in Ningxia." After the liberation the Hui nationality in Ningxia, under the party's guidance, carried out two great social reforms, namely, land reform and collectivization of agriculture. They supported national construction by giving full play to the superiority of the natural features here. In this way, agricultural and pastoral production steadily increased and the people's livelihood improved, thus creating socialist prosperity in the vast countryside. Unfortunately, this healthy development did not last long. In the 20 years between 1957 and 1976 the development of production in the autonomous region was generally quite slow. "Grain-surplus households" became "grain-deficit households." Many communes in the mountains of Ningxia, once "a granary, an oil base and a base for pastoral farming," had to "buy food from other regions, carry out production with loans and live on relief." Ningxia became one of the nation's poorest regions. In many communes the foundation of the collective economy was too weak to maintain even simple reproduction. Guyuan County's Zhangyi commune had a population of 23,000. In the 14 years since 1966, only 2.02 million jin of public grain and purchased grain was delivered to the state, but as much as 2.7 million jin of grain was purchased from other sources. The commune was deeply indebted to the state. The loans and relief funds it received from the state accumulated to 7.5 million yuan. The smallest unit in our currency is 1 fen. In Jingyuan County the average annual income per capita in 1977 was merely 15.3 yuan; a peasant labored the whole day for less than 5 fen! Some commune members could not make ends meet and did not even have daily necessities. They had to sell eggs from the chickens they kept or sell daily necessities such as salt, matches and thread for a little extra income. The masses jokingly called this "the chicken-ass bank." The above account shows that, for some of the peasants here, not even the basic problem of food was solved, so who would dare mention getting rich? This is why people raised the question, "Does socialism make us rich or poor?"

Can we blame people for this? No. The question was raised because socialism became deformed in some people's minds due to the long period of leftist policy, and especially the 10-year catastrophe of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In those days, being rich was synonymous with capitalism, polarization and being an upstart. Those who wished to get rich were criticized and discriminated against. In such a suffocating atmosphere, many cadres and people gradually developed "rich-phobia" and consciously or unconsciously regarded socialism and affluence as incompatible. So all kinds of absurdities occurred.

Commune members who kept poultry such as ducks, chickens and pigeons or who carried out household sideline production were criticized as having "the spontaneous tendency of a small-scale producer" and "sweeping the land, the sea and the sky." When the branches of the trees in a garden extended beyond the garden walls, the owner was said to be doing harm to the public in favor of himself and was requested to cut off his "capitalist tail." The masses in the mountains used to keep donkeys to help carry wood, water or flour. Yet they dare not do so anymore for fear of "taking the capitalist road." When building a house a commune member also built two brick jetties. For fear of being labeled a "newborn bourgeois element," he secretly sealed the jetties in mud for 13 years. Examples like these abound.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were indeed clever enough to fetter the masses with such ropes and cunningly called this "socialism." However, the peasants would not accept a socialism which drove them to poverty. As the "gang of four" vanished and order was brought out of chaos, the cadres and masses of the vast countryside liberated their minds from the fetters. From their own experience they gradually realized that what the upper levels had described was a struggle between true and fake socialism. In our survey we heard many sound discussions on this question. For example, why don't differences between rich and the poor polarize under the socialist system? Why is household sideline production a necessary supplement to the socialist economy? Why is affluence for all not equal to simultaneous affluence? And so on and so forth. The people we met sincerely discussed these questions with justification. The cadres and masses went through both positive and negative experiences and arrived at the same conclusion: "20, 30 years have passed, yet we still have not eradicated poverty and become rich. This is not because socialism is no good; rather, it is because Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' advocated the evil of fake socialism."

Once people's understanding of socialism was set right, new reforms were introduced in production, and initial prosperity appeared in rural undertakings. Now the harvest is good, the numbers of sheep and cattle have increased, many kinds of undertakings and household sideline production have improved and the rural fair trade is more active than before. This rural prosperity shows that the people have more incentive to work for a better home and for more money and that socialism is deeply rooted among the peasant masses.

To practice socialism we must improve the people's material and cultural levels. Forgetting this basic aim means not understanding what socialism is. Only when the question is solved through theory and practice will there be hope for socialism. Isn't the new turn in rural Ningxia proof of this?

#### The Grave Lesson From "Eating Out of a Common Pot"

During the discussions the cadres and masses raised another question: In practicing socialism, can we "eat out of a common pot"? "Eating out of a common pot" means egalitarianism. Although this practice is contradictory to the socialist principle of distribution, we cannot easily solve it. In the 20 years or more since the collectivization of agriculture, this question has not been solved. As a result, the people's initiative was undermined and rural production was wrecked. The cadres and masses bitterly pointed out that "egalitarianism means poverty-ism" and that "the common pot drove us to poverty."

The cadres and masses listed actual examples of egalitarianism, such as the absence of labor norms, large numbers of laborers who were of mixed quality and an unjustified wage scale. When the wage was uniform, some people might have had to do more work but would not get more money. Many able craftsmen were originally an important force in creating wealth for the communes, yet, for fear of earning more than the others and being criticized as having a "spontaneous capitalist tendency," they found no outlet for their ability. Food was distributed in proportion to the number of heads, not to labor, so that more children would bring relatively more food. The peasants reflected that "even if you work to death it is more profitable to have a baby." We saw many



children in the communes we visited. It was quite usual for a peasant woman in her 30's to have 5 or 6 children. This shows that egalitarianism in food distribution is harmful to rural planned parenthood.

Many basic-level cadres and commune members still remember two bursts of egalitarianism in the roundabout development of the collectivization of agriculture. We committed a leftist mistake in policy which whipped up a "communist wind," so the masses suffered from "eating out of a common pot." The second burst was around 1975. The "gang of four" carried out "all-round dictatorship," criticized "material incentives" and "putting work points in command" and confused right with wrong. When the "gang of four" were smashed and order was brought out of chaos, the party's economic policy was gradually implemented in the countryside, and egalitarianism was considerably overcome. Yet some people still regard distribution according to work as a capitalist thing and wrongly classify egalitarianism as a communist principle and superior feature of socialism. This wrong belief, still often reflected in actual work, is an obstacle to implementing the principle of distribution according to work.

In the process of implementing the two central documents on agriculture, some communes in rural Ningxia experimented with the responsibility system in agricultural production. As in other areas, this experiment aroused social concern. Some people approved it, some did not, while others doubted its effects. However, practice proved that implementing different forms of the responsibility system in production according to the actual situation, so that the result of production is linked to the individual's material benefits, is an effective way to overcome egalitarianism and practice the principle of distribution according to work.

The secretary of the Helan County CCP Committee told us that the responsibility system had mobilized the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and that its effects had initially been shown in various kinds of production. For example, during this year's summer harvest, 39 percent of the county's production teams practiced the responsibility system linked to output, and their increased grain production amounted to 48 percent of the county's total increase; 40 percent of the teams practiced the system, but not linked to output, and their increased grain production was 33 percent of the county's total increase; 23 percent of the county's teams did not practice the system, and their increased grain production was 18 percent of the county's total increase. The above figures clearly show that the degree of overcoming egalitarianism is in direct proportion to the increase in production. The secretary of the Helan County CCP Committee also cited the example of the Yinguang No 12 team to prove the disadvantages of egalitarianism. This team was above average in terms of conditions of production. Because it practiced "eating out of a common pot," last year's grain production fell by 20,000 catties compared with the previous year. This year it did not practice the responsibility system, and grain production dropped by a further 50,000 catties. The masses said, "By eating out of a common pot we have stripped the kitchen of food." The team cadres realized that the more they "ate out of a common pot" the more passive the team became, so it was imperative to institute the responsibility system in production.

Practicing the responsibility system in production and the principle of distribution according to work is unexpectedly effective. In Lingwu County, paddy fields occupied 70,000 to 80,000 mu of land. Weeds had always been a nuisance. Since each person is responsible for his own job, the fields are now much tidier than before. Even when the production team cadres inspected the fields square meter by square meter, few weeds were found. In the Dujiatan No 6 team of Dumuqiao commune, work attendance used to be very low. During last year's wheat harvest there was a spell of overcast weather, and sprouts began to grow on the wheat. Since nobody took care of it, over 10,000 jin of wheat was wasted. This year the responsibility system was practiced, and it "further mobilized the enthusiasm of hardworking people and cured the sickness of the lazy." Work attendance was twice that of last year, various kinds of agricultural production increased and quality was better, and the summer grain harvest increased by 84.5 percent compared with last year. With the same workers in the same fields, why was the effect so different? The answer is simply that the masses did not "eat out of a common pot" anymore.

Some people worried that the responsibility system in production would make the individual rich and the collective poor. The masses replied, "A wick is lit at both ends, so that both the collective and the individual are equally bright." In the past, four carpenters from the Zhengquan No 5 team of Yongning County's Tongqiao commune suffered interference and restriction in their work. This year the production team grouped them together and instituted the responsibility system of specialized contracting with remuneration linked to output. They received orders from outside as well as working for the team. In less than 1 year their total income amounted to 19,782 yuan; after payment for production costs, wages, subsidies and bonuses they earned a net profit of 8,000 yuan for the production team and received an average of 456 yuan each. The Yuchang No 8 team of Zhongning County's Shikong commune practiced the "three specializations and one link" system of responsibility. Apart from grain production, the team also engaged in sideline production and various other production activities. Some members were responsible for the grain and some for the money. Jobs like pig rearing, manure collection, melon growing or brick baking were assigned to each group, household and individual. In this year's summer harvest, grain production increased, and agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and sideline production all prospered. The total income increased by 60 percent compared with the same time last year. The old situation of "deficiency in food and capital, poverty for commune members" has changed, and the collective economy has been further developed.

Of course, the problem of "eating out of a common pot" cannot be solved overnight. The small-scale producer used to be absolutely predominant in our nation. Therefore, egalitarianism has a wide social foundation and historical origins. How to further solve the problem of egalitarianism is an important issue now and for a long time to come. A small number of people in the villages here are so used to "eating out of a common pot" that they do not readily accept the principle of distribution according to work. Neither are they in favor of the responsibility system in production. This reflects the egalitarianism in them. However, the overwhelming majority of cadres and masses, through personal experience, now understand that egalitarianism is not socialism and is not in accordance with their basic interests. This socialist awakening among the

peasants is a great thing; it will turn into a material force to build socialism in the countryside.

### We Must Not Practice "Uniform Measure"

The socialist practice in rural Ningxia also proves the truth that socialist construction must proceed from reality. It must not be handled with "uniform measures."

Many comrades here said, "Although Ningxia is not a large region, it is a region of contrasts in natural features and social conditions. In the past we took a roundabout course due to the ultraleftist influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and subjectivism in guidance. The lesson is profound."

The characteristics of minority nationalities are an example. Ningxia is a Hui autonomous region. One-third of the population is Hui. The Hui people live in the relatively poor areas in the southern mountains of Ningxia. It is important to consider the characteristics of the minority nationalities and respect their customs when we conscientiously implement the party's policy on the regional autonomy of minority nationalities, train cadres from among them and strengthen the cooperation between them. This is closely related to the development of production relations. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated ultraleftism and ignored the characteristics of the minority nationalities, while we made mistakes due to insufficient emphasis on implementing the party's policy on minority nationalities. We undermined the socialist enthusiasm of Hui cadres and masses by demolishing their mosques and forcing the Hui people to rear pigs. In the economic construction of the region we did not consider the characteristics and needs of the Hui people when planning a better livelihood for them and helping their communes to develop production. The cadres and masses declared that this neglect was an important reason for the long backwardness in the Hui areas of Ningxia.

Another example is the question of production policy. Agricultural production is related to nature and in many ways is restricted by natural factors. When production policy is decided, the local natural features should be taken into consideration. Appropriate areas should be set aside for crop growing, forestry or pastoral farming. This issue was not handled well in the past. Sometimes even the contrary was practiced. Once the principle "grasp grain as the key link" was carried out, all the plains, mountains and pastures had to be used for growing grain. Dry and windy semigrasslands like Yanchi had long been more suitable for pastoral farming than for crop growing. However, from 1969 to 1976 the peasants were forced to use the land here mainly to grow crops. The result was a vicious cycle in which "fields squeezed the pastures away while the wind and sand swallowed the fields." So both crop growing and pastoral farming failed. In the Liupan Mountain region where temperatures are low and rainfall is scanty, such things as clearing forests for farming and blindly reclaiming wasteland also occurred. In the whole of Guyuan County, more than 1 million mu of pastures were cleared for farming, and 13 communes have now been deprived of any grass for their cattle. These blind and subjective deeds were punished by objective laws. In 1977 the total food production of this county was more or less the same as in 1949. One production team mobilized all its manpower and cattle to clear all its

pastures and forests, which resulted in serious soil erosion. Each seed produced only four or five grains, and the ecological balance was upset. Crop growing there was not profitable.

A further example is the question of making use of advantages, avoiding shortcomings and taking advantage of superior features. As regards natural factors and resources, the development of production in Ningxia has many assets. Apart from the major asset of water from the Huanghe, Ningxia also has "red (Chinese wolfberries), yellow (licorice roots), blue (Helan stones), white (sheepskin) and black (dried sea moss)," which are renowned both domestically and abroad. These special agricultural and sideline products have a high economic value. For this reason the masses call them "money plants." Had full advantage been taken to increase the production of these items, the economic development of rural Ningxia would have been promising. However, in the years when "uniform measures" prevailed, the emphasis was on grain production, and many agricultural activities were set aside. Both the number of sheep and Chinese wolfberry production decreased. The masses said, "Grasping grain production as the key simply sweeps away everything else." The result was that the strongpoints dwindled and the shortcomings grew. Moreover, some areas, ignoring their needs and practicability, imitated Dazhai's "uniform measure" principle in growing crops, which resulted in enormous waste and losses in manpower and material resources.

Through setbacks and mistakes people learned to be clever. At the third plenary session of the Central Committee the materialistic ideological line of seeking truth from facts was again confirmed. This greatly accelerated emancipation of the mind among the cadres and masses. That ideological knowledge is gradually becoming more profound is reflected in actual work. In our survey we were impressed by the cadres of the production teams, communes and counties in the autonomous region. Whenever they did anything, they considered the actual situation first and tried to ascertain whether the plans were in accordance with the actual conditions there and then. This is a delightful phenomenon.

Actually, socialism as a superior social system only provides a target and direction for people. Apart from raising the principles of public ownership and distribution according to work, the founders of Marxism-Leninism did not and could not have fixed any definite frames for socialism. Socialism itself allows a diversified development in material means and culture. It is metaphysical to divorce socialism from actual conditions and treat it as a dull and fixed model. Under the prerequisite of adhering to the basic principles of socialism, people have every right to practice socialism and carry out all kinds of exploration and creation according to the actual situation. This should be done both in the nation and in the regions. If socialism is built in this way, prosperity will certainly appear in regions like Ningxia.

The intrinsic aim of building socialism is to gradually improve the people's material and cultural levels. The basic principle of distribution according to work must be adhered to in the historical stage of socialism. "Uniform measures" must not be practiced in a socialist society. Having practiced them for a long time and paid an enormous price, the cadres and masses of Ningxia have finally understood socialism better in the three aspects mentioned above. This is a valuable thing. The cadres and masses of Ningxia will understand socialism even better as their practice becomes more profound. "The flourishing creativity of socialism is created by the masses themselves." After this survey we realize more deeply the absolute correctness of Lenin's theory.

**BOLDLY SELECT OUTSTANDING PERSONS FROM AMONG INTELLECTUALS**

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[Article by Wang Jue [3769 6030]]

[Text] The problem of promoting outstanding young and middle-aged cadres, to a large extent, is the problem of how to treat intellectuals, especially the young and middle-aged intellectuals. The situation in many places shows us that only by overcoming the leftist idea of looking down on knowledge and on intellectuals and by boldly selecting outstanding persons from among young and middle-aged intellectuals can leading groups become youthful, cultured and specialized.

The present situation is, on the one hand, the result of the phenomenon of aged, low-cultured and too few outstanding cadres with specialized knowledge being members of leading groups at all levels; on the other hand, many outstanding young and middle-aged cadres who adhere to the correct political and ideological lines, who have cultural levels of university and college graduates and who are capable of doing organizational and leading work are not being promoted and assigned important posts. According to reports from some comrades working in the personnel departments of provincial and prefectural party committees, the "too fews" phenomenon exists among intellectuals; that is to say, few of them are admitted as party members and even fewer are in leading groups of the party and the government at various levels. Leading groups at the prefecture and county levels which lack any university and college graduates are not in the minority. In some factories and educational and scientific research units where there are more intellectuals, there also are not many intellectuals holding leading posts. In some factories there are scores of technical cadres who are university and college graduates, but not one of them is a leading cadre at the factory level, and no more than one or two are responsible members at the workshop level. This phenomenon even exists in a certain technical section where everyone is a university graduate, but the person in the section's leading post is a "worker." What is even more noteworthy is that in some places and units the list of candidates for promotion still includes only a small percentage of young and middle-aged cadres who are university and college graduates or who have equivalent educational levels, while quite a large percentage—40, 50 and even 60 percent—consists of cadres with cultural levels of junior middle school and even lower. The above situation shows that in the work of selecting leading cadres the phenomenon of looking down on knowledge and on intellectuals is still quite common and also quite serious.

We seldom hear people say that it is not important to select outstanding young and middle-aged cadres in order to strengthen leading groups at different levels, but there are many obstacles in putting this into practice. Why is this so? Are there no outstanding persons? No. At present there is no small number of cadres with cultural levels of university and college graduates or with equivalent levels in all provinces and municipalities, prefectures, counties, trades and professions and on all fronts. Of course, not all these people possess the criteria for assuming leading work, but people with such criteria are not few in number. Undoubtedly it is possible to select among them some outstanding comrades to strengthen the leading groups. The main problem at present is that the minds of some leading comrades and departments responsible for the work are not emancipated, and the leftist idea of looking down on knowledge and on intellectuals is doing mischief. We now seldom find people who still consider intellectuals "the stinking ninth category" and "objects of the dictatorship." Nevertheless, quite a few people think that intellectuals cannot become leading cadres, especially chief leading cadres. If such an erroneous idea is not corrected, outstanding persons needed by the modernization program cannot be selected and promoted, and leading groups cannot become youthful, cultured or specialized.

The reason some comrades think that intellectuals cannot become leaders is that they worry that once intellectuals become leaders the class status of leading groups will change, which will then affect the implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies. This is absolutely wrong.

What grounds are there for worrying that the promotion of intellectuals will change the class status of leading groups? Nothing, other than such beliefs as the one that intellectuals come from "bad family origins and have complicated social connections," or that their "world outlook is not that of the proletariat." These beliefs represent the leftist viewpoint of looking upon intellectuals as dissidents. As a matter of fact, in the past 30 years most of the intellectuals trained by our party and our country have come from families of workers and peasants. In a socialist country where the laboring people are the masters, how can they become bourgeois intellectuals and no longer belong to the same family as the laboring people simply by graduating from colleges or universities and having mastered one or more specialties? We do not deny that some intellectuals come from families of nonlaboring people or have complicated social connections. However, a man's class status is decided not only by his family origin but primarily by the kind of ownership relations which restrict him, by the kind of people he stands for and by the kind of people's interests he serves. The great majority of intellectuals in our country, including those from families of nonlaboring people and with complicated social connections, fall within the socialist production relations and are willing to serve and actually are serving the people's interests. It was precisely because of this that, after smashing the "gang of four," the party clearly pointed out: The overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country have become socialist laborers, have become a component part of the working class and have become a reliable force. To select outstanding intellectuals from the component part of the working class for promotion as leading cadres not only will not change the class status of leading groups but will precisely raise the proletarian level of leading groups.

We say that the working class is the leading class. This is not wrong. But it does not mean that only workers and peasants can become leading cadres and that intellectuals cannot do so. The thinking that if intellectuals become leading cadres it means denying that the working class is the leading class is an erroneous viewpoint influenced by the leftist line. Of course, in times of war and shortly after our country was liberated, most of our cadres came directly from among the workers and peasants. Leading cadres were also promoted mainly from the ranks of worker and peasant cadres. But that was decided by the historical conditions of those days. It cannot serve as proof that intellectuals cannot become leading cadres. On the contrary, the slogan "Admit intellectuals in large quantities" put forth by the party in those days pointed out that "without the participation of intellectuals it is impossible for the revolution to win victory." The party called on intellectuals to actively join the revolution, admitted to the party comrades among the intellectuals who had established revolutionary viewpoints and promoted them to leading posts. At present the grand task of carrying out the four modernizations demands that leading cadres have higher cultural levels, especially specialized knowledge and skills, than in the past. To this end we should, on the one hand, help cadres in office, especially leading cadres, to raise their scientific and cultural levels. On the other hand, we should all the more attach importance to promoting outstanding young and middle-aged cadres who have graduated from universities and colleges or who have equivalent cultural levels so as to strengthen leading groups at the various levels. After these comrades are brought into leading groups, if any change takes place at all, it will be an improvement over the present situation of low educational levels and too few cadres with specialized knowledge in leading groups. It is precisely this kind of change that is needed to make our contingent of cadres and our leading organs suit the needs of the four modernizations and better implement the party's line and general and specific policies.

In the discussion of lines, the main content of our political line is to carry out the four modernizations. Our line of organization is to guarantee that there are enough qualified persons required for the four modernizations. It is difficult for cadres with too low cultural levels to be competent at leading the construction of the four modernizations. If one cannot understand reports, drawings and reference materials and cannot manage production, technical work and financial work, how is one to exercise leadership? If such a person is to exercise leadership, he is bound to use lay language, practice bureaucracy, issue arbitrary and impractical directions and do foolish things which he should not do. In some units, reasonable suggestions made by the scientific and technical personnel and staff members and workers are not adopted, and the fruits of scientific research, discoveries and inventions are not valued. The enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses is held back and dampened. Production and scientific research have long been unable to develop, and the interests of the people even suffer losses. These conditions are the result of having cadres who are non-professionals and incompetent. An important reason why some units which had long lagged behind have now rapidly changed their situation is that the leading groups have been adjusted and have been strengthened by young and energetic leading cadres who adhere to the correct political and ideological lines and have specialized knowledge and skills. In the Yueyang general chemical plant, production could not be increased in the past. After the smashing of the "gang of four," a number of engineering and technical personnel who are graduates of

universities and colleges were successively promoted to leading posts at the general plant level and branch plant level, and the enthusiasm of the scientific and technical personnel and the broad masses of workers was given full play. So production there increased remarkably. Since 1977 the total industrial output value has been raised by 30.2 percent each year, and profits turned over to higher authorities have been increased by 27.8 percent each year. Again this year's plan for profits has been fulfilled one season ahead of schedule. In the Zhengzhou rubber factory a university graduate was promoted to the post of deputy factory director and engineer. After he assumed office, he led everybody there to carry out improvements in the tire structure. To solve the problem of an insufficient supply of natural rubber, he and others reformed the process and ways of preparing the raw materials so that the percentage of synthetic rubber was raised from 30 percent to 40 and 50 percent. Facts have proved to us again and again that without the participation of intellectuals in leading work our four modernizations cannot be realized, and the so-called implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies becomes merely empty words.

Another reason some leading comrades and departments in charge seldom pay attention to specialized knowledge and skills and to intellectual cadres in selecting leading cadres is that they think intellectuals only know theories and do not know practice and have less experience than workers and peasants. This is not tenable either.

Among the great majority of intellectuals in our country, not all know only theories and do not know practice, and not all are without experience. In the past we said that in a certain sense the intellectuals, when compared with the workers and peasants, had the least knowledge. This can only be used to describe the intellectual nobles in olden times who could neither use their four limbs nor tell five grains apart. If it is used to refer to intellectuals in our time in general, especially intellectuals trained by our party, it is simply wrong. It was by confusing the line of demarcation between these two kinds of intellectuals that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" slandered the broad numbers of intellectuals in our country. Intellectuals trained by our party, especially university and college graduates of the 1950's and 1960's and those comrades who have become outstanding persons through self-study in practical work, have been doing practical work for many years. We must acknowledge that they have accumulated a lot of experience. They possess both theoretical and practical knowledge. They can do work in factories, and modernized work at that. They can do farmwork in rural areas, and scientific farmwork at that. Compared with those leading cadres who are far removed from the masses and reality, who never go deep among the masses and who never go down to grassroots units, they understand the masses better, understand reality better and have more knowledge and experience. Besides, to be with or without experience, and with more or less experience, is not something absolute. It is a fact that intellectuals newly graduated from schools are without experience or have less experience. But can their experience grow out of nothing and grow from little to more if they are to do practical work for several years? In a certain county in Hunan there was a graduate from an agricultural college who was a member of the Communist Party. He had a good ideological character and was quite capable in work. Could such a person be sent to work to a commune as a secretary of the party committee? At first some comrades worried that he did not have enough experience. The standing committee held



three meetings, and the problem was studied for 3 months. Still they could not rest assured and appointed him only as an acting secretary. After he had worked for a period of time it was proved that he had done very well. Only then did the county committee decide to appoint him as secretary. This shows that intellectuals possess a substantial amount of cultural and scientific knowledge and that their experience undoubtedly can be enriched and developed through practice.

It cannot be denied that cadres of worker and peasant origins were tempered in past practice and have experience in practical work. This of course is very valuable. But since the cause of socialism is developing continuously, we cannot be content with past experience. All of us have to try to find out and sum up how to carry on the Chinese-style modernization. Each comrade, especially comrades doing leading work, should be receptive to new things and study new problems and should try hard to raise his experience to the level of theory, because only theory reflects the nature of things and has general guiding significance. However, it is difficult to do this with low cultural levels and without substantial theoretical knowledge as a guide. It is therefore necessary for worker and peasant cadres to work hard studying revolutionary theories and cultural and scientific knowledge and to become professionals or experts in a certain field. We attach importance to selecting outstanding persons from among comrades who graduated from universities or colleges or have equivalent cultural levels, because these comrades, having mastered some scientific theoretical knowledge and having gained some experience from practice, possess the criteria to sum up things in conformity with the law of development from positive and negative experiences if they make an incessant effort. If they do, they can stand on a higher plane and see farther ahead.

Other comrades consider that intellectuals have many faults and shortcomings, have made mistakes and are not suitable to become leaders. This reflects an outworn prejudice against intellectuals.

We do not deny that intellectuals have shortcomings of one kind or another. But are shortcomings of one kind or another confined to intellectuals? Let us take pride and complacency for examples. They are considered common failings of intellectuals. As a matter of fact, it is not only intellectuals who can be proud and complacent, and not all intellectuals are such. We do not approve of anyone being proud, no matter who he is, because pride causes a man to lag behind, whereas modesty causes a man to make progress. However, what is noteworthy is that sometimes there is no basis for the beliefs that intellectuals are "proud and complacent," "cocky," and so on. For example, some intellectuals ask leaders of their units to implement the party's policies as quickly as possible and to take effective measures to do away with the situation handed down from the past in which intellectuals are discriminated against politically and are excluded from work. Can this be called cocky? In some factories the secretaries of party committees or factory directors disregard the purpose of production and disregard economic results. They persist in producing old products which have long been obsolete and for which there is no market. If the engineering and technical personnel there refuse to sign their names, can they be considered proud and conceited or said to be defying the leadership? Since intellectuals have acquired some knowledge, they like to be scientific whenever anything comes up and are inclined to air their views. They like to put forth different opinions

when the leaders make any incorrect decision or express any unreasonable views. Is there anything wrong with this? The talents and knowledge of intellectuals are often revealed in this way. This should be strongly encouraged. How can they be said to be proud, conceited and cocky?

In some places the promotion of intellectuals meets with obstacles from various quarters. One of the reasons is that some comrades are overcritical toward intellectuals. They expect them to be perfect in every way, like a flawless piece of jade. We have heard of many cases like the following. Some comrades were wrongly labeled as rightists. Such wrong decisions have been corrected, and it was not their fault at all. However, the corrected wrong decisions have become obstacles to their promotion. Some comrades had some shortcomings several years and even 10 or 20 years ago, or they committed some mistakes which had long been corrected and have never repeated the same mistakes. Now they behave very well, yet they cannot be promoted. The habits and hobbies of some comrades in their daily life, which do not affect society or others, have also become excuses for not promoting them. There are many more such examples. To evaluate people in such a metaphysical way is precisely a manifestation of the ossified or semi-ossified way of thinking. To judge whether an intellectual can be promoted or not, his past conduct has to be considered, but it is more important to consider his present behavior, to consider whether his political and ideological lines are correct and to consider whether he has specialized knowledge and the ability to organize and to lead. Things not related to these attributes should not be criticized. There are outstanding persons among the young and middle-aged intellectuals if we do not demand perfection or are not overcritical. As for comrades who committed mistakes in the past, including those who said something wrong or did something wrong in the 10 years of turmoil, we should see if they have the desire and ability to correct them and see how well they have actually corrected their shortcomings. If they have made corrections, we should not seize on their past mistakes. As for people who once opposed us and who opposed wrongly, it is better to have a lenient attitude. If they have changed and can be put in important posts, we should do so. If they can be promoted, we should also do so. There is no perfect man in this world. Who has never erred? If we seize on past mistakes of others and ask them to do work unworthy of their talents, we do not have the broadmindedness of a communist.

To select outstanding cadres from among young and middle-aged cadres in order to make leading groups youthful, cultured and specialized is an important issue with strategic significance. It has a direct bearing on the success or failure of the four modernizations. On this problem, if we hesitate and waver, if we are slow in making decisions, we shall make historical mistakes. We must seriously sum up positive and negative experiences in history and resolutely overcome the leftist idea of looking down on knowledge and on intellectuals. To meet the needs of the four modernizations, and for the future of our motherland, we must dare to struggle against any phenomenon of suppressing and trampling upon outstanding persons. We must be brave in reforming organizational and personnel systems which are not in keeping with the times. We must grasp our work firmly, select outstanding persons and put them in office. We must do our utmost to train, to discover and to eliminate confining rules and thus make use of outstanding persons.

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WE SHOULD PERSIST IN KEEPING TO A MINIMUM PUBLICITY GIVEN TO INDIVIDUALS

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[Article by Yang Fengchun [2799 6646 2504]]

[Text] The party Central Committee's policies and stipulations on "keeping to a minimum publicity given to individuals" have received the wholehearted support of the broad masses of party members and the people. These policies and stipulations constitute an important measure for the renewal and activation of the party's close relations with the masses and the strengthening of the system of democratic centralism, a measure which possesses significance for developing socialist democracy and for achieving the realization of socialist modernizations.

#### 1. A Basic Standpoint of Marxism

Marxism maintains that the history of social development is primarily the history of the development of production and the history of the successive changes in the form of production over the course of many centuries. At the same time, Marxism holds that it is the history of the producers of material goods, that is, the history of the fundamental force in the production process--the masses of working people. Thus, the masses are the creators and the masters of history. They are the leading force in our understanding of the world and in the changing of the world. In particular, when they become aware of their progressive historical mission, they bravely stride forward in the midst of the revolutionary movement. It is exactly this historical guiding role of the people which, page by page, has written such a lasting epic. In actual life, it is only by grasping this clear demarcation between the standpoint of historical materialism, according to which history is made by the people, and all kinds of historical idealism, according to which history is made by heroes, that we are able to bring the relationship between individuals and the masses into a clear perspective.

In the Marxist view the role of individuals or of leaders in history is one which cannot be erased. Nevertheless, any individual, even if he is a great personage, is only one of the masses, only one element in the collective. Being a great personage consists of the ability of an individual to concentrate the wisdom of the masses, to correctly express the wants and desires of the people, and to lead the masses to struggle resolutely and indomitably for the realization of a great revolutionary goal. If an individual becomes divorced from the

masses and abandons the collective, then his genius, however great, cannot be put to its proper use or achieve its full potential. At the same time, all great men are the necessary products of historical development; as the French materialist Helvetius said, every social period needs its great men, and if it does not have these great men, it will produce them. However, at whatever time or place a great man makes his appearance, it is always a purely accidental phenomenon; if this person does not make his appearance, then another person will. Although there may be great differences between the qualities, propensities, interests and abilities of these persons, they nevertheless will always appear in the world. It was well said by Engels that, "as chance would have it, this man from the island of Corsica, Bonaparte, rose to be the military dictator of the battle-weary French Republic--this was a fortuitous phenomenon. Nevertheless, even if this man Bonaparte had never existed, his part would have been played by another man." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 507) Thus, these great men are not "gods," unfathomable to men, but are, rather, men who play a role under specific historical conditions.

In any great historical period a whole group of remarkable men will spring up and will, moreover, play outstanding roles; consequently, we cannot take each individual great man and treat him, in solitary splendor, as someone with heaven-sent superhuman powers. To play a part in an artificial way, abnegating the role of collective leadership and denying the parts other people have to play, is not consistent with historical reality. In the course of guiding China's revolutionary struggle, our party has produced a group of leaders who have received the endorsement of the masses and who have received a high degree of popular trust; they led the heroic advance of the masses, and for this reason alone we achieved great victories.

If critical evaluations of the role of individuals in history are not based on this foundation of historical materialism, then undesirable effects are bound to be produced through the belittling of the collective, the showing of contempt for the masses, and the stressing of the individual and the overstatement of the role of the individual. This has been the case for a certain period and was particularly true during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when there was unprincipled adulation of leaders and when leaders were made into gods. The outcome of this was a complete about-face in the relationship between individuals and the masses, the obscuring of the true face of history and the creation of modern myths and superstitions, all of which affected the socialist cause. After the smashing of the "gang of four," there still was a period of time when all this idolatry was indiscriminately applied. Even after the publication of the decision on "keeping to a minimum publicity given to individuals," and especially after the issuance of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" at the party's third plenary session, there still were some people who were secretly bent on unprincipled praise and adulation, "on carrying sedan chairs" and on blowing other people's trumpets with the aim of playing up individuals, or who welcomed the praise and adulation of other people and were pleased to have others carry sedan chairs or blow their trumpets for them. It is evident that a powerful force will have to be brought to bear if we are to adhere to historical materialism and rid ourselves of the harmful effects of feudalism. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, anything which has gone too far always tends to return to an equilibrium. The present policy of "keeping to a minimum publicity about individuals," proposed

by the party Central Committee, is an important measure for correcting the erroneous behavior of excessively publicizing individuals, which ignores seeking truth from facts, and for renewing the master image of the masses of the people as the creators of history.

## 2. To Develop Socialist Democracy It Is Necessary To Keep to a Minimum the Publicizing of Individuals

A fundamental need of socialist democracy is to oppose personal attachments and to encourage and put into practice equality on a comradely basis in relations between people. In political life, the more developed the comradely relationship of equality, the more complete democracy will be. Only in this way can the masses truly become the masters of their own destiny and bring into play, to the widest extent, their historical initiative.

The very act of conducting propaganda which has the aim of drawing attention to individuals smacks of publicizing the contention that history is created by individuals. Because this kind of propaganda does not allow people to understand the facts in an objective manner or permit them to judge matters independently, but encourages the myth of the individual and blind idolatry, it causes people to entrust their own destiny and future prospects to others. Thus, overemphasis on giving publicity to individuals runs counter to a fundamental principle of Marxism, and it is not compatible with socialist democracy.

Propaganda which stresses the role of the individual may thus lead to the unconscious deification of individuals. And once the party's leaders have been deified, attitudes of reverence or of disrespect then cause political problems. Any opinion contrary to that of the leader will be seen as having an evil political intent, so that it is held to be a vicious attack and leads to inevitable grief. If this is the case, everyone must speak only in a certain tone of voice and must live and act according to strict rules; thoughts are confined and mouths are muzzled. Then, to a certain extent, there reappears in the relations between people a relationship of ruler and the ruled, father and son--the cat and mouse relationship--which was so often seen in the old society.

Propaganda which plays up the individual may also harm the principle of democratic centralism and cause an expansion of patriarchal behavior. The party's system of democratic centralism "is the system which integrates the party's leadership structure with the broad masses of party members; it is a system in which centralism begins among the masses of party members and is also upheld by the masses of party members." (Liu Shaoqi, "On the Party," p 60) This constitutes an important guarantee that relations of comradely equality will be put into practice both inside and outside the party. Overemphasis on individuals can create the impression that this or that person is omniscient and can do anything and, moreover, that he is always correct and that no leadership work can be done without him. As a result, his instructions must be obeyed on any matter; the opinions of others are of little consequence. He will hold an excessive number of concurrent posts in the organization, and too much power will be concentrated in the hands of a single individual. Within party committees at a certain level the phenomena of extreme conceit and of the words of one individual carrying far too much weight will appear; in this case, an individual will be equated with the party among the

masses, and behavior of the "I am the party" sort will occur. This is to say that a method of doing things which runs counter to the principles of socialist democracy will have made its appearance in the relationship between individuals and the organization, between individuals and the collective and between people inside and outside the party, and that on the political side things cannot be made lively and vigorous.

Propaganda which plays up the individual--overemphasizes the role of individuals--is not beneficial for the raising and discovery of men of ability; on the contrary, it is the easiest and most direct way of killing off talent before it comes to fruition. From the lessons learned over the past 30 years since the founding of the PRC, we can see that many outstanding people and model workers have met their downfall and been discredited amid unprincipled lavish praise and eulogy. This is because propaganda which plays up individuals can easily provoke feelings of pride in those very individuals, so that they are unable to see their achievements in a proper perspective and cannot deal correctly with the relationships between the individual and the masses and between the individual and the collective, so that they claim credit for themselves, are immodest and get bogged down and become nonprogressive. Moreover, it can cause the kind of misconception in which outstanding persons, model workers and model progressive elements come to be seen as nothing more than the product of certain random elements, not as the necessary outcome of the masses' activities but rather the necessary result of contests (or of competition). Thereupon they are enveloped in mystery, and it is as if, as soon as they have made a name for themselves, they can be trusted completely, and if they make mistakes, they are given all kinds of unprincipled protection. In order to "protect" old model elements, an inhibitive bureaucratic attitude is adopted toward new model elements who may have made their appearance. Apart from all this, a person who is set up as a progressive model will often begin to establish links with leaders who have stayed in his particular area to gain firsthand experience or with whom he had previously formed some kind of relationship. They will form special relationships of common interest, thus transforming something which originally had some revolutionary content into a retrogressive relationship of personal dependence. Many progressive persons and progressive undertakings have been deliberately or unintentionally harmed in this manner.

By its very nature, the proletariat tends toward the collective and toward democracy. In the struggle for its own liberation it derives its strength from the bringing into play of the positive nature of the collective. Thus, it does not need to rely on any individual, any force or any clique; it has even less need for unprincipled praise and adulation, flattery and toadying. The proletariat requires the establishment of relations of comradely equality, the perfection of the system of democratic centralism, and the continual raising and expansion of the degree of democratization in political life so as to facilitate the most extensive utilization of its own positive nature and to fulfill its historical destiny. The report on the revised party constitution, adopted at the eighth national party congress, points out: "Our duty is to persist in putting into effect the Central Committee's general policy of opposition to giving excessive publicity to individuals and of opposition to the praise and adulation of individuals, so as to attain the complete fulfillment, in every respect, of the party's democratic principles and mass line." Our present

emphasis on "keeping to a minimum the publicity given to individuals" is for the benefit of this lofty goal and is also to thereby insure the smooth realization of the establishment of the socialist four modernizations.

### 3. Keeping Publicity Given to Individuals to a Minimum Must Start Within the Party

Our party is the ruling party, and the atmosphere of the party has an effect on the mood of society. Keeping publicity given to individuals to a minimum can guide public opinion in the correct direction of development and can cause the status of the masses in the state and in society to gain proper respect and advancement.

To this end we must first initiate education and propaganda in historical materialism within the party, so as to firmly implant in the minds of the broad masses of party members the point of view which holds that history is created by the masses and to set to rights the relationship between individuals and the masses. In propaganda work we must truly strive toward the following: We must give more publicity to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to the superiority of socialism and the achievements of the workers, peasants, army-men and intellectuals in the struggle for the four modernizations, and to the general and specific policies and resolutions of the party, and we must give less publicity to actions and speeches of individual leaders which have no important significance.

At present some people have arrived at an extremely limited concept of historical materialism, to such an extent that they believe the only thing that can be discussed in relation to historical materialism is the class struggle. And in discussing the class struggle they vulgarly understand it as the lavishing of praise on and setting on a pedestal of one group of people while struggling against and attacking another group of people. In the view of these people, the masses are simply a means for carrying out all their vacillating "movements" in the course of this struggle. This is a serious distortion of Marxist historical materialism and of the doctrine of the class struggle. In implementing education in historical materialism we must firmly establish the mass viewpoint, which means that we should believe in the masses, rely on the masses and honor the pioneering spirit of the masses; it means that everything should be directed toward the masses and that we should serve the people wholeheartedly. The masses will not put their trust in someone who does not believe in the ideology of serving the people and who is incapable of striving for the good of the masses. The purpose of the Communist Party is to serve the people, to strive in the people's interests. For this reason, only when the Communist Party exists is it possible to propagandize the masses, to organize the masses and to activate the masses, so that they may fulfill the duties bestowed on them by the times. As far as a party member is concerned--and this includes party members entrusted with high-level leadership posts--this role is simply to set an example in all respects, to serve as a model and to take the initiative. Whenever a contradiction arises between the interests of the individual and those of the masses, then only if he puts the masses' interests first, without the slightest hesitation, and forsakes his individual interest, can he receive the genuine and sincere support of the masses. Conversely, if, whenever something crops up, he considers only his own private interests or those of a small clique and even goes so far as

to take petty advantages at the expense of the people, then even though his cries of "long live the people" reach all the way to heaven, he will never gain the trust of the masses of people.

Looking at another angle, from the point of view of systems, the system of democratic centralism must be continually improved and perfected, and, from the point of view of organization, the proper treatment of leading individuals must be insured. At present, in improving and perfecting the system of democratic centralism, we must come to grips with the reform of the leadership system and further develop democratic life within the party. An important part will be played in this process by the perfecting of the party committee system, allowing the party committee system to be used to its full potential and preventing it from becoming a mere formality. If we deny that such a thing as permanent absolute authority exists within our party, then it will not be possible for everything to be decided on the word of individuals. No single party member, even if he is the party's highest leader, can possibly work his way through all the business on hand, nor can he hope to make a good job of every single item of business. Thus, in the party's leading bodies the collective leadership should be adhered to, the principle of the system of democratic centralism, whereby the minority gives way to the majority, should be put into practice, and the patriarchal system of "what I say goes" should not be permitted. This means that everyone will be able to make use of the benefit of his own experience, thus avoiding the making of decisions by one individual. If there are faults in the opinions or suggestions of individuals, they can be supplemented and revised by everyone else. Thus, the number of mistakes in our leadership work can be reduced, or the serious errors can be eliminated. Of course, though we emphasize collective leadership and oppose the taking of individuals' words as law, this does not mean that we want to do away with the system of individual responsibility. Lenin maintained that it is a disaster of the largest proportions if, because of excessive or distorted centralization of leadership, business is carried out in a dilatory manner and no one will accept responsibility, thus turning the collective leadership into mere shoptalk. All our forces must be brought to bear as quickly as possible in order to do away with this state of affairs. Comrade Mao Zedong, in discussing the party committee system, pointed out that "we must also take care not to overemphasize either the collective leadership or individual responsibility at the expense of the other." ("Concerning the Improvement of the Party Committee System") The beneficial effects of the party committees will only be realized if there is an organic integration of the collective leadership and the delegation of responsibility to individuals.

In summary, if on the one hand we place emphasis on ideological education work and on the other hand concentrate on building up a system of organization and continually improve the system of democratic centralism, then the directive concerning "keeping to a minimum the publicity given to individuals" will surely achieve thorough implementation within the whole party.

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## A TENTATIVE DISCUSSION ON THE DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP OF PRACTICE AS THE CRITERION

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[Text] Practice is an objective criterion and the only criterion for testing truth. This is materialism on practice as the criterion. The test of truth by practice follows the course of time and has definite and indefinite dialectical qualities. This is dialectics on practice as the criterion. To uphold materialism on practice as the criterion, we must correctly understand and uphold dialectics on practice as the criterion.

Lenin criticized the Russian Machians for distorting the criterion of practice. He pointed out: "This criterion also is sufficiently 'indefinite' not to allow human knowledge to become 'absolute,' but at the same time it is sufficiently definite to wage a ruthless fight against all varieties of idealism and agnosticism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 142) He meant that we must have a dialectical approach to the criterion of practice. In our opinion, we should understand this statement by proceeding from the following several points.

### The Relationship Between All-Round Practice and Individual Cases of Practice

Dialectical materialists hold that truth is a correct reflection of an objective matter and its laws. All objective matters have specific and general characteristics. Correct understanding is an all-round reflection of the specific and general characteristics of an objective matter. Touching on this point, Lenin said unequivocally that understanding a matter means grasping and studying all aspects, all connections and "intermediaries" of this matter. He also pointed out: "Truth is constituted by the sum total and (mutual) relations of all aspects of phenomena and realities." ("Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 38, p 210) Practice is the criterion for testing the truthfulness of understanding. As far as its scope of activities is concerned, practice can be divided into all-round practice and individual cases of practice. All-round practice means the sum total of the material activities of the subject in connection with all aspects and parts of the object. Individual cases of practice mean the material activities of the subject in connection with some aspects of the object which comprise indefinitely numerous aspects. As Lenin pointed out: "(Practice is) the criterion compatible with one of the indefinitely numerous aspects of a real matter." (Ibid., p 310)

The relationship between all-round practice and individual cases of practice is the relationship between the whole and a part and between the overall situation and a locality. What each of us does is an individual case of practice. The sum total of numerous individual cases of practice constitutes the all-round practice of a particular matter. The understanding verified by individual cases of practice reflects the individual aspects and characteristics of a matter and therefore is truth and not falsehood. There is no doubt about this. Generally speaking, however, individual cases of practice only verify part of the truth and not the whole truth. They do not and cannot verify the all-round understanding of a specific matter. Whether understanding tallies with all the characteristics of an objective matter should be tested by taking the all-round practice, that is, the sum total of practice, connected with the objective matter as the criterion.

The distinction between all-round practice and individual cases of practice is absolute and definite and at the same time relative and indefinite. As far as a specific object and a specific sphere are concerned, the distinction between all-round practice and individual cases of practice is absolute and should not be confused. However, because of the infinite vastness of the world and the boundlessness of development of a matter, the all-round practice in a certain sphere may become an individual case of practice when it is applied to another, greater sphere, and vice versa. Therefore, when we determine whether a certain case of practice is "all-round practice" or "an individual case of practice," we must make a concrete analysis by taking the specific sphere of a specific matter into consideration. If we take the distinction between all-round practice and an individual case of practice as an unchangeable rule, we are apt to make mistakes characteristic of metaphysics and absolutism when we decide on the criterion of practice.

In practical work, people often mistake an individual case of practice as all-round practice and the understanding acquired from an individual case of practice as all-round understanding. For example, in dealing with the question of developing the national economy, some people formerly held that, when work developed quickly in a certain sector or a certain link in the production chain, work should and could develop at the same speed in other sectors of the national economy and in other links in the production chain. They described this development as a law of development of the socialist economy and painted a picture in which "one horse takes the lead and all other horses follow." They said that the success in an individual case of practice fully verified the correctness of the whole plan for developing the national economy. Guided by this belief, they made concrete arrangements for the national economy in such a way that they inappropriately gave prominence to some sectors and links, one-sidedly pursued high targets and high speed and took this as an "impetus" for the national economy as a whole. In fact, this ran counter to the objective law of economic development and did not conform to the all-round understanding of the national economy. As a result, it caused disproportions in the national economy and led the national economy to a standstill. In other fields of work there were also situations in which the part replaced the whole, particularity was taken as generality and a one-sided viewpoint was mistaken as an all-round viewpoint. Epistemologically, this was a mistake caused by substituting partial understanding for all-round understanding and individual cases of practice for all-round practice.

This shows that in determining whether the understanding of a specific matter is entirely true we should find the most essential things characteristic of law from among all sorts of materials and from all-round practice. Of course, it is quite easy to verify some understanding by simply citing a certain case of practice at random, without linking it with all-round practice. But this is absolutely not the way to acquire true all-round understanding. Certainly it is also necessary to guard against one-sidedness as expressed in the exclusive stress on all-round practice at the expense of concrete practice and individual cases of practice. The reason is that there cannot be all-round practice without individual cases of practice; individual cases of practice play a remarkable role in the course of testing truth. For example, when a principle, policy, plan or method has been drawn up, it should be experimented with to see whether it is compatible with objective reality. After such experimentation, that is, after being tested by individual cases of practice, the correct part of this principle, policy, plan or method is verified, the imperfect part amended and the wrong part written off. In this way the principles, policies, plans and methods which concern the situation as a whole can be publicized gradually and will continue to be tested by all-round practice in the course of being publicized. The method of conducting a typical test is a scientific method not only of understanding but also of leadership and work. In short, we must grasp the dialectical unity of all-round practice and individual cases of practice and should not stress one at the expense of the other.

It has been clearly explained in the above that individual cases of practice should not replace all-round practice to verify or disprove all-round understanding of a matter. Then, is it permissible to substitute a certain individual case of practice for another individual case of practice to test the truthfulness of understanding of a matter? The answer is both affirmative and negative.

The answer is in the affirmative because the individual cases of practice forming the all-round practice regarding the same concrete matter have their general and particular qualities. As far as the general qualities are concerned, general understanding acquired in an individual case of practice can be tested by another individual case of practice. For example, the socialist cause as a whole is all-round practice comprising individual cases of practice of socialism in various countries. From the individual cases of practice of socialism in various countries we can derive common understanding: the system of public ownership of the means of production and the system of distribution according to work must be implemented in all socialist countries. This common understanding can and should withstand tests of practice in all socialist countries. This is definite and absolute. The answer is in the negative because the particular understanding acquired from the practice of socialism in a certain country can hardly be verified or disproved by individual cases of practice in other socialist countries. The facts tell us that there is no set pattern of socialism for various countries, and we cannot ask all countries to practice socialism in the same way. Specific understanding should be tested by specific practice. The understanding acquired by a specific socialist country according to its conditions should be tested by the practice of this country and not by the practice of another country. This is an expression of the indefinite or relative qualities of practice as the criterion. Grasping this point is significant, because it enables us to avoid making mistakes of taking partial experience as absolute and forcing other to accept our own experience.

We are now conducting experiments in changing the economic system and the educational system. The objective conditions are complicated. We must realize that some experience may be applicable to a local area but not applicable to the whole area; conversely, some experience may be applicable to the whole area but not applicable to a local area. This means that understanding verified by an individual case of practice may be identical with or different from the understanding verified by another individual case of practice; understanding acquired from these individual cases of practice may tally with or differ from the understanding acquired from all-round practice. We should concretely analyze and dialectically consider these conditions and correctly handle the dialectical relationship between all-round practice and individual cases of practice.

#### The Relationship Between Past and Present Practice

The history of human learning shows that the test of knowledge by practice cannot be completed by one or two attempts but has to go through a long course of development. Therefore, as far as this course of development is concerned, we have long-term practice of the past and short-term practice of the present. The unity of these two kinds of practice is the criterion for testing truth.

The emergence of the unity of practice of the past and the present and the unity of long-term practice and short-term practice in the course of testing knowledge by practice is determined by the nature of the practice. Judging by the endless course of its development, practice as the criterion may totally verify or disprove any theory or concept. This is the absolute quality of practice as the criterion. Judging by its concrete activities, practice goes on under concrete conditions of a given period of time, so that it is subject to certain limitations. This shows that short-term practice of the present cannot wholly verify or disprove all theories and concepts of the present. Many theories and concepts have been verified gradually or disproved by practice long after they were put forward. Even if knowledge is verified to be true by the practice of a certain stage, this knowledge can only be relative and will develop with practice and be tested continuously by practice in the future. This relativity of practice as the criterion should not be neglected. However, the dialectical unity of practice of the past and practice of the present is often neglected in actual life.

Some people exaggerate the role of the short-term practice of the present in testing truth and deny the necessity of long-term practice of the past in testing truth. They regard the results scored from practice of a certain stage as absolute and take the success or failure of one or two attempts as the yardstick to determine whether the knowledge acquired is true or false. In fact, because of the influence of many subjective and objective factors and the complicated nature of the test of truth by practice, it is impossible to draw a correct conclusion on a complicated understanding by simply testing it in practice on one or two occasions. The correctness of a complicated understanding can be determined by testing it in long-term practice. Take the understanding of the form of socialist economy, for example. When the socialist transformation in our country had been completed in the main, some people confined their scope of vision to the practice of putting capitalist industry and commerce under socialist transformation and said that the individual economy could and should be wiped out quickly in our country and that collective ownership should also be changed

as soon as possible into all-people ownership. In fact, this thinking and this method of work neglected the objective conditions of our country's productive forces and caused serious harm. It has been proved by long-term practice that those people were correct who held that in a given period of socialism the collective economy and the state-owned economy were basic forms of the socialist economy and that the individual economy of a small number of laborers under the state's guidance was an essential supplement to the socialist economy under public ownership.

In the course of practice some people confine their scope of vision to immediate, short-term success and neglect long-term benefits. They see only the results of understanding verified by short-term practice of the present and neglect the results of practice over a long period of time. This also has done great harm to socialist construction. For some time in our country the policy of "taking grain as the key link" was stressed and implemented one-sidedly. As a result, all over the country trees were felled to open up farmland, grassland was changed into grain fields and dikes were built to reclaim land from coasts and lakes. To obtain more timber, some forestry areas paid greater attention to tree felling than to tree planting, and others only felled trees and did not plant saplings. For the purpose of catching more fish, some fishing areas used trawlers to secure big catches. Judging by short-term practice, these methods were successful in a certain way and scored results as expected. However, these successes and results could not be enduring. In view of similar conditions in his time, Engels pointed out: "Let us not flatter ourselves too much on account of our human conquests over nature. For each such conquest takes its revenge on us. Each of them, it is true, has in the first place the consequences on which we counted, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel out the first." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 517) Facts show that this is true. People confine their attention to immediate benefits and act against the objective law. As a result, the balance of ecology is upset, disasters occur more frequently, and agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery suffer devastating calamities. Nature takes savage revenge on man. This shows that it is not enough to test the correctness of understanding of a matter simply by putting it to short-term practice. This understanding must be capable of withstanding test by practice over a long period of time. We must consider this point whenever we adopt a policy or measure in the course of achieving the four modernizations.

Some people deny the role played by practice of the present in testing truth. They doubt and even negate the true understanding which has been tested by practice of the present. In our opinion, it is wrong to regard practice of the present and the true understanding tested by practice of the present as unchangeable, and it is also wrong to doubt and negate them unanalytically. For example, in the past year and more we experimented with changing the economic management system and assigning greater decisionmaking power to some enterprises. We eliminated the shortcomings of overconcentrating power in the hands of the leaders, applying unified measures too rigidly, and abusing the power of direct decision and administrative intervention delegated to the state organs (both central and local), and we gave the enterprises greater power in making their own decisions and let their workers and staff members have greater rights to participate in their own management. Practice in this respect has produced preliminary results

and verified the correctness of the idea guiding the changes in the economic system and the correctness of the measures adopted. The changes which have been proved to be effective should be preserved, improved and perfected and should not be negated on account of some new problems or setbacks which emerge in the course of practice. For another example, the method of "fixing farm output quotas for each household" was adopted under the unified command of production teams and on the premise of guaranteeing "three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit," in order to solve the problem of feeding and clothing the masses in economically backward areas and remote mountain areas where the level of development of productive forces remained low, the collective economy was not consolidated and the masses lived in poverty. Practice showed that once production developed in these areas the masses led a better life. It also showed that this method adopted in these areas conformed to the objective realities. However, we should not say that this method is applicable to all localities and at all times, although it has been proved by practice in some localities to be correct. Otherwise we would make mistakes characteristic of metaphysics and absolutism.

In short, the long course of development of a matter comprises many stages of development, and practice over a long period of time comprises many cases of short-term practice. Negating the correctness of short-term practice of the present means negating the existence of long-term practice of the past and regarding the long-term practice of the past as purely imaginary. Conversely, if we confine our scope of vision to the effects of the short-term practice of the present, liken them to the effects of the long-term practice of the past and pay no attention to testing them by long-term practice, we often will suffer great losses in the long run.

#### The Relationship Between Practice of the Masses and Practice of an Individual

The practice upheld by Marxists is social practice in which the masses of people are the subject. Social practice is the activity of millions of people. Doubtlessly, practice of the masses comprises innumerable different cases of practice of individuals. Without the different cases of practice of individuals, there cannot be practice of the masses. Therefore, it is wrong to equate practice of an individual with practice of the masses and to regard them as identical.

Being the criterion for testing truth, practice, whether it be practice of the masses or practice of an individual, involves the question of whether it is definite or indefinite and whether it is absolute or relative. We should analyze this point dialectically.

Let us first look at practice of the masses. All theories, viewpoints, principles and policies concerning social life should be tested by the practice of millions of people in various fields. The results of practice of the masses will provide the criterion for determining the correctness of understanding. This represents the definite, absolute qualities of practice. It was in this sense that Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The only yardstick of truth is the revolutionary practice of millions of people." ("On New Democracy") On the other hand, practice of the masses is subject to some inevitable limitations regarding historical conditions, the levels of productive forces and scientific and technological

development. Practice of the masses at a certain stage cannot wholly verify or disprove the theories and viewpoints put forward by certain individuals. Truth sometimes is on the side of the minority. This represents the indefinite, relative qualities of practice.

Let us then look at practice of an individual. We should admit that, within certain limits, practice of an individual plays a role in testing the truthfulness of understanding. In the history of science, many natural scientists independently discovered and verified truth through individual experimentation, observation and study in laboratories. There are many similar examples in the various branches of science. This represents the definite qualities of practice of an individual. On the other hand, whether in the social or natural field, different individuals are involved in different cases of practice. Even when they carry out similar practice, they do not obtain identical results from their tests, because they have different personal conditions. Generally speaking, as compared with the very extensive and complicated social practice, practice of an individual can only touch on a certain aspect of a matter or on the characteristics of a certain stage of the development of a matter, not on all aspects of a matter and the whole course of development of a matter. This represents the limitations of practice of an individual. Therefore, practice of an individual is relative and indefinite in nature when it tests the truthfulness of understanding.

In discussing practice as the criterion, some people put forward the question of the relationship between practice of a leader and practice of the masses. In our opinion, as a member of society a leader doubtlessly has his own practice. However, his practice and his understanding are closely related to the masses and are inseparable from the practice of the masses. A correct leader should go deep among the masses to collect the scattered and individual ideas acquired by the masses from their practice in various fields, elevate these ideas of theoretical understanding and then put this understanding to test by practice of the masses. In this way, a leader's practice is definite and absolute in testing the truthfulness of understanding of a matter. Having pooled the practical experiences of the masses, a leader's opinion may be more all-round and deepgoing. However, even a leader who maintains close ties with the masses cannot avoid limitations by subjective and objective conditions, not to mention a leader who is divorced from the masses. Therefore, when we handle the relationship between a leader's practice and practice of the masses, if we inappropriately exaggerate a leader's practice, take it as the criterion for verifying or disproving all theories and viewpoints, regard limited practice as something complete and absolute and use it to substitute for or negate practice of the masses, we are apt to make mistakes by acting according to subjective will and taking "power as the criterion."

In fact, some leaders take part in actual work, such as cultivating "experimental fields." Because of his status and for other reasons, a leader often has more favorable conditions than the masses in carrying out practice. Different conditions of practice cannot possibly lead to the same results. The experience gained by a leader in better conditions usually does not conform to the understanding acquired by the masses from their practice under ordinary conditions. If a leader ignores this situation, holds that the experience acquired from his practice of cultivating "experimental fields" is universally applicable and

neglects the experience of the masses, he will get bogged down in subjectivism and blindness. If he popularizes his experience by force, he not only cannot gain the expected results but also will put his individual practice in opposition to practice of the masses. In light of this situation, some people say: "A leader has his own practice, while the masses have their own practice." This actually is a stern criticism of those leaders who are divorced from the masses and are bent on having their own way.

The dialectics of practice as the criterion involve a complicated issue. Many theoretical and practical questions need to be studied. What we want to say here is that when we admit that practice is the only criterion for testing truth we must uphold the dialectics of practice as the criterion and avoid regarding practice as absolute and too simple. At the same time, when we talk about the dialectical nature of practice as the criterion we should see the different positions and statuses held by all-round practice and individual cases of practice, practice of the past and practice of the present, and practice of the masses and practice of an individual. We should also see that these are different aspects of practice, which should not be isolated from one another, so that we can distinguish them from relativism and idealism.

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'SEEKING UNIFORMITY' AND IMPROVING THE METHOD OF WORK

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[Text] For a long time the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions were common in various fields of work. They inflicted inestimable losses on the people's cause, and, to this day, traces of such practices can still be seen in many places.

As the old sayings go: "Sing the song of the local people"; "Suit the remedy to the illness." In other words, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and deal with different types of contradictions with different methods. Contrary to this, the method of "seeking uniformity" means singing the same song wherever one goes and prescribing the same medicine for all illnesses. This method completely obliterates the immense variety of objective conditions and applies the same pattern and standard in order to achieve uniformity.

In economic construction, the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions are common. The tendency to give arbitrary directions was particularly serious during the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958. At that time the drive to develop industrial production on a large scale caused enormous waste. For example, under the call for making steel in a big way, the whole nation rushed headlong into mass action. Sixty million people, men and women, young and old, all marched off to the mountainous areas at the same time and wasted a tremendous amount of manpower and material and financial resources. Under the call for developing agricultural production in a big way, people concentrated on "taking grain as the key link" irrespective of local conditions. They did not develop forestry, animal husbandry and fishery in places suitable for these lines of production and wantonly reclaimed land, felled trees and caught fish. This not only produced economic losses but destroyed the ecological balance and set off a vicious cycle. As a result, we were punished by nature.

The following practices were common in our day-to-day work: In carrying out the orders of the higher authorities, people did things mechanically without taking the characteristics of their own units into consideration, and they resigned themselves to being "message centers" and "relay stations." In making work arrangements, they set a single standard and demanded a unified rate of progress without taking actual conditions into account. In popularizing the experience of

the advanced, they accepted things uncritically and copied them mechanically without considering the local conditions. As soon as they were told to "accord top priority to raising pigs in livestock breeding," they started to raise pigs in a big way and ignored all other livestock. At the mention of agricultural mechanization, they carried out equal distribution regardless of their actual economic strength. As a result, the well-off teams were unable to achieve agricultural mechanization even though they wanted to, while the poor teams ran into debt.

Actually, "seeking uniformity" means giving arbitrary directions, such as setting high requirements for output quotas, accumulation, speed and state purchase, being boastful and tending to effect the transition to communism prematurely. In a certain sense it is an expression of giving arbitrary directions or the result of giving arbitrary directions. Recently we have read reports about the "wild project" to "divert water from west to east," the capsizing of the "Bohai No 2 rig" as a result of orders issued in violation of established regulations, as well as the major gas explosion inside the Songshuzhen coal mine under the Tonghua Mining Bureau of Jilin Province. Are these reports not shocking, agonizing and thought-provoking?

How did the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions come about? How should we draw lessons from past experience? How can we minimize and avoid such practices in the future?

First, the erroneous work practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions stem from erroneous work methods. According to the dialectical materialist viewpoint, all things on earth are complicated and differ in thousands of ways--they have their unified and general character as well as their special and individual character. Therefore, we must be able to see all these aspects when we observe things. We must be able to see the whole situation and recognize the differences. "Seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions are idealist and metaphysical methods of thinking. People who think this way see things subjectively, one-sidedly and superficially. They see the unified and general character of things without seeing their special and individual character. They mechanically apply the same pattern to everything. They are subjective and arbitrary. They substitute personal feelings for policy and handle problems according to their personal likes and dislikes. Such practices are bound to mess things up, because they contravene the objective law of the development of things. For example, in carrying out the four modernizations we must proceed from China's actual conditions and take into account the fact that China is a big country with a vast population, a poor foundation to start with, rich resources and an unbalanced economic development. Only by taking in the whole picture can we adopt an overall point of view. However, each locality and department has its own special conditions (natural, social, economic and historical). Each has its own characteristics and strong points. Only by grasping these characteristics and fully giving play to their favorable conditions can we foster their strong points and avoid the weak ones and achieve remarkable economic results. In the past we advocated that every province should set up its own independent and self-sufficient industrial system without taking the special conditions of different localities into account. We wanted everything to be either "big and complete" or "small and complete." This obviously is wrong.

Second, "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions are by no means simply problems concerning the way of thinking of certain leaders. They are often closely associated with patriarchal leadership and a bureaucratic work-style. Some leaders proceed only from their subjective desires and set unrealistic tasks for the people. Relying on the power vested in them, they often issue administrative orders and demand that their subordinates "do as they are told" and do it "in a uniform way." Anyone who dares to say "no" or make any suggestions is either criticized or given a staggering blow and labeled. Stupid projects such as the one to "divert water from west to east" and arbitrary directions in the case of the "Bohai No 2" accident resulted from the feudal patriarchal rule of certain leaders, the practice of letting one or a few persons decide everything and a host of other reasons. The major characteristic of the patriarchal system is that a person places himself above the organization, practices "what I say goes," does not follow the mass line and does not exercise collective leadership. This is bound to give rise to arbitrary directions. Therefore, "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions are tinged with feudal ideas and are actually an expression of feudal autocracy. To eliminate the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions it is necessary to further carry forward democracy and conscientiously wipe out the remnant influence of feudal autocracy.

Third, failure to respect science and to act in accordance with objective laws is another reason for the emergence of the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions. We must stress scientific methods and adopt a scientific attitude in doing everything. We must not exaggerate the role of man's mind and will and act rashly and blindly regardless of objective conditions. When we fight we must follow the laws of war and rely on our courage and on science. Only when we have both valor and strategy can we win. In carrying out economic construction we must act according to our country's actual conditions and according to economic laws. From important issues such as economic planning and industrial distribution to minor issues such as enterprise management and routine directions in production, we must show respect for science in order to make use of the favorable factors and avoid the unfavorable ones and achieve our goal. For example, in planning construction we must invariably fix the attainable scale and speed in accordance with the conditions of our country's manpower and material and financial resources. We must not just go after our subjective needs and ignore the objective possibilities. If we crave grandeur, are overanxious for quick results and blindly go after high targets and speed, the result will be "more haste, less speed." This guiding thought of working within the limits of our capabilities sounds simple but is not easy to follow. Over the past few decades we experienced several ups and downs in our construction and suffered serious losses because of ultraleftist thinking. Some leading comrades became arrogant and complacent as they climbed the ladder of "officialdom." They knew nothing about science and technology and did not make any effort to learn. For a long time they were content with the arrangement of "the laymen leading the experts" and assumed command over everything. They even used their personal likes and dislikes to influence people and things. How can such people not give arbitrary directions? At present we must make those cadres who lack scientific and technological knowledge and professional ability quickly improve themselves. At the same time we must boldly promote to leading posts those who understand science and technology and have managerial skills and organizational ability in order to truly let the experts run the show.

The emergence of the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions is also closely related to our systems and institutions. Our economic management system has many drawbacks. The chief manifestations are overconcentration of power, excessive control and restriction, and the fact that not much decisionmaking power is given to various enterprises. In fact, these also fall under the category of "seeking uniformity." They discourage the enthusiasm of the enterprises and their staff and workers and are not conducive to giving play to the superiority of the socialist system. Practice by large numbers of pilot industrial and mining units throughout the country shows that by giving the enterprises greater decisionmaking power we can enliven the economy, arouse the enthusiasm of the enterprises and of their staff and workers and greatly raise labor productivity. Although the political system of our party and state is, on the whole, suited to the socialist economic base, there still are quite a few drawbacks in our actual leadership system. For example, overconcentration of power and the de facto system of life tenure for leading cadres have seriously obstructed the party from giving play to its leadership role and the state organs from performing their functions. We should appreciate the importance of the question of systems. It is only under a good system that leaders can fully give play to their wisdom and intelligence and keep the bad people from running amuck. A system may have drawbacks, and even a good leader may make big mistakes, thus providing opportunities which the bad people may exploit. The reform of the existing systems is imperative and very pressing. We should consciously make necessary reforms in some of our party and state systems and establish a perfect set of leadership systems. For example, we should delegate power to the lower levels, divide the work of the party and the government, improve the collective leadership, reform the cadre system, strengthen supervision by the masses, and so on. In this way we will be able to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and avoid and eliminate the practice of giving arbitrary directions.

Judging from the damage done by the practices of "seeking uniformity" and giving arbitrary directions, it is an important and pressing task to improve our work methods and raise the art of our leadership. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: Our task is to cross the river, and we cannot do this unless we have a bridge or a boat. Finding solutions to work methods means solving the problem of bridges and boats. Ours is a vast country with complicated conditions. The task of achieving the four modernizations is also very arduous. As the scale of our undertaking expands, the people will place greater demands on us. All these pressingly require us to devise a more systematic, scientific and modern set of work methods.

How should we improve our work methods? First, we must sum up the positive and negative experiences of our past work methods and draw lessons therefrom. Some work methods, such as class struggle and mass action during the land reform period, did play an important part under the conditions at that time. However, they should not be applied mechanically to the present, because times have changed. Investigations and studies; the practices of subjecting everything to experiments and tests, combining general calls with specific guidance, combining work on key points with work in other areas, combining central tasks with other tasks, paying attention to qualitative and quantitative differences and summing up positive and negative experiences; the quality of being resourceful and

decisive, and so on, have been proved correct and of universal significance by repeated practice. They are valuable assets for which we have paid a high price and are still applicable now. We must on no account discard them but must make full use of and develop them. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have accumulated a lot of new experiences with regard to work methods after bringing order out of chaos, criticizing the ultraleftist line, holding discussions on the question of the criterion of truth and implementing various policies. We anticipate that more new experiences will come to the fore as we reform our present systems. For example, by and by we will come to know how to combine regulation by the planning mechanism with regulation by the market mechanism, how to manage the economy with economic means, how to protect competition and achieve integration, how to change the situation of overconcentration of power, how to strengthen democracy and the legal system, how to divide the work of the party and the government and free enterprises from government control, how to establish and perfect the system of workers congresses, and so on. This inevitably will lead to a series of changes in work methods. Thus, some work methods of the past will be discarded, some will be carried forward, and some will be replenished and given new blood. At the same time we will also create some new work methods to suit the new situation.

In improving the old work methods, creating new ones or formulating a set of advanced work methods, where should we focus our attention?

First, we must have the spirit of seeking truth from facts. The basic idea of the dialectical materialist outlook is to proceed from reality, integrate theory with practice and seek truth from facts. Our work methods must embody this basic idea. To this end we must conscientiously study dialectical materialism, continue to emancipate our minds, break down old conventions, explore boldly and give everyone a free hand in his work. At the same time we must strengthen investigation and study, go deep among the masses and continuously sum up the advanced experiences of the masses. Only in this way can we discover the objective laws. To be correct and dynamic, our work methods must be imbued with the spirit of seeking truth from facts, in keeping with objective laws, within our capability, down to earth and capable of promoting the development of the productive forces.

Second, we must have a heightened sense of democracy. In the past, many things were decided by one person or by a mere handful. There was no room for discussion. Without democracy there will not be a mass line, and it will not be possible to arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and the people. Only by conscientiously reforming and improving our party and state systems, leading the people in running the affairs of the state, resolutely combating bureaucratism of every description and setting up systems to insure the spread of democracy in political life, in economic management and in social life as a whole can we arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and the people, increase efficiency in every field of work and bring about a truly lively political situation. Meanwhile, we still have to further strengthen the socialist legal system before socialist democracy becomes institutionalized and embodied in laws. However, the democratization of a country requires not only institutional reforms but also a set of democratic work methods to go with them.

Third, we must have a highly scientific spirit. Whatever we are doing, we must show respect for science. Thus, our work methods must be scientific. To exercise leadership over agricultural production we must rely on policies and science. Our present policies are only intended for a specific period of time, but science is always operative. We must therefore suit measures to local circumstances, proceed from reality, act according to objective laws and specific local conditions and carry out scientific farming. In industrial production we must adopt new skills, new equipment, new technology and new materials and use modern and scientific management methods. Scientific and modern management is an important prerequisite for achieving the four modernizations. Modern management science is a new and independent branch of science which involves many aspects of natural and social sciences. It deals not only with the use of modern and scientific means (such as electronic computers) but also with questions concerning modern and scientific management organizations and management methods. Leading cadres in the field of industry cannot begin to talk about improving their work methods unless they understand science and technology and can skillfully apply modern management science. Today we stress that all cadres must master intellectual work and professional knowledge. Thus, cadres in all trades and professions must possess professional knowledge and skills and become experts in their own fields. Only in this way can they do their work well.

CSO: 4004

## ON THE PURPOSE OF TAKING THE LEAD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 31-32

[Ideological commentary by Zhi Huanjun [2388 3562 6511]]

[Text] A flock of wild geese has to be led by a head goose; good social morals need good party style to take the lead. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee--particularly after the 5th plenary session of the Central Committee--many party members and party cadres at various levels have seriously studied and implemented the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and taken the lead in reviving and carrying forward the party's fine tradition and style, upholding the party spirit, overcoming factionalism, engaging in arduous struggle and persisting in personal integrity and obedience to the law. They work with the masses to strive for the achievement of the four modernizations. Their exemplary deeds have exerted a positive influence on the masses.

However, some comrades are not that good at "leading." They are afraid that their personal interests might be affected once unhealthy tendencies are rectified. They are hesitant and take the attitude of wait and see. They are never willing to march forward and take the lead. Some comrades even say, "Do not be conspicuous. Watch where you are going. It is best to flow with the tide." This mental attitude is incompatible with the goals of the party and the wishes of the masses. It does not inspire confidence, but instead creates frustration, among the people.

To serve the people wholeheartedly is the only objective of our party. Aside from the people's interests, our party does not have its own special interests. The nature of our party dictates that our party members and party cadres at various levels are the people's public servants. Their only duty is to diligently serve the people, and they do not have the right to pursue their selfish interests. Party members must take the lead in enduring hardship and be the last ones to enjoy comforts. It is impermissible to reverse the order of this rule; that is, it is impermissible for party members to be the first ones to enjoy comforts and the last ones to undergo hardship. If they use the power delegated by the people to pursue selfish interests, to engage in privilege-seeking in politics and in daily life, to stir up unhealthy tendencies, to engage in the practice of plucking a goose as it flies by and to reap benefits at the expense of others, then those are manifestations of the decadent mentality of the exploiting class. Although these undesirable practices are seen to be carried

out by only a few people, the harm they have caused is considerable. If they are not rectified immediately according to the standards set by the "Guiding Principles," they will not only continue to undermine the party's flesh-and-blood ties with the people, destroy the party's prestige and affect the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, but also seriously diminish the masses' confidence in the building of the four modernizations and frustrate their enthusiasm. Each party member must have a clear concept of the position he is in and the duties he must perform. If party style is impeccable, social morals will be good and our cause will flourish; if party style is undesirable, social morals will be bad and the cause of the four modernizations will suffer setbacks. The correct attitude of our party members toward such an important matter, which bears on the future of the party and the country, should be: First, take the lead in implementing the "Guiding Principles"; second, take the lead in resisting and struggling against erroneous tendencies.

To play the leading role, party members must take the party's problems to heart and be eager to meet the party's needs. They must abandon their selfish interests and fulfill the pledge they made when they were admitted to the party. At the same time they must also have the courage to smash all obstacles. Some comrades worry about the possibility of people saying that they are "seeking the limelight" if they take the lead. Actually, such worries are quite unnecessary. We must know that the broad masses of people encourage righteous ways and new social tendencies. They dislike and abhor such feudal things as privilege-seeking, entering by the back door, acting like officials and overlords, pursuing selfish interests in the name of the revolution, "the wife rising in position along with her husband" and "sons inheriting the merits of fathers." With the study and implementation of the "Guiding Principles," party style and social morals are turning for the better. Of course, because our country has long historical roots of feudal ideology, and, additionally, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wreaked havoc for 10 long years, inverting the socialist norms of action and moral standards, feudal thinking and bourgeois extreme individualism thrive in our society. It is indeed not easy to change the party style and social morals at this time. Some comrades who are used to unethical ways naturally will be unhappy about our vigorous rectification of party style and discipline. They will set up barriers by various means. They will not support and encourage the comrades who take the lead in rectifying the unhealthy tendencies, but instead will find fault with them, stir up intrigues and even nitpick and treat them with sarcasm. However, "the force of the wind tests the strength of the grass." As a communist, one should struggle even harder and display one's noble spirit when there are difficulties and obstacles. We must clearly realize that the pollution of social morals by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" will not change by itself and that the new socialist morals and ethics will not fall from the sky. The fine tradition of the party was formed in the course of struggle. To change social morals the whole party must "take the lead." Furthermore, if we party members do not "take the lead," do we expect the masses to "lead" the party members? To take the lead in creating a fine party style and good social morals in the interest of the party and the people, we must dare to uphold principles, dare to be in the limelight for the sake of the revolution and dare to overcome and defeat evil tendencies with proletarian healthy trends. A communist ought to be able to sacrifice everything in his struggle for the communist cause. Then, are we to be scared by "sarcasm"?! Comrade Liu Shaoqi was right when he said in "How



To Be a Good Communist": "Comrades should be morally prepared for inner-party struggle, should openmindedly accept all well-grounded criticism and should be able to endure misunderstandings or attacks, or even unfairness and injustice; in particular, they should not get provoked or excited over irresponsible and unjustified criticism or rumors. As far as irresponsible misjudgment and criticism are concerned--that is, excluding properly conducted criticism among comrades or through the party organizations--one can try to clear the matter up or offer some explanation when necessary, but if that does not help, one might just as well let others say what they please, provided there is nothing wrong in one's thinking and behavior."

In taking the lead we must overcome our inferiority complex. Some comrades have said that we are ordinary party members, only a drop of water in the vast sea, and that we cannot do much. This mentality is also wrong. Communists must take the lead. This is a common demand placed on all party members. The "Guiding Principles" stipulate: "Each communist must be strict with himself, use the standard of a proletarian vanguard fighter, strive to study and grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and continuously raise his consciousness and skills for modernization in order to make greater contributions to the four modernizations." Each Communist Party member, regardless of his position and seniority in the party, regardless of his work, is a fighter of the party. He must play the role of vanguard and leader. Of course, when it comes to changing the party style and building the four modernizations, party members in leading positions are the key when compared with party members doing ordinary work. However, ordinary party members also have responsibilities. Ordinary party members live with the masses every day. Whether their words and deeds are progressive or backward, positive or negative, will have a direct influence on the masses, and they can play a role that leading cadres will not be able to play. Some comrades put it quite aptly: If we compare the party to a locomotive, then each party member is a part or a screw of this locomotive. All parts perform a function in their respective positions.

Communists are dutybound to take the lead in creating a good moral atmosphere. It is an important factor in maintaining the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people. It is also our party's fine tradition. During the war years our party members were the first ones to charge toward the enemy and the last ones to retreat. They went wherever the situation was the most dangerous. They led the masses of people to overthrow the three big mountains and build new China. During the 3 years of hardships in our national economy, our party members and cadres shared the people's weal and woe. They united and led the people to reverse the grave situation in our national economy in a relatively short time. Today, to strengthen and improve the party's leadership, to change the abnormal phenomena in our social morals and to lead the people to wholeheartedly devote themselves to the four modernizations, our party members should also "take the lead." To this end, each party member, particularly leading party cadres, must become a "head goose" worthy of the name.

CSO: 4004

THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE FIELD OF LITERATURE AND ART MUST BE REFORMED--  
EXCERPTS OF SPEECHES AT THE 'RED FLAG' FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 33-34

[Article edited by Li Xia [2621 0007]]

[Text] In the latter part of October, at the invitation of RED FLAG, three forums on literature and art were held in the capital for more than 40 writers, theorists and comrades responsible for the editorial work of literary and art publications. At the forums the comrades fully exchanged views on present conditions in literary and art circles and on methods of reforming the leadership structure in the field of literature and art.

At the forums the comrades unanimously agreed that the present situation in the field of literature and art in our country is excellent and that tremendous results have been attained. Many works welcomed by the broad masses of people have emerged in the various art forms. After analyzing the great number of outstanding new works and new people who have emerged in recent years, some comrades pointed out that our country is now at a great historical turning point, with the upsurge of violent currents in life and the pounding home of various trends of thought. A vivid, lively and complicated situation with rapid changes has emerged, but there is a certain imbalance in the development of literature and art. Our works still do not adequately reflect the demands of the times, reveal the new things and people in the construction of the four modernizations, describe the spiritual outlook of the entire nation and the development of social ethics, and develop the fine minds and national characteristics of the people of our country. There are not enough works which can genuinely arouse people and satisfy the needs of the broad masses of people and the demands of the time.

When we talked about the need for democracy in art, some comrades solemnly pointed out that forced intervention in literature and art was not infrequent. For example, in the past year there were repeated incidents of works being censored and publications destroyed. This cannot be permitted. Works of writers and artists are independent works of an individual nature. Full respect must be paid to works which show clearcut individuality, rich creativity and new explorations carried out after each creation. We must clearly realize that in literary and art creation and in spiritual production we cannot surpass the levels of our predecessors and satisfy the people's daily increasing demands for esthetic education and art appreciation, as well as mold the people's character through culture, unless we have a free, lively and vivid social environment. Some of us

are frightened when "freedom" is mentioned and tend to link freedom with the bourgeoisie. Why does freedom belong only to the bourgeoisie and not to the proletariat? We are a socialist country, and people should enjoy even wider and greater freedom. It can be said that freedom is the lifeblood of literary and art creation, which is spiritual labor. Writers and artists should enjoy and make use of the freedom of what to write and how to write it. If there is no guarantee of the full exercise of these rights of writers and artists, there is no hope for the development of literature and art. Appraisal of works and discussion of questions on the theory of literature and art must be carried out freely on the basis of equality. We must encourage contention between various opinions, and in the course of contention, leaders and publications should not be hasty in their expression or jump to conclusions. Everyone must be allowed to express his own opinion and have his views assessed by the masses of the people and ultimately examined by history. We should not act as we did in the previous period of literary criticism, when good articles with independent views were not easily published and when we were inclined to have unified understanding, thinking and actions and live by the "rule of the voice of one man alone." Since no respect was paid to the laws of literature and art, theories of literature and art could only be the literary versions of philosophy and politics. These conditions do not conform to the need to develop the Marxist theories on literature and art, and they must be changed.

There is not much democracy in the field of literature and art. One reason is that some leaders concerned do not have sufficient confidence in the field of literature and art. Some comrades metaphorically said that leaders in the field of literature and art who "give a free hand" are in fact only "flying a kite." This involves the question of how to assess the literary and art contingent. Is the literary and art contingent in fact a component of the proletariat or the target of unity, education and reform? Is it a revolutionary contingent or the headquarters of individualism and thoughts of fame and gain? Is it the engineer of the soul of mankind with a spirit of independence, or is it the craftsman for making political commentary under the command of the administration? These questions have in fact not yet been answered in the minds of certain leaders of literature and art. We should not exaggerate the social functions of literary and art works. We must have faith in the modern sense of responsibility of the broad masses of literary and art workers and have confidence in the abilities of the broad masses of people to appraise works. We must allow writers and artists to constantly carry out new explorations along the paths of national and individual characteristics. This is the unavoidable path for creating new socialist literature and art with characteristics of the time. We must keep this path wide open and should not obstruct it.

Some comrades suggested that laws be enacted for literature and art as soon as possible so as to protect the rights of literary and art workers. We must abandon the expressions "fragrant flowers" and "poisonous weeds." Things which are truly reactionary politically or encourage theft or incite lust can only be judged and handled by using state laws as the criteria. Meanwhile, legal sanctions should be taken against forced intervention which causes serious consequences. In fact, incidents of the former category have not been discovered, while in the latter category there are many "Bohai-2" incidents which stifle works in the field of literature and art. It is very unjust if these "people who sink the boat" are not punished in the least.

Many comrades also pointed out that there is not enough democracy in the field of literature and art because the leadership is too rigid and specific. Leadership departments in the field of literature and art actually have only three things to grasp. The first is the implementation of policies, directives and plans which guarantee the development of productive forces in literature and art and, in particular, the implementation of the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. The second is the rational use of state funds for developing literature and art. The third is the provision of material conditions for literary and art workers and encouragement to outstanding spiritual works and so on. There will be great hope for literature and art when the leadership in literature and art is improved. Some comrades think that there is a certain rationale behind the proposal to "govern by doing nothing." "Governing" is the aim. "Doing nothing" is to oppose forced intervention and to respect laws in literature and art. This is not the same as the negation of party leadership. We must "do nothing" outside the scope of the three things mentioned above. Party leaders must stand on the side of literary and art workers, show concern for them and protect them, fully represent their wishes and demands, support their self-management in the aspect of spiritual labor and lead them in properly managing their labor undertaking.

Comrades attending the forums all believe that the party Central Committee has proposed the question of reforming the party and state leadership systems and at the same time also put forth to the literary and art contingents the question of reforming the leadership structure in the field of literature and art. This is a very important and urgent task on the literary and art front. There can be healthy development in literary and art undertakings only if the leadership structure in the field of literature and art is reformed, if there is full delegation of authority to lower levels and if the ranks of people involved in literature and art are allowed to make full use of autonomy in literary and art works.

Some comrades said that for a long period of time people have seldom sought the reasons for the way things are done in the system and structure itself. When the word "system" is mentioned they say how good the socialist system is and dare not directly face the shortcomings in our system. In fact, if the structure is not reformed, questions concerning leadership methods and thinking and workstyle cannot be basically answered, because there is a serious conflict between the implementation of the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and the policy of using the structure of government offices. With this structure, so many layers have to be set up and so many literary and art management staff members have to be recruited. It does not matter whether they understand what they are doing. They have to "fulfill their duties" as "sentinels," guard the pass and carry out examinations at all levels. Owing to their different likes and dislikes, their different artistic tastes and even their ignorance of literary and art creations, they link certain images in the works with certain people; intervention comes from all sides and stifles literary and art works without cause. Unless these phenomena are solved through reform of the system, literature and art cannot prosper. Forced intervention can be described as an inevitable evil consequence in this leadership structure. Reform of the structure must be carried out. However, such reform must basically touch upon some old, complicated habitual forces. This is bound to be fairly

difficult. Therefore, we need a great number of pioneers who have their minds bent on reform. We must raise a hue and cry in our various newspapers and publications and realistically start to do something for the reform.

Comrades spoke freely in the discussion. Some comrades also expressed some diverse opinions.

Finally, many comrades expressed many valuable opinions on the literary and art articles published in RED FLAG. They hope that the comrades of RED FLAG magazine will act as promoters who liberate thinking and reform the leadership structure in the field of literature and art. They hope that RED FLAG can genuinely become the forum for open discussions, for discussions on questions of theory which people are concerned about, and that it can play a role in contributing to literary and art theories. Meanwhile, we also hope that RED FLAG will meet the demand for fruitful creations, provide the battlefield for comment, support the growth of new talent in the fields of literature and art and appropriately publish some good works.

CSO: 4004

## IN THE VILLAGE MARKETPLACE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 35-40

[Short story by He Shiguang [0149 1102 0342], reprinted from the August 1980 issue of RENMIN WENXUE]

[Text] Here in the Lihua village marketplace on a small street in the Wumengshan area, Feng Yaoba, a big, tall man in his forties, is well known for being a drunkard. He is regarded as an impoverished, good-for-nothing peasant. In all these years, heaven only knows how he has managed to make it through the 365 days in a year. No one bothers to mention this on the state farm. But now, quite surprisingly, someone has got hold of him from who-knows-where, and at this moment he is standing between two women, with a broad grin, waiting to be questioned by the brigade party branch secretary as an eyewitness to a quarrel between the two women. Suddenly he has become quite a personality. This is indeed funny.

"Feng Yaoba! A while ago, at breakfast time--that is, when the morning session of the primary school was dismissed--did you walk past the village marketplace leading a cow?"

Party branch secretary Cao Fugui asks him this question. It happened at the village marketplace. Naturally, it would be all right to call on Cao, the party branch secretary, or secretary Song of the village marketplace to arbitrate. However, everyone present knows that party branch secretary Cao is biased in favor of Luo Erniang. You should not belittle this party branch secretary, who is as old as Feng Yaoba. Although he also looks exactly like a peasant, wearing a Chinese-style jacket with buttons down the front and a white kerchief around his head, he is a very shrewd and methodical person! This is the one and only street in Lihua village. It is so small one can take it in at a glance. People have been living here together, and everyone knows everyone else.

Feng Yaoba narrows his eyes, scratches his bushy hair, grins cheekily, as he usually does, as he answers:

"We are neighbors living on the same street. What's all the fuss about?"

Laughter breaks out among the spectators. At this time people have just had their breakfast, and they usually have a few moments of free time. On that small street almost half the inhabitants have gathered. Here it is as if even a small

pebble could disturb the seemingly static shadow of a person in the pond. The smallest thing that happens at the village marketplace arouses everyone's concern. Part of the reason is that the street is so small that people can never tell whether what is happening might concern them. Another reason is that there is so little to see in the village marketplace. Is Feng Yaoba not obviously playing tricks? With him acting as a witness, no one can guarantee the quality of the testimony!

"Hey--! Speak up. Did you pass by the village marketplace or not?"

"You mean...after breakfast?"

"When the school was dismissed for breakfast!"

"Huh, and leading a cow?"

"Right!"

His hand reaches for his head again, and he is unable to control his smile. His big mouth is gaping as if he is shy. This gives rise to another round of laughter.

At that moment the short, stout woman standing beside him, Luo Erniang, laughs sarcastically--this is aimed at the pale, skinny woman standing opposite her. She says:

"Feng Yaoba, someone insists that you were there and that you saw everything! She thinks that we, the Luo family, are so mean that we would covet something worth only two fen belonging to others. And she claims our child ought to be spanked..."

As soon as this woman opens her mouth, the happy atmosphere brought about by Feng Yaoba is dampened. Everyone suddenly remembers what happened and thus becomes upset again. Over the past few years, whenever people have heard her voice, their hearts have become as gloomy and desolate as fields soaked with rain, with only scattered cornstalks remaining. You would say that this woman looks sloppy and funny. Right! She is in her thirties. It looks as though her hair and face have never been washed at all. She wears two layers of corduroy blouses, and blotches of oil can be seen on her blouse. Anywhere but here she would certainly be laughed at. Who would have imagined that here in the Lihua village marketplace she is almost a noble lady. This is because her husband is a bookkeeper in the village marketplace food purchasing and marketing station, which sells meat... No one believes that the skinny woman or her child would dare offend the Luo family. The sickly woman's husband, Ren Laoda, teaches at the village primary school. He has been a timid teacher at a school run by the people for many years. How can he be compared with the Luos? People have just experienced the miserable days in the village marketplace. They all know how differently this small street treats these two women. Although this is as bizarre as a nightmare, it is as real as a rock. Everybody knows that Luo Erniang is being a bully. So they all feel indignant and are concerned for Ren Laoda's wife...

"Please tell the truth, Feng Yaoba! My child really didn't..."

Ren Laoda's wife looks at Feng Yaoba timidly, beseechingly. This ill-fated woman is married to a teacher. Here in the village marketplace she does not rate as a human being. Her clothes, like her house standing desolately at the end of the street, always seem to need mending. Her face is so wan and sallow that one only notices the pointed chin and a pair of dull, big eyes. She has always been weak and resigned to her fate. If it were not absolutely necessary, she would not have involved Feng Yaoba.

Luo Erniang immediately follows up the verbal exchange.

"He did not!--You are still dissatisfied with the beating; does that mean that a child of the Luo family will always have to put up with being bullied on the street? ...Pooh! That could only happen if dogs stop to lick bones!--Hey, you. You are still a long way off..."

She has been cursing in front of Ren Laoda's house for a long while. For this woman it seems shameful not to curse someone every day. She wants Ren Laoda's wife to take her child to the doctor in the village marketplace to get a prescription and buy medicine. If the child cannot be treated in Lihua village, she wants him taken to the county seat, to the prefecture or even to the provincial capital! This woman's mind is full of ideas for making life difficult for others. One cannot help but say she is vicious. If she were to have her way, that would really be something. How could the impoverished woman afford all that?

"Stop making so much noise, Luo Erniang! Making a scene will get you nowhere," party branch secretary Cao says calmly to stop her. He continues: "Since Ren Laoda's wife says Feng Yaoba was present when it happened, let Feng Yaoba speak. Let's get things straight. Then it'll be easy to find a solution--Feng Yaoba speak up!"

Feng Yaoba was a bit uneasy. He said, "Well, this morning I was plowing the field... This year it is a responsibility plot!"

His face broadens, but he is unable to grin, even though he wants to.

Evidently he was present when the quarrel began but does not dare say so. As a matter of fact, the peasant, apart from superficial flattery, has been a second-class citizen in this village marketplace for many years. And this is even more applicable to him, because he is particularly good-for-nothing. He has a wife and six children, but he never takes his work seriously. He often shakes his head and exclaims: "That work! It makes no difference whether you do it or not. You only get a few pellets of grain anyway--not even enough to feed the crows and sparrows. They deduct this and that from your grain, and in the end, what do you get? Nothing, just like what I am now." He has no patience for work, nor does he have any other skills. For things like raising pigs and buying and selling at the rural fair, not only does he not have the capital, but he even says such business is "immoral." When autumn comes, after he gets his share of grain, he still sells one or two sheng of grain to buy a jin of wine and some cooked,



chopped pig's intestine, and he drinks heavily. He even rebuffs people who advise him not to drink: "What? You think only you people have the right to drink? You mean I, Feng Yaoba, am nobody and should only drink water?" Once he gets drunk he sobs noisily. Yet after waking up from his drunkenness he is soon grinning cheekily again. Even when spring has barely arrived, he always bothers party branch secretary Cao about "resold grain." Then he shamelessly asks others for help. He borrows half a sheng of maize or a bowl of crushed rice. He runs errands and carries sick people for others. For example, when Luo Erniang's family has a feast, he goes to move the tables and chairs for them. Then he eats to his heart's content at their house. He needs to rely on others and ask for help. So how can he offend others? He dares not offend a deity such as Luo Erniang; yet any person with a conscience would not have the heart to harm a pitiful person like Ren Laoda. Thus, how is he to choose at the moment?

Party branch secretary Cao seriously admonishes him: "If you were there, say so. If not, speak up!"

"I...was on my way home from plowing the field..."

"All right, Feng Yaoba," Luo Erniang cries out. "You were really present? Good!--Tell us, what did you see? Was it really as the Rens claimed?"

Actually, Feng Yaoba has not admitted that he was present, but Luo Erniang cannot wait any longer. She immediately presses Feng Yaoba for a clearcut statement. She does not believe for a moment that Feng Yaoba would dare side against her! In her eyes, Feng Yaoba is nothing more than a dog in the village marketplace who can do nothing more than wag his tail at her. Once, did he not go to the fields to help her drunken husband home in the middle of the night in exchange for a pig's intestine? Did she not send for him when it was cold? Even if she wants him to bite someone, not to mention cover up for her, it is just a matter of a few jin of bones. Is it not true that it takes only half a pig to find a job for a boy in the factory? What is this Feng Yaoba, anyway?

Feng Yaoba hurriedly says: "I mean..."

"...Ah, he really doesn't have the guts to speak. How annoying!"

People are beginning to sympathize with Feng Yaoba. Do you think that if you offend Luo Erniang you will only be offending one family? If that was the case, it would not take that much courage. No, not that simple! If you offend one deity, you will have offended the entire upper class in Lihua village! Look, our village marketplace is so small, so isolated and so remote. It is surrounded by fields, and not far beyond lies the jade-green mountain ridge. Yet to us, the men and women in Lihua village, this seems to be the universe. For instance, if you fail to buy half a bottle of kerosene and a bar of soap from the only store on the street, then forget about getting them from anywhere else!... However, if you offend Luo Erniang, you will notice that old Chen in the store will also treat you coldly. Then you will have no lights on the dark nights, and you will have nothing with which to wash your clothes. Needless to say, in February party branch secretary Cao will cancel the "resold grain" that you are supposed to receive and thus make it difficult for you to make it through the spring

famine. In your desperation you would like to call on secretary Song in the village marketplace. But that very evening you accidentally overhear from someone that secretary Song has just carried away something in a sack from Luo Erniang's house!... No, this small village marketplace is like a partnership business operated by these people, each of whom holds a share. Many unexpected things lie ahead of you that will leave you totally helpless! Then, do you still want to live in this place? This is your native land, which you cannot afford to leave even if you want to. Perhaps your future generations will still have to live here. What are you going to do? ...Is it not true that so many brave men of indomitable spirit have had to swallow their pride in front of these demons? Thus, in this tiny village marketplace, how could we ask too much of Feng Yaoba? How can we say that he is a coward...?

Luo Erniang snorts and says: "Let me hear you say something..."

Feng Yaoba forces a smile. This time he is really nervous. It is a shame he is such a big, grown-up man. Yet he feels dejected and acts like a bashful young girl under the piercing glance of a woman. He shifts his feet and tries to stand up straight, as if his original posture hinders him. Yet he still cannot speak a word. It is a fine spring day. The sun shines brightly over the village marketplace. Feng Yaoba seems to feel very hot. Sweat emerges from under his hair on the temples and drips along the outline of his square, wide cheeks...

Luo Erniang becomes impatient again: "No matter what, why don't you speak up?! ...Look at you, you seem to be like a Luo, huh?"

"Feng Yaoba!" Party branch secretary Cao has rolled himself a cigarette and lights it. He takes one step forward and says: "It was the child of the Ren family who said you were present. If you were, say so. If you were not, then say you were not! That means you should be responsible to the people; you should be responsible to Ren Laoda's family, and of course you should also be responsible to Luo Erniang!--Do you hear me?"

Party branch secretary Cao has a way with words. But precisely because he knows what to say and what not to say, people can easily see that he is giving a hint and applying subtle pressure on Feng Yaoba. Feng Yaoba shifts his feet again. He has become more uneasy and does not know how to stand.

If things go on this way, the matter could really become bad. Due to their indignation, the people have become impatient. Sporadic remarks can now be heard from the crowd:

"Feng Yaoba, speak up!"

"What does it matter? Nothing can happen if you speak up!"

"Come on, speak up so that we can all go to work. There are so many things to do for spring planting..."

Of course, like the words of party branch secretary Cao, these remarks are also well phrased. But it shows the inclination of public opinion. It is also pressure on Feng Yaoba.

There is no longer any way to evade a straightforward answer. Feng Yaoba just keeps his mouth shut. Yet unexpectedly he lets out a sigh, walks a few steps and squats under the eaves of a nearby house. Embracing his ankles, he keeps silent, and his eyes look ahead blankly. He usually squats like this outside his front door to enjoy the warmth of the sunlight. When he does, he narrows his eyes and feels so comfortable. But today he shows no sign of pleasure. He looks like a debtor who has finally been tracked down, who has to repay a huge debt at that very moment but does not have even a single cent, and who has to shrug his shoulders and stand there and wait for the verdict of others... Ah, when a man comes to this situation, that is really the end of his luck. Even a really minor matter will become a heavy burden. He cannot even speak a word of truth!

For a moment there is dead silence on the small street. A round, fluffy cloud floats over the village marketplace. The swallows fly low, chirping all along their flight... From afar, a cuckoo's caw is heard.

After a short while, Luo Erniang starts to curse at the top of her voice. This time she is furious. Even though Feng Yaoba did not utter a word, would this not mean that she is in the wrong? Then this means that she will lose face in front of all these people on the street... And imagine, because of someone worse than a dog, Feng Yaoba? How could she allow this to happen?

"Hey--! Feng Yaoba, tell me. Are you still a man? Are you mute? Have I ever mistreated you? Even a dog will give out a few howls!"

What follows is a string of unprintable words. She seems to have forgotten the existence of the Ren woman and taken Feng Yaoba as her enemy.

"Don't curse anymore!"

"...You asked him to be a witness..."

Someone butts in. Many people really cannot stand her.

"I want to curse!--I make this clear. This is nobody's business! Whoever has the guts can stand up. Then don't blame me, Luo Erniang, for being ruthless!"

As for Feng Yaoba, he stood there, his head bent lower and lower, but still not uttering a word. Ah, this time Feng Yaoba is really going to be torn to pieces. Everyone felt bad for him.

Luo Erniang continues to curse. This vicious woman stands there with arms akimbo, sometimes stamping her feet, sometimes beating her thighs and constantly poohing and spitting in front of Feng Yaoba.

"If I were to say something," party branch secretary Cao again opens his mouth, "Feng Yaoba, you had better speak the truth! The 'gang of four' was smashed 4 years ago. We must now seek truth from facts..."

He repeatedly tries to persuade Feng Yaoba. Finally, Feng Yaoba moves his body a little and stands up.

"That is right," the party branch secretary says. "After all, it has nothing to do with you..."

Feng Yaoba nods in silence. Dragging his feet as he walks, he seems ready to cry. That is very curious. A popular saying claims that one usually does things against one's conscience out of desperation. Will he really bring harm to the poor, weak teacher's family?

"Party branch secretary Cao," his voice is very strange, as if he is trembling. "You...want me to speak up?"

"We have been waiting for a long time!"

Feng Yaoba nods his head again and stands still.

"You all know me, Feng Yaoba." He speaks as if his heart aches. Slowly he faces the crowd. "On this street I am not considered a human being... Needless to say, I am like a dog!... I am so poor that I cannot do anything--I really cannot do anything!... You have all seen me...being totally humiliated..."

What is he up to? People really feel strange. They all keep quiet and stare at him.

"Last year," he continues, "...I got a few hundred jin more rice and maize. I suppose my family will be able to eat up to the time of the dragon boat festival. We had a few dozen jin of glutinous rice. My wife said that this year she will make some glutinous rice dumplings for the kids. At that time the yams will also be full grown... For those few plots of rapeseed the state will reward us by selling us rice. I can also harvest some wheat from my private plot... Last year they did not force us to drain water from the wet fields to plant wheat. The fields are beautifully filled with water. Now, responsibility has been assigned to individuals. Plowing and transplanting are not difficult things to do!... As long as the seedlings are planted, then we will have rice to harvest, and later we will have maize and rice to eat..."

Luo Erniang interrupts him: "Feng Yaoba, what are you talking about? Don't try to change the subject!"

Quite unexpectedly, Feng Yaoba suddenly turns, stamps his foot, and with burning red eyes roars at the top of his voice:

"Party branch secretary Cao! The resold grain--you have the final say on whether or not I am going to have it. But this year I, Feng Yaoba, will be able to live even without it!"

People have never seen Feng Yaoba acting that ferociously. They are all stunned! Feng Yaoba's broad face suddenly takes on a grave expression. His face turns livid with anger and he grits his teeth. He really looks frightening.

"Do I, Feng Yaoba, want to eat 2 liang of meat from time to time?" he says, beating his chest. "Of course!--So what if I want to? I can buy them! After I sell

the rapeseed I can buy a few jin to let my kids eat to their heart's content. I certainly will not need you Luos! After all, now peasants who go to the fairs also slaughter pigs. Thus, your food station will no longer have a monopoly. I can buy as much as I want. What do a few more cents matter? You can choose whether you want fat or lean meat! ...Listen, it is now different from a few years back. You can no longer decide whom to sell to and whom not to sell to, or keep one chunk of meat under the counter and another chunk behind the door. If you do that, you might not even be able to meet your sales quota! This year, I..."

"Feng Yaoba! Watch your words... Who are you, anyway?"

"And how about you?--Do you dare touch me? If you want to have a fight, then let us try it out today! ...In the past few years I was neither man nor ghost. I have had enough!--Fortunately, these 2 years the state has set the peasants' hands and feet free. If anyone dares to curse me anymore today, I am not going to restrain myself!"

Party branch secretary Cao butts in and says: "Hey, Feng Yaoba--"

Feng Yaoba interrupts him right away: "Don't play that trick on me! Pack up all your dirty tricks and leave me alone!--You want to send me to the disciplinary class? Assign me to do irrigation work on New Year's Eve? It will not work anymore! Your tricks are not effective anymore!... You go on being an official. If you are an official for 10 years, I will not steal cattle for 10 years. I work--this time the state allows it. Let's see what you can do with me!"

"You, you..."

"You what!--Did you not ask me to be a witness? Yes, I was there all along! You mean that only the child of the Luo family is a human being? He took something from the child of Ren Laoda and did not want to return it. What's more, he was so vicious and started to curse! Who beat him? Not only did the child of the Ren family not lift a finger, he did not even return his curses!--Now, have you heard me clearly?!"

All this came about so suddenly. At first everyone is stunned. Then the laughter of men and women explodes on the street like thunder on a hot, dry day. The whole street is shaken. This sound of thunder then turns into prolonged murmurs and heated discussion, like rain that comes washing down after the thunder. It hangs over the air on the street for quite a while. To use another metaphor, it is like last January's lantern festival. The small village marketplace is filled with the joyful explosion of fireworks! ...No one could have imagined that after squatting there for such a long while this Feng Yaoba had such ideas in his mind. Everyone has had a mistaken view of him in the past! Great, that is simply great. This is as pleasing as having just transplanted a whole plot of seedlings...

Again he turns and seriously says to Ren Laoda's wife: "Go tell teacher Ren: Your son did not beat him!--I, Feng Yaoba, saw with my own eyes! We peasants are not like those sons of guns..."

Luo Erniang screams in a hoarse voice: "Okay, Feng Yaoba! Remember what you just did..."

However, her tiny voice becomes so negligible amid the laughter and noise of the people. On the contrary, Feng Yaoba's voice stands out:

"...As long as the state's policies do not change every now and then, as they did before, and do not make life difficult for us peasants, I, Feng Yaoba, have all the strength I need. What do I have to fear?..."

Thus, he moves his large feet, explains that he has no time to stay any longer, then leaves without looking back. Looking at his broad shoulders, everyone calls to mind that it is indeed right that since last year Feng Yaoba has changed. He has not been drinking that heavily and has become more hardworking. Did he not buy his pair of large liberation shoes just last winter? That is precisely why "when one has grain in one's hands, one's mind is at ease, and one can stand on one's feet and be filled with joy!" With liberation shoes on his feet, he has been emancipated. The unjust days have vanished little by little, like smoke and dust. The village marketplace has also been gradually transformed, like sunlight piercing the fog. The peasants' backbone is also straightening up day by day...

This extremely commonplace dispute makes the people of Lihua village so happy. Ignoring how hard Luo Erniang is shouting and screaming, people laugh and, after a short while, disperse contentedly. There are indeed so many things to be done for the spring planting. Everyone, men and women, walk at a brisk pace....

CSO: 4004

THE AWAKENING OF MAN'S DIGNITY--COMMENTING ON THE SHORT STORY 'IN THE VILLAGE MARKETPLACE' AND DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF TRUTHFULNESS OF LITERATURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 40-43

[Article by Zeng Zhennan [2582 6966 0589]]

[Text] In the Lihua village marketplace in the remote, outlying Wumeng Mountain area there occurred, as a matter of course, a rather common dispute. The whole thing and its settlement could hardly be considered more than a tiny drop in the huge life current within the vast territory of our country. However, in a succinct and profound style, the dispute has been presented by Comrade He Shiguang in his short story "In the Village Marketplace" (published in RENMIN WENXUE No 80, 1980) in such a way as to convey a message: the direction of the wind of time has changed; there is a new and favorable turn in the destiny of the Chinese peasants, who fully suffered the hardships of the 10-year havoc, so that the awakening of man's dignity emerges in them! The dispute in the marketplace and the truly rich presentation of life it unfolds caused me to think deeply for a long time.

What was the dispute all about? Right from the very beginning the reader is eager to get a clear picture of the whole dispute; but the clever author keeps the reader in suspense by only briefly and indirectly touching on both parties and the arbitrator involved and by concentrating throughout on Feng Yaoba, the witness. The only way to settle the dispute is by getting the relevant facts out of Feng Yaoba, but as it happens he just refuses to open his mouth. The greater the detail with which the author describes the embarrassed reaction, the tight-lipped features and the hesitancy of Feng Yaoba, the more deeply the reader senses his nervous mental state and the more anxious the reader is to have him speak. It is not until the story is drawing to a close that Feng Yaoba bursts out in a remarkably original and forceful manner! He impartially and courageously speaks the truth; not only does he vehemently denounce Second Aunt Luo, the wicked chicken woman of the village marketplace, but also severely reprimands branch secretary Cao Fugui, who "acts in an extremely cunning manner" and pretends to be even-handed. This peasant, who is considered to be even inferior to a dog, thus shows a strong sense of human dignity. This suspenseful style precipitates the best artistic results.

What is Feng Yaoba like when he is approached to give evidence? He "blinks his eyes repeatedly, scratches his bushy hair and grins cheekily"; in Second Aunt Luo's eyes he "is just like a dog which can only wag its tail in front of her."

From the author's description of Feng Yaoba's circumstances we see a similarity to Ah Q: When there was a dinner party at Second Aunt Luo's home, Feng Yaoba would go to help arrange tables and chairs and then have a big meal there. When he was given a string of pig's intestine, he was willing to go to the countryside even at midnight to prop up Second Aunt Luo's drunken husband. Feng Yaoba "is a well-known drunkard, an impoverished and good-for-nothing peasant," "not worth discussing on the state farm." Can it be said that this is the peasant of the modern socialist China in the 1970's or 1980's? Did the days of Ah Q not end long ago? Those who practice ostrichism or who are naive would ask this question. However, the fact is simply that life is cruel and merciless: during the years of catastrophe, which lasted for a decade, as the feudal and patriarchal relationship was revived and spread in rural areas upon the foundation of the ruined economy under the feudal and fascist rule of the "gang of four," certain aspects and images of Ah Q certainly emerged in such poor peasants as Feng Yaoba. What could Feng Yaoba do? He has a wife and six kids, but he didn't take his work seriously: "You only get a few pellets of grain anyway, not even enough to feed the crows and sparrows. They deduct this and that from your grain, and in the end, what do you get? Nothing, just like what I am now," said Feng Yaoba. He is honest, does not know any trade or engage in profiteering through resale and likes to have a drink; so he gets by being a covert farm laborer, by persistently asking for resold grain, shamelessly asking others for subsistence and running errands or carrying the sick. Just as he says when he eventually speaks up to testify, "I am poor and helpless--I couldn't help myself!" The status of "being inferior to others" makes the good and honest Feng Yaoba unable "even to afford to tell the truth!" He loses the dignity of being an industrious and honest peasant. However, he is not as insensitive as Ah Q. He challenges, "Am I, Feng Yaoba, not a human being, and must I only drink water?" When he gets drunk he sobs and sighs, but when he sobers up he again smiles as usual. What a strong sense of wrath and bitterness in his challenge and sobbing!

How did Feng Yaoba lose his dignity? Although the author has not provided an answer, people can associate his description of the social circumstances in that remote mountain area with the historical tragedy in which the "gang of four" ran amuck for a decade. This is, of course, only a phenomenon of social life; the author presents a true picture of such a phenomenon in order to raise a question which touches further on the essence of life. He describes for us the social circumstances which caused such an honest peasant as Feng Yaoba to bear humiliation: the small marketplace in Lihua village is like a partnership jointly operated by such persons as Second Aunt Luo, old Chen of the store, secretary Song, branch secretary Cao, and so on, each holding one share of the business. "If you have offended one god, it shows a disrespect for all the gods; if you have offended the Luo family, you have also offended the entire upper class of Lihua village." You would then have no meat to eat, no kerosene for the lights at night, no soap to wash clothes, no resold grain to tide you over during the spring famine, and you would even be sent to a disciplinary training class or be assigned to take part in building irrigation works on New Year's Eve... "Many unexpected things lie ahead of you that will leave you totally helpless!" It is such a rural reality that you cannot avoid even if you wanted to that makes Feng Yaoba tight lipped and afraid to speak out from a sense of justice! Thus the rural feudal-patriarchal relationship built up again by the "gang of four" and the vulgar relationship forged through selfish material interests bands together



and binds Feng Yaoba's soul. What sets people to thinking is that the author has not only presented a bold picture of the social relations in the village marketplace, but, by describing the main representative figures of such relations--Second Aunt Luo, who frequently seeks revenge on others and runs wild without fear, as well as branch secretary Cao, who constantly declares that he holds himself "responsible to the people" and "seeks truth from facts" but is full of dirty tricks--has also pointed out to us that after the "gang of four" was smashed this sort of feudalistic relationship, which undermines our party, corrupts the party cadres and poisons the social atmosphere under the signboard of "party leadership," in some places is still oppressing and terrorizing the lives of many good and honest people like Feng Yaoba. This causes us to deeply realize the pressing need to modernize China's political life and to reform the system of leadership of our party and our state in a down-to-earth manner. If the socialist democratic right of the people to become genuine masters cannot be guaranteed, the kind of feudalistic "partnership business" in the marketplace at Lihua village is not wiped out, and a situation in which branch secretary Cao holds total power over somebody's life and property is not rectified, then it will be out of the question for people like Feng Yaoba to fully master their own destiny, restore the value of man and maintain a sense of human dignity. The story, short as it is, has nevertheless raised this great and pressing social problem, and its presentation is in an artistic style; is this not concrete evidence that literature has the function to condense the intrinsic qualities of social phenomena? I believe that this story does carry immense truthfulness: the author does not at all evade the corrupt and rampant forces which one cannot avoid in actual life; he also dares to look squarely at the lamentable destiny of people like Feng Yaoba, who are so hard pressed both materially and spiritually that they act like Ah Q. By revealing all of this he has fulfilled the crusading mission of literature.

Feng Yaoba is being pressured from two different directions when he stands in the village marketplace and testifies under the gaze of the masses: branch secretary Cao presses him to tell lies and conspire with Second Aunt Luo to frame Granny Ren; the masses press him to tell the truth and defend the innocence of Granny Ren. What action does he finally take? After his humiliating past is introduced by the author, we feel both depressed and excited as we visualize him: he begins to smile sheepishly, but Second Aunt Luo and branch secretary Cao corner him with both hard and soft tactics; people press him again and he "simply shuts his mouth." Finally, under the repeated "enlightening" of branch secretary Cao, he begins to talk slowly. He first talks about his "dog" status. Then he describes in detail the livelihood of his family this year. When Second Aunt Luo interrupts him, he bursts out to her surprise! His words come like a torrent which forces through a gate and cannot be stopped, revealing his complex mental state, his careful analysis of the situation and his confidence in obtaining his means of livelihood after "going ahead regardless." This echoes ingeniously with the detailed description of the above contradictory and frightened behavior. All of a sudden, Feng Yaoba--the soul of an ordinary Chinese peasant--who finds a new way out at the new historical turning point and therefore awakens the long-abused sense of human dignity within himself, lays himself bare before us. From his own experience in life, Feng Yaoba deeply realizes the consequences of refusing to give false evidence; he also deeply realizes the source of the main pressure facing him (it is not without reason that he first shouts at branch secretary Cao). After much hesitation, he finally guilelessly upholds justice for the weak.

Where does he get such strength? What is that immediate power which awakens the sense of human dignity in him and offers firm and strong support to this sense of dignity? Is it our propaganda on seeking truth from facts? Is it the socialist democratic cry that echoes throughout China? Is it the awakening of such moral characteristics as honesty, kindheartedness, righteousness, and so on in the Chinese peasants? Is it the pressure from the surrounding masses who wish to have justice upheld? Yes, all of these provide the answer, but not the entire answer. I think the main reason does not lie in the above aspects but in these few words by Feng Yaoba when he answers branch secretary Cao: "The resold grain--you have the final say whether or not I am going to have it. But this year, I, Feng Yaoba, will be able to live even without it!" From Feng Yaoba's careful planning of his own means of livelihood, we notice that it is the party's new rural economic policy that makes Feng Yaoba obtain the strength to oppose the stubborn and domineering feudal-patriarchal relationship. The open and aboveboard Chinese Communist Party is taking actions to rectify its own errors and adopting a whole set of new policies, including the relaxation of the rural economic policy throughout the country. It is precisely from the party's new policies that Feng Yaoba perceives the possibility and practicability of breaking away from the status of poverty and humiliation and stepping onto the road of affluence. It is in this way that an honest peasant like Feng Yaoba has recovered his sense of human dignity and emancipated his own spiritual world. Just as Feng Yaoba says, "In the past few years I was neither man nor ghost. I have had enough!--Fortunately, these past 2 years the state has set the peasants' hands and feet free. If anyone dares to curse me anymore today, I am not going to restrain myself!" In opposing the wicked force, Feng Yaoba mentions "the state" whose support he is assured of, and thus he lets off steam in his rejoicing. From the changes in actual material life he really feels the power of the reform in the economic policy of the party and the state. This power causes his "peasant's spine" to straighten up and causes him to have a different destiny from that of Ah Q: firm spiritual superiority and victory supported by material strength were obtained in the fight against the wicked forces that bullied him. From Feng Yaoba's unique character, are we not aware of something impressive? The course of democratic reform within our great socialist motherland and the course of modernization to change the backward appearance of China's economy supplement each other. In order to free our spirit from the remnants of feudalism as well as to bring about the affirmation of man's value and the awakening of man's dignity, it is of course necessary to do some work within the realm of political theory, but it is even more necessary to work earnestly within the economic sphere so as to actively expand society's productive forces and keep improving and raising people's material and cultural life. In a big but backward country such as ours, the success of our economic policy will not only bring about concrete economic results but also have intangible political and spiritual effects. Can we not see this point from Feng Yaoba's straightening up his spine? "In the Village Marketplace" captures in the keenest manner the favorable turn in the peasants' material and spiritual life brought about by the new rural economic policy; while profoundly revealing the tragedy to China's peasants caused by the "gang of four," it also glorifies in loving words the happiness and beauty of the new life in the rural area, where "the sunlight pierces the gray mist and the appearance changes with each passing moment." The review of the gloomy days of injustice, the revelation of the dark aspect which is still very influential in reality, and the description of the thundering hearty laughter coming from the men and women

in the village marketplace blend in harmony. This is neither a gloomy and desperate revelation nor a buoyant and dishonest glorification, but a lively picture depicted in accordance with the dialectics of life itself.

From my analysis of "In the Village Marketplace," I have formed an initial opinion on the truthfulness of literature: "In the Village Marketplace" not only makes the readers feel that it is true and credible with its lively and realistic style of describing details and characters, but, through its profound condensation of the actual life existing in China, in which the new mingles with the old, the brightness interweaves with the darkness and many favorable turns have emerged, it reflects the essential aspects of life which can be verified by the readers' scientific analysis of social life. Such an analysis of the historical, philosophical, political and even economic aspects of social life must always consciously decide people's appraisal of the life situation depicted in literary works. The truthfulness of a piece of literary work must always face the reader's twofold psychological test. First, it is the psychological test based on the reader's social experience: it has to possess artistic qualities; that is to say, it creates a condition which the reader finds believable and gives rise to artistic charm. Next, it is the test based on the reader's scientific understanding of social life: it has to accurately touch upon intrinsic problems in various aspects of social life (or at least touch upon the intrinsic problem in one aspect) and significantly advance social life. This also means that it has to communicate in an artistic way true and beneficial thoughts. Only works which carry the unity of artistic truthfulness and ideological truthfulness can possess the truthfulness of literature required by the proletariat. I consider that artistic truthfulness and ideological truthfulness are concepts of two different categories: the former is a concept in the category of artistic psychology, indicating the level attained by artists in the creative activities of seeking truth (credibility) from fantasy (fiction); the latter is a concept in the category of artistic sociology, reflecting the degree of scientific qualities in an artist's views on social life. The two have intimate relations, but they also have differences. Works which possess certain artistic truthfulness may not always have ideological truthfulness. In the film "Spring Seedling," for instance, the falsehood in ideology contradicts certain credible illusions created by the artistic expressions. For literary work which does not even possess any form of artistic truthfulness, ideological truthfulness is out of the question, because it has not in fact entered the realm of art. Only by combining artistic truthfulness and ideological truthfulness in a better way, as does "In the Village Marketplace," can a literary work be well received by the reader. As for differences in understanding of the truthfulness of literature, some are divergences in esthetic standards in art, while some are divergences in the understanding of social life. For example, the sort of strong feudalistic and vulgar qualities in social relations and the lamentable Ah Q style of Feng Yaoba depicted in "In the Village Marketplace" would in the past have easily invited such censure as "distorting the essence of socialist life," "vilifying the peasants," and so on; while the description of Feng Yaoba resolutely giving evidence, his pleasant impression of the party's new policy and his confidence in the future would also have been taken as not true in the eyes of some people who were biased against rural life. The divergent views as to whether or not the ideological content of a literary work is true, in the final analysis, reflect either obscurely or obviously the divergence in people's overall views

on the course of history and real life. In this connection, rather than arguing abstractly, it is much better to make concrete analyses of some literary works which are controversial or generally recognized as excellent or inferior, so as to reach a theoretical condensation on this basis. However, to achieve this it is necessary to launch an analysis of the truthfulness of concrete artistic forms, that is, to combine concrete forms and make a broad and profound study of artistic truthfulness in the category of artistic psychology. This should be a basic problem of esthetics in literature and art, involving many of the most complicated manifestations in the psychology of creation and appreciation. In the past, too little study was given to this aspect; I consider that this is one of the major reasons why some of our literary criticisms are simple and crude, as well as weak and ineffective.

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## IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT, RAISE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 pp 44-48

[Article by Zhang Chengxian [1728 2110 0341]]

[Text] How to implement the principle of all-round moral, intellectual and physical development so that the younger generation will grow up better suited to the needs of socialist modernization is a very important lesson for China's secondary education.

### I

Secondary education is basic education. Implementing the principle of all-round moral, intellectual and physical development, making a success of secondary education and bringing up the young people as a generation with ideals, ethics, knowledge and physical strength have a bearing on the success or failure of socialist modernization and on the prosperity or decline of the state and nation.

Socialist modernization requires large numbers of qualified scientists, technicians, organizers, managers and theorists. Some developed capitalist countries have an average of 300 to 400 scientists and engineers to every 10,000 citizens. China has only an average of a score or so scientists and technicians to every 10,000 citizens. Modernization has also set a higher and higher demand on the scientific and cultural level of workers and farmers. The cultural backwardness and lack of qualified people in China have become the biggest problem to socialist construction, and we must quickly alter this condition.

China is a socialist country, and the qualified people trained for modernization must have socialist consciousness, vocational knowledge and ability and robust physique. It is inconceivable to give play to the initiative and enthusiasm of doing one's work well without socialist consciousness or a fine moral character. It is also inconceivable to shoulder the varied and strenuous work of the four modernizations without mastering basic scientific knowledge and basic labor skills, without analytical power and creative spirit and without a healthy body.

Implementing the policy of all-round development necessitates not only training qualified people for modernization but also insuring that education work observes fundamental laws. Moral, intellectual, physical, artistic and technical education are the basic contents of and are indispensable to the healthy physical and mental growth of young people. In the course of the growth of young people they

are like the various organs of the human body. Each has its own incontrovertible position and role. They interact, promote and supplement each other to develop harmoniously. It is entirely wrong to sever them, set them apart or develop them in isolation. If the socialist consciousness of the students is enhanced, and if they possess good moral character and lofty revolutionary ideals, their consciousness in studying cultural and scientific knowledge will improve as a result. Mastering cultural and scientific knowledge and inheriting the cultural and scientific knowledge accumulated in human history are conducive to the formation of a scientific world outlook. Marxism is a great achievement of human knowledge; moreover, it develops along with the development of history. How can an ignorant man establish a Marxist scientific world outlook, possess revolutionary ideals and participate in the great struggle to transform nature and society? Students taking an active interest in sports and engaging in physical training can make their bodies strong, energetic, alert, agile and resourceful. This is conducive not only to raising study efficiency but also to cultivating good moral character.

Each aspect of moral, intellectual, physical, artistic and technical education by itself is also comprehensive or balanced development. Take intellectual education, for example. It includes knowledge and ability. Ability also includes qualities of analysis and solution of problems, such as observation, memory, imagination and logical thinking. The relationship between all kinds of knowledge and all kinds of ability and between knowledge and ability is not isolated but mutually dependent, mutually penetrating, mutually connected and mutually promoting dialectical unity. Putting science above literature will greatly narrow the area of knowledge. Paying attention only to the instillation of knowledge and neglecting the training of ability, or paying attention only to the training of one kind of ability and neglecting the rest, is not conducive to the development and growth of young people. This applies to intellectual education as well as to moral education and physical education.

At present there are 59 million students in China's middle schools, or an average of 12 million in each grade. Secondary education has become a stage most young people in the country must go through. We must resolutely implement the policy of all-round development, so that they can develop vigorously, harmoniously and healthily in such directions as moral, intellectual, physical, artistic and technical education. This is not only the requirement of young people but also the requirement of modernization and the hope of the whole Chinese nation for development, growth and prosperity. Evaluating whether a school is being run successfully and examining the quality of education must be based on this criterion of all-round development. To ignore any of these aspects is wrong and harmful.

## II

Under the new historical conditions we must sum up the positive as well as the negative aspects of experience, further implement the policy of all-round development and make greater contributions to improving the quality of education and to the four modernizations.

1. To implement the policy of all-round development in education we must concentrate on teaching. The school is an educational organization, and its main task is teaching. All activities must be centered on teaching. In implementing this policy we must pay attention to mastering the dialectical unity of moral, intellectual, physical, artistic and technical education, so that they will be mutually coordinated and develop harmoniously. We absolutely must not carry them out in isolation.

In moral education we must reform the teaching of political courses, make a success of political courses by linking the students' thinking with social reality and vigorously and directly develop ideological and political education. However, we must also be careful not to become divorced from the teaching of other branches of study and various activities. We must incorporate ideological and political education in the teaching of other branches of study and various activities. The teaching of other branches of study and various activities all have their own ideological educational content. Closely integrating the teaching of other branches of study and various activities, carrying out ideological and political education and grasping their internal connections, rich and concrete contents and vivid and vigorous forms naturally will achieve the good results of exerting a subtle influence.

2. In teaching we must be good at comprehensively adjusting and arranging the relationship between the teaching of other branches of study and various activities and solve the various contradictions constantly appearing in practice. Although such mistakes as "stopping classes to make revolution," "running open-door schools," replacing study with labor and eliminating the teaching of cultural and scientific knowledge in the 10 years of catastrophe have been corrected, new problems have now appeared in the new situation to buffet the policy of all-round development. If we only pay attention to the transmitting of cultural and scientific knowledge, neglect ideological and political education, pay no attention to physical education and artistic education, hold surprise tests and examinations, carry out academic contests, upset normal teaching procedure and give too much homework, we will put too heavy a load on the students, and this could affect their health. This explains why the policy of all-round development must be constantly grasped. Educational departments, leading members and teachers of schools and grade supervisors in particular must constantly give specific guidance to the students and make suitable adjustments in all concrete activities and actual work so as to insure that the younger generation can develop morally, intellectually and physically and grow up healthy and strong.

3. Implementation of the policy of all-round development must be correctly integrated with giving instruction according to individual ability. All-round moral, intellectual and physical development is the basic common requirement for young people, but this certainly does not mean that all young people must be of the same mold, without the slightest difference. On the basis of the general demand for all-round development, we should give full play to their individual interests, preferences and abilities, that is, develop their personalities and salient features.

As the level and direction of intellectual development among young people is not the same, they have developed their own personalities, interests and salient features. Some have a pronounced interest for certain natural sciences. Some have a special preference for certain social sciences. Some have a special talent for literature and art. Some hope to become the new type of workers and farmers. Some have decided to become engineers, scientists, writers and artists. Since these are the demands of the young people for individual development, they are also suited to the needs of the four modernizations. In implementing the policy of all-round development, we must, on the basis of seeing that they obtain development morally, intellectually and physically, pay attention to giving instruction according to individual ability and give full play to the interests, preferences and abilities of young people.

4. We must reform the teaching method and pay attention to vigorously developing the students' intelligence and abilities. At present the length of schooling has been shortened, and teaching materials have been made more difficult. The teachers' standards are not high, and they are unable to teach properly. In general, classes are too crowded, and the speed of teaching has accelerated. Courses are force-fed in the classroom and cannot be properly digested. There is also the pressure of a great deal of homework after school and frequent exams. The students are keyed up, and their load is heavy. At the same time, the students are also made to memorize their lessons by rote and are not given time to show a bit of initiative or to freely deliberate and study problems. This is detrimental not only to the students' intellectual and physical development but also to the training of qualified people and must therefore be energetically reformed. Depending on conditions, the length of schooling for secondary schools must gradually be changed to 6 years, and courses should be rearranged rationally. The curriculum must not be so heavy as to crowd out the students' time for private study. Teaching materials must be reformed, and we must not mold the students like biscuits. Teachers must be given more training, so that they will understand something about pedagogy and psychology, strive to improve their teaching methods and allow the students to digest their lessons. We must strengthen guidance over the students' extracurricular studies and group activities and try to enlighten and develop their intelligence and abilities.

5. We must properly combine school education with social education. Although the planned and systematic education of the school plays a leading role in the healthy growth of young people, family education and social education also play a very important role in their moral, intellectual and physical development. The school must cooperate with parents and society to carry out unified education. This is an important link in implementing the policy of all-round development and improving the quality of education.

The principal way to effect ties between school and family is to hold parents meetings or let teachers make family visits. Primarily this is for the sake of understanding and analyzing such conditions as the thinking, study, life, interests, preferences and strong points of the student. Second, this is for the sake of studying ways of effectively carrying out education, including the content and method of education, based on the student's circumstances. The school reports on the work of the student to his parents and also makes certain demands on them to accomplish the task of education together. Educational departments must also



actively cooperate with departments and mass organizations of science, culture, sports and public health, trade unions, women's federations and communist youth leagues to show concern for the all-round development of young people and actively create favorable conditions for the healthy growth of young people.

### III

At present the implementation of the policy of all-round development has also encountered some new problems. The most conspicuous of these is the pure concentration on students entering colleges. To correct this we must improve the quality of education. If the quality of education is improved, the proportion of students entering colleges will also improve as a result. However, the proportion of students entering colleges is not the only criterion for judging whether a school is run properly. Methods which run counter to the policy of all-round development and the law of education and the pure concentration on the proportion of students entering colleges must be resolutely corrected.

The main manifestations of pure concentration on the proportion of students entering colleges are: 1) Neglecting moral education and physical education. This prevents a solution of the ideological problems of the students in time and causes a deterioration of their physique. 2) Paying special attention only to the graduating class and neglecting the teaching of other grades. Paying special attention only to a handful of students with good results and neglecting or even forsaking the majority of students. 3) Neglecting the teaching of basic knowledge and training in special skills, changing the syllabus at will, concentrating only on subjects required for university entrance exams and cutting down on courses not required for exams or having fewer credits. This has narrowed the students' area of knowledge and weakened their basic knowledge. 4) Upsetting the normal progress of teaching. For the sake of coping with university entrance exams, the 2-year course of the senior middle school is completed in a single year or a year and a half, surprise examinations are held and the load of the students is increased. The students are forced to memorize their lessons by rote, and this has resulted in "indigestion." 5) Holding frequent exams. Many general tests in various subjects are held by the municipality, district and school, and numerous mock exams are conducted for the graduating classes of senior middle schools. This has kept the students constantly on the run and always keyed up. If such methods are not immediately corrected but allowed to develop, not only will the physical and mental health of the students be seriously affected, but the education of the future generation will also be adversely affected. Moreover, this cannot lay a proper foundation for the training of qualified people and will cause enormous losses to socialist modernization.

The reasons giving rise to this kind of phenomenon are complicated. They are mainly the result of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the serious imbalance in the national economy, the serious devastation suffered by education and the great difficulty young people encounter in getting into colleges or obtaining employment. At present we have some 6 to 7 million senior middle school graduates each year, and the institutions of higher learning have places for less than 300,000. There is little chance of entering a university, and it is also difficult to obtain employment. This is why getting into a university

has become an acute social problem. This cannot but have an effect on the schools and produce a strong social pressure. Second, education is still in the process of readjustment and recovery, and the many problems urgently requiring solution can only be solved gradually. Secondary education has a single structure which is basically the ordinary middle school. Vocational education is very weak. Although the university entrance examination system has been reformed, it is still imperfect. The standards of most of the teachers are not high, and they are in need of refresher courses. Most of the students do not have a solid primary education, and they require extra coaching. The length of schooling has been shortened, and teaching materials have become more difficult than in the past. Many new arrivals on the educational front have no training in pedagogic theory and they also lack experience. Under such conditions, the appearance of some methods which are contrary to the laws of education is understandable.

We cannot adopt an impetuous attitude or a simplistic method to solve this problem but must successfully carry out work in many ways. The basic method is to develop production and open up avenues for employment. Essentially speaking, we must pay close attention to reforming the structure of secondary education and energetically develop vocational and technical education. We must open up avenues for studies, actively make a success of radio and TV education, correspondence universities and spare-time universities, encourage nonresident studies and private studies, and also allow individuals and organizations interested in education to set up schools under the leadership and management of the state. We must, in accordance with the provisions of the state, enable students who have been through various channels of studies to receive the same treatment as graduates of full-time universities if they pass the qualifying test. We must further improve the university entrance examination system, such as by combining the results of the university entrance examination with ordinary results as the criterion for admittance, so that the university entrance examination will not only be able to select people of ability but also provide an impetus to secondary education. This work is under study at present or in the process of being carried out. Apart from this, we should also adopt the following measures:

1. Define guiding ideology and strengthen the construction of a contingent of cadres and teachers. We must resolutely implement the policy of all-round development, carry out work in accordance with the laws of education and use this to unify the thinking of educational departments and schools as well as the thinking of teachers, students and parents. The basic demands for the quality of education are: Students should possess revolutionary ideals and good moral character. Their study of various subjects should measure up to the demands of the syllabus and be down to earth. Their physical condition should be good and constantly improved. They should cultivate the habit of doing manual labor and possess certain labor skills. We must proceed from reality and improve the quality of education. As the foundations of various districts and schools are not the same, there should be degrees of disparity in the demand for quality, and there must not be across-the-board measures. The demand on districts and schools with a better foundation should be higher, and the demand on districts and schools with a weaker foundation may be lower.

Cadres of education departments and leading members and teachers of schools must conscientiously study pedagogic theory, master the laws of education and raise

their cultural and vocational levels. In the future, leading cadres of educational departments and schools should be promoted mainly from the ranks of teachers in the prime of life who have professional knowledge, teaching ability and management ability and are capable of implementing the line, policies and principles of the party. How the enthusiasm of the teachers can be brought into play, how to make use of the unity of the teachers and how to improve the training of the teachers are important hallmarks for judging whether the work of the leading body of a school has been successfully carried out.

2. Run the key points successfully to give impetus to the whole. In the wake of the 10 years of catastrophe we have been left with many problems which are difficult to solve for the time being. Therefore, properly concentrating our forces to run the key points successfully so as to turn out qualified people and using the experience we have acquired to give an impetus to the whole are of important strategic significance.

Key middle schools "emphasize quality" and must be run a bit more successfully and bring up better quality students than general middle schools. The object of running key middle schools is to produce qualified people and experience. To the key middle schools, producing qualified people is actually for the sake of laying a proper foundation for the bringing up of qualified people. Students from key middle schools should meet the standards of institutions of higher learning, and they should also be the hardcores of various professions and trades in society. Whether a school can bring up qualified people cannot be judged merely by the relative proportion of students entering colleges. The most important thing is that they must be able to withstand the test of practice in socialist modernization. To produce experience means to better implement the policy of all-round development, carry out work in accordance with the laws of education, make teaching reforms, improve the quality of teaching and discover concrete experience from practice in order to promote, assist and influence the progress of schools in general.

We must conscientiously draw on the basic experience of the key middle schools. However, we should proceed from actual conditions, suit measures to conditions in the school and not copy everything mechanically. As middle schools in the general areas are restricted by conditions, the proportion of students entering colleges may be lower. We must not say that the school is not successfully run because of that and make it look bad. The more important thing is that we must see how much the students have improved morally, intellectually and physically. If the improvement in the majority of students in a school is rapid, even though the proportion of students entering colleges may be slightly lower, it should also be rated as a good school.

3. Gradually establish and strengthen essential teaching systems. Such effective teaching systems of the past as the examination system and the promotion and "repeat grade" system must be gradually restored, adhered to and constantly improved in practice. At present, educational departments and schools should draw up some stipulations so as to correct erroneous methods that contravene the educational policy of all-round development, violate the laws of education and seek only the proportion of students entering colleges. First, we must correctly deal with university entrance examinations. No locality, no matter

what the circumstances, must list the order of schools according to the results of university entrance examinations, transmit the figures of university entrance examinations to schools or take the proportion of students entering colleges as the sole criterion for evaluating the quality of a school's work. What is more, they must not use this to reward or penalize schools and teachers. Second, we must resolutely free the schools and students from frequent examinations. Apart from entrance and graduation exams, educational departments must not conduct general exams and tests, and schools should hold only midterm and end of term exams to examine the condition of teaching and to improve teaching. Third, they must be responsible to all the students and must not pay special attention to only a handful of "outstanding students" and neglect or forsake the majority. They must not pay special attention only to the graduating class and neglect the nongraduating classes. Fourth, they must strictly carry out teaching based on the provisions of the teaching plan and the syllabus and must not cut courses at will, hold surprise tests, complete courses ahead of schedule and give a great deal of homework. Fifth, they must see to it that the students get 9 hours of sleep and 1 hour of sports each day and must not make the students work too hard during holidays.

At present the masses are extremely concerned about secondary education. Our comrades engaged in educational work must try to run secondary education more successfully with the support and supervision of the masses.

CSO: 4004

FROM 'WHATEVER' TO 'BUT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 p 49

[Miscellaneous talks on ideology by Jiang Zhenggao [1203 2973 7559] and Yin Guoan [1438 0948 1344]]

[Text] We still remember that a few years ago the specter of the theory of the "two whatevers" haunted every corner of our country. Was there anyone who did not strictly observe the tenet of the "two whatevers"? After the discussion on the criterion for testing truth and the implementation of the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, we came to realize that "our present policies are correct and the previous ones were wrong." With the restoration of the party's dialectical ideological line, it seemed that "whatever" had vanished from sight.

Has the problem of the emancipation of the mind been completely solved? Has the spirit of the third plenary session been accepted by all? The answer is no. Some people have "stubbornly resisted" or "hindered" the implementation of the spirit. Since they are not people in our camp, we do not want to talk about them too much in this article. As for our own comrades, some of them have still cast doubt upon, hesitated about, taken a wait-and-see attitude toward or even borne resentment against the party's decisions and policies adopted since the third plenary session. This has actually shown that the soul of "whatever" refuses to leave. Where does this soul linger? After making considerable efforts to detect and trace it, we have finally located it. "Whatever" has been changed into "but." Let us listen to what they are saying:

"It is right to take practice as a criterion to test truth, but it is not an erroneous act to use revolutionary theory to judge what is right and what is wrong."

"It is right to emancipate the mind, but we should not go so far in this 'emancipation' campaign as to discard the teachings of the revolutionary teacher!"

"It is absolutely necessary to oppose the ultraleftist ideas, but we should not oppose them from the rightist standpoint!"

"It is right that we should not talk about class struggle every day, but we should follow a key link to carry out our production!"

"It is right to allot private plots to peasants and encourage them to develop their household sideline production, but we should not lose our bearings!"

They say this and that, ranging from the criterion of truth to the system of job responsibility in production. These instances of "but" defy enumeration.

After studying the text, we find out that the trick of this sentence pattern lies in the subordinate clause beginning with "but." If we only looked at the main clause, we would have wrongly thought that the speakers had completely accepted the principles of taking practice as the criterion for testing truth, encouraging the emancipation of the mind and attaching importance to production, and that they had favored the party's economic policy. In a word, that they had fully supported the spirit of the third plenary session. However, the first half of the sentence is only empty verbiage and the substance is embodied in the second half to insignificance amid sweet smiles and gentle manner. In other words, the "but" of today is still a shadow of the "whatever" of yesterday!

A few years ago it was not a sin to believe in the theory of the "two whatevers," and the act of changing "whatever" into "but" cannot but be considered small progress now. However, if a person is still indifferent to the excellent situation brought about by the third plenary session and worries about the fact that many newborn things do not conform to a single "quotation" or "instruction," we can only say that his mind is incorrigibly ossified. Ours is a country that was ruled by feudal autocracy for several thousand years, and Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company frenziedly created modern superstitions for a decade or so. The pernicious influence of the past several thousand years and 10 years of catastrophe led some people to live in fear of the "divine emperor." It has been less than 2 years since the convening of the third plenary session. How can the ideas of the "two whatevers" be "destroyed overnight"?

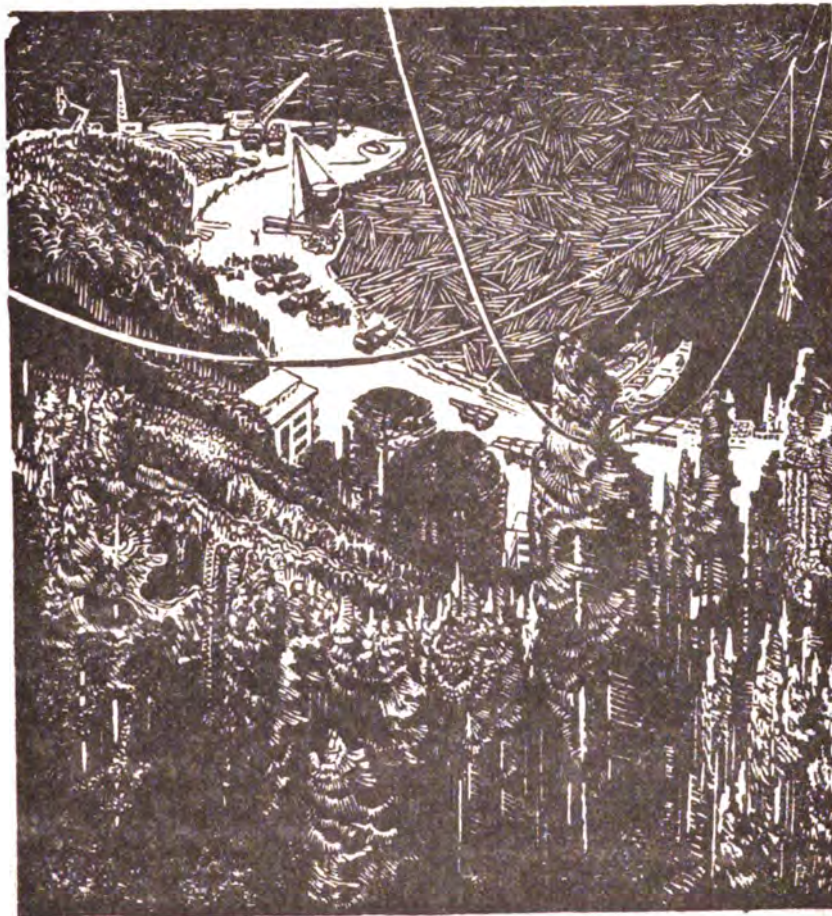
Today we are marching toward the four modernizations and continuing to emancipate our minds. If we still deem it necessary to criticize the theory of the "two whatevers," which harmed us enormously in the past, we should deal effectively with the variety of "whatever"--the problem of "but." We should "apply proper antidotes to heart disease." A few years ago we wrote out a prescription for taking practice as the criterion for testing truth for patients who suffered from the disease of "whatever." Today there is no harm in applying the same antidote to the disease of "but," so that the patients will have sharper eyes and stronger minds. To implement the party's line, guiding principles and policies more effectively it is absolutely necessary to strengthen our ideological and political work.

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A FOREST IN FULL GLORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Chen Zuhuang [7115 4371 3552]]



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END





# China Notes

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